WITH GOOD HEART

Yaqui Beliefs and Ceremonies in Pascua Village

MURIEL THAYER PAINTER

With an introduction by Edward H. Spicer

OPEN
ARIZONA

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*Yaqui Beliefs and Ceremonies
in Pascua Village*

MURIEL THAYER PAINTER

Edward H. Spicer and Wilma Kaemlein, Editors

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To the Memory
of
Don Ignacio Alvarez
Maestro

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Introduction

This is no ordinary account of Indian ceremonies by an interested bystander. It is one of the most sensitive studies we have of living native American ceremonial life. It is nearly unique in that it springs from forty years of ever-deepening observation and increasing involvement with the participants. It is best described as, if that phrase could be separated from its triteness, a labor of love. So perfectly do those old words fit that we shall use them anyway and hope that we can show convincingly how love shaped the long, devoted labor that produced this volume.

The Easter ceremonies of the Yaqui residents of Tucson attracted Muriel Painter almost from the time of her first arrival in Arizona in the early 1930s. It was not, however, until 1939 that they began to be a major interest. During 1938–39 the great anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski lived in Tucson for a year and gave a seminar at the University of Arizona. During the spring of 1939 he became interested in the ceremonies at the Yaqui settlement called Pascua Village near Tucson. Muriel Painter, who had become acquainted with Malinowski during the year, joined him in making observations. His rare enthusiasm inspired her to a deep concern for understanding the meaning of the ceremonies, and she went on to dedicate a large part of her life to seeing the devotions through Yaqui eyes.

The Yaquis had quietly introduced their religious ways into the life of Arizona beginning about 1906. In that year some Yaquis who had settled near Tempe, Arizona, in the Salt River Valley revived an Easter ceremony, and three years later Yaquis living at Tierra Floja ranch north of Tucson initiated another. This was a revival of religious life, the major public expressions of which had been suppressed in Mexico for some twenty years.

Yaquis, natives of Sonora, had been forced out of their homeland along the Gulf of California as a result of long drawn-out conflict with Mexicans. Under the dictatorship of President Porfirio Díaz they had resisted the landlords of Sonora who tried repeatedly during the nineteenth century to take over the Yaquis' tribal territory. The Yaqui farmlands were known as the most fertile in the state of Sonora: deep, alluvial, delta soil enriched each year by the waters of the ever-flowing Yaqui River. The Mexicans in control of the government of Sonora were determined to turn this land into haciendas for their own profit, dispossessing the Indians who lived there as had been done all over Mexico. The Yaquis, however, were not so easily pushed aside.

Ever since their first contacts with Jesuit missionaries beginning in 1617 Yaquis had shown a deep interest in European ways and had absorbed many elements of Spanish civilization. They had not held aloof in isolated rancherías; rather, they had reorganized into towns of 3,000–4,000 people maintaining communications with other peoples of New Spain. They had moved out widely not only in the province of Sonora, but also as far as Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and what became part of the state of Arizona. They became known as valuable workers in mines and ranches as well as assistants to missionaries in the far-flung mission communities. They made themselves familiar with the Spanish labor system and knew what it was to work as landless laborers. At the same time that Mexicans gained their independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century, Yaquis also attempted to use the knowledge of military organization, guns, and powder, which they learned from the Spaniards, to achieve their own independence in concert with neighboring Indian tribes. They were unsuccessful, but by the 1830s they had learned enough about the big agricultural establishments set up around them to the south and north to know that they did not want to become landless peons. For fifty years in the middle of the nineteenth century they resisted the encroachments by Mexicans, first the small-scale movements by "colonists" and finally the organized military invasions by state troops backed by federal soldiers. In 1887 the Mexicans were able, in the face of bitter fighting by Yaquis, to occupy the whole of the Yaqui country. Yaquis, however, retreated into the Bacatete Mountains north of their river towns where, refusing to accept defeat, they carried on relentless guerrilla warfare.

Desperately the Mexican government, encouraged by Vice-President Ramón Corral, a former governor of Sonora and representative of the landlord interests there, instituted a deportation program designed to separate Yaquis forever from their Sonora homeland. By 1908 at least 5,000 men and women of the reported 15,000 Yaquis had been forcibly transported and sold as peon laborers on the henequen plantations of Yucatán, their children taken as servants by Mexican families to be raised as Mexicans. Possibly another 4,000 had escaped into Arizona, California, and New

Mexico, and the remaining Yaquis were scattered widely throughout Sonora trying to avoid being picked up for deportation by the Federal Rural Police who roamed the state. Only a few hundred accepted the terms of President Díaz and continued to live in the homeland under total control by Mexican troops.

The Yaquis who escaped death and deportation by getting across the United States border during the years between 1887 and 1910 settled for the most part in southern Arizona. In 1910 the dictatorship of Díaz collapsed, and the deportation came to an end. Yaquis began to return to Sonora from Yucatán and wherever they had been shipped or escaped to. Several thousand, however, preferred to remain in the Arizona settlements which they had established. For some years they were not sure whether they were subject to deportation from the United States. They continued, therefore, to be careful about revealing themselves as Yaquis by refraining as they had learned to do in Sonora from holding their distinctive religious ceremonies. Once their status as political refugees in the United States was assured and they realized that they no longer needed to hide the fact of being Yaqui, they slowly began to revive their beloved religious rites; chief among these was the complex spring ceremonial during Lent and Holy Week. This had a focus in the Passion Play taught by the Jesuits in the 1600s, which Yaquis had incorporated into their own kind of religious drama celebrating the round of the natural seasons.

For the Yaquis, over a period of three hundred years, the Easter ceremonies had become the annual climax of religious devotions. They included not only a version of the Jesuit-inspired Passion of Christ, but also religious ideas and especially the religious arts of dance and song which were sacred in Yaqui tradition long before the European missionaries arrived. These remained integral parts of the Easter rites. Two groups in each community which had resulted from a remarkable fusion of native Yaqui ceremonial fraternities (similar to the Hopi or other Pueblo Kachina societies) with Spanish lay brotherhoods came at some unknown time, but probably during the early 1800s, to be the highest religious authority in each of the Sonoran Yaqui towns. They were called collectively *kohtumbre ya'ura* which can be literally translated into English as "Customs Authority." A fuller sense of the meaning of these important groups can be rendered as "the keepers of our most sacred traditions." The vow to serve as a member of one of these groups was for life and was a holy commitment. The suppression of Yaqui religion in Mexico had led to many men and women having to suspend their sacred duties—"ceremonial labor" as they called it—and, as their organizing activities ceased, other ordinary Yaquis were also forced to curtail their traditional religious life. With the realization that they no longer needed to fear deportation, there was a vigorous new birth of Yaqui society in the small settlements in the United States. The revived Easter ceremonies were

a reaffirmation of themselves as a people determined to go on being Yaquis in spite of the devastating attacks and the suffering which they had endured.

For non-Yaquis in Arizona all of this meaning was hidden. There were few if any Anglo-Americans who had background in Mexican history sufficient for understanding what had happened to Yaquis. There were at first none who had the interest to learn from the few Spanish-speaking Yaquis who would take the time from urgent efforts at survival to explain. Nevertheless, the intensity of feeling with which Yaquis carried out the revival and poured their newly released energies into the elaborate ceremonies had their effect on Arizonans. For those Anglo-Americans who attended the first Easter rituals, there was no escaping the sense of deep feeling which underlay them. Within a very few years, as the Yaqui genius for organization resulted in reestablishing more and more fully the old, complex, and dignified patterns of devotion, their unusual character became apparent even to casual spectators. Anglo-Americans began to come out at Easter time with their cameras. They called what they were seeing "the Yaqui Easter Dances," a label which indicated that the Anglos were most interested in the peripheral fiesta activities at the end of the ceremony, rather than the major devotions, and emphasized the cultural gap which separated Yaquis and their neighbors. It was the aboriginal elements, as embodied in the deer songs and deer and pascola dances which struck Anglos as the most interesting—and the most mysterious. It was these, associated in newspaper stories with "tom-toms" and "half-pagan rites," which by as early as the 1920s had become an important tourist attraction in southern Arizona. What was to Yaquis an integral whole with historical, ritual, and religious meanings became for their neighbors a spectacular cultural survival, less a bridge than a barrier to understanding of Yaquis. As the Yaquis and their ceremonies became better known, some non-Yaquis began to grope for a deeper basis of appreciation. By 1939 Muriel Painter was one of these, and she seemed to know from the first that the only path to real understanding depended on listening carefully to Yaquis as they spoke of the meanings which the ceremonies had for them. The ceremony that had been revived in 1909 at Tierra Floja was moved in the 1920s to Pascua Village, and there Muriel Painter's attention was centered for thirty-six years, until her death in 1975.

Muriel Painter was known to her friends as "Budge." She preferred to be called by this nickname rather than "Muriel" which she disliked. To Yaquis she was always known as "Mrs. Painter." We shall alternate between these usages in what follows to aid in giving some feel for the atmosphere in which she worked. Budge carried on her efforts to learn the meaning of Yaqui ceremony in the midst of many other demanding duties which she undertook in the civic life of Tucson. Only a small number of her associates understood the depth of her interest and the constant and systematic nature of her study. She succeeded in making her anthropological studies (for that

is what indeed they were) an integral part of her community work. Each of her major civic activities proceeded from the need she felt to bring about better mutual understanding between Yaquis and others and from her growing sense of the character of Yaqui problems in the larger community. Thus she devoted herself not only to making an ethnographic record and analysis of Yaqui ceremony but also to utilizing the knowledge which she gained in that effort to aiding the satisfactory integration of Yaquis with others in the life of the city. As we shall see, she achieved a close working relationship between what might be called her applied, or practical, and her pure research interests.

Budge made a modest and tentative beginning simply as an outside observer, not wholly sure of specific objectives but convinced from the first that she wished to remain unobtrusive and not thrust herself on the Yaquis. She never took photographs or carried a paper and pencil; she assumed the role of an interested and respectful participant in all the public ceremonies. From 1939 through 1954 she attended each year most of the Holy Week observances and the processions during Lent. In addition she also attended many of the Lenten fiestas at private households in Pascua, as Yaquis became acquainted with her and invited her. Ultimately she probably witnessed every part of the ritual of Lent and Holy Week, including those important parts which always took place between midnight and dawn. Her interest was focused at first on the Lenten-Easter ceremonies, but, as she became better acquainted, she began to attend other observances outside that season and became familiar in some measure with the whole seasonal round. She maintained that her intensive observations were discontinued after 1954. What she meant was that after that year she did not make notes on the whole set of ceremonial events during each Easter season. By that time her notes were so full for each year that most of her observations were repetitions of what had taken place in one or another previous year. She ceased then to make the full recordings characteristic of her first years and made notes only on the variations which she identified in succeeding years, noting the small innovations or losses, the modifications of basic patterns and behaviors. In short the observations of her first fifteen years became the foundation for an increasingly deep appreciation of how the ceremonies were affected by the backgrounds of differing ceremonial leaders and by other changing circumstances.

Budge typed her observations chiefly in loose-leaf notebooks (although she also often retyped selected material on 5" × 8" sheets of paper for special filing). Her notes took several different forms, but in the main during the first fifteen years of intensive observation they consisted of narrative accounts of each ceremony which she witnessed. The participants were identified as to formal office and their spatial positions in relation to one another were indicated, together with detailed descriptions of costumes and para-

phernalia carried. She made use of a special notation system for dance steps and choreography. She made numerous simple drawings showing the positions of participants in relation to one another, to buildings such as church, pascola ramada, and private household and the associated crosses of various types. Her drawings of participants ordinarily show careful recording of colors of paraphernalia and costume. Perhaps some of her fullest drawing-descriptions are those of the masks worn by the chapayeka performers in successive years. This particular record reveals the changing interests over the years of Yaquis with respect to what they regarded as evil and therefore symbolized in the masks. The total record of her notes, giving full accounts for the first fifteen years and then the major variations in details of ritual action and accoutrements for another twenty years, constitutes an exceptional, perhaps a unique, ethnographic account of stability and change during some thirty-five years in the forms of a single native American ceremonial. The major focus of the work remained through the years on the series of Lenten-Easter ceremonies.

As the work of observation of the external forms became less demanding with her increased familiarity with each detail, she steadily developed another phase of work. This was discussion with the people of Pascua of their feelings and ideas about the ceremonies. Even before 1954, of course, her familiarity with the forms was extensive. From the late 1940s on, she concentrated on learning the meanings of the forms with which she was now so familiar. This required a basic knowledge of what Yaquis called each element of the ceremonies in their own language. She steadily learned the Yaqui names for all the pieces of ritual paraphernalia, for the parts of ritual actions, for the units in terms of which Yaquis thought of the parts of the larger wholes, as well as for the whole of each major ceremony. As Budge recorded the names in terms which the people of Pascua used for the Easter ceremonial and the other ceremonies of the yearly round, she wrote down, of course, the meanings of the Yaqui words—in whatever language the people she spoke with customarily used, either Yaqui, Spanish, or English. But each had its Yaqui name and these she sought to know. Her ceremonial vocabulary steadily enlarged, and, as it did so, she was able to speak on their own terms more and more easily with a wide range of Yaquis. This became the basis of what may be called the interviewing phase of her work which extended from about 1948 to 1975.

The term "interview" probably suggests a more formal character for what Budge did than is suitable for most of her work in this respect. The greater part of her activity was highly informal, a few words with an altar woman at one point between ritual activities, a conversation at the home of an individual with whom she had become well acquainted late in the afternoon, a casual exchange during an evening ceremony. Most of the contacts during this second phase were of this informal kind, during which she not

so much asked questions as merely listened in during some activity in which perhaps she was helping or to which she had brought some contribution. Nevertheless there was also intensive interviewing for which she either invited individuals to her house for the express purpose of specific discussion of meanings or went to some family's residence for a similar purpose. During the 1960s and early 1970s especially, she often spent two or three hours at a time with particular individuals whom she had come to know well and who had become, as a result of long familiarity with her, strongly motivated to explain and to discuss. For such interviews, in which she used prepared questions, she paid the men and women she worked with by the hour at going rates of wages. Their attitudes were invariably that this was not actually work and that the wages were a sort of honoraria which they were happy enough to receive, especially since the interviews sometimes took place during what could have been working hours.

Budge was able during the latter part of this phase to work in the Yaqui language. She never claimed to be able to carry on an extended conversation in Yaqui, but most of the significant words and phrases with which she was concerned were Yaqui and she was seeking to get the Yaqui associations with these whenever she could. This meant that she was required to develop a practical system of writing Yaqui, which she did with the help of anthropologists from the University of Arizona. With them she taught at least two Yaqui men to use the same system of writing, and these men became interpreters who worked regularly with her in the most formal interview situations. One of her interpreters became as deeply, if not more, interested than she in learning the meanings of the ritual and became a highly creative analyst and sympathetic recorder.

She and her interpreter found what every anthropologist finds—namely, that there is no single, agreed on meaning of ritual concepts and elements for all members of a community, particularly not for a community composed of persons with as diverse experience as those of Pascua. It became her aim to gain awareness of the range of variation in understanding of the ceremonies on the part of Pascuans. Working together, she and her principal interpreter probably did gain some knowledge of the whole range, as well as of the common elements. It is this range of meanings that is revealed in the field notes in her files. Budge lists 83 men and women (of a community of approximately 400 men, women, and children) who worked more or less closely with her and on whose comments and statements she took formal notes. Some of their comments are only a few lines long on each of a half dozen or fewer subjects, others are five or six typewritten pages on each of a wide range of topics. These "texts" from 83 people of Pascua constitute the body of data from which the statements and traditional songs of the present volume have been selected.

The relations which Mrs. Painter developed with Yaquis of the Pascua

community were not those of the usual academic student of Indian life of the period in which she worked. Her relations rather foreshadowed a later kind of cooperative working relationship. The nature of this shift is perhaps best symbolized in the two words employed by anthropologists in the different phases; earlier they spoke of "informants" when referring to people of a community they were studying; later it became fashionable to speak of "colleagues" or "consultants." Mrs. Painter's relations were certainly of the latter kind, rather than the former. She maintained close working relationships with anthropologists at the University of Arizona and learned a great deal from them in seminars and personal contacts, but she never thought of herself as an academic scholar. Her primary orientation was not toward the publication of a monograph but rather toward life-long participation in Pascua community life. She knew perfectly well that she would never be a full participant in that life, but she did aim at becoming well-informed in Yaqui viewpoints and becoming on behalf of Yaquis a citizen of the larger community who could be depended on for certain special kinds of services. She spent long hours, perhaps increasingly long hours after her first fifteen-year period of intensive observation was finished, at the public plaza and at private households in attendance at ceremonies. For her this attendance became pure enjoyment when she was relieved of some of the burden of note-taking. She made frequent small, but important because of her unusually full knowledge of needs, contributions to the fulfillment of the rituals, such as galvanized tubs and other utensils needed in the communal kitchen. She discussed with ceremonial leaders the alternatives and supplied photographs of an earlier period and other information, when their desire for restoring more fully the ceremonial costumes of the Kohtumbre began to be felt.

In 1942 the Tucson Chamber of Commerce appointed Mrs. Painter chairman of their "Yaqui Committee," through which aid was given to the Pascua community for support of the Easter ceremonies. As a member of this committee, Mrs. Painter prepared a short guide to the ceremonies to inform non-Yaqui visitors of their nature and help them to understand what was taking place. The pamphlet she prepared gained wide circulation as the Pascua ceremonies steadily became an important tourist attraction. The proceeds of the sales were contributed to the kohtumbre for support of the ceremonial needs, and this continued through the years, as the first pamphlet was updated and reprinted by the University of Arizona Press. The whole publication was a joint enterprise of Mrs. Painter with the duly established Yaqui leaders of the ceremonies. In these and a host of other ways until her death Mrs. Painter became more and more deeply involved in Pascua life. Her work as observer, recorder, and interpreter was always closely integrated with the needs of Pascua in the framework of the larger community. When she died in 1975, the Pascua ceremonial authorities carried out the

two traditional death ceremonies in her memory—a novena a few days after her death at which the whole matachin society danced and the death anniversary (or end-of-mourning) ceremony, at which matachinis, pascolas, and deer dancer performed their traditional ritual. Thus was expressed the Pascua feeling for her as a participant in the community life.

One major activity which first moved Budge deeply into the life of Pascua Village began in 1941 and continued through the 1960s. Working with an anthropologist and a photographer at the University of Arizona, she made an arrangement with the ceremonial authorities to record on discs a selection of Yaqui music and the whole of a sermon delivered at the end of the Easter ceremonies, as well as to make a motion picture in color. The sermon was given by the head maestro of the Pascua church organization, Don Ignacio Alvarez. Later with technical aid from the anthropologist in the linguistic transcription and the devoted assistance of both Don Ignacio and the man who became her principal interpreter, Refugio Savala, Mrs. Painter carried out the full transcription of the Yaqui sermon and its translation into English. The whole vocabulary of Yaqui Christian devotions and concepts, as expressed in the Yaqui language, is contained in this sermon of some sixty-five annotated printed pages. The exacting work of transcribing accurately and translating carefully became an important training field for all three persons primarily involved. It was regarded especially by Savala, as he indicated in later years, as an important discipline in his life during which he learned not only a useful method of writing Yaqui but also the difficulties of determining precisely what the original speaker meant in Yaqui and the even greater problems of putting these meanings into satisfactory English. As he said, “Mrs. Painter made me see things I didn’t see before.” The collaboration of the unusually sensitive Yaqui and Mrs. Painter, meticulously careful to avoid any distortion of the maestro’s own point of view, constituted an important landmark in the interpretation of Yaqui ritual concepts for both Yaquis and non-Yaquis. In some measure Savala devoted much of his later life to this task, stimulated by the experience with Mrs. Painter. The collaboration of the two continued for many years after the completion of the sermon. The sermon became an important document not only from an ethnological and linguistic standpoint but also in Pascua religious life. The maestro himself used the published version on subsequent ceremonial occasions; for him it supplemented the handwritten notebooks on which he, like other Yaqui maestros, relied in their ritual duties.

This study of Yaqui ceremony in Arizona was made over a period of some forty years, during which Yaqui life underwent a number of decisive changes. At the beginning, when Budge’s detailed observations began, Yaquis in Arizona had made a fairly stable adaptation, chiefly as agricultural laborers. This had followed a phase after first migration from Sonora when

most Yaquis worked as railroad laborers, many having been actively recruited by the Southern Pacific Railroad. The migrant railroad work, however, had not appealed strongly to most Yaquis who found themselves living in mixed section-house groups very much under the command of the railroad company officials. As soon as they could, Yaquis moved into agricultural labor on the cotton ranches which flourished in southern Arizona with the long-staple cotton boom from before World War I on into the 1940s. Yaquis became highly desired laborers, cultivating ("chopping") cotton in the spring and summer and picking cotton in the fall and winter. Yaquis worked, especially during the picking season, as whole families, and developed lasting working relations with particular cotton ranchers. Between picking seasons most returned to fixed areas of settlement where Yaquis became concentrated in their own communities. These permanent settlements, empty during much of the year, or nearly so, each had their churches around which community life centered, especially during the forty days of Lent and Holy Week. Pascua village was one of five such communities which had become well established by the 1920s in southern Arizona.

At the time Mrs. Painter's observations began, the households of Pascua were outside the city of Tucson, in a farming area scattered along an irrigation ditch which watered farms to the north of the city where some of the Yaqui householders worked. Most were living as squatters on land they did not own. Their houses were of the simplest sort, a few made of sun-dried adobe, some of wattle-and-daub, but most of odds and ends of scrap lumber, cardboard, and discarded metal roofing. The people of the community had constructed a church of old railroad ties; it was this building that served as the center for most of the ceremonies recorded by Mrs. Painter. The houses bordered on dirt roads and the water supply was by means of shallow hand-dug wells or from the open irrigation ditch. There were no urban facilities, such as running water and indoor toilets. Men were employed as farm laborers or as adobe-making teams, and most women, except at cotton-picking time, worked in their own homes.

A small adobe building of one room was used as a school and was presided over by a retired Kansas schoolteacher, Thamar Richey, who by sheer force of character had persuaded the Tucson School District to establish the school especially for Yaqui children. Thamar Richey acted as patroness of the community of some 400 people in many ways. Only the children and younger adults spoke English. Most were at home in Spanish, but the majority of adults spoke Yaqui in their homes and among themselves. The community was a close-knit one, separated spatially and culturally from the city and its people. A sense of security, supplanting the extreme anxiety and instability of the first two decades of the twentieth century, was increasing. Jobs were available and were chiefly of a kind consistent with the Yaqui background as independent farmers and agricultural laborers on

the haciendas of Sonora. As late as the end of the 1930s, Yaquis still feared the specter of deportation back to Mexico, but this fear was fading. Employers almost uniformly rated Yaquis as the most desirable of all laborers. Their children were in school, rapidly learning English. Since the founding of Pascua Village in 1922, the Easter ceremonies had been given annually and for the most part the whole round of ceremony proper for a traditional Yaqui town in Sonora had been revived. Increasingly young people were being dedicated to the ceremonial offices and were now learning to dance, to sing, and to participate in the old ways which had been suspended during the greater part of the lives of the adults. This phase of increasing stability of life for Yaquis in Pascua was the period during which the majority of Mrs. Painter's Yaqui associates reached maturity, but their most active ceremonial participation extended well into the next phase in the development of Yaqui life in Arizona.

Don Ignacio Alvarez, the head maestro of the Pascua church organization, died in 1970. Mrs. Painter's final texts were gathered during the early 1970s. Her most intensive work in the recording of interviews took place during the 1960s. Thus her study spanned most of the phase of growing security, stability, and building of the ceremonial organization in Pascua. By the time her work reached its climax in the 1970s, however, every aspect of economic life and relations with non-Yaquis had changed profoundly. The stable adjustment to agricultural life in Arizona altered with great suddenness during the late 1940s and the 1950s. Mechanical cotton-pickers, other kinds of mechanization, and the governmental regulation and reduction of cotton acreage put hundreds of Yaquis out of work. The stable employer relations of Yaquis disintegrated. Yaquis moved slowly and painfully into the uncertain urban situation of irregular odd jobs, as their community steadily became a fringe part of the city. Urbanization affected most aspects of their lives. What had been a relatively secluded rural settlement along the irrigation ditch lined with willows and cottonwoods was now surrounded by urban growth. On the east was a noisy major thoroughfare named Miracle Mile where motels, nightclubs, and cafes in miscellaneous dissonance appeared one after another closer and closer together; on the south the lights of a twenty-story high-rise hotel were brightly visible from Pascua against the night sky; on the west between the village and the old Southern Pacific railroad tracks was a drive-in movie, and on the north, an increasingly busy major four-lane city trunkway. The surroundings of Pascua bore no resemblance to the expanses of farmland or desert of the 1930s. Yet the houses of the Pascuans changed little, as the irrigation ditch dried up. The church building was renovated twice, ceased to be the rough railroad-tie rectangle with rickety wooden bell tower, and became a smooth-stuccoed, white structure more in keeping with non-Yaquis' views of what a church should look like. Various plans for establishing Yaquis through squatters' rights on

Ignacio Alvarez

Refugio Savala

Teresa Garcia Ochoa

Josefa Escalante

George Garcia

the land on which most had been living failed, despite diligent efforts by Mrs. Painter and others.

The community was included during the late 1960s in a Model Cities improvement program and through this means acquired some urban amenities: most of the dirt lanes were asphalted and most houses had flush toilets, though in outside privies. The "village" was acquiring by the late 1960s the character of a low-income urban neighborhood. It had become a major area of operations for drug pushers. A new community, with the aid of an Office of Economic Opportunity program in the late 1960s, had budded off from Pascua and became "New Pascua Pueblo" southwest of the city, taking half of the population of what now came to be called "Old Pascua." A large elementary school, part of the city system and called the Tamar Richey Elementary School, was built within the old village limits and provided classes not only for Yaquis but for the whole population which had moved up to Pascua's edges to the south and east. Pascua was indeed part of the urban community, a mixed ethnic neighborhood, and in twenty-five years its relations, whether economic, political, or other, with the larger community had been completely transformed. Mrs. Painter had herself taken a prominent part in this transformation in heading a citizen's committee, at Yaqui request, to improve the housing, a program which had resulted in the creation of New Pascua Pueblo.

Budge has not attempted to relate her description of Pascua ceremonial life to the very considerable changes that took place in the community life in general. She has not tried to trace any of the processes of change in ceremony that were taking place during the period of her study. Rather her record centers on the description of the persisting stable core of Arizona Yaqui religious life, for indeed there was such a core and her labors identified and made clear its nature. Perhaps the most striking conclusion that one can draw from her study is that the ceremonial life moved steadily in the period from the 1930s to the 1970s, a span of more than a generation, toward the consolidation of ritual forms which the adults of the 1930s held as ideal. The variations in form, which Budge had expected might be very great as she brought her work into focus during the 1940s, turned out to be of rather small scope. The dominant tendency was not in the direction of basic change reflecting the fundamental changes in economic life and political relationships, but rather of increasing realization of the religious orientations defined in the revival of 1909. The repetitions of observed ceremonial behavior in her notes make it very clear that the ritual focus for forty years has continued essentially the same.

The ceremonies did not, however, remain rigidly prescribed and wholly unchanging. They took place each year in a context of discussion among ceremonial leaders and others with regard to what was proper and essential and in the best Yaqui tradition. They varied somewhat from year to year, depending on which individuals were in the key ceremonial positions (and there was considerable turnover in this respect). And there were certain directions of cumulative change which were responses to current changes in other aspects of Arizona Yaqui life. Thus the ceremonial life was not static, but it revolved around a stable core of ritual values which Budge's account succeeds in identifying for us.

Although this is not the place to introduce the fascinating subject of adaptation in Arizona Yaqui ceremonial life, it will be helpful for a broad perspective on the contents of this volume to indicate the nature of some of the more obvious changes. As Yaquis of Pascua were caught up more and more in the rigid work schedules of non-farm labor during the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, the timing of the various parts of the Easter and other ceremonies changed by slow increment. One of the first of this kind was the scheduling of an increasing number of ceremonial events not by the Catholic calendar but rather consistently with the demands of holding jobs. In general this meant that household fiestas and other events related to saints' days began to take place on weekends, and events during Lent, such as processions on Friday, instead of beginning in leisurely fashion in early afternoon came to take place at sunset or later, after working hours. This sort of accommodation to jobs was general for all ceremony by the 1970s and constituted a sharp contrast with the scheduling of ceremony during the 1930s. It is im-

portant to note, however, that the particular ceremonies and parts of ceremonies, as recorded for example by Rosamond Spicer in 1937 in an hour-by-hour record for Lent and Holy Week, are almost identical with those described in this volume as extending through the 1960s; only a few minor differences occur with respect to the content of the rites, while the hours at which they take place have shifted radically to adapt to job schedules.

Another change, or set of related changes within and external to the Yaqui community, is of far greater significance. This has been a general increase in Yaqui participation, especially in the Easter ceremony, during the past forty years. There was variation in different decades, but generally speaking there has been a 15 to 20 percent increase in the number of Yaquis assuming formal offices in the Easter ceremonies. This applies not only to Pascua but to all the Yaqui communities of southern Arizona. The increase is greater than the increase in the Yaqui population of Pascua (although the figures in this connection are not wholly certain because of the spillover of Yaquis into surrounding areas outside the original 40 acres of Pascua Village). The increase in participation is very marked for the ceremonies of Holy Week, less so for other ceremonies including the processions of Lent. Whatever the precise figures may be, there can be no question that there is a decided indication of waxing rather than waning interest in the ceremonies that Yaquis regard as the most important of the year.

Parallel with this increase in Yaqui interest has been a steadily increasing interest on the part of non-Yaquis. This has not been measured but is indicated, for example, by the erection every year of bleacher seats in the Pascua plaza to take care of the crowds, an arrangement which began in the 1940s with a single unit and in the 1970s consisted of four or five on both sides of the plaza. The plaza during Holy Week by the late 1960s was also lined on two sides with *puestos*, or booths for serving food, and a very extensive area surrounding the plaza had to be set aside for parking automobiles. Newspaper and magazine articles dealing with the ceremonies also steadily increased. No study has been made of the influence of non-Yaqui increase in interest on the motivations for Yaqui increased interest. We may assume that they are closely related, that the non-Yaqui notice of the ceremonies, especially those at Easter, reinforces the functions of the ceremonies in the Yaqui community and tends to motivate younger Yaquis to participate rather than to reject the traditional ceremonial ways. The school children, moreover, may be regarded as responding to an annual program at the Richey School which encourages children to draw and paint scenes from the Easter ceremonies.

A third series of variations is interesting in that it indicates a continuing responsiveness of the ceremonies, especially again those at Easter, to current interests and values in the changing Pascua community. This is well documented in Budge's records of the form of the masks of the chapayekas. These

Pedro Garcia

Marcelino Humo

Juan Acuña

Bartola Alvarez

ceremonial figures represent evildoers, and many wear masks giving concrete embodiment to what is considered evil. In the 1930s masks representing Mexican soldiers were well established as a very common form, indicating the recent experiences of brutality at the hands of soldiers that were a part of most of the older Yaquis' lives. Through the years the subjects for representation changed, ranging from hoboes during the depression of the 1930s (with whom Yaquis were acquainted as dwellers besides the railroad tracks) to Japanese during World War II.

On the whole it appears that Yaqui ceremony, especially that carried out during Lent and Holy Week, has developed during the period covered by Budge's record as an important and highly functional part of the lives of Arizona Yaquis. It has developed in this way neither by isolating itself from the realities of Yaqui life nor by changing its fundamental character. On the contrary, it is the major orientations which this volume makes clear which have maintained relevance for Yaquis and constituted an effective means of adaptation in a rapidly and profoundly changing phase of their lives.

The study of which this volume reports the major results began with an interest sharply focused on the Easter ceremonies. As Budge's interest developed, it maintained that focus, but inevitably it became apparent that real understanding of the Easter ceremonies required knowledge of the whole context of Yaqui ritual thought and action. For example, the full meaning of the kohtumbre in their key role could be comprehended only as they were seen in relation to other important ceremonial offices, such as the matachin dancers, who except for one anomalous appearance at Palm Sunday, did not figure in the Lenten-Easter observances. As Pascuans said, "The kohtumbre do not like flowers and the matachinis dance with flowers on their heads." It became clear that there were two very distinct ceremonial seasons in the religious year, one in which the kohtumbre were dominant and one in which they made no appearances. When the kohtumbre were not in action (most of the year), the matachinis and the groups centered in the church took over. There was a ritual opposition here, which had to be understood from the Yaquis' perspective if Lent-Holy Week was to be appreciated from the Yaqui point of view. Although both the ceremonial parties in this seasonal assignment of roles had some roots in European Christian ritual, their opposition had a special meaning for Yaquis.

As Budge explored this first ritual opposition as a major one in Yaqui thought, it also became apparent that there was another opposition, but here the Christian-influenced ceremonialists—kohtumbre and matachinis—seemed to be lumped together *vis-à-vis* other important figures, namely, the pascolas and the deer singers and dancers. It became apparent that there was a whole domain of ritual meanings to which the Yaqui language was the necessary key. Budge's long months of effort to understand this realm in Yaqui terms slowly yielded results. Understanding came last here because it

Frank Ochoa

Juan Ysabel

Calistro Estrella

Secundina Acuña

was indeed remote, in the sense of requiring purely Yaqui ways of thinking about the natural and supernatural worlds. This was the ritual domain which the earliest systematic student of Yaqui culture, Ralph Beals, had sensed and called "the religion of the woods." It had been limned out by E. H. Spicer in his studies but remained for Budge Painter to gather patiently one detail after another, thus opening the very depths of this ritual domain for better understanding.

In addition to describing the separate domains of Yaqui ritual thought with detailed precision and thereby laying the foundations for understanding them as an integrated whole, Budge made other vital contributions in this work. One result of her work is obvious: she was the first to present to the general public the idea that "The Yaqui Easter Dances" were a self-consistent, single whole, "The Yaqui Easter Ceremony." This was not a new idea to those who had begun to study seriously the nature of Yaqui ceremonies, but it needed emphasizing for those who had habitually looked at what they saw at Eastertime as bits and pieces of an essentially broken and no longer very meaningful Indian religion. It would probably have been a more serviceable set of terms if Budge had spoken of the "Yaqui Easter Ceremonial" as the integral whole including all the events beginning on Ash Wednesday and ending on May 3, the Day of the Holy Cross. The various distinct parts within this very complex whole could then be referred to as "ceremonies" making up the "ceremonial." But such terms are technical. The important point is that Budge's understanding, which is that of Yaquis, was regularly presented in the pamphlets which she wrote for the public and is now fully set forth in this volume.

Again it is Budge's work which has made it possible for a non-Yaqui public to approach understanding of the meaning of the Easter ceremonial through knowing who organizes it and what motivates them. In the present volume she gives a detailed description of each of the roles of individuals formally promised—by *manda*—to service in not only the kohtumbre but also in all the other groups which have functions in the ceremonies of Lent—Holy Week and throughout the Yaqui ceremonial year. The Easter observances are certainly not adequately understood simply in terms of the ritual concepts which give them direction. It is necessary also, if the Yaqui understanding of them is to be approached, to know what the social organization is that keeps the traditions alive and how each succeeding generation is introduced to the arduous devotions by which they are maintained. Here Budge's work is of tremendous value, for she speaks of the social organization from the viewpoint of one who has watched it in operation over many years and who has, in a sense, participated in it herself.

Budge was determined to present the ceremonies as Yaquis understood and felt them and to avoid at all costs reading her own interpretation into what she saw or heard. She preferred no interpretation to one unconfirmed

Rosario Castillo

Juan Alvarez

by a Yaqui commentator and thus adopted as a firm working principle that any statement about the meaning of a ritual must be based on comment by a Yaqui and that any single comment was not to be relied on unless it was confirmed by other Yaquis. When she worked with her principal interpreter, she was most concerned not merely to have his translation of Yaqui words (most of which she already knew) but also to make sure that his knowledge of the Yaqui language was being used to probe for the specific sentiment actually felt by whoever was supplying the information. Comments that came easy, as the simplest means of fending off the inquiring non-Yaqui, she learned to identify and to probe beyond, with the help of her increasingly trained interpreter. It was an exacting discipline that she imposed on herself—and on every interpreter who worked with her. The Yaqui men and women she worked with came to respect her for her earnestness and for her refusal to be content with what was not quite right. She sought very consciously to find, as she said, “not the norm but the range,” and in her presentation to make certain that the range of difference in belief had as much emphasis as the common elements. She found general agreement in many instances, but she remained aware always that the agreement was general and that there still existed individual variation.

The discipline to which Budge subjected herself required not only hard work but also some personal frustration. She frequently discussed with me

Luis Martinez

Ramon Duarte

the nature of her field notes and the basis on which selections ought to be made if a publication were ever prepared. Her notes often contained vivid descriptions of ceremonial events. She had a special personal interest in colors and recorded these carefully, whether the varied, bright colors of matachin headdresses or the changing hues of the sky as a day faded into night or a night grew into morning. After years of devoted watching of the deer dance or the symbolic carrying out of the crucifixion, she ultimately included in her notes what seemed, for example, a perfectly characterizing word for the “darting” glance of the deer dancer or some other often repeated action. She had a special ability, resulting from a long-cultivated delighted interest, in characterizing the remarkable pantomime of the chapayekas. Also there were many instances in her notes when her mood overwhelmed her restraint and she allowed herself to use a phrase or two which expressed the feelings of the moment. She was torn between the realization that her notes of this sort recreated something precious to her—and thoroughly subjective—and her ideal of keeping herself entirely out of the record. I usually advised her to include some of what I thought were the best of these descriptions, in part on the principle that no observer is wholly objective so long as he or she selects at all from the complex reality of the scene, but also out of the feeling that her vivid notes told something important about the circumstances of the observation. She was extremely reluctant to follow such advice and usually rejected it. Only a few of these personally colored notes have been allowed by her to remain in the volume.

There is a great deal more of Budge Painter in the hundreds of pages of "community diary" which she maintained sporadically during the 1950s and 1960s. These are the records of her activities in connection with a variety of civic affairs in which she took leading roles and in which she was usually an intermediary, an interpreter she might have said, of Yaquis in relation to the larger community of Tucson. She undertook with her characteristic sense of deep responsibility to the people of Pascua to make such records when something of special importance began to develop which involved Yaquis. As program chairman for the Tucson Festival Society she took an important role in bringing the Yaquis of Tucson, as well as the Papagos and Mexican Americans, into the annual pageant at San Xavier Mission. During the 1960s she was chairman of a committee composed of Yaquis of Pascua and other civic leaders of Tucson which sought improvement of housing in Pascua, an effort initiated by prominent persons in the Pascua community. Budge made an extensive record of the complicated series of happenings which resulted in the establishment of New Pascua Pueblo. In these and other significant events in the life of Tucson, which have had continuing influence, the record that Budge kept of her work with Yaquis and others constitutes a distinctive contribution to the intercultural history of the region. Her diaries just as she wrote them down are filed as a part of the life of the city in the Archives of the Arizona State Museum.

When Budge died in 1975 she left behind a long manuscript which constitutes this volume. It was meticulously prepared with statements in the running account keyed in carefully to references in the mass of texts which she had collected from Yaquis. All the essential decisions with regard to selection of material and to documentation in her notes of what she wanted to say had been made. All that remained to do was to turn the roughly typed pages into clean copy, make everything internally consistent with regard to spelling and other mechanics, and to follow her instructions to have the whole checked by a responsible committee of Yaquis. These remaining tasks were carried out by Wilma Kaemlein, emeritus staff member of the Arizona State Museum, and myself. Budge was especially concerned, as she had been throughout her research, that nothing she did should result in the invasion of any Yaqui's privacy. She had arranged to list her sources of information in the publication only by number and thus to make it impossible to identify individuals through any information given in the publication. She found, however, that nearly all her consultants among the Yaquis were willing to have their pictures published as a part of this introduction. The final check of the whole manuscript by a Yaqui committee was made during 1976-77. This led to some new information, especially to greater accuracy in the transcription of Yaqui words, and to a general agreement that what appears in the volume is accurate and not misleading. The process of reading and

considering the manuscript was a long and exacting one, and we are grateful to the Pascuans involved for the arduous labor which went into ensuring the accuracy of the volume. We and the committee regret that Budge was not present to hear the favorable judgment; it would have meant a great deal to her.

Budge developed her own orthography for writing Yaqui. It is "as I hear it," as she sometimes said. What appears in this volume is consistent with the method of writing Yaqui used in the transcription of "A Yaqui Easter Sermon," worked out by an anthropologist of the University of Arizona, Budge, Refugio Savala, and Don Ignacio Alvarez. It is deficient in some respects as an adequate transcription. It does not indicate two kinds of sounds which are important in understanding spoken Yaqui, namely, geminate (or "double") vowels and, usually, the sustained consonantal sounds. It is, however, serviceable enough, and it appears that Yaquis find it usable and learn to use it rapidly when they wish to do so. The Yaqui dictionary compiled by Jean B. Johnson, which employs a more accurate orthography corresponding more closely to the spoken language, has been used by the editors in checking both the phonetics and the meanings of the Yaqui words employed in the volume, although we have not tried to make Budge's transcriptions conform to the Johnson system. The task of reconciling the several methods of writing Yaqui employed by linguists, anthropologists, and non-specialized Yaquis remains to be carried out. The present volume should be of considerable aid in developing a suitable orthographic system.

A major source of written words employed in this study, especially for Catholic liturgy, is that of the handwritten notebooks used by Yaqui maestros. Don Ignacio Alvarez, who was head maestro of Pascua during the whole period of Budge's connection, had such notebooks which seem to have been passed down to him from Don José María García, Pascua maestro during the 1920s and '30s and formerly of Cocorit, Sonora, one of the traditional eight Yaqui towns. The notebooks contain prayers, hymns, and other materials in Latin, in Spanish, and in Yaqui. Perhaps the bulk of what appears in them is in Spanish. Since they are handed down from generation to generation in handwritten form, not as printed materials, many of the spellings of words have ceased to bear much resemblance to standard Castilian Spanish. In quoting from Don Ignacio's notebooks we have reproduced the non-standard forms, but where they seem totally unintelligible to literate people, we have also given the standard spellings.

In addition to the many people of Pascua and to some in other Arizona Yaqui communities who have given assistance to Mrs. Painter and to us in the course of preparing this volume for publication, we wish to express gratitude to the following: J. Borchard; Jean Burgess; Andrew Buchhauser; Barr Dittman; Bernard Fontana; Emil Haury; Jane Ivancovich; the Francis-

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Edward H. Spicer

Portrait photo credits: Teresa Garcia Ochoa, Pedro Garcia, Frank Ochoa, and Secundina Acuña—Arizona State Museum, Helga Teiwes, photographer; George Garcia—Richard W. Payne, photographer; Juan Acuña—Ray Manley Photography; Juan Ysabel—*Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, the *Arizona Republic*.

Publisher's Note

Through decades of research and observation, Mrs. Muriel Painter was aided by the guidance and support of many scholars, friends, and admirers. We acknowledge with thanks that the publication of *With Good Heart* would have been impossible without their continued loyal support.

The late Edward H. Spicer, noted anthropologist and Yaqui expert, worked for two years with Wilma Kaemlein to finish and polish the manuscript that was almost complete when Mrs. Painter died in 1975. He brought it to the University of Arizona Press with the comment that it was "one of the best studies of a living Indian ceremonial so far made."

The Press and its consultants were quick to agree, but a search for funding was needed in order to publish so large a book with so limited a market. It was not until a few months after Spicer's death in April 1983 that very generous contributions to the Edward B. Spicer Memorial Fund provided adequate support for publication.

Funding did not end the Press's problems. Spicer's death had left us without a consultant in the posthumous publication of a massive work. Scholarly students of Yaqui life are few indeed, but the Press found an able advisor in Jane Holden Kelley, chairman of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Calgary in Alberta. Kelley's first publication in Yaqui studies (1971) was *The Tall Candle: The Personal Chronicle of a Yaqui Indian*, co-authored with Rosalio Moises and W. C. Holden. Her 1978 book, *Yaqui Women: Contemporary Life Histories*, has been translated into Spanish for Mexican readership.

Jane Kelley reviewed the entire manuscript of *With Good Heart* before editorial work at the Press began. She made recommendations for shorten-

ing and tightening. Footnotes identified as “editorial notes” have been added for amplification or clarification on her recommendation. Although the University of Arizona Press takes final responsibility for all decisions made in the publication of this book, we acknowledge with gratitude that those decisions would have been less responsible without the help of Professor Kelley.

All Yaqui and Spanish words are defined in text. Readers interested in further information about the Yaqui language are referred to *El Idioma Yaqui* (Johnson 1962).

Tape recordings of instrumental music, deer songs, religious songs, and prayers were made at Mrs. Painter’s home in the late 1960s. These recordings are now part of the collections of the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona, Tucson, as are catalog cards giving information pertinent to the recordings. Also available at the Arizona State Museum are full texts in Yaqui, with interlinear English translations, of many quotations from informants, deer songs, and prayers given in full or in part in this work.

WITH GOOD HEART

Yaqui Beliefs and Practices

1

Pre-Christian Worlds

The Yaqui concepts described in Chapters 1 and 2 are those which the Pascuans believe originated with the Surem, the legendary precursors of the Yaquis. Channels to supernatural gifts and powers are implicit in all the beliefs inherited from the Surem. These powers are innate, possessed “in the womb,” and cannot be acquired. They are from the *yoania*, the Yaqui homeland and way of life before Christianity. They are also considered to derive from God. These concepts are surrounded with an aura of mystery and enchantment, which the informants sometimes convey in words but more often in attitudes, in oblique references, and especially in reticences.

It is believed that God was present during Surem times but was unknown. Yaquis appear to have compartmentalized the concepts of the *yoania* and God, however. Vocabularies for each concept are different, and there appears to be a separate, parallel ambience surrounding each. They may be thought of as separate strands of different materials, interwoven but not fused.

Some of these beliefs are known to all informants, while others are not. Aspects of the *yoania* are variously regarded as good or evil, with most informants agreed that all that proceeds from the land of the Surem is highly dangerous. The relationship of these beliefs to Christianity is also variously regarded; on balance, they seem to have little in common with Yaqui Christian beliefs. All informants agreed, however, that the *yoania* and beliefs associated with it form the basis of Yaqui thought and character. They constitute the core of “Yaquiness.”

YOANIA, THE SUREM, AND THE TALKING TREE

The Surem, the inhabitants of the yoania, did not know death. They were little people, about 3 feet high, who were never sick; they were renewed each month by the new moon. They lived a nomadic life in a unitary world in which man and animals, insects, flowers, indeed, the whole world of nature and man, had a common psychic life. Beals (1945: 190) calls this the "Religion of the Woods," noting elsewhere (1943: 18) that "they regard the waste lands as the haunt of supernatural beings and forces."

All were embraced in a common order in which communication was achieved by means of the gift called *seataka* (discussed in detail below). All had the same powers. Although some animals were necessarily subjugated to maintain human existence, strict rituals and taboos, which recognized the rights and dignities of plant and animal life, were practiced by man.

The prefix *yo* has various meanings. In *yo'owe*, or *yo'o*, it means old and/or respected, and, especially in connection with ceremonial titles, it may mean senior or head of. (*Yo'ora* means the elders.) In *yoawa* and *yohuti* it carries the meaning of wild, as the wild animals of the forest. *Yoyumak* means to conquer or to enchant. *Yo'ohuupa* is the heart of the mesquite tree (mesquite *encantado*, enchanted mesquite) and is used to make charms. Spanish translations for *yo* are given as *encanto*, *encantado*, *brujería*, *hechicería*. The words ancient and enchanted are both offered as translations.

The word *ania* is heard frequently, especially when the conversation rests on ancient ways. *Ania* means the world, the earth, the sphere, as does the Spanish word *mundo*. It may also be used in a more generalized way, as *tuka ania* (night world, vehicle of dreams) or *koko ania* (world of death).

Since the Yaqui word *yoania* is so meaningful to Pascuans and since no word fully translates it, the native word will be used, as in the following comment by a Yaqui woman:

Before the Talking Tree, the Surem were little people about 3 feet tall. They were the ancestors of the Yaquis. . . . They did not know anything then. They were wild. They didn't know heaven or hell or God or Jesus or Mary. We inherited everything from the yoania. That is why some [Yaqui] people are so small. (52)

Some of the comments on the yoania given below have been summarized:

They were called both Surem and Yaqui. Some also lived in Coolidge [Casa Grande Ruin?] and there are some small houses there kept from the Surem that people go to see. The Surem used to have a map. One of the oldest people in Pascua had it and lost it.

Yo'omuli is the name of a forest in the language of the Surem. Other

Surem words are *meseke* for who is that? and *haveapai* for I am the one. (10)

It was before the Talking Tree. It was told that this leader of the pueblo was something like a chief. He was supposed to be a magician and turn things into something. And he could do many things of advantage to the pueblo. So he was the leader. They moved the lake to wherever they moved, and it had fish in it, and they had game from the forest. The name of the man was Watachomokame (he who wears basket head-dress). (55)

They tell the story that a long time ago before the Spanish came, there was a group of people who moved from one place to another, and they say they carried a lake with them where they liked. They were from the yoania. The oldest man I ever talked to told about this lake. When they wanted to pick it up and take it with them, they just rolled it up like a rug and took it away. They could fish in it. [They] were in the yoania. When the Yaquis didn't have water, they asked the water owner to give them some water. That man took up a blanket (*hipetam*, mat) of water and folded it up like a *hipetam* and took it to them. When the water owner got scared and carried away the lake, the yoania sent some ants down to his cave to bring the water back. [Ants?] Ants are just like the yoania. (2)

The sacred legend of the Talking Tree (*Kutanokame*, or tree talking) establishes in the minds of Pascuans the dawn of Christianity, sometimes called the *Konkista*. Some say that the voice of God spoke through the tree—God, Who existed, but Who was unknown to the Surem. Strange sounds vibrated through the tree (some say it was a stick), which could not be understood until a *Sea Hamut* (Wise Woman, Flower Woman) was summoned. She interpreted the sounds as foretelling the advent of a new way of life, in which men called padres would teach them about good and evil, baptism, godparents, the cultivation of grains, death and burial.

Some accepted the precepts of the Talking Tree and continued to live in the Yaqui country as Yaquis. Those to whom the prospect was repugnant went underground and under the ocean and existed in an underground yoania as Surem, "taking the yoania with them." Some became ants. The yoania is still present there today, and still concealed, concurrent with the visible, tangible world. It only reveals its secrets and gifts to those with the special attributes to receive them. It can appear in visions in wild and lonely places far off on the desert or in secret caves in the mountains. It can also communicate by means of dreams.

The legend of the Talking Tree is freely discussed. It is known in more or less detail to all informants, whose versions differ. For example, see Spicer (1954b: 121) and Giddings (1959: 21–22) and the following:

The legend starts that the Tree was discovered in the forest by the people, and gradually they gathered around to hear it and to see it, not knowing what was the meaning of the vibration of the tree. So the *susukame* (village wise men) assembled to decide what to do about it. They had the idea that it meant something to the people, and desired to know.

When the wise men were together, one of them told them that there was a Sea Hamut out in the forest, way out of the place where they lived. She was something like a hermit, being alone in the mountains. Way out. This man who was telling the assembled [people] told them that he knew her, and that she was gifted in wisdom, and he was sure that that woman could answer the mystery of the vibrating tree.

After this information they decided upon sending men up to the mountains where the woman lived, with the man who knew her in the lead of the men traveling over the mountains to get the woman. So the men were departed at sunrise time to the place where the woman lived, with orders to bring her down to the pueblo. After they traveled through the forest, they came to the place where the Sea Hamut lived. They saw her at the ramada and greeted her in the usual form of the Yaqui: "*Dios em chania, mala*" (God aid you, mother). The answer was "*Dios en chiokoe, hapchim*" (God forgive you, fathers). And the woman was supposed to have a young lion as a pet at home. It was tied up, it wasn't loose. The lion roared when he saw the people. And the Sea Hamut spoke to the lion to quiet him down, and it did. And still the men were fearful to come into the patio. So after they greeted her and were told to sit down and rest up, the man with the message started telling her that he was sent over to her with a great mission. And he described all about the living tree and how it was vibrating. And he told her the pueblo and the people were all in great confusion, not knowing what was the meaning of it. "And being you are the only one that is greatly gifted in wisdom, there is no one else who can, or will, discover this message. It is understood that there are some wise men in the pueblo, but most of them have the idea that it means something to the people which they don't understand, and now they depend on you." And then they were resting in the ramada.

This was afternoon, when a stout young lady came in carrying a young buck on her shoulders. And after the young lady disposed of her game she came close to her mother as if she were afraid of the men who were strangers to her. She recoiled down by her mother's side: And then the Yo'o Sea Hamut (Elder Flower Woman) began to talk again to the men. "I am very old now and I cannot take these things myself. They are very hard for me, and I will not be able to travel through the forest a long way. But in my place I will send my daughter whom I have trained

for this purpose. And I have prepared her for all the things that are necessary. And I have already known since your departure from the pueblo, and I was expecting you. And I was expecting this time to come, and I have prepared my daughter to take my place.” She told the men she already knew those things were going to happen about the tree and all the events with it. So she talked to the daughter and told her she was going to send her back to the pueblo to interpret the message of the tree. The young lady accepted all her mother’s bidding, and answered that she was going to take the mission. “In obedience I will go with the men back to the pueblo.”

So the day of rest was taken in order to take the young Sea Hamut back to the pueblo. They departed early in the morning before sunrise to take the journey through the wilderness. At the departure the pet lion started roaring again in its sad way. And then they started the journey. The young woman was very strong and healthy. She took the journey and she knew the wilderness very well, even where she had not been. She even knew the dangers of the wild animals at night. And she knew how to take the scent away so they would not attack them. And all the dangers of the wilderness were taken care of by her. It is said that during the journey the young woman never showed to be tired. They camped at a distance before coming down to the pueblo. At her departure the mother had given the young woman a dress according to the custom to wear.

A messenger was sent ahead to say that the Sea Hamut had arrived, and they should meet her. So the messenger took the message to the pueblo and they started going toward where she was. And they expected to see an old, worn-out old woman, and instead they saw a stout young lady who did not show a bit of tiredness. Among the women some of them were very enthusiastic and approached the young woman in order to embrace her. And the young lady thought that was some kind of challenge for a fight and recoiled to fight them. And the messenger had a hard time to correct this.

Now then, the wise men of the pueblo described what was the purpose of her being brought to the pueblo and told her that they understood she was gifted in knowledge in order to describe the mystery to them. So the young lady, after being at the place where the tree was, started talking to the pueblo about it. It is said that she started telling them about God and His power and about evil and its power. She told them about the padres and that they were to come, and probably was describing about Christianity. She told them about seeds and planting. She told them there would be seeds planted and cultivated for food. At the time, the people were just wandering in the wilderness together from one place to another. She told them death would come also. And this

would come to everyone living on earth, even to the tiniest insect which had life itself—in payment. That it would be taken back into the earth in payment for this nourishment during life.

After this message was finished and the meaning of the vibration was told, there was a great confusion coming in the pueblo. Some of them did receive what the Sea Hamut told them, and about half of them did not want it. They did not want to cultivate the earth and raise crops and live thereby. Those who separated themselves were called the Surem. So they made a great feast of farewell then. It was in a place that still exists, and it is called *yoyi'iwakapo* (magic place of the farewell dance). They went down underground to form another kingdom of their own. And these are supposed to be the ants that live underground.

After Sea Hamut had told them what the Talking Tree said, and they had conferred about the matter, they pulled out the plants that they had and threw them away on top of the mesquite, or wherever they could to keep them from rooting again. According to those times, things were supposed to be alive. Trees were supposed to turn into fantastic things like serpents, anywhere, in the river or mountain or anywhere. They then conferred again and decided to go to the place they call now *yoyi'iwakapo* (the *yoania* where they danced, or, the place of the last dance). It is supposed to exist now, where no vegetation of any kind grows. There is shrubbery all around, but that place has been that way for centuries, without vegetation of any kind. They disappeared and went underground and to the present they are ants, different types of ants. And now you can see that they love all kinds of seeds of grass that they rejected. They love what people eat, too. That coincides with their having been human at one time, but the *yoania* took them. It was a punishment because they rejected God's gifts. Now they are said to be human beings because they are so much stronger than any other insect and have a certain amount of intelligence. They rejected work, too—they didn't like the idea of tilling the ground and working it. That they would rather go on in the same way that they had been. Now the ant is the most hard-working insect in the ground. He will go a long way into the ground, digging it and bringing out stones. He will keep on until winter comes and he can't find any good underground, so he has to come to the surface like they thought he would. . . . The *yoania* has been before the Surem, because it is what converted them into the ant. . . . The only thing is what they show, that they are always after those things that they rejected most. They didn't want to work, and now they are the hardest workers, and they didn't want seeds, and now they eat them. In one legend it says that an ant will rejoice when a boy is born, because the older Yaqui women used to sit on the ground cross-

legged and what falls, falls on the skirt and they pick it up and eat it. While a man, whatever falls on the ground, the ants get it. (55)

A Yaqui woman was asked to tell in her own words how she visualized the life of the Surem:

[The yoania before the Talking Tree] was like a lost world. They were some place by themselves. They weren't civilized. And they just kept to themselves. They were all alone in a corner, without having communication with anyone else like the Mexicans.

They ate wild things like spinach and they would eat some kinds of lizard and rabbits. [Deer?] Maybe deer. They didn't wear clothes except something around the waist. They had *seataka* and *ute'a* [see below] because those came from the Suris. They didn't have *morea* (witchcraft). There were so few people and no one had any envy toward anyone else. Morea and all that came in when the Talking Tree spoke. And those that believed in the Talking Tree got together, and those that did not believe the Talking Tree went underground and became ants. The Talking Tree told them what to do and to get well organized and even asked them to get married and baptize their children.

[The tree] started to talk when there was a bunch of people together, and these people got scared of it. So they gathered to see what the Talking Tree was talking about, but nobody could understand it. It went on for nights and days, and the people stayed around to see what would happen. It must have gone on for quite a long time, because the people were starving because they had no food, because they were more interested in the Tree. Finally, this young girl who kept to herself, she didn't bother no men nor nobody. She lived in the woods. She told her father when he came home from hearing the Talking Tree if he could understand what the Talking Tree said, and her father said no, he wished he could understand the Talking Tree. Then the young girl said she could understand the words that the Talking Tree was saying. So the father gladly took her over to the Talking Tree to know more about it. So they took her over and sat her under the Talking Tree. So the Talking Tree started talking.

After the Tree stopped talking she translated what the Tree said to the people. And that is where they said [Who is "they?"] Itom Achai, whom we call God. It was God speaking. [He] wanted the people to get baptized, get married right, and learn to make fiestas. Also it explained to them that all sorts of sickness would be coming to them and that there would be death. And so a lot of the Suris believed what they were told, and a lot of them didn't believe, so they turned into ants. And the

Yaquis still see a vision of ants where the yoania used to be. And then they started the fiestas, and the Talking Tree told them about pascolas and later added the deer.

[Do ants speak Yaqui?] Yes, my father told them to move out of the kitchen because he did not want them to bite a little boy, and they did. (52)

The following is summarized from various remarks by one Yaqui man:

The yoania was created by our Heavenly Father for the purpose of either good or bad. "There are two sides of the yoania, the heavenly glory and the yoania glory." The legends say that "the yoania was created by our Heavenly Father," not mentioning Jesucristo. All of the Yaquis understand that the yoania was created before other things were created. And then afterward man and the *sea ania* were created, the vegetation of the earth. The yoania was created and then man came along with the sea ania, and God said that man was His Son, and that He does not belong to the yoania. According to the legend it is also understood that Joseph and Mary were the human parents of Jesucristo.

. . . The legend tells that Our Heavenly Father sent Jesucristo after the flood. No one was left [after the flood], so Jesus came after the flood to create another existence of humans. "God has never been known before the flood. There were humans, but God was only known by dreams and seataka and just mind power. Then there was the flood. It was to renew the world. The creation was renewed by the Holy Trinity after the flood."

The prayers in the morning after arising are post-Christian, but in the other, the antedeluvian times, God has been prized by mind, not with the sign of the cross, which is where seataka comes in. God has never been seen by anybody.

About heaven and hell, or its equivalent before Christianity, they probably had both by seataka, which is intuition or feeling. By the same power of mind they also understood that the souls kept wandering, but no direction is known for this. The story has never been told about any punishments before the flood for committing sin. (9)

[And what was the place where they lived before the Konkista?] The yoania. It was all the yoania then. [If it was a place, how could it choose who it wants to be seen by?] The yoania chooses because it has ute'a. (10)

The following is a digest of remarks made about the *yoeta* (legendary fowl or legendary being) by one man:

The yoeta is not a bird, not an animal. No one has seen it. The Surem

send it out from the yoania as a sign that there is to be a war, like in Vietnam. It lives with the Surem. . . . Sometimes on the Río Yaqui you can hear it shout all over the world. No one sees him. [Informant heard it once. He finally said it is a Sure (singular form of Surem).] (10)

Other comments about the days before the Konkista:

They don't talk about warfare, nor dreaming, before the Spanish came. They just had it naturally, with no difficulty. The pascola now represents evil. Among the Catholics it is said that they brought the pascolas and the Yaqui dances into the holy fiestas. It was natural then. They went by that, and that is all; and it wasn't bad. The sermons of the priests told them that the yoania and witchcraft was bad, and they began to fear it and think it was bad. (55)

The woman who measured the Yaqui country was Ana Maria, a Sea Hamut. She hired a giant to measure the Yaqui country. He took his giant arrow and took one shot toward Guaymas, and then toward the west, toward Ba'apooosi, then toward Takala'im (mountain near Guaymas), which is north of Guaymas. It formed a triangle. That was the Yaqui country. They say it had some markers on it when the Spanish came. (55)

Another man remarked that a giant used to live in the Río Yaqui, and he had a bow and arrow, but Champulin (a leader) killed him. (10)

Another legend regarding early times has to do with a flood:

Noah's ark was a long time ago. When the water was coming up, all those that didn't want religion or churches or baptisms jumped from the ark and went into the *pocho'oria* (deep forest), and they are the animals we see there. Those mountains that we see are called Ba'a Somochiam [hills in the Río Yaqui area]. The snakes jumped, too. (2)

SEATAKA

Pascuans do not think in terms of one general power from which spring all specialized powers. They believe instead in compartmentalized gifts, possessed prenatally by some individuals. By far the most important of these gifts is seataka. All informants knew and believed in seataka, which is said to be fundamental to Yaqui thought and total life.

No adequate English translation has been reached for seataka. Informants give the literal translation in English as "flower body," and in Spanish as *cuerpo de flores*. One informant (55) suggests the Spanish *virtud* but agrees that the English translations—such as "power," "vigor"—are inadequate. He also suggests the Spanish *afortunado*, meaning "fortunate" or

“lucky,” but this is descriptive of only one aspect of seataka. The phrase “exceptionally gifted” applies to elements of seataka but is not inclusive. No attempt will be made to translate it.

A person without seataka is known as a *kia polobe* (Spanish, *pobre*), or, literally, just a poor person. One who has it is known as a *seataka yoeme* (seataka person), or a *seatakame* (he who has seataka).

The word seataka occurs in old legends—for example, those about Sea Hamut. No discussion of the old ways is complete without at least a mention of seataka. Animals and plant life, alike, may have it. In Pascuan thought it was the way of life in the yoania—of life in ancient times.

Before the flood, God was only known by seataka . . . praised by the mind, not the sign of the cross, which is where seataka comes in. . . . they had everything by seataka then. (9)

Seataka affects and enhances the total activities and thought of the individual, and it is a channel between man and nature in all its forms, including animals. It is helpful in daily life but also carries with it the aura of the ancient, natural world, the world of flowers, trees, animals, all wild life. It summons up the tinge of the supernatural, which is always present when discussing the old ways.

Everyone agrees that seataka is an innate, supernatural gift, “given in the womb,” and that it cannot be inherited or acquired. It is usually regarded as supernatural, but certain gifts such as precognition are explicitly said by one informant (55) to be, “. . . plain dreaming. Nothing supernatural.” Nonetheless, the dreams come from the *tenku ania* (dream world). Seataka can be lost during a lifetime and thus is not necessarily a permanent gift. It is sometimes referred to as God-given. Some think that people and animals who have seataka have worms (*buichia*) in the body wherein rests the seataka (2). Signs of seataka in an infant are as follows:

The seataka is a natural gift, and he is born with seataka and it will show in his hair after he is born, on the top of his head. They say “the seataka is weaving his hair.” It is very fine hair on top of his head and a comb will not comb it out. It weaves itself into a little something that cannot be combed out. It is tangled, so that it is as if it were glued together. Those who believe in it will not cut it off till it falls out when the hair grows. Another sign of seataka is what they call a whirlwind in the hair, if it is on both sides of the head, at the back and top of the head. But those people are not very strong. They are likely to get discouraged, in attempting to take the challenge. (55)

If you have only one cowlick, you are just an ordinary person. Some kids have three, and they say that they are going to be good or evil; in

other words, have seataka or be a witch. The same with matted hair on top of the head. (58)

You are born with it and it means good luck. You are not in need of nothing. It is going to be easy for you when you work on a job for food and money. The child [with a cowlick] would grow to be a lawyer or teacher or doctor. It would have a *buena memoria* (good memory). (10)

Seataka may be used for good or evil, according to most informants, depending on the proclivities of the individual. It is generalized in that it is the same gift for any skill that the individual develops; it enhances that skill. However, seataka is usually correlated with activities thought to be inherited from the Surem, rarely for any work connected with the church. Skills mentioned as being perfected through seataka are revelations from the ancient world, the yoania; the arts of the *pascola* (native dancer) and deer dancer; the composition of the songs and music for both of the above; curing. Shutler (1967: 50–51) recognizes seataka as an important aid in curing. She speaks of it as an inborn supernatural power. (For more on this see also Beals 1945: 193.) Seataka is also important for practicing witchcraft, in the lore of the Wise Men, for hunting, gambling, cowboy work, stunts, finding lost objects, and finding gold. The advantage of being lucky is often mentioned, and some feel that people with seataka will not be lazy.

The ability to see the yoania, the natural ability that one may have, like a gift for dancing, and the ability to fight the witch, is all the same thing. It is one thing that goes together. People who have seataka are very smart and very lucky, but, in the first place, very lucky. (55)

Instances of both precognition and clairvoyance, sometimes through dreaming, are related.

Precognition:

Like knowing something in dreams and then having it happen in the same way the next day. Or you may see somebody who is not present in person. Or someone might dream of me, when I was not around and had not been there for a long time, and then I would come in the morning. (8)

[A boy's mother] used to say when he was a little boy he had it. That he used to know when his grandfather was coming and what color of horse. But now he has lost it all. (35)

As long as you have seataka, during the night in dreams it will tell you just a little bit about what will happen tomorrow. Then you would prepare yourself to go through the day and be a little expectant about

what is going to happen. Because sometimes a person in the night sees his brother in jail. You know that tomorrow there is going to be a little trouble. Then you can take care, and then you won't fall into it blindly. . . . Or if he can't avoid it, he knows what is going to happen, by means of what he saw during the night. That is seataka.

The most important attribute for distinguishing a person who has seataka is not being able to dance or to be a fine musician. More important is second sight. For example, a certain man is supposed to have seataka. He shows it sometimes when he is with you, in a little light conversation. He may say, "I feel this and that—a light rain may come—or I feel that someone is sick at home." This is more common and is stronger than a gift for something such as dancing. (55)

Clairvoyance:

It is like if you were here and [someone saw you] in Pascua. A vision. (35)

It is hard to explain. Seataka is the way we know it and I've seen it. I have heard a person in the house talking and have seen the person outside at the same time. (58)

Is some people very kind and also have a long life and good people to all human beings in the world. Others can see you and your mind goes out of your body and others can see you. Also they going to see some people like that before they get sick. Or they are invisible and they can't hear their tracks. If they can see them, but can't hear the tracks, they going to die. (39)

A person with seataka is very closely associated with nature, especially with the sea ania (flower world):

They are very closely related, the seataka and the sea ania, because the person with seataka, when he is in the forest he lives among things that are alive, and knows them, such as the lakes and springs and trees. The person with seataka takes a relation with the flower world. . . . He knows it. He works with it. He gets his direction from the stars. . . . We who live in this world will very seldom see a person who will see how a plant will bloom. It is always true that the first flower will come out on the side of the sun. A person with seataka notices all those things about flowers. The person with seataka has a very keen sense in heavenly seeing. He will notice much about the coming up of plants and flowers and new leaves on trees and also, with his hearing, he will notice any chirp of a bird from a distance, or any sound that comes from birds, or even a cricket. (9)

The following quotations may serve well as a summary:

The person who possesses seataka is much more alert, and he protects himself against any bad intentions against him. He keeps a person from making mistakes that way. At night he watches the stars to calculate the time. A person can tell the one who possesses seataka by his actions in being alert and very considerate and kindhearted. This person is capable of mastering anything and learning whatever he undertakes. . . . He is born with the gift and later on he studies a little more upon it when he starts getting into trouble from another person and from the witch. He learns to fight against any evil with prayers. This particular kind of person who has seataka is adaptable to almost any kind of dances, violinist, harpist, flutist, *tampaleo* (flute-drummer), curer, *maestro* [Yaqui *maehto*—religious leader]. Seataka is a natural born gift for learning and mastering everything and doing it well. . . . When this person should be outside, whether hunting or in the battle-field, he will always depend largely upon dreams and divine power for protection and will be always scanning the skies. He foretells in dreams. In case he should be among other companions, sometimes it is seen that this person just avoided mishaps by telling them to depart from a certain place, and this is going to happen, and the day is not good, and this or that is going to happen, so he will warn them in this way before the day starts. (9)

The characteristics most often mentioned for a seataka person are a strong will, character, and strong personality (9), as well as general alertness, and, most especially, kindness and consideration for others. Not all leaders have the gift, but it is said that a great leader must have seataka.

He has a very strong mind to learn things very fast. . . . They are up very early. They rinse their hair and comb their hair and clean up. And they act sometimes—in case of need they find a way of doing a little curing. In case of need—a man might sprain his ankle and there is no way to do it. He will try until he finds a way to put the ankle pad on, at least for the time being. [Is he then a curer?] No, he is not a curer. Some people may have a heart attack—those things are at least eased by him. (55)

[It is] something between the supernatural and the natural. Something that I can't explain, that is better than me, a little better than me, in luck and power and everything in general. (58)

When you are dreaming real good, maybe a little bird will come to you and sing to you. And that is seataka. The witch can't hurt you if you have enough seataka. A seatakame has a clean heart and mind. (14)

UTE'A

Another gift, inherited from the Surem by some humans, animals, and objects is ute'a. The literal translations given are "power," "extraordinary strength of body and will," "spiritual strength." Courage is also implied. It is a generalized gift that may be used for any purpose, good or bad. One may be born with it, or it may be acquired from certain fetishes, though it is then less strong. It is useful in dealing with supernatural phenomena.

The word they use for power is ute'a, which means strength, power, ability. (55)

It is very strong power and strong will power, too. I think it is physical strength, plus strong will power, plus maybe courage. (73)

That is how strong you are, physically, with a strong will, too. If someone makes you do something against your will, that is ute'a. [Born with it. Surem have it.] (14)

One of the older men stated, in essence, that this is a very great power that one is born with, that can be used for both good and bad. It comes from the yoania and from the seataka. Can have both seataka and ute'a at the same time. Some of the Surem had it, not all. (10)

The *choni* [scalp fetish] has some ute'a, not much. The yoania chooses because it has ute'a. (10)

If you have an abnormal amount of seataka you would also be possessed by ute'a. . . . Anyone might have seataka and ute'a, but leaders must have it. You can have both seataka and ute'a at the same time. Some of the Surem had it, not all. (10)

It means just like being strong. You are born with it. And you are the kind of person who, you get angry with someone and you could put a curse on that person. You might wish something terrible would happen and it would. . . . It is up to the person whether it is good or evil. I guess he has to have a little magic in him. If he gets angry, he can hurt you. He is very outspoken with you. "I have said this and that, and you will see what will happen." They don't hide anything from you. . . . They are not afraid of anything or anybody. Ute'a means power. (52)

TEKIA

The original concept of *tekia* is thought to be pure Yaqui and to be one of the fundamentals of Yaqui beliefs. In its original sense it is considered to have been inherited from the Surem and to have been a supernatural gift bestowed "in the womb" by the yoania and God. Originally it was only useful for the ancient arts of the pascola and deer dancers and their musi-

cians, but, informants say, it has been extended. The possessors of tekia are capable of performing with special distinction. Others, who learn by choice only, are much less proficient. This is current thought. A Pascuan might speak of his gift in this way:

[It was] discovered, beginning somewhere in his mother's womb, he was created with this inheritance. (17)

León-Portilla, writing of Aztec culture, seems to be describing much the same concept. He says (1963: 169) "... the artist had to keep his destiny always in mind, to make himself worthy of it, and to learn to converse with his own heart."

The concept of tekia includes all ceremonial groups, and, further, it includes the obligation to perform, and the actual performance of all ceremonial duties, as is discussed under *tekipanoa* in the section on the *manda* (vow).

Tekia in the womb is for the gifts of the pascola and deer. Then they learn from dreams, from inspirations, what their tekia is. The dream is what makes them understand that it is the gift they have from God. When they have a love of these things, they understand by the spirit that it is their gift from God. By a special spirit of knowledge they understand. In Yaqui it would be:

<i>aewa</i>	<i>tompo</i>	<i>nateka</i>	<i>tekiata</i>	<i>mikri</i>
mother's	womb in	beginning	duty	given
(4)				

Tekia is for the pascolas and deer only, but the others say that everyone gets their tekia that way. [What is the difference?] They don't have the yoania. And the others learn it from books, and they have the manda and godparents. But the pascolas and deer have both God and the yoania and they don't have it from books. They have it right here [pointing to his head]. (28)

Very early they [the pascolas and deer] show an interest, and they have hard dreams that show what their tekia is. These dreams are from the yoania, and the matachinis get it from the manda, and that is different. (35)

HUYA ANIA

The *huya ania* is described as remote, wild brush country, which sometimes is said to be located in the foothills but more often in flat country, with dense thickets of low trees, such as mesquite, and close-growing shrubs like thorny cactus. Informants point to "way over there" or "way beyond,"

stressing that there is no habitation there and that it is wild country where the deer may find his home. It is very definitely not mountainous, not desert, nor is it woods or forest, though some informants use the word "forest" as a translation. Rain, small lakes, and streams are in association. It is formidable for the traveler, and sometimes impenetrable, owing to the type and abundance of vegetation.

The huya also has an aura of enchantment, as the yoania may manifest itself there, and danger exists for some from the wild things. The huya is the home of wild animals, birds and insects, which are called collectively *yoawa*, less often *yohuti*. The *maso* (wild deer) is especially associated with the huya, and the words huya ania are often heard in the songs of the deer singers. Some of the music and dances of the pascolas imitate the milieu of the huya.

Most Pascuans say that the *monte* is the same as the huya. However, although it is evident that the location is the same, it is clear that, when they are discussing the home of the deer or the manifestations of the yoania, huya ania is used; the term monte is reserved for describing the wanderings of Jesus.

The English brush country or wilderness approximates the huya but does not include the supernatural aspect, which is insistently and strongly inherent in the word huya. Therefore, huya ania will not be translated, a decision which pleases informants.

SEA ANIA

The common concept of the sea ania (flower world) is that it is the huya ania in bloom. Perhaps more than the huya it implies the beneficent and fruitful aspects of nature, such as rivers, streams, lakes, clouds, and rain. The sea ania is contemporary and real, as is the huya; but, like the huya, the supernatural is omnipresent, especially in connection with the wild deer. In the deer songs one hears the full *sewa ania* (or *aniwa*), instead of the contraction *sea*. Some say that the sea ania to the east under the sunrise is the home of the first wild deer.

The flower world is where the huya ania is starting to have all kinds of flowers. Then they call it the sea ania. In the sea ania the trees are all in bloom; everywhere you can see the forest. It is just like the monte. . . . The sea ania is the forest with flowers. . . . The sea ania is just the blooming forest. (9)

It is the *flor silvestre*, the wild flower; it is real, any place around us. (39)

[The sea ania] is right here. It refers to the things of the earth such as vegetation, rain clouds, streams, and the sea. [Is the harsh desert in-

cluded?] No, not in the sea ania. It is the living beautiful part of our present world. (55)

He always thinks of the sea ania as a legendary world where the deer comes from. He never thinks of it as being part of this world. (58)

The sea ania is mostly legendary, but some people think of it as any beflowered country at the present time. However, in connection with the deer, and as illustrated so often in the deer songs, it is a legendary country to the east under the sunrise, and connected with the good. Flowers and clouds and rain and streams and rivers are mentioned often. From it came the legendary first deer.(55)

YOANIA VISIONS

After the Surem and yoania went underground, the yoania was, and still is thought to be, visible under certain conditions in visions in wild and distant places, such as *kuevas* (caves) far out on the desert or in secret places in remote, wild foothill country. Some say there is a yoania under the sea. It also appears in dreams.

The vision is the aspect of the yoania that appears to come to mind first and most often, once the subject of the yoania is discussed. A vision may take the form of an evanescent little village, complete with all the arts of the Surem, from which the individual may choose. Only a man with seataka, an earnest desire to see the yoania, and the extraordinary courage to survive terrifying ordeals can attain success. These are the prerequisites. Full participation is a voluntary act and is an individual, not a group, experience. The purpose is to acquire special skills that far exceed those of one's peers. No cleansing or other ceremony is reported for either before or after the vision.

The huya ania and the pocho'oria are often used in conversation interchangeably with yoania, thus extending the enchantment to wild creatures and their habitat. Some speak of the yoania as if it were a living spirit, able to choose on whom it will bestow its lore.

[What kind of person would be most likely to go to the yoania?] A person who has seataka and who has an ardent desire for some kind of art, any kind of art, and if he don't have this seataka, even if he desires it, it would not be possible for him. . . . Just an ordinary person who has no seataka would not be able to take it, and the yoania would not take him.

Only a seatakame yoeme goes. He wanders in the wild forest and he is susceptible to the yoania. A kia polobe would wander and not see.

And if he wants to be outstanding, he goes to the supernatural, the yoania. He might be out in the forest and he might get the yoania

unexpectedly. He might just hear it and don't see it, or he might be invited to the yoania. Only in the forest, and where no people are. Because if he is among people, he won't see it. (55)

No one would be able to see it just out of curiosity. But if he really thought about it, and asked for it wholeheartedly, the old folks have said that anyone can see it. (58)

If the yoania likes any particular person, a sound will come to a person; but if he does not hear the sound, the wilderness (the yoania) does not like him. He must want to see it, and the yoania must like him, or he does not see it.

The yoania sees everyone at the fiestas. [You talk of it as if it were a person.] It is just like a spirit. *Yoania hiapsita bena* (yoania is a spirit). (2)

The most favorable times for yoania visions are said to be noon and after midnight, and sometimes a three-night vigil is described. Late in the third night a revelation occurs.

All say that a fearful ordeal takes place, so terrifying that it is almost impossible to endure. A dragon is mentioned, by which is meant a large snake, and entry and exit must be made through this snake. The *yochiba'ato* (ancient enchanted goat) may appear for pascola dancers; it is their symbol. If the individual is frightened and runs away, he either goes insane or he dies, in which case he is thought to "live in the yoania forever." If he is successful, he is the victim of a pact with the yoania, and he returns to it after a certain period, generally seven years, or at death. He then resides in the yoania throughout eternity and "can never reach heaven." If he only hears the sounds of voices and fiestas and turns away, he is exempt and is thought to have been able to resist through his seataka. The voices heard are said to be those of the Surem and of the people lost in the yoania.

The pascola dance group is the one most often mentioned in connection with yoania vision, but the deer dancer and his musicians are also included. Also spoken of are cowboys, gamblers, hunters, fishermen, footracers, fighters, and robbers. The *kohtumbre ya'ura* (a group of Lenten officials) is never mentioned, nor the military society, nor the church group. It is sometimes said that the arts of the *matachinis* (dance society) are displayed, but it is strongly denied that the matachinis are even tempted to participate. In fact, it is said in refutation that they get their abilities by another route, through the manda. No currently and exclusively modern skills are discussed except as above.

Some pascolas do [go]; some do not. Those who do are outstanding for their dancing, but they are not on the side of God. There were two

pascolas in Guadalupe [Arizona], who told people they went to the yoania to see the place. This was in Sonora. (2)

Almost without exception, power-seeking through yoania visions is considered evil. It is said that no one will admit to having gone to the caves, and it is evident that some informants are uneasy even when discussing it, or refuse comment. One who disagrees is an elderly man (10), who was brought up in the old ways in Mexico and to whom it seems a natural way to excellence. The names of a number of participants in yoania visions have been given confidentially, and it is contemporary and real to all with whom the writer has talked.

The devil is often associated with the yoania, in league to tempt people, and some say he is the head of the yoania. One who seeks visions is said to be "selling himself to the devil." A feeble attempt is sometimes made to equate the yoania with hell.

There is a spirit in the forest that could bewitch a person. Anyone could get his art by being bewitched. The spirit would appear to him and tell him where he could get his art. A pascola, a deer dancer, and the musicians of both, fishermen, hunters, gamblers, cowboys, would get their power this way. There is nothing in the legend to show that the matachinis got their art in this way. . . . Some do these things from their own intelligence, and some do them from getting their art in the forest, and that makes them do them better. When gamblers have this art, they never lose. They never play for very long or very much, just to make a living. No one would play with them if they knew they had gotten their art in this way. The art of playing [musical instruments] may be from the forest. He may get his ability to play, and [then] compose what he heard in the forest, like the cricket and June bug, but not the music itself.

Not all that go after it can get it. A person must have the gift for it, the gift for seeing [scataka]. Then it can appear in the form of an old man or in the form of a woman. The old man will invite him to his home. So he accompanies him to the old man's home, and he will tell him to enjoy himself, and he starts walking around from place to place and will find there different groups of people with different arts, such as cowboys, fighters with the hand, gamblers, footracers, violinists, harpers, tampaleos, hunters, fishers and robbers, too. He sees the whole village, and the old man tells him to enjoy himself. [How learn?] He just goes to them and says he wants to be a singer, and they give him that art.

Then he will find himself where he can't get out except through one gate. Is going to be the mouth of a large serpent, which will be closing

and opening when he comes. He is not afraid to get in the mouth of the big snake, with the tongue and teeth; he will step right in the mouth. The serpent closes his mouth and he is out. He is in the forest again, and there is no music and dancing of every kind, as there was in the forest. If he was afraid to get into the mouth he would remain there. He would be heard in the forest, but he would have no form.

[Does this happen now?] People believe in this because they have seen people who can do work as cowboys without having been brought up on a ranch. It doesn't appear to be everyone, only those who have the gift to see it, and have the power to go through the ordeal.

. . . A person doesn't tell that they have been to the forest, but people will find out because it will show in what he does.

If anyone is afraid to go into the dragon's mouth, he would be enchanted and lost in the forest. They would hear his voice murmuring. If he used to sing in the village, they might hear his voice. They don't see him, but a person who knew him would recognize his voice. No word, though. He can never get out.

It is said that some of them who had their art all their lives, from the forest, then when they were going to die, they disappear from the pueblo. Then he goes back to the yoania.

Some people have [said] that they went there but did not get the art. They saw everything and left. They didn't touch anything. They turned back, and it all disappeared.

If a person gets scared, he is liable to die with the fever or go crazy. Those two things. If they don't get frightened they are all right. It will come as a vision. He won't be looking for it. It might be in any forest, not in a particular place.

[In this country?] No, except that many think there is something about Superstition Mountain. They think there is something there. But no one has [said] that they have seen the yoania there. They think they might get it there though. And some think there is gold there.

The yoania tries you. How strong you are mentally and physically. It scares you in every way it can. In the way that he has to go through the dragon's mouth. Or see snakes. It is a challenge. He first takes the challenge, and then he goes in, and is tried and frightened in there. . . . After he has been in, he is in danger all the time. If he fails to comply with such conditions, the yoania will get him because he sells himself to the yoania.

[Asked to explain what he meant by failure to comply with the conditions of the yoania, he replied:] There can be just some rules. Some have the art, like the pascolas and musicians, and still stay in the ceremonies. The devil grants that. . . . They tell me that some have so many years to have it, and give it up again, and some get it to the end of their

life. When they give it up, some live for a short time. It is said that all have to go to the yoania and not to heaven.

The yoania exists all the time in the wilderness. There are two mountains. In the Mayo country there is supposed to be a cave in the mountain where they can get their art if they have the gift. It is called Tezopa'ako (Cave Plains). In the Yaqui country there is a mountain called Tenhawe, which means Yawning Mountain. It has a cave about the foot so it looks like it is yawning.

The devil has to do with the yoania and so *is* the yoania. The devil is working day and night to get power over the world. If it is the ambition of the pascola to be a good dancer, then he goes to the devil. The devil works in a thousand ways to gain power in the world, so on the day of judgment he would have all the power to himself. . . . The devil shows himself in a beautiful way to gain power. Anyone is selling himself to the devil if he goes there for his art.

If you go into the forest and hear music it is the yoania . . . My mother used to be a sheep herder and would go alone into the forest. She would hear the gurgles of the water. Anyone can. Sometimes you can hear music. Just for a moment you get enchanted. Then you wake up and it is just the gurgles. You go into the forest and relax and the enchantment of the forest comes. If you really didn't know what it is all about, you would think you were going crazy; but if you know that that is how it is in the forest, then you are convinced that it is only the enchantment of the forest. That is how the devil works on people.

The yoania is liable to force a person to yield to it, and if he has seataka he can resist it. A seatake yoeme has all the human nature in the way of power to fight against evil and overcome it. Supernatural power is on the evil side. The ancients used to get power for their own selves, for them to use, and that is the evil side. The yoania is used to depend on a supernatural power on the evil side, compared to the sea ania, which is on the good side. [You often speak of the yoania as if it were a person or a conscious power.] It is not visible to the person. The deep forest and in the caves, it is the devil.

When you hear voices or singing it comes from either the people who have gone to the yoania or the Surem. Usually, if you hear the voice of a person who you know had the art, that is a person who has gone to the yoania. [What about those who were frightened and are wandering about?] It could be those, too. Those who died and went to the yoania, or those who went and got lost there. In fact, they died, too. [Would hearing voices like that connect you with the yoania?] No.

[Alone in the forest] you start thinking and your mind starts to dream and all the noises like the birds and wind and insects and water all become more clear. It is the enchantment of the forest, because that is

how the forest is. It has a bewitching enchantment. [Now are you by those words speaking of the natural or the supernatural?] The natural.

[In those times would you be more or less receptive to the yoania?] More receptive, but you don't have to take it if you don't want to. [Would you recognize it as being the yoania?] Yes, you would know that it is the yoania that is starting. Or you can go out and get it deliberately.

There is a story going around about an old man. He died in 1920. He was a Yaqui. The old man was very short in stature. He was supposed to have been about fifty years old. He was supposed to drink and gamble. One day in Guadalupe he was supposed to be challenged by one of the good fighters, a young man. The young man had a club, and to make things more formal he told the old man to also get a club, so he wouldn't have any advantage over him. The first word he talked to him was a question. The young man said, "Are you the one people say has been whipping everyone around here, as they told me?" The old man assured him that it was not just as they had told him, but that it was the truth that he had whipped everyone around. The young man told him to get a club. The old man answered him and said, "That same club, we will both use it." And then in the evening, when they started fighting, in just a few minutes the old man had the club and the young man fell down. "Just let him sleep for a few minutes. He needs to sleep a little bit and rest." Then he took off. . . . He had the art. He had seen it somewhere in the mountain in the Río Mayo or on the Río Yaqui. (55)

As a preliminary to the above story, the Pascuan said that they had seen fighters here "who can take care of five or six persons at a time and not be touched. He has the art. . . . He could not do it alone, he has to have some help. He magnetizes the fighters, and he may be very far away himself."

The following is paraphrased from information given by a knowledgeable Yaqui man:

The yoania are all the animals that lived in the forest which is the yoania. All the animals that live in the wilderness are yoawa, because they live in the yoania. The huya is just brush, like any place. The yoawa live in the huya. The wilderness is the pocho'oria, as is the huya ania. The yoawa are wild animals, not domesticated. The yoania is itself the wilderness, and it is always there. So the huya is the pocho'oria, which is the yoania. The yoania is always there and does not change even with the seasons. It is just one continuous yoania. Anyone can see it by way of recognizing the plants. It is the decision of the person with seataka to decide what he wants from the yoania. It is there all the time, but is

not seen all the time. The yoania, when appearing to a person, appears as a village. It is there all the time, but it is not possible for everyone to see it. It is there all the time. (2)

The following was gathered in an interview, but it is a quotation from the interpreter as they talked, not a direct quotation from the informant himself:

When he [the informant] was about nineteen, he was coming home from deer hunting one day and the yoania was revealed to him in the way of a fiesta. He was almost overcome by it. He started walking toward a place where there were all kinds of dances. The noise stopped when he approached, and when he went away it started again. He had no intention or desire to go to the yoania; it was just revealed to him. He recognized it as being the place of the yoania. If he wanted to see it, it would not have disappeared. [Frightened?] He was mentally confused, and he believed that he heard all kinds of dances—matachinis, deer, pascola, violin, deer singers. . . .

The cave that is best known is called Tezopa'ako, in the Mayo country. And there is also Anyil in the Río Yaqui. He does not know of a place in Arizona. But the place where he saw it himself is in the Silverbell mountains near Sasco, Arizona.

When the pascola dreams of snakes, that is from the yoania. (2 and 55)

Members of the yoania [he meant living people on earth] are supposed to gather once a year to celebrate. They stay inside of it. It is in a cave. They stay a week, and they tell that they think they have stayed a few hours. But a week has elapsed, and they do not know how long they have been there.

It happens where there is metal. He found one species of stone and he took it to the Sasco smelters for testing. They kept after him, trying to find out where he found the stone. The rock was tested, and it proved to be better ore than the Silverbell mines. He thinks there must be quantities of ore where the yoania is, that the ore is what produces the sounds of the yoania. (2)

Some additional comments:

There is a place in the Río Yaqui where you can hear [the Surem] playing. The drums and the singing of the deer and all. I heard them in Torim and asked my mother about it. I heard the tampaleo and the pascolas and the deer singers and cowboys. [Where was this?] There is a little tiny red mountain near Torim, called Sikili Kawi (Red Moun-

tain). [Did you hear matachinis too?] Matachinis, singers, everything. (72)

The yoania is encanto. Invisible things. Encantos. It is underground. No one else can tell about it but the people who know the place. [Who goes?] People who want to be unseen, where there is nothing else but invisible people. Like spirits flying about. . . . If you go there you have to go and stay for three days and nights alone, without sleep. Then you will see something. But you must not be afraid. If you get scared, that is the end of your life. You have to go to the mountains, somewhere. Three days and three nights without sleep, and then you can see it. Whatever you want to see. That is the way it happened to those deer dancers. They go to some place and see themselves about the deers. Underground, invisible deers. They learn to dance that way. The pascolas, the same thing. [The matachinis?] No, not the matachinis. [The *chapayekas* (masked members of a ceremonial group)?] No, just the two things, the deer and the pascola. (39)

You sell yourself to the devil if you go to the yoania. You live for seven years and then disappear. A man can be famous for seven years, and at the end of that time he disappears and no one knows where he is. He is supposed to go back to the yoania. There is one way you can avoid that. You can tell a *compadre* (co-godfather) that you will take him to the yoania, and that there he will learn whatever it is that he wants most to do. Then you can leave him there and return yourself, and you will not have to disappear. (58)

PASCUA AND THE OTHER WORLDS

It is perhaps fortunate for Pascuans that Tucson, although an urban community, has as a spacious backdrop the mountains and foothills that surround the valley and therefore has some, at least spiritual, affinity to the huya ania. An affinity also exists with the vagaries of nature, especially the summer storms with violent dusty winds, great rolls of thunder, and pervasive lightning.

Pascuans are reluctant to speak of native things. One reason is that they are considered secret and sacred treasures of the Yaquis, not to be shared lightly. Concepts and vocabulary are not always communicable, and, even if informants trust the integrity of the observer, they tend to feel that it is too difficult to make him or her understand. Another reason is that these beliefs are not accepted in the urban and alien culture in which Pascua is situated, and there is the knowledge that some aspects of their beliefs are equated with evil, and even with the devil. There is also some anxiety that others of the village will criticize them for divulgence of these secrets. And

always there is the fear of witchcraft, as the witch is able to read minds and hear conversations even though not present.

When communication has been established, it becomes clear that even the very young people of Pascua see the native beliefs as a fundamental part of Yaqui-ness. Discussion with a young Yaqui woman (52) concerned the aura of enchantment about all of the pre-Spanish things. The words *yo* and *sea* are, for her, the key words. She agrees with other informants that all of these things originated with the Surem. She also thinks that God gave them to the Surem. She believes that *seataka* and *ute'a* are still important in the daily life of the Yaquis. A young Yaqui man (73) revealed that he felt that *seataka* and *ute'a* are "the fundamentals of Yaqui character." He dreams of *choni* even now.

Refugio Savala, who served both as interpreter for others and was himself an important source of information, sums up these beliefs:

In regard to the four worlds. There is the *yoania*. The *tuka ania* is the night world, dreamland, slumberland. "Tuka" means night. The *sea ania* governs nature, such as the river, the wind, the clouds, the ocean, the rain, sky, sun, moon and stars. The *huya ania* governs the ground, the plants. "Huya" means vegetation. These are the four things that govern the minds of the people. The *yoania* and *tuka ania* are associated, and the *sea ania* and the *huya ania* are linked, too.

Before they knew God they went primarily by their minds and senses. [My father said] that these four things, the four worlds, were the main factors in the minds of the old Yaquis. [Here the informant stated that he never has heard anything about individual gods in charge of the four worlds. He does not think there were any gods like that. Nor does he think that there was any kind of worship of these worlds.] Nothing like you might hear about other Indians having. . . . They just went by those things that they saw. They knew that the flowers had life, and that the clouds had some good things behind it, and they watched the stars and the heavenly bodies. That is why even today a man with *seataka* has a tendency to watch the movements of the heavenly bodies, the stars, the winds, which way the wind and the clouds go; and if a cloud comes up, he will notice it. As soon as he leaves his house he looks around. That is his *seataka*, his way of doing things. If the old Yaquis had any gods, I would know about it. Many people said that they pounded it into their parents to know if Yaquis had any gods. Because they heard that all the other Indians had rain gods, etc. So they would all come and ask their father if the Yaquis had any gods like that, and they were all told that they didn't have any. It wasn't made into a god. They don't tell each other how they think about these things. It would be his own *seataka*, and they wouldn't tell each other how they felt.

If a man wanted an eatable plant he would search in the huya ania. He would go into the country and look for it. They lived like naturalists, so they would talk to the huya ania about its products. . . . And when they came to do some planting, they would like to go to see the sea ania. The sea ania would bring rain. If the heat was too much, they would look to the sea ania for wind and rain. And they would look to the tuka ania for shade. [The sea ania has] all the celestial bodies, the stars, sun, moon, the heavenly world, the natural world. It makes the winds, and the winds bring the clouds from the sea, and the wind carries them to where the huya ania is. It was the force of good before they knew God. It is a natural world because it waters the earth and gives it life. Otherwise there would be no seeds. . . . The sea ania is the source of life and would be considered to be in the east. It is the beginning of nature, of the life of the forest creatures. It has to do with the streams and the lakes and the sea.

A person with seataka will foresee something. He would not ask for help in foreseeing. These two are a little bit different from the other two. You don't ask for it, but by instruction of dreamland you get instruction for doing things you think about. . . . The dream world instructs the person with seataka first, and he might have to go to the yoania. Seataka is bad or good according to how he develops it. He can go [to the yoania] and take nothing. It has happened lately. Some young boys have said that their parents have been in [the yoania] without taking anything or becoming insane. It can work on the side of God. (55)

TOOLS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

Fetishes and the Choni

There are ways other than through visions to obtain special gifts associated with the yoania. One may gain the special quality of an object by an actual three-night *velaroa* (vigil) at its site, or through dreams. The vigil is a voluntary act, unshared and secret. The prerequisites are the same as for yoania visions: strong seataka, great desire, and the courage and fortitude to withstand challenges and ordeals. These, as for visions, must be total. Without them no object could be induced to yield its power.

The dreams from the *tenku ania* (dream world) follow a cultural pattern like those of the *pascola* and deer dance groups, which will be discussed. They differ from the *tu'i tenkuim* (good dreams) associated with the *manda*. Dreams take place wherever the individual is sleeping. Dreams and vigils both are sometimes associated with the devil, as are all aspects of the yoania. Certain informants (10 and 52) say that one would have to be a witch to

obtain and use a fetish. They are not discussed freely, and it is said that no one would admit to owning a fetish. No psychedelic or other aid is involved in any of these experiences. No penalty, such as eternal penance in the *yoania*, is mentioned for either vigil or dream.

The word *yuma* (to conquer) is used most often as in *yoyuma'ane* (I will conquer your enchantment). It is pointed out that the word *mahika* (magic) should not be employed, as it does not embrace the supernatural, but only tricks that one learns. Encantado is preferred. "Mahika is a different thing" (10). *Yeuwa*, sometimes shortened to *yewa*, means "to play with, or 'develop,' a fetish."

Following, in the words of various Yaqui men, are the most often discussed experiences with fetishes:

All those things are kept secret and are not exposed. They expose themselves by doing things better. Sometimes two of the same power will get together and recognize each other, that they can't do anything to each other. (17)

A favorite fetish is the hummingbird itself, or the egg of one. In a three-night vigil the bird may become a monster (55, 17, 28, 2), or one may overcome it in a dream. Only one man (10) says it is not from the *yoania*. He is the only one who assigns it the power to make a loved one reciprocate.

You must also have *seataka* for the *semalulukut* (hummingbird). A person who takes it, kills it with his mouth and then the body is taken and guarded and usually kept in a silken scarf. It is for riding and working and stealing. (9)

Some of the men gave the following information regarding the hummingbird fetish:

He goes to the place where the bird has a nest and takes it in a three-night vigil. After three nights the bird will be overcome, and he picks it up out of the nest, and after it is taken it disappears into the hand. It is used for curing sick persons, just by rubbing with the hand. Right after, he usually has dreams of green brush and flowers and water. The dreams he sees are bright and quick like the hummingbird. This is from the *yoania*. (2)

A hummingbird may be captured in dreams, not actually, but only in dreams. Those people who may do it like to fight and be very good in it, because it makes them very quick in movement. In the dream they capture it alive, and they have it for three days and then they own it until it dies. First they have dreams and nightmares to conquer it, and

then the hummingbird surrenders in dreams. All those dreams are set up to go differently according to his power of spirit. Some would not have power to do it. The hummingbird becomes a huge monster, and if he can't stand it, he goes insane. There are curers who can cure this kind of dreaming. After they don't have power to capture the choni, or bone, or hummingbird, they have no power, and the curer can cure them. (55)

[The hummingbird] is only used for such as defense in case of hand fighting, and a person would be very quick in case of going on an errand. He would be very prompt and fast. A hummingbird is also the same [from the yoania], except that if he is stricken, he can be overcome easily as a hummingbird—well, it is only a hummingbird. But if he is shot, he is very quick to get away. [Where does one go for the hummingbird?] When, after the hummingbird yields to the person, it is supposed that it is the place where the hummingbird has a nest and eggs, and he takes one of the eggs. The egg is taken, and the owner takes care of it according to his ways, either by keeping it somewhere or by carrying it around. (17)

[The hummingbird dream] is from the desert yoania, not from God; but it is good, not bad. It gives you *amistad* (friendship). Everyone loves you. You never get sick. You move around quick. You glad all the time, no matter how old. (28)

Is good. Is not from the Surem. One must have seataka to get it, also ute'a. [My] wife got one among the flowers in Mexico but let it go. She got two others and kept them for good luck, not for ute'a. (10)

A black stone is said to have special powers:

There is a magnet stone that the Mexicans use for a mystic power for luck. A black magnet stone that he is supposed to be very strong if he overpowers it for that purpose. For fighting and lifting heavy things. It is even sold at the library in San Antonio, Texas. I have no faith in those things. The Yaquis in the Río Yaqui have used this, too. They call it *chukui teta* (black stone). It has been conquered by dreams and nightmares, too.

There is a stone that the Mexicans call *piedra imán* (magnet stone) that is known to the Yaquis as *chukui teta*. It is a magnet. It is supposed to be a dark stone, and it has a special prayer to go with it. Every Friday they put it into a pan of water while they recite the prayers that go with it. The prayers are written for the stone, they are not the common prayers. [He thinks the Yaquis have another kind of stone that is not Mexican. He has not seen one.] It gets so strong that if he is not careful

he may break his own body by lifting something too heavy. It is good for fighting and cowboy work. It is supposed to come from wild country and to be taken by three nights like the choni. It is called *chukui teta* like the other. [He has seen the Mexican one, but not the Yaqui "wild one." There are no prayers with the Yaqui one. He has not heard of this in Pascua, only from the Río Yaqui.]

To get the magic stone, you have to want it. The person dreams where it is, and then he goes to the place where he dreamed. A black bull is there, and he has to overcome it. Then if he does, it goes away, and then he gets the stone. Overcoming the bull is not a dream, he actually does it. And this is *yoania*, too. [This informant reversed himself and said that the magic stone episode appears in dreams only; that one does not actually see the bull. It is in the *tenku ania* only.] (55)

The *chukui teta* is not a black stone; that is just its name. It is clay color. It is not lava, not volcanic. There are places where it is found, but he has to fight a black bull, and if he wins he takes the stone assigned to him. He will distinguish it from the rest. It is supposed to be lively. He has some kind of knowledge, which one to take. It is very rare anywhere, but it can occur anywhere in wild country. The *seataka* person is the only one who will know and understand where and what it is. It has power for every kind of labor, card playing, cowboy work and stealing. (9)

He has to *velaroa* it [the black stone] for three nights. He is affected by thunder and lightning if he is not careful. When it starts storming he takes it away from close to the people, so in case lightning strikes [the stone] no one will be hurt. There is danger in possessing it, because he will be too strong and in danger of breaking his bones in a fight. So he will just touch people lightly, so as not to kill the person or hurt himself. He can lift heavy things, but he has to be careful because he might break himself. It is dangerous for lightning and for hurting himself. (2)

The *chukui teta* is good and from the *Surem*. It is used for *ute'a*. They used to have them in Sonora, and there are some in San Antonio that are sold and are *ka tu'i* (fakes). You can't use them in the rain, like in August, because they are dangerous in lightning. They are for good luck and for fighting, but they are dangerous, as you might get too strong. (10)

One may also obtain special gifts from a bone taken from a burial. All say it is from the *yoania* and taken by vigil, except one man (10), who says it is bad, and from the witch.

A good gambler may steal away a bone from a burial. Then the spirit of the bone fights him for three nights until the live one overcomes the

dead one. My uncle dug a grave and took the bone. He spent three nights at the cemetery with a deck of cards and a candle. He had a strong spirit. He said he could see the cards moving. He saw the hand of the skeleton cut the cards for him, and then my uncle put the cards together and started dealing. It was a game called *alburez*. He put out two cards, and the hand of the dead man handled the cards. They played all night for three nights until he beats him. Three deals every time, two out of three every deal. That is what my uncle told me, that he did it at the cruz mayor (great cross) at the cemetery facing the sun. He said the live one is sure to beat the dead one, but with great effort. [Who goes?] Anyone who is willing to do it and tries. If he does not succeed, he either dies or goes crazy. That is the pact. They talk about many ways to gain power. [He has not heard about digging up bones in Pascua, nor in this country. And he has not heard that witches do it.] But anyone can do it, but not for a good purpose, but for something like robbing, stealing, fighting, horse riding. The bones are taken for different purposes. If a man who is dead and buried a long time ago was known to be a good shooter, or horse rider, or a good fighter, they work for that person according to his power in life. I never heard that they do it to be a good curer or maestro or pascola. (55)

The man in this interview said that ground bone was used by men in a wrestling match between the *moros* (pascola managers)—the fiesta where the drum is captured.

The purpose of the bone is something like when you see a ghost, your body becomes weak. He rubs the powder on his head, and then he is overcome by a heavy feeling in the body, and he can lift up his opponent. [Informant said that some may get the bone from the battlefield, he does not know how else. He said that the bone is used for wrestling matches.] (17)

A man who wants to excel at cards may do the following:

If a man wants to be a card gambler, he buries the king of clubs under a fig tree when it is in bloom. After three nights of vigil, on the dawn of the third night, when he comes to pick up the card, a rattlesnake is on top of the place where it was buried. And then if he picks up the snake without being afraid, he takes the card out and plucks one of the flowers of the fig tree at sunrise, and he can be a good gambler. This is from the yuania, too. (2)

Anyone who wanted to gamble would put a pack of cards in a pottery bowl for three nights and then take them out before the sun rises. This is done by witchcraft.

If you are good, the cards will turn into a snake. If the cards don't like you, you can't use them for gambling. [This is bad and not from the Surem]. (10)

A miscellany of beliefs regarding fetishes follows:

[The yoeta] is supposed to be a night fowl and to come flying by once a year. It hollers just like a cowboy herding cattle. That is why the man who "overcomes" the yoeta is supposed to be good for hollering and singing. (55)

[An older man says that there is a dream of a king snake that enables one to have skill in writing. The snake becomes a pencil.] (2)

[Another man mentions a spider dream. He also speaks of a bumble-bee dream, which is] from the desert yoania. It is not from God, but it is good. You are always "flying around." [He said there is a centipede that you crush into powder, with water.] You always feel young, be glad, sing, be quick. (28)

A choni, according to most informants, is a scalp taken in battle at some remote time and used as a personal fetish. It is almost without exception thought to have been taken in battle from an Apache (55, 2, 39, 18, and others). The phrase *hapat choni buket* (Apache scalp taken) may be used. "Hapat" is a shortened form of Hapa'ache (Apache). "Yuma" and "yeuwa" may be heard, as with other fetishes. This is a secret, personal fetish, currently employed and with general credence. "It is known because it still exists" (55).

Anyone may own a choni, man or woman, but it is more commonly in the possession of a person with seataka. However, a choni might yield to a kia polobe, if it liked him (52). A curer, too may own a choni, but not for evil purposes.

A choni is described as a scalp with long hair, braided and tied with a red ribbon. Shutler (1967: 46) said that it appeared to her informants as a fuzzy little animal. She found that it was one of the most powerful techniques for causing illness. The most common version of developing a choni for a fetish is that the individual takes it to a lonely place and keeps vigil over it for three nights. Toward the end of the third night, the Apache owner appears as a ghost, and permission must be gained from him to possess it as a fetish. This is an experience almost intolerably terrifying, as Pascuans fear ghosts and believe that the devil sometimes takes the form of a ghost. If an individual falls asleep during the vigil, the choni will kill him.

A choni is always kept hidden. It is carried in the pocket in a piece of cane or horn, or in a container made of a gourd, or in a silk kerchief. It would be "against the will of a choni if it were shown." No kind of feeding

is mentioned for a choni, but smoke from a *Hiak viva* (Yaqui cigarette) is thought to be pleasing to it. It is not addressed by any ceremonial title.

A choni moves about only at night; it may be put at the bedside as a guard for the owner. It is said to “jump down” and wander about alone, returning to its owner at intervals to make certain that he is safe. The choni is said to be harmless at those times. It may transform itself in the night into a corncob, with long green hair like corn silk. Another version is that it may appear in the night as a very small child (8).

The sound of a choni is described variously as a whistle (55), a lizard (9), a whisper, very light and soft (39), and a hissing sound (55). Actually, most informants imitate it with a prolonged “peeceess,” in a very high thin voice.

A choni whose master has died is “orphaned” and longs for a new owner. It can then be heard in the night, wandering about, crying. A seataka person can then capture it without undergoing the three-night vigil. A choni regards itself as the child of a couple and is very jealous; conjugal infidelity of its owner may be punished with death.

The initial function of a choni is to guard its master and all of his belongings and to warn him of danger. Mentioned as dangers are the devil, the witch, evil spirits, and wild animals. On night forays it can scout the enemy. It can round up cattle, drive a large herd, stop a runaway horse. It can strangle or choke anyone against whom its master has a grudge. It is never used in behalf of good crops or for rain.

A choni is considered evil except as a guard for its master. It is said that no one would admit to owning one. It is not, however, inimical to holy things, and one could go to church and pray with a choni in his pocket. A choni imparts no special power to its master; rather, it is used as a tool. The time level is current, and it is strongly believed in.

The following description of the choni was written by a Pascuan well-versed in Yaqui culture:

The Yaquis exercised witchcraft with much faith. The common one is the choni, which was a scalp taken from the head of a dead man with enough hair to make a braid and put at its end a ribbon bow. This, when properly taken, it will be a great help to the owner because at night the choni will guard him from every direction; traveling, he can avoid meeting any person or the “enemy” (the devil) because the choni tells him about every danger.

The choni has power to drive a great herd of cattle, so the owner just rides behind, and the choni does all the cowboy work; if he should be a cattle rustler and other cowboys meet him in the road, they may work all night trying to take back the cattle, but at least the choni will always take at least half the herd, and usually get the best of them.

Choni has power to fight against any animal which should attempt to harm his master. The choni resembles a cob of green corn when it has its green hair, and the size is about as big as a corncob. You can hear it whistle at night where they have one, as the choni never stays in the owner's pocket at night, but it would jump to the ground, which the owner would hear and see, and when the owner feels a grudge against anyone he would just send choni, and it would kill the person by choking him with the braids of hair. And the choni is very jealous. If his master would go around with another woman besides his own wife, the choni himself would kill him. The owner must have only his own wife. (55)

A further description of the choni, written by the same man during a previous year:

. . . A man gets [the choni] by art. He has to watch over it for three nights, and when it is properly taken, it will then help him. It can be any scalp, but it is generally an enemy scalp taken in battle. It could be any [kind]. [Does anyone ever kill just to get a scalp?] No, it wouldn't do him any good if he killed a man for it. Even if he developed it and took it right, it would kill him if he killed the person. In battle he wouldn't kill it directly, so that would be all right. Then he would have to take it to a place where he would be alone with it, and of course he would see the person in the form of a ghost and make arrangements with the ghost of the skull to use it. And if comes out all right, then the skull becomes alive, about the size of a corncob. It would be a size that would fit into any pocket. As soon as the night falls it would jump to the ground. The owners tell that they hear him jump to the ground like a human being and then would see him walking around in any direction, but coming back to him every few minutes all night. . . . Anyone can borrow it, but it must be done with the owner's permission. If permission is not given, a choni wouldn't do anything for anyone else. It would remain wandering all by itself when the owner dies. It does no harm to anyone then, and it can be heard in the night. It could be adopted. You probably have never heard the whistle of a choni. I have. At least, I have been there when they said it was a choni's whistle. It is very seldom that you hear it.

A choni smokes Yaqui tobacco all the time. When a person sees that a choni has been left alone and knows for sure that it wants to be adopted, then he fixes a little trap for it. He puts a lighted cigarette in a little earthen bowl under the choni. Then he puts a big bowl over it, like a big wooden bowl that they used to use. And he puts a stick under the bowl so that it is tipped up a little. The stick has a string attached

to it. The choni starts smoking the cigarette, and the man pulls the string and the bowl falls down, and the choni is trapped. The choni is willing to be adopted. Then he dresses the choni up and talks to it like a person, and from then on it is his. It is said that the Pimas in Sacaton use it the same way. . . . When the person is at home and not in need of the choni, he lets it out and it wanders, and then you can hear it. There was one in Pascua some time ago. No one knows who it belonged to, but it belonged to someone. [How do you know?] Because it did not go around every evening, but just once in a long time. If it wants to be adopted, it goes out every night.

The choni is harder to take than it is to get the art from the yoania [visions]. If you fall asleep during the three-night vigil before it comes, it would kill you. It is harder to sit there for three nights, because you can't move. In the daytime you can, but in the night you have to sit waiting. It generally comes the last night in the early morning. The dead person comes and talks to him. If he can go through all that he is the owner of it. A woman can have a choni.

[Is the choni ever used for curing?] No, not for curing. The only thing is this. My great uncle and another man who was a good curer—he used to set sprains and broken bones and necks. He did not use it in his curing work, but it helps him in watching. Not that the choni does the cure. It helps in guarding. This curer told me about going to sleep in the country where there were dangerous animals and the choni would sound off when danger was near, so the owner had protection all night. They use it in herding. And then in rustling cattle—he alone can do great work. And then the owners of the herd, they happen to meet him, and they try to turn back the herd toward the range. About half would go back, but about half would go through the cowboy without their knowing it, especially at night. And the choni owner can ride pretty easy in a thick forest. [Informant said it is never used for rain or good crops. He has never heard of a scalp pole dance.] (55)

The informant stated that when he was a child his grandfather had one. The reason he knew about it was that once they lost about twenty-five head of calves, and his grandfather knew that the Mayos had taken them. So they sent their choni down there and his grandfather said to his choni that, if they had his calves, to tie [the Mayos] up and have them wait till he got there. When they got there, all the boys [the Mayos] were there, all tied up to the fence, some sitting and some standing. This was in the days of Cajeme (a Yaqui chief), and the Mayo chief was Totelwoki (chicken feet).

The choni is far more powerful than a curer, because even a man can harm a curer. And a curer sends out as guards in the daytime men who

are soldiers or guards, just plain men, and they can be seen and can be shot. But a choni sends out guards in the night, and they cannot be seen or shot. The devil can't go to a place where they have a choni, because prayers are always accompanying a choni, and the devil can't do any harm to the choni's master.

A choni will hurt a woman quicker than a man. If a man is not true the choni will leave him, but if a woman is not true a choni will kill her. The choni regards the man as his father and the woman as his mother. And he wants them to be faithful to each other. (24)

Fetishes are taken by seataka yoemem and are from the yoania. Except that the choni might yield herself to a kia polobe. [The informant volunteered the comment that he had seen a choni go by sometimes in the night. It was in the form of a green corn cob with hair on it—the silk of the cob.] [In Pascua?] There used to be one seen there about three years ago. And the sound has been heard since, but it has not been seen. When the owner is planning not to go out of the house, the choni gets out of the place where it is kept and wanders about until morning. (2)

A choni can do cowboy work. You and a choni together can herd fifty head of cattle. . . . You can kill with it for a grudge. The person gets choked with the hair. You can be here and send it 50 miles away and it can do it. There is no evidence, no clues found as to the cause of death of a person.

Whoever has a choni does not have to take care of his farm, or fence it in or anything. It has orders to keep anyone there until daylight. He would feel paralyzed, all tied up, but wouldn't, of course, see the choni. That has been told me by my stepfather's stepfather. (58)

The following information was obtained from a young Yaqui man, who stated that a woman curer saw a choni in her doorway, about 8 inches high. When she moved, it vanished. He said the Mexicans have them. A Mexican will say while he is resting, "Oh, I don't have to be with my cattle because my choni is there." The same way when he is not working. His father's stepfather was having vegetables stolen, and he sent his choni to catch them up and bind them with its hair. The informant was camping with his family near Continental [small town in Arizona], and a horseman approached. A choni made a hissing sound, going around them in a circle, and the man turned and left (58).

A fellow that has a choni can also be a witch. . . . It will protect its master and will kill when its master desires. So if a witch that has a choni sends it to his neighbor with orders to strangle him, and even any members of the household knows anything about what is happening, there are ways of catching that choni. One way is to use a live coal and

touch the victim with it around the neck. Not really burn him. Before you do that, you have a bowl that has in it Yaqui tobacco and *chiltipiquin* (small red berries that are very hot). And you hold that bowl full of that to the victim, under the chin, or, if he is lying down, under the neck. Then you go around touching the victim with the live ash. And then the choni is supposed to drop in there and get dizzy, or even die, with the Yaqui tobacco and the chiltipiquin. The Yaqui tobacco is very strong, and the chiltipiquin is very strong. So then you close the bowl up with some kind of cover, and, of course, the choni has his time limit, and the witch somehow knows that something is being done to his pet. Like, say, his possessor tells him to be back at a certain time, midnight or eleven o'clock. And if the choni doesn't get back at the given time, well, he starts suspecting that something went wrong. Then he just pays a friendly visit to wherever the choni was sent. So whoever tore the choni loose from the victim puts a match or ashes inside the bowl, and the witch is supposed to hear it crying. So in order not to lose that choni, he starts crying and begging and saying that he will never do it again. And if the choni is killed anyway, he loses some of his power. [Is the choni invisible at that time?] Yes.

One of my mother's uncles had one. It used to be that he walked long distances. The choni would go way on ahead and come back and keep on circling, and if there was danger ahead it would veer to one side or even take another direction. In that way whoever owns a choni stays out of danger. [Is it Mexican or Yaqui?] A lot of Mexicans have chonis, but I think it is old Yaqui too. (58)

An elderly Yaqui said of the choni that it is used to strangle people. It is useful at night traveling in enemy territory. And against wild animals. He does not know whether it has to be an Apache scalp or other enemy race. He doesn't know whether they *velaroa* it. The only story he knows is that they take it in battle, and how to make it work, he does not know (17).

The following is paraphrased from information given by a Yaqui man:

My brother told me not to sleep in my bed as he had just killed a scorpion. About 3:00 A.M. the witch sent a choni after me. I heard it jumping all over the place. And jumping around the ramada, saying, "pssssss, pssssss, pssssss." I followed it outside, and it was jumping all around everywhere. It was about 2 feet high, just like a little child. I went to my mother and got some chiltipiquin and ashes, and I ground them together in my hand. I watched it until it got near the patio cross. Then I threw the stuff in front of it, and I took my handkerchief and caught it. And it cries "pssssss, pssssss, pssssss" with the sound getting weaker and weaker. I tied it up in my handkerchief. It kept crying, but

it could not get out. I could still hear it. [Informant said that he still had it, but he did not want to use it. His mother told him that as long as he had it he could not get married again, as the choni would be jealous. He mentioned several others in the village who owned one.]

The following is also paraphrased:

[The choni] is obtained from the tail of a horse. [Scalp?] The Papagos do that. You can tell a choni to kill a person and it can. It is jealous, like you can have only one wife or husband. You braid it and put ribbons on it. Only witches can have it. It turns into a little child at night. Some use it for good things, like when they want to have a long trip, and like the rangers, and when they want to protect a herd of cows. This is for good. He cries at night. He has ute'a and can choke a person around the neck and legs, too. To catch it, you put water in a can and make a cross out of *huchahko* wood (brazilwood). You use a little holy water and put the cross on top of the can. Then he falls in and takes a bath in the water. You can keep it if you want to, or put it in the fire and kill it. The choni has ute'a, but only a little. You have to tell it what to do. His father used to have one on the ranch, with many horses.

[What do you mean, it turns into a child?] This is very bad. [Low voice] Some get it from their own child, from a baby when it is dead. The witch would do this. It is like a *mukila* (ghost). Those people never go to heaven, they go to hell. They won't see God. They are afraid to go to _____ because they have heard that someone there has one. But here they pray a lot and can't be hurt. (10)

A Yaqui woman gave the following paraphrased information: She does not think it is an Apache scalp, but one taken from a baby, right after birth, who has died after only a few minutes. So the scalp has whatever seataka and ute'a the baby would have had, plus what its present owner has. The owner must have seataka and ute'a to teach it. It is just like teaching a child. It sleeps all day and wakes up at night. It is dangerous to the owner only if he or she marries, and then it is jealous. She has heard nothing about a corn cob in connection with a choni (nor had her aunt, it was learned later). "The choni turns into a little child at night." When they take the scalp from the baby, the child lives over again at night. "Every night from then on." She later said it never gets beyond the height of a two-year-old child. She said that it makes the same noise, "peeess," that other informants had described.

This woman obviously did not enjoy talking about the choni. She asked

if the writer was not afraid to. "It knows when you are talking about it" (52).

The following are direct quotations from the same woman:

A person with seataka has a choni if it comes to him. It has to have a master. If his master dies, a choni comes to a seatakame, if he has the nerve to do it. The choni has seataka and ute'a if the person whose scalp it was had them, and it gains more from its owner. "Choni" is a Yaqui word, and means "a single hair." The original owner is *chonek*. The person who has it is *chonekame*. [Is it dangerous to own one?] A lot could happen if you don't treat it right. It could strangle you. Only those who have seataka and ute'a and morea can own one. (52)

Hiak Viva

Another tool for invoking supernatural aid is the Hiak viva (Yaqui cigarette) which is said not to be in use in Pascua currently. "Hiak" means "Yaqui"; "viva," less often pronounced "*biba*," is a very strong tobacco grown on the Río Yaqui. It is rolled in a cornhusk and tied in the middle with a shred of husk. It is said by some to have ute'a. No ordeal is necessary as a preliminary to owning one, nor is seataka necessarily a requirement. It may be used for good or evil.

In the past it was smoked as a final gesture during a ceremonial visit for the purpose of *uhbuani* (ritual request). Hunters used it for protection against the witchcraft of the deer. Curers, witches, and seers found it useful, and it was helpful in scouting the enemy. Great skill is necessary in operating it, as otherwise the cigarette might kill the owner. When only the tip is sent, lighted, it must return to the part of the cigarette still held in the hand. The whole lighted cigarette may travel, in which case it glows intermittently as if being smoked. It is said to fly with the speed of a bird.

This description of the Yaqui cigarette was written by a Pascua man:

The biba is much the same as the choni, and work for good or bad. It is the original Yaqui tobacco of which it is made, rolled in soft green cornhusk and tied in the middle, as a tamale. [Three kinds of people use it in different ways.] The seer who neither hurts nor cures people; the curer cures the sick and uses the cigarette to protect himself and those who are with him; the witch uses the cigarette to hurt people. When he strikes a person, the effect appears externally parched like a burn. If not cured soon it spreads in ulcers. The seer uses the cigarette as a messenger to inform himself and others for safety about the place they plan to go, and the seers play the cigarette on request. The other two use the cigarette in the same way only for theirselves and will not do it on request. The only tobacco used for this purpose is the original

Yaqui tobacco and it is called “Hiak bibam.” The cigarette travels with speed, and they say that of a woodpecker in flight. It is lighted and blinks as the sender smoke it while it travels. (55)

. . . in the older times there were people who used the viva to know the future. He would hurt someone with it. The purpose for killing someone with the viva would result in the same manner as a bullet, and from a considerable distance, not necessarily in his view. It can run a long distance and still hurt the victim. The seer and the witch both use the viva. The chapayeka imitates the seer in knowing what is going to happen (i.e., in pantomime). . . . The seer has to know how to send it on a message and how to receive it. If he doesn’t know, he is liable to kill himself. If it doesn’t come back on the tip, it will kill the person that sent it. (31)

The Hiak viva may be used as a common cigarette that the pascola distributes to the public, but in the hands of a bad person it works evil. They talk something to the cigarette. A person with seataka and a Yaqui cigarette would know where the Mexicans were going to strike and would warn the Yaquis, and they would move the whole *encampamiento* (encampment) to another place.

It is supposed to strike the front part of the ramada. And a person who has seataka can see this, and the person is unhurt. A person without seataka cannot see the sparks. (55)

The witch uses a Yaqui cigarette, too. It is supposed to—say you are traveling at night and that person wants to be mean and in some way he flips that cigarette toward you, and, if you see it coming and don’t duck and it passes over you, you are a very sick person. [What kind of sickness?] Mostly chills, fever, and headaches. The whole cigarette goes. In the Río Yaqui they are really afraid of it. [And in Pascua?] I have heard the old men talking about it, but they don’t seem to respect it around here. When a person in the Río Yaqui sees a sick person, he will say, “Well, he has been hit by a cigarette.” (58)

Further information on the Yaqui cigarette, provided by one of the older men, is summarized as follows:

They put a long stick in the ground, very sharp at the top. Then they put the cigarette on top and talk to it. Mexicans call the tobacco *mak-ucho*, but the Yaquis call it Hiak viva. The Surem had it. It has even more ute’a than the fetishes. None available in Pascua. Two men grew it [formerly]. Still have it in the Río Yaqui. If they had it, they would use it. Used in foretelling. Curers use it to cure witchcraft sickness. They rub the ashes on it after smoking. A witch does not use it. Pascola and deer groups use it in ramada for ute’a. It used to be sent out from the

ramada to find witches. The top was supposed to come back. Used it for scouting the enemy. The curers were the ones who smoked it for these things. The *maso buikame* (deer singers) smoked it “for the throat and so that they could think better.” No special ritual involved in getting or using it. (10)

Amulets

The word “amulet” will be used to describe an object which is thought to have a special quality, spoken of by most as *ute’a*, which may either ward off dangers to its possessor or, less frequently, impart to him some of its *ute’a*. It is most often, but not exclusively, used as protection against the *moreakame* (witch). One need not have *seataka* to possess an amulet, nor is any ordeal undergone in owning it, as described for fetishes. The Surem are thought to have had amulets, and they are in constant, current use. They may be worn on a string or ribbon around the neck, or carried, as in a pocket or small sack. If a ribbon is attached, it should be red for men and green for women.

Huchahko wood from the male tree is the commonest of the four woods described by Yaqui men (10 and others) as used for fetishes. Small arrows, or more frequently crosses, are carved from the wood. One might speak of such a cross as *cruz de virtud*. The one who fashions it must have “good heart” while making it. The rasps of the deer singers are made of huchahko wood, it is used in curing, and it is spoken of as an aid in obtaining a *choni*. The heart of the *yo’ohuupa* may be used in the same way. Woods called *kutachino* (which has *ute’a* power) and *pawis* (wild parsley root) are spoken of less frequently. According to one man (10), these woods are called collectively *naiki weyeme* (four going together, or, in Spanish, *cuatro cosas amadradas*), implying four things coupled or yoked together. A brew, made with cold water from one or all of them, is quaffed.

You do not get tired after you drink it. When you drink it you feel as if you had wings. It goes through the veins and you do not feel lazy. (10)

Other objects seen are of huchahko; anything that has been struck by lightning; *maso pusim* (dried eyeball of a deer); *maso kuta* (deer tree or deer wood) (28); also the *maso teta* or *maso vachia* (bezoar, or stone found in the stomach of the deer, described in the section on the deer). The *buia sewam* (earth flowers), on which the deer likes to browse, give one luck in cards and in love (10). If a pregnant woman takes the egg of a turtle or pulls the leg of one, her child will have *ute’a* and be strong and healthy (10 and others).

2

Agents and Manifestations of the Supernatural

The witch and the curer are the two agents of the supernatural known to every Pascuan. Witchcraft, known for centuries in Europe, was never successfully obliterated by the church. European witchcraft seems to have combined with native Yaqui tradition to such an extent that few practices are said by Pascuans to be totally native. Folk curing was also widespread in Europe and was combined with native Yaqui curing methods. In general, Pascuans appear to have retained the practices that were useful and that did not openly conflict with Catholicism. The power of foretelling, formerly known among the Yaquis, seems not to have been found useful; it is no longer practiced except as a *seataka* person is endowed with the gift of foreknowledge.

AGENTS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

Witches

Health and long life, freedom from illness and *taiwaim* (safe days) are major preoccupations among Pascuans. Some illness is thought to be a punishment from God for wrongdoing, especially in neglect of ceremonial duties. The cure for God-sent illness is often the *manda*, which will be discussed below. Witchcraft is the other cause of illness, and it is much feared.

Morea (sometimes pronounced *murea*) means witchcraft, and *morea-kame* is a person, male or female, who possesses the ability to, and does, practice witchcraft. In Pascua culture he is an evil person, who engages in

malevolent practices. There is no concept of a benign or good witch, although there is the concept of being “only a little bit of a witch.” *Siiibo* (witching) is the common term, but occasionally *yoesisi’ibome* is used. The Mexican *brujo* and *hechicero* are occasionally heard, the former much more frequently. The English word “witch” will be employed, as it is often used in Pascua and is the choice of informants.

Witchcraft is an inborn quality. It is not hereditary and cannot be acquired; it is thought to be derived from the Surem. A witch may seek visions in the yoania for further knowledge, but the ability itself cannot be acquired in that way. One may augment one’s *seataka* and *morea* through dreaming of animals and birds, thus obtaining some of theirs. Twins are born with ambivalent power for witchcraft or curing.

The witch is thought to be associated with the devil—“acts like the devil,” “is the devil’s disciple.” When a witch dies, he “goes to the devil, never to heaven.” A witch has no power to hurt an Anglo. The phrase “from the left,” meaning from the left side, is used in connection with the witch. “The devil comes from the left side” (52). The concept of witchcraft predates the Spanish conquest and is strongly believed in currently.

There is no society of witches, no coven. The thought is that witchcraft is a secret and evil thing and that no one would willingly reveal himself even to another witch. A witch is said to be cowardly and weak physically. He tries to “mingle with the people and act friendly,” even to the point of going to church and praying. People who are *too* friendly—who “walk in the houses” too frequently—are suspected of being witches. He or she attempts to control his hatred and to be inconspicuous in every way. One might suspect a witch by having a quarrel with him or her and especially by seeing him or her in dreams, often not in his usual form. Some of those most closely associated with Catholic beliefs do not like to, or refuse to, discuss witchcraft. Some fear retaliation by witches, as they are considered to be able to read minds and hear conversations even when not present.

A witch must have strong *seataka* to implement his *morea* successfully. However, it is thought that *seataka* is stronger than *morea*, and a *seataka* person, knowing through his or her dreams that he is going to be, or is, attacked, can win out over the witch. *Seataka* is by far the best weapon; without it a victim is helpless. In a fight between a curer and a witch, the one with the stronger *seataka* wins. *Ute’a* is also an element for both.

The two motivations most often mentioned are envy and jealousy, and most particularly envy. A witch “hates people,” “acts mean,” “resents good works,” “is greedy.” He resents excellence in either personal leadership, personal prestige, material comforts, a good car, a fine wife, good looks, or ceremonial skills. All groups can be hurt, except that the maestros and singers are exempt when conducting services. The *pascola* dancers are especially vulnerable because they are so popular and skillful. They are also

thought to be closest to the *yoania*, which some regard as the domain of the devil; this too seems to increase their vulnerability.

A witch aims to make people ill or to kill them. The illnesses are different from those that are God-sent as a punishment.

Methods used by a witch are numerous. Concentrated will power and *ute'a* are essential weapons. By these he can hurt someone even when not present. "He thinks about somebody and can hurt him" (58). Staring, or an evil look, can be effective. A witch can escape detection by changing into any form that he desires, such as a ghost, an animal, or a bird. When one sees a ghost, one sees only the outline and nothing responds to the touch. If one is frightened by this, he goes insane. A witch can attack one in dreams "when you are half dead and can't fight back." In the dream the victim is being bitten or clawed by the witch in the form of an animal or bird. Poisons may be put in food, in a handshake, a cigarette, on the head, or on the ground where the person is accustomed to walk. A phenomenon called the *nao ania* will be described by informants below.

The above are all believed to be Yaqui methods of witchcraft. Those recognized as Mexican are such historically universal methods as sucking out intrusive objects, sticking pins in dolls, and turning down photographs. These are sometimes also used by Yaqui witches. Methods not employed are the use of burials, feces, fingernail clippings, and hair.

A cross made of *huchahko* wood, worn on a string around the neck, is effective against the witch, but, if one is attacked, the best recourse is to call a curer. Strong *seataka* is effective, and the sign of the cross may also be employed. Traditionally in the Yaqui villages in Mexico, when a witch is discovered, he or she is given a trial and then may be burned to death.

Like if a witch feels something for you, you will just know. You will also have dreams of that person. Especially if you have a little *seataka*, and if you are very strong, like *ute'a*, nothing will happen to you. But if you are weak, something will happen to you, especially if you are scared with every little noise. Because they could play trouble on you. They could even touch you on the shoulder, or pull your hair, or anything to get attention. If a person comes in and touches you on the shoulder, or if you get in a panic, it's there you will fall into his trap, and then he can hurt you. By scaring you to death—oh, yes, he can really scare you to death; or, if not that, slowly you will die. And if you have no *ute'a*, that can happen. [What can you do?] Nothing, really. Go to a *hitebi* (curer) and get treated. [Do most Yaquis believe this?] The majority of them. [More or less than the Mexicans?] More than the Mexicans. It is very Yaqui. [Do you pray that God will protect you?] Not very much. When you get something like that, they really have you down. [Do you call this supernatural?] Yes.

My uncle told me that the witch lives under the fingernails and not to wear my nails long, and I never do. A witch can harm by just thinking about a person, by his will power, and with an evil look or staring. And if you don't have seataka, you will always be sick. You can really get sick. . . . A witch always keeps to himself, and you might suspect that kind of person. A Yaqui might put a cross on a bullet against a witch. . . . A witch cannot attack a deer dancer, because he has seataka and ute'a stronger than the witch's. There are many pascolas who do not have seataka, and these can be attacked. [A hitebi who becomes powerful does not turn into a witch, nor are leaders of anything thought to do so. A witch does not gain property, or anything but personal satisfaction, from his witchcraft.] (52)

Your seataka makes you dream and is your protection. The main thing is that you have the power to fight the witch in a dream. (55)

It means the fellow with the morea. He is born with it, and he can do evil. He thinks thoughts about somebody and can hurt them. A lot of things are taken out of wounds that they have put in. A lot of people believe in it in the Río Yaqui. In Pascua too, [but I] do not.

[I have heard of] matted hair [at birth] in connection with the morea. They say [a witch] will have morea. [Morea is] to be able to intimidate persons by mental telepathy, to think anyone into being sick. They call it siibo. Whoever is a witch can siibo some person. A Yaqui witch is supposed to do that to people regardless of distance, like from here to [the other side of town]. Or even by looking at him. He does not use pictures, or pins or bone. He is supposed to be born with it and do whatever he likes without exposing himself. Say someone in the house got sick. He would not go to a hitebi. But I have also heard people say that a witch can also cure some diseases. (58)

They make brews and mixtures to be taken by the victim, and they stick pins in dolls, and they turn down photographs and put an object on them to keep anyone from going out. They do oraciones along with these things.

Those who harm people, who give it in food, are inferior to those who do it by will power. He is stronger because he will never show himself. He will even treat the person who he is going to harm kindly. And they are harder to get caught. [Reasons for harming anyone?] It is a jealousy in most times on the part of a man to a man. A man gains over him in some kind of work he is doing. Violinists and harpists have been harmed. And the tampaleo. And the pascola. He wears a little bead around his neck which is supposed to be against the witch. If he don't wear it, he is likely to get harmed.

[Does a Yaqui witch use oraciones?] Not a standard oración. He does

it with his mind and stuff that they compose themselves. [A Yaqui witch can use Mexican methods but does not use oraciones as the Mexicans do.] They are both (Yaqui and Mexican) witches, because their heart is bad, and they hate people that way. A man that has that, he may be nice one day and others he will be mad and nervous and touchy in every way. We call them *lunáticos*. When the moon is new, he gets these kinds of spells of sickness. He has no power then. He wakens when the moon is tender. And then he is lunatic, because he is sick and mad, and just goes kicking little dogs around. And that doesn't happen every new moon.

Even babies can be witched. [A relative] thought his baby had been witched into ear trouble. The witch could not hurt the man, so he struck the little boy. He was sent to near Phoenix, to a woman curer who cured him. A witch could be mad at the baby because he is happy and hollering and playing around. That's how mean they are. Those people are so heartless they will do anything to harm you.

[At a fiesta it is dangerous for the pascola to go outside] without his mask. But the power of the bad witch can't strike whenever he wants. He has to work all night and all evening and can't strike just when he wants to. If he does, the curer is brought in, and he fights with his will. Some little medicine of some kind on the affected part [too]. If he finds the person who is doing it, the person is taken into the custody of the pueblo. The law gets him. They give him a trial (this refers now to customs in Río Yaqui), and if he is found guilty they burn him in fire. They make a big fire of green wood, piled across each other, one on top of another. They make a castle of the wood piled high. They burn this, and when it gets to the highest point of heat the man is bound with leather belts or even wire; then they throw this man into hell. They tell him that is where he belongs. When they put him in, he is supposed to burn. They say they have seen some animals running out of the fire still alive, and the [curer] is there, and his helpers with him. Lizards, snakes, tarantulas, scorpions, or any of these, even black widow spiders. They think he had them with him to hurt people. Some will have one, some more than one. They throw them back in the fire until they get them all. Before they find him guilty he starts swearing against all the saints and God, starts getting mad before he is found guilty. They ask if he believes in God, and he would answer in a contrary way, therefore making himself guilty of the charge. He wouldn't want to say he believes in God in no way. [How does the curer fight the witch with his will?] He prays just like anyone else does. The common prayers, and he asks permission from the Heavenly Father to give him enough good power to fight the evil. (55)

A strong kind of witchcraft is the *nao ania* (literally, corncob world). No full significance of the word *nao* has been obtainable. It is used in the discussion of the *choni*, which appears at times in the shape of a corncob. It is said to be pure Yaqui.

The witch is supposed to be known to make a powder called *nao ania*, or corncob world. If you say “*nao*,” you are talking about the corncob. Commonly known are the mesquite thorns and the corncob, and just other kinds of seeds and herbs. There are some herbs that are very bitter, like the *tastafiate* (Spanish), or in Yaqui *chi'ichibo*. That is the worst one. Another bad one is the *toloachi* (Jimson weed). Probably there are other things, like the poison of animals, but not the body of animals. They mix the *nao ania* up in a pot and let it rot, let it go into fermentation. And then this will start working after it is a month old. It is supposed to be seen by a person who has a gift for it—a *seatakame*. It is hidden in the ground, and he will see it floating up into the air in the form of a light, something like a meteor. It is supposed to go up and drop back, and go up and drop back three times, and then when it is strong enough it goes up with the air and explodes in the air and spills all over the village. The *seataka* person will watch it and tell about it without fear. And then the people will start being careful about sickness. The sickness is given in the form of influenza and will kill them if they are not taken care of. A good curer should watch this person. He is supposed to turn him in to the Yaqui law or justice. They have been telling me this in Tucson. Not exactly in Pascua. Before Pascua was settled. . . . [The *nao ania*] has not been seen for a long time, but it has been seen in Pascua. (55)

[This is] a bowl that goes up and down for three nights and falls down and kills people. It is bad and different from the *yoania*. It is from the witch. (28)

An elderly Yaqui man gave his opinion, paraphrased as follows:

The *nao ania*. Brujos do this. They make a brew of bad things and add *huchahko* to it. It goes up three times and spreads its evil over the whole village. The *hitebi* makes a brew of the four woods with cold water and gives it to the people to drink against this. (10)

Wild animals and birds possess in varying degrees *seataka*, *ute'a*, and witchcraft ability. The deer is the richest of the animals in all of these attributes. It is thought that animals have their own language (*yoawa noki*) and can understand each other; but they can communicate with, protect themselves against, and harm humans through their *seataka*. One informant (2)

believes (a few others concur) that worms in animals are the carriers of seataka, ute'a, and witchcraft ability, and some say that the seat of witchcraft is in a blister. Dreaming is often a vehicle of communication. The special gifts of animals may be obtained by humans in dreams, and they play an important part in curing and witching.

Almost all animals have morea. The rabbit has it against the hunter. There are occasions when he plays with the hunter by bewitching him. He teases him by getting close to him and then running away and driving him crazy. In a sense he has a more powerful morea than the deer, as the hunter might run out of bullets chasing the rabbit. This happens to a *kia polobe*—a person has to have seataka to hunt successfully. The coyote and fox have morea. And a smaller species of the coyote family called in Yaqui *ma'ata'e*. This has morea and does bad omen (*tech-oemta*) too. And the owl and the *tuibit* (water bird) have morea and do bad omen. All those that do bad omen signs have morea. The deer's morea is through seataka. It can bewitch a person. (9)

The rabbit is like the deer, because if you want to kill it, and it doesn't want you to, you can't. . . . If you harm them they can bewitch you, but if you don't they will not harm you. The leader will do that. [It was clear that all animals have seataka, and all have more than man. And also that this is current belief.] (2)

And the wild animals are considered to have morea. . . . [How do they use it?] They are all supposed to have morea for bewitching people. A man gets lost on the desert even near his home and is bewitched. [By whom?] By the animal itself. It is the power of the wilderness that makes people get lost. A person who gets lost truly goes crazy. My grandmother got lost. And my grandfather had a little seataka and must have imagined that the girl was lost all right. She was taking care of a little flock of goats. She said her tendency was to run away and hide. Once she was lost, she would have no protection. She saw her father coming, and she was running away from him, because she was scared and was running away from him, until they overtook her and cured her with some kind of *ba'a-wingo* (water weed). And he just used a little plain dust and rubbed her temples and behind her ear and behind the neck and over the heart; and then she began to recover. (55)

Stories are legion of the ability of witches to assume animal form. Rolling in an ant hill is a form of incantation that is reminiscent of the Surem and the yoania.

[Rolling on an ant hill] is a witch incantation. They transform themselves that way. It is not an ant hill like a mound. The ants are black

ants, big black ones, and they are stingers. Their holes are separate. The place is very far out without any green grass. These persons undress entirely, and then it is only he or she who knows what she says there, and the one who says it would not say it to anybody. Nobody knows. But he or she rolls and becomes a coyote, a *yoem wo'i* (human coyote). It could be the moreakame, because my uncle used to tell me that it was for the purpose of stealing young sheep and goats, whatever can be carried. . . . [The informant concluded that rolling on an ant hill with an incantation has supernatural powers. And that it may be connected with the Surem, because they were that kind of ants—large black ants.]

[My uncle] was close to one hundred when he was here. He went back to the Río Yaqui. He did the same thing with another woman, a middle-aged woman. This was the case of a coyote. She did that to steal some sheep from the flocks. They had some little boys in the country to herd the sheep. This woman would go out once in awhile and get some sheep by this means, and did some other things too. He spied on her for a few days, to see what she did. He says that this woman came. There are places where the ants live for many years, where there is an ant castle. Nothing grows because they pick up every seed that falls there. There is usually a mound of dirt until you get to the ant hole. She went to that place and took off her clothes, and started rolling on the ant castle till she turned into a coyote. But only the head, legs, and tail were like a coyote. She was running on four legs, but her skin was her own skin, not fur. She took off running. He went over to the place where she done it. He didn't want to do nothing to her, but wanted to know what it was all about. She went to where a little boy was herding sheep, and she took one. She killed it and hid it, and then she went back and started rolling again, and then she was herself and went back and got the sheep. (55)

Many stories are told about lovelorn people mistaking animals or snakes for the loved one.

There is one story that is about my uncle. He was usually after a young woman in the country. He usually lose her on going into the forest. He was curious to know where she went. There was a little lake around there where she usually disappeared. He would like to know where she went, but he was afraid she would spy on him. He would see if he could see her trail. It usually happens that the animals can be either males or females. Well, then, this young lady, he thought that she was going around with a young man that she went to meet. After many days of trying to find her, he told me that one day he found her near the lake in a place hidden under some thick brush, with a large black snake; and

the girl didn't see him, but he saw the snake bound all over her body. They call that snake *baba'atuku*. It is not poisonous and it doesn't hurt people. It is like the king snake. And the young lady was later reported. He had to do that, because the young lady was going to get killed by the snake. (55)

If a young girl in love goes into the desert, any animal can turn itself into the image of her boyfriend. (52)

This is not a natural love, it is some sort of deception, an *apasionado* (passionate fondness) of the mind or heart. If you are in good standing with the person you love, you can't have any such thing. You will love the country, and your mouth will smile once in awhile, and you will be happy. But if not, you are jealous, and it becomes a deception, and you think too much about her. This man jumped down a wash alone, and the wolf got him. They all ran up with their guns, but he didn't leave any tracks, not even any blood. They were scared. There is where the maestro said it must have been the devil, because no trace was left. (55)

A person with the kind of skin disease that makes the skin spotted is usually connected with a skunk. They believe that he has made love to a skunk, thinking that he was the loved one. (58)

And then there is the story about [the gambler]. He was the same way with the female rattlesnake, but he saw her as an attractive woman. He was a gambler, who is very unlucky at gambling. He knew that it was something. He did not do it innocently, because he wanted to gamble and win, so this female snake was willing to give him the power to win and be lucky.

[Is that the only time (when lovelorn) that animals can bewitch people?] That, and for the gambler who was in love with the game and was favored by a snake.

[Do people still believe that animals can bewitch a person?] Yes, though it hasn't happened in Tucson since about 1916.

Pasisco was a Yaqui boy in the Mayo country, a cowboy. He married a witch girl in the Mayo country. When he tried to get away he couldn't, because of animals that were trapping him and sending him back to her. Until one day he met an old Yaqui and sought advice from him to get away from her. The old man suggested that he give his choni to him. And he fought three nights, until the third night the woman succeeded in going through the choni. The choni was trapping the animals. They were made-up animals by her, but Pasisco saw them. But the woman went through the choni's trap and didn't get caught. And Pasisco knew that the woman was coming, and he used three arrows, and the third

killed the woman. And when he killed the leopard, he opened the wrist of the leopard and saw the bracelets that the woman used to have on both arms. According to the way the old man told, he took out the two bracelets. The leopard was the woman, and he had killed her with the third arrow. The witch's name was Marita. (55)

Comparatively little is said in Pascua about the snake, but the inference is always present that the snake is evil and has supernatural power. It is often mentioned as the entrance and exit to yoania visions, as already described. Snakes enter the dreams of the pascola group. Some of the dawn dances, thought to be "on the bad side," are called *Bakot Hiawai* (Snake Sounds). A legendary pascola, who could perform supernatural feats, is called Bakot Pascola. The snake also figures in some of the legends about enchantment of humans by animals and is also mentioned as a monstrous creature. The words "serpent" or "dragon" are sometimes used in translation.

There was a young girl, you know, that had a boyfriend, and they used to meet in a little desert not far from their home. That was in Mexico. And there was a big branch of a tree where they used to sit. There was a full moon, so that it was light like daytime. And this girl went over there to wait for her boyfriend. So she sat down to wait for him, till her boyfriend showed up. When it was time to go home, they started walking toward home, both of them. And she said, you know, she was looking at their shadows, and her shadow was like herself, but her boyfriend's shadow was just a little straight line. And then she said she looked up to her boyfriend, and it looked like him. And then she started to ask him how come her shadow was perfect and his was not. And when she asked him that question and looked up at him, it made a slapping sound and fell down and hissed away, and she saw it was a rattlesnake. And then when she got home she told her parents about it. She started to get sick and got real thin, and then she died. My grandmother said that this was true.

Did you know that crocodiles turn themselves into human beings like us? You know, when there are fiestas, like pascolas and matachinis, they come out from the water or the swamps wherever they are, and they roll themselves into the sand and take off their skins, and they hide. And then they clothe themselves like us, and then they go to the fiestas.

When they roll theirself in the sand, then their skin comes off, and they are human like us. Then they dress like what we used to wear and then went to the fiesta. And they stood away from the wind, so the smell of the crocodile doesn't go to the people. Then when they get tired, and then they go back again and get their skin that they have

hidden and put it back on and go into the water where they belong. My mother said that sometimes the boys would find the skins and throw them away so they would have to stay on land.

The father of [a certain Yaqui] married a lady that used to be a crocodile. She didn't like the food we had, and she got skinny, and she passed away here. There must be something in it. They don't harm anyone. [The informant thinks they must all be females that do this, as they all wear women's clothes. She thinks it is still going on.] An uncle in Culiacán [town in Mexico] wrote to my grandfather that there were two sisters who at night turned themselves into wolves to be out with the pack. (16)

Curers

Pascuans believe that there are two classes of illness. One is sent by God as punishment for sins. For God-sent illness the cures are prayer and the making of a manda. The other kind of illnesses are sent by a witch. For these the only recourse is a curer. (For a study in depth of disease and curing, see Shutler 1967.)

A hitebi is a man or woman born with the ability to cure and trained by the apprentice method. A Mexican curer is called a curandero. (The word "curer" will be used, as it is a direct translation of hitebi and was selected by informants.)

Although it is impossible to separate out European and native traits, it is feasible to report what methods are most referred to by Pascuans and which are considered by them to be particularly Yaqui. Curing is spoken of as being "on the good side," and a curer enjoys a position of respect in the village. It is not feared that as a healer matures in age and skill he may become a witch.* He works individually and generally has a specialty. There is no society of curers. Currently, a person who is ill may summon either a native curer or a doctor, or be under treatment by both.

A curer must have seataka, the stronger the better, as it is through his seataka that he is able to implement his gift. He is apt to have ute'a, too, although it is not a necessity. Characteristics of a curer are said to be moral and physical strength and an understanding of people, and, of course, the innate gift.

* *Editorial note:* Comments from Mrs. Painter's informants (as well as from my own) indicate how often Yaquis view things as double-edged, as capable of use for either good or evil (Yaqui cigarettes, for example). I believe that Mrs. Painter separates things into good or bad much more clearly than the Yaquis do. This tendency is seen in the belief expressed here that curers cannot be witches. The uncertainty about the potential for good or evil seems to me to provide one of the tensions of Yaqui life. It contributes toward ambivalence about many things and may help to explain some of the apparent contradictions between informants, or even between different statements by the same informant.

The gift of curing is transmitted from the Surem and is not hereditary. A curer does not, has no need to, resort to seeking *yoania* visions. A curer may be summoned for God-sent diseases, visited as punishment, but the avenue for curing that kind of illness is more likely to be the *manda*, discussed later. A *manda* is not efficacious in dealing with an illness visited by a witch. The true Yaqui curer diagnoses illness through dreaming. By means of his *seataka*, he sees the witch in his dreams, often in the form of an animal. He struggles with his adversary in the dream and overcomes him if he has *seataka* superior to that of the other. He may also dream his cures.

[The curer] is born with *seataka*, born with the gift from God to be able to do good for mankind and to help people who are hurt by the witch. (55)

A *hitebi* dreams of an animal, and he is talking to him and trying to conquer the animal in his dream. Then if he does conquer him, the person he is treating will get better from his sickness. (52)

The *seataka* person has the ability to tell in dreams about curing persons, and in that case he is a curer, and they dream the medicine that can be applied to the ailment. (17)

A *hitebi* has *seataka*. A *hitebi* would know if you were sick, even if you were not there. (10)

They dream their cures. [Does the curer know who the witch is who has injured a person?] Yes, they dream who did it. [In Vicám (Yaqui village in Mexico) the informant hurt his foot very badly (due to a witch), and his wife cured him. She was a very good curer when she was younger.] (10)

The curer has the gift that if a relative should ask him that they want the witch killed, the curer can do it. But the witch, if he has more power over the curer, he will surely overtake him and hurt him. If a person does not have *seataka*, he will be just a *polobe* (unimportant person) and wouldn't be able to do anything and resist so much concentration of mind. (31)

[The curer] sees a dog or cat in his dream, and he kills him in the dream, and that is where he gets his power. He does not kill the deer in his dream because the deer is like a prayer. (2)

If a person has dreams of an animal it means that the witch has sent the animal. It may be a dog or some other animal that has fangs, biting a person, and this will cause either ulcer or just pain. A curer may be called for this, but he may not dream about the same animal. He dreams about some animal, and, if he overcomes some animal in his dream, the person will get well. If he is overcome by the animal, the

curer will get sick too. If he does not see an animal, the person is not harmed by his sickness. It might be some natural illness that is not bewitchment. All curers dream this way because they are fighting against the animal of that witch. (55)

If a person gets sick and goes to a real good hitebi, who finds out where the witch is who is doing the witchcraft, he pays money to the hitebi. So the hitebi can find out who the witch is and takes out whatever the witch has put in. He sends it back to the witch, and the witch dies or saves himself by his seataka. The hitebi has seataka and ute'a and will dream about the witch. Then he tells the sick person. (52)

[How tell whether one has a God-sent illness or one induced by the witch?] [If] it is a natural sickness, you don't stay sick so long. It will go away in about two or three days. If it is witchcraft, you'll know it is not natural, because you will be too sick. Especially if it is a choni, it will kill you right away. When it is natural, you will be relieved by medicine. If it is not, you won't be relieved, no matter how much medicine you take. (52)

The Yaqui cigarette was a traditional and important tool of the curer, not currently used. It aided in diagnosis, was sent as a messenger to find out who the witch was and where, and was especially used as a weapon against the witch. It also was an aid in dreaming. It was used in sickness caused by the deer, as well as in sicknesses sent by the witch. It is said that a fiesta-giver would put a curer in the fiesta ramada to foretell when the witch was approaching, and to strike him first. The Yaqui cigarette was also employed to deter a witch who was about to start a *nao ania*.

Some of the specific methods said to be in current use by the Pascua curers are described below.

The curer must be thoroughly knowledgeable about, and in harmony with, herbs, plants, and woods. Herbs are used in decoctions, or ground and made into a paste with or without other materials. Chiltipiquin, a small hot red berry, mixed with tobacco, is used for pain. The important huchahko wood, made into a drink, stops pain and eases tired muscles. A leaf of the toloachi, put on a splinter, softens it until it can be pulled out. Maso kuta is boiled in water and used for bathing, to alleviate deer sickness caused by the witchcraft of a deer, skin disease, or menstrual pain. For earache, the curer grinds the silk of green corn with chiltipiquin and Yaqui tobacco, blows it into the ear, and plugs it in. *Va'akam* (nut grass) is ground and put on sores. It also imparts energy to living things, such as a pascola dancer or a racehorse. *Hu'upa* (mesquite leaves) mashed in water are effective as eye drops. *Pawis* (Spanish, *chuchupate*) is made into a paste for broken bones.

Yaqui tobacco may be smoked, pure or mixed with corn silk, beeswax,

or chiltipiquin, over the head, the ear, or the teeth for pain. Saliva may be rubbed on a patient by a specialist in massage, one "who has good hands," or may be spit into a diseased eye, in a paste, or one may wet the thumb with it before making the sign of the cross. Ashes of the preferred pine, mesquite, and cholla may be used in massage for broken bones, sprains, or cramps. Dirt may be used for the same purpose, and one may see the chayekas imitating this. Beeswax ground with tobacco eases an aching tooth. Animal bones, ground and mixed with herbs, are an aid in curing broken bones. Carrizo (cane) may be used as splints. Coyote fat is healing to rheumatism and broken bones. Turtle soup is used for tuberculosis.

The wild deer has a special function in curing. The deer hide is used to bind broken bones "because it is the one that has the curing power" (58). Two informants said that deer bones are burned into powder or chalk and used as a plaster on the affected part of the body. They also said that a curer can cure a man bewitched by the fawn if he hunts only for sport, but he will never be able to kill any more deer (1 and 2). Sucking out of intrusive objects may be done by a curer, but this skill is said to have been learned from Mexicans.

The common prayers may be spoken by a curer before attempting healing, and the sign of the cross may be made as "the curer knows that the witch is afraid of it."

If anyone in the ramada is injured by a witch, a curer or the man himself may take white mesquite ashes from outside, or plain dirt, mix it with the saliva and make the sign of the cross with it over the affected place. A curer would also probably have some other kind of medicine. (1 and 2)

Three days and three nights are needed for effecting a cure. The ceremonial societies and the native dancers have no curing power, not even the deer dancer. The pay for a curer is ten or twenty dollars [in the 1960s] or whatever the family can afford.

Methods not used by a curer are sweatbaths (although strong lotions are given to draw out sweat), head-washing, emesis, fumigation, breath rites, singing, candles, or peyote.

A Mexican curandero is thought to suck out foreign objects, such as hair or bones, stick pins in dolls, make herb concoctions, rub with ashes or dirt, and pray.

They use ashes as medicine for curing. This is bodily cure, not soul. The curer has to pray first. He stays alone with the sick person (*ko-koemta velaroa*; Spanish, *velación*, a wake or watch). They use saliva as a paste. They grind herbs. Anything that falls to the ground is not

good. . . . An herb has power because it has been taken out of the ground for that purpose. The curer would pray to God to give power to the herb for the purpose of curing. "Lord, I want [to use] this root for medicine." (55)

Then he pulls it out [of the ground] and thanks the Lord. An herb seller is supposed to do the same thing, or anyone else. It has no power unless asked from the divine power.

Some curers are like Christian Scientists. They cure a sick person by saying. "Well, this is just very light. He, God, only whipped you with a little willow twig. I know it hurts, but that little willow twig would not hurt so much if we were not sinners." And meanwhile he uses herbs to give him something to drink. And while he is grinding the herbs he is meditating on the prayers he will give. He encourages the sick person to forget about the ailment. A person might be very deep in sin and wouldn't remember anything about divine cure or anything, so he begins to explain to him. (55)

[A certain man] is supposed to mend broken bones. He uses a lot of herbs and bones, especially a dog's head. They take an old skeleton of a dog and take the head and burn it up and grind it down into a powder. They make putty out of this mixture [with the herbs] and put it on and take a deer hide, a buckskin, and bind it with that. They take a deer hide, because that has something to do with it too.

There is a grass called in Yaqui *va'akam* . . . and it is called nut grass. It will cure sores. You grind it and put it on sores. I know for a fact because I have tried it on my dogs and on my kids. The Yaquis get a young horse, and they want to make it into a racehorse. They bathe horses with it, mixed with other herbs and roots. If you keep two or three in water, and every time you take a bath or a shower, you use some of that you will be, shall we say, alert. No laziness, you are quick-witted. The *pascolas* use it in powdered form just before dancing. (58)

[Why use buckskin to bind a broken bone?] Because it is the one that has the curing power. I have heard a lot about the coyote skin too, and the fat, if one should be found that had fat on it. That is always a joke because they are so thin. They use the fat for a broken bone and for rheumatism, too. [Why the coyote?] It has curing power. The fat of the coyote has curing power for rheumatism. Any broken bone would have to have some other kind of medicine on it before binding. They all should have some kind of fat. They use different ointments that they have. [Which has more power to cure?] The deer has magic power to cure and heal the sprain. The coyote has power, but no magic power.

[A certain man] believes very much in this witchcraft. He is pretty badly crippled, and he was telling me that he was cured by one of the

Mexican [curers] in town. He said that he was going, and the curandero took a little ball of hair out of his chest. And the same was done to his daughter by the curandero when she was becoming crippled. They are not entirely cured but are better. Hair and bones are the commonest to be sucked out of a body. (55)

In a discussion of ants in the yoania, one man said the following regarding the curing power of ants:

They were a kind of ant bigger than we have, called *mochos*. And if you have a little boy and he can't walk or is crippled, you take him and stand him on their ant hill, and let them bite him. It does not hurt him, but it cures him, and he can walk. It is like some kind of medicine. (2)

A *yomumuli* is a kind of curer:

[A *yomumuli* is] a person who can help a pregnant lady by her seataka. He can do this by special singing when a baby is going to come out the wrong way. He can make it turn around. If it is a girl, it is called *muli*; if a boy, it is called *mumuli*. [The informant knows a *muli*.] (52)

Seers or Saurinos

A *saurino* is a person with strong seataka who has inherited from the Surem the gift of foretelling. He may also have ute'a. He will be called a seer. Information about seers is not abundant and is often contradictory. It is said that they are not known in Pascua and that few exist in Mexico. Seers must not be confused with the *susuakame*, leaders of great wisdom in ancient times, now only a diminishing echo. Seers appear occasionally in legends and are remembered in some speeches and actions of the *chapayekas*.

Seers appear to have made great use of the Yaqui cigarette. They used it as a messenger in the army, as a means of determining the plans of the enemy; to detect the presence of witches, especially during fiestas; as an aid in cowboy work; in foretelling weather, as for a journey or warfare; or to go into a trance for divination.

There isn't anyone around here any more to foretell anything about the future. Only in older times there were people who used a Yaqui cigarette to know the future. He would also hurt someone with it. . . . In older times they never read any paper, but still they had that gift that they could tell the future in a long period. . . . It was one gift that was always for good and protection. (31)

In old Yaqui there were old men—saurinos. That is a Yaqui word. It means mind reader. And they would sit in the ramada and guard the pascolas. They would be smoking cigarettes of Yaqui tobacco. That is very strong. And with that cigarette they could know if a witch was in the crowd or coming. They would say it [to their manager]. This [manager] inside, he would have three assistants, all old men too, and they would come to him after the night was over. They would come to him and ask what he has found out. . . . He tells his men. So those three, they tell the public whatever he has found out. And they give the [witch] three chances. First they give him a good talking to and a warning. But the third time he did it, they would burn him. . . . While this seer is there, the witch can't hurt the pascola. He gives his warnings, and the three men who are outside guard, so they can't be hurt. The three men who are outside guard the maestro and the rest of the people who are in the church. Everyone who is taking part. [The one inside] is guarding the pascolas. [Why a special guard?] He is in special danger, but not now, because we have the prayers and books left to us by Our Father.

This fellow, Mo'okari, roams all over the Río Yaqui, and he just eats corn and things made of corn, like tortillas and corn pudding, etc. They believe he is the originator of those seers. And they don't know how it is, because he has no horse; but he can go all around the Yaqui country in a week. He is seen today in a town, and tomorrow in a place where he could not have gone in one day. He treated the seers better than the other people. They say he is the originator of the seers, because when he is at their place they do things that he would not do in an ordinary house. He doesn't pray or anything. The manager is not allowed to roll the cigarettes [for the seers]. They have their own cigarettes and tobacco and roll them themselves. (24)

The seer specializes on getting information on future weather. He has a highly developed seataka and uses the cigarette for this purpose, and to bewitch people, too. The seer is almost legendary now, though there are still a few on the Río Yaqui. [How differ from a curer and witch?] He does not specialize in [either], but his main duty is to foretell about the future in a short way ahead for a journey. This is especially true when an armed force is going out, so that they may avoid the enemy. He knows about curing, too, and could do harm or cure, both. He does not conceal his identity. (55)

[A maestro] had some story about some evil guy who went and pushed up the land and water near the Río Yaqui and brought it north. And he was caught around Baboquivari Mountain [in southern Arizona]. It was all underground. It was a subterranean deal. The head seer was following him in the form of a lightning bolt. He tried to push the earth

up, and that is what made Baboquivari. He took the land and water back to the Yaqui River, and otherwise there would be a great desert and nothing but sand. . . . Some say the seers use chonis, some say they do not. (58)

A group of elders, called *susuakame*, leaders in ancient times, are rarely even spoken of in Pascua. It is said that they have never functioned there. According to Beals (1945: 109), as late as 1900 such a group operated as “repositories of tradition and custom” and had certain directive functions. Spicer (1962: 374) reports that they were the moral leaders “with stability of character and speaking ability” and the carriers of traditions. One man in Pascua says that they were “wise like Solomon.” The seers were never associated formally with this group.

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL

Natural Phenomena

No pantheon of gods is remembered by any informant—no sun father, earth mother, rain god, fertility force. The sun, *Ta’a*, is considered to be male, and the moon, *Mala Mecha* (Mother Moon), female. The most vivid legends about the sun are those surrounding the naming of the sun, as follows:

I only know that the Surem used to kind of—they didn’t worship the sun, but when the sun came up they used to run toward it, hollering, until it got up. The *tahkaikuchu* (tortilla fish) was supposed to be the first; he ran first, and they caught up with him and ran him over, and stepped on him and flattened him like a tortilla. And he was supposed to be the first one to name the sun. He named it *Ta’a O’ou* (Sun Man). (55)

A long time ago, before anyone knew what the sun was, the Yaqui nation called all the nations to ask what the sun was. No one knew, but the *yoania* brought a fish over, and he said the sun was *Ta’a*, and then he jumped into the water. He said the sun was just like God because it brought light into the earth. The *yoania* came to name the sun because the fish is in the *yoania* too. The sun is male, and the moon is a woman—*hamut*. *Mala Mecha* (Mother Moon). We all came out of the moon. The sun is all of the men’s father, and the moon is all of the women’s mother. The moon is *María Santísima*, and the sun is *Apo Senyor* (the Lord Himself). If there was not the sun all the animals would eat all the people up. All the animals came out of the moon, too. (2)

Current stories about an eclipse of the sun or moon have the same theme. Ringing of the church bell, going into the church to pray, and making loud noises are still the custom among many. Less believed in, although well known, is the legend that during an eclipse the hair of the women turns into snakes.

An eclipse of the sun predicts that a lot of men are going to die. The sun is considered to be male. The moon, female, when in eclipse predicts that a lot of women will die. During an eclipse the people sound pans, and the church bell is rung, and the drums are played, and rockets are sent off. Some people come to the church to pray. The last time there was an eclipse of the moon it was so late that everyone was in bed, and nothing was done. The Mexican children do this, too.

A legend is that during an eclipse the hair turns to snakes, that when you shake your head, it is like a snake in movement. No one says they have seen this. (55)

The story is that when the nations fought and killed each other, the blood of the human beings is the blood that blots out the sun when it eclipses. The moon is almost the same, and then the Christians come and pray, and it melts the blood. [Both informant and interpreter had heard that during an eclipse people's hair turns into snakes.] (2)

A Pascua man said that when the moon "dies," everyone used to start pounding on nails and tubs to wake her up. The kids still do this for fun. He said that the last time there was an eclipse, he heard the church bell ringing and heard a drum being beaten. He thinks the [head maestro] must have had it done. When he was a kid, his mother used to wake him up and make him go out and make a noise, pounding on tubs or buckets. (55)

Circles around the sun or moon mean that it is going to rain, and that "they have cut a shelter" (55). Another man (2) says that the circles foretell wind.

It is commonly thought that the earth is suspended from the *burere chokim* (planets) (55). It is also thought that when the planets are very bright there is going to be a war, and a lot of people are going to be killed (2).

Other ideas concerning stars and planets are excerpted below:

The *burere chokim* would include the morning star and the evening star. The morning star is called Machi Choki (Spanish, Lucero). [The informant did not know the Yaqui name for the evening star.] The evening star is also called Lucero. The Ursa Major is called Lomingo (Sunday) because it has the seven days of the week. [He thinks] it is the

Pleiades that is called Choki Aroam (plow). There is a little bunch of stars that travel around and they call them Vahte Ko'im (bunch of grass). A comet is *choki hisam* (star tail). *Hisa* is also what the chapayekas wear on their head, and the headdress of the American Indian is called that. On the south side there is a pair of twinkling bright stars that are called Santa Lucia Pusim (Saint Lucy's eyes). The north star is Estrella del Norte.

The Milky Way is called *napowihte* (ashes milky), and it is said to be the road that Mary took after the Ascension. (55) Another version is that if you follow the Milky Way, you will see it just over the Yaqui country, and you can find your way home. (2)

A legend about three clouds that appear together is as follows:

There are supposed to be three clouds that appear in the sky sometimes when the clouds come out broken up like sheep. The legend about Namuli is that a woman used to kill her children. So when she went so far as killing three babies, and she was supposed to have thrown them up in the sky, and they formed three little clouds that come all by themselves. They are supposed to be the three little babies that she killed and threw them up in the rain. That is how she was punished, by seeing them all that way. (55)

On the significance of comets:

[A comet] foretells wars and fighting. (55)

They call them *kometa* (comet). In the Yaqui concept the comet, as told by the older people, foretells there was going to be a war among the Yaquis against some enemy. And it happened that it was told there was going to be a conflict among the other races, too. In that period the comet was a long one, and the older people have told about the war among the Mexicans and Yaquis, and the Mexican revolution. (17)

Yuku (Rain, not rain god) lives in the clouds, and his daughter is said to be the wife of *Suawaka* (legendary meteor).

The Yaquis say that *Yuku* is blind (*Yuku lipti*) and, when it opens its eyes down to the earth, it strikes the earth with lightning whenever it opens its eyes. . . . They do not call *Yuku* Rain God, just *Yuku*. (55)

There are no legends about lightning and thunder, according to informants, and they are not feared; nor are there legends about wind or dust devils.

[The rainbow is] not a bad omen. Rain is going to stop. (55)

[The rainbow] foretells war. (55)

When the world was destroyed by the flood, then the rainbow was created by God, and it seems that nobody knows what it is—whether it is cloud, or light reflected on mist. The *kurues* (rainbow) was created to stop the rain. (17)

Suawaka, a gigantic meteor, is the son-in-law of Yuku, Rain. It figures in some legends of the *yoem chupia* (person condemned) or *yoem bakot chupia* (snake person condemned). An individual who commits incest is in danger of death by being struck by Suawaka in the form of a severe rain and wind storm; or he may turn into an enormous water snake so strong that he carries with him clouds, rain and destruction. He may travel thus to a mountain, and on the way may be struck by Suawaka, who wants him for food for Rain. Some currently equate heavy rains with the devil. All informants are familiar with the above terminology, and many are uneasy when a severe storm occurs at a funeral.

The soul is condemned (*chupia*) in different ways. When it is condemned it remains on earth and keeps traveling day and night and day and night. And the one who is condemned to darkness (*ka machikuni*, not light) keeps on traveling continuously. And those in hell have a better destination because they see each other at least. [Why are people condemned, except for “not good heart” and disrespect for regalia and ritual?] The *yoem chupia* that becomes a snake, a dragon. It is supposed to be condemned by God to become an overgrown water snake in lightning, thunder, tornado, or water, or wind. It is moving to the mountains where it is going, to take its place. One of these mountains is Mount Chaichomo, but there are others. The *yoem chupia* grows so big that it has power to carry clouds, wind, rain, and all that kind of destruction, like twisting trees. All that power that it acquires. It is a punishment from God. The devil is supposed to be in charge. The Suawaka starts watching it. And it is supposed to come from heaven when the snake gets to the mountain and strike the snake till it dies. The people don’t summon it; it comes itself. This is condemnation because that a *yoem chupia* is a sinner, not respecting his relatives, like intercourse with his daughter or sister, nephew, niece, and a compadre, too. His punishment is to become a *yoem chupia*. This is common belief, now.

The meteor kills three times the *yoem chupia*, to take them to feed his father-in-law, Yuku. (55)

[What about a *chapyeka* who does not respect his sacred insignia?] If he does not respect his insignia, and, while he is working in a cere-

mony, he will want to go out in the dark and run around with women while being in the work, he remains not right (*ka tu'isi tawane*). He is also condemned. [What punishment?] The same as a civilian doing disrespect to his *comadres*. Both own the benediction in the first place, and then if he fails to do it right, he is punished.

One story about the Suawaka is that a yoem bakot chupia was married to a woman, and, after the woman died, the man married her sister. This man is one person who is known to exist in a lake in the mountains. And Suawaka many times during the time that this yoem chupia was going, [saw that] he had such power that he could create clouds and rain; and the Suawaka, when he knew that the bakot man was going to come out in the rain clouds, and wind and lightning, he would not let him go out into the clouds and rain, so he had to kill the yoem bakot. He is commanded by God, and he was a celestial being. It is true about the Suawaka being the son-in-law of Yuku, and God has created them that way. Yuku is not supposed to come out with the yoem bakot when he is coming out. Yuku was created by God and is good, and bakot is created to destroy. If bakot comes out, the Suawaka does not give him time to grow so he can come out and destroy people.

It is the creation of God, and because he married his sister-in-law God punished him to grow to such power, and still He had the Suawaka to have more power to overcome him. This is the story of one man who committed that. (17)

The interpreter (55) here stated that he asked the informant (17) whether the yoem bakot would get power from Yuku to make rain, and he said the yoem bakot has power to make thunder and lightning. Yuku does not help him, he has the power. The interpreter further stated that the yoem chupia becomes a snake. That the yoem bakot has actually been heard talking while traveling in the sky. They have heard them say not to do what he has done, in order to save their souls. That is all they have heard them say, like being the sister or the comadre. They have also heard that the comadre or compadre would be punished.

A yoem bakot chupia is always a person who has committed incest. And a yoem chupia is always turned into a snake, and he goes to a mountain in rain and lightning. The yoem chupia turns into a snake that grows, and the more it grows, the more powerful it is. Then it can produce the clouds and the wind like a tornado, and thunder and lightning. It destroys everything on the way that it takes to get to the sea—anything—villages, shrubbery, anything in its way. It goes under Taka-la'im, a mountain on the sea. The Suawaka tries to kill it on the way, or on the earth before it gets its power to go out. The yoem chupia

disappears, and the only time that the Suawaka can destroy him is on his way to the sea.

The yoem chupia destroys people and everything in its way. It is supposed to be rolled in dark clouds while it is traveling. It rolls itself in dark clouds, so it is invisible. Those who claim they have seen this, say they can see its movement as if it was traveling on the ground.

When it rains right after a person dies, it is said to be a blessing from heaven; but if a really bad wind or storm comes up, it might be on the devil's side. According to the conception of the Yaquis, the devil has no power to make rain. The yoem chupia is on the side of the devil and carries rain, but it is a terrific storm, equivalent to a tornado. It destroys. It has only been seen in Sonora. They take it for some kind of sign. The Suawaka might go after any yoem chupia. They say that some of them go to Takala'im to the sea. It is said that one point of Takala'im is knocked off by a yoem chupia, when it passed through. It swung its tail over the point of the mountain and broke it off. [The informant said that these tales are from the Río Yaqui, and it has not been seen here. A person here who had done wrong would "just be a sinner."] (55)

In 1937 there was a woman, and she was living with her own father. So my mother, she goes over there to give her the rosary, because she was her godmother. And my father was still living at the time. There was a big wind, and they [it?] pull her out of bed where she was dying. The godmother took about half a gallon of holy water, and they pull her out from under the bed, and she was like a lizard. And they took the holy water, and she was trying to fly. So my father told me—I was standing by the door—to go home. But she couldn't make it. The priest from the church came, but they wouldn't let him in, because she wanted to go. She was crying and hollering. And [a certain person] told me to go, and my mother said there was a lady under the bed, and she was trying to get out. Her arms were stretched back like a long black animal, and she had lots of teeth like a lizard. She looked like a dragon. They pulled her out, and she died. And Suawaka was standing right there outside, and a hurricane came up. But they took the coffin into the ramada in front of the house, so he didn't get her. (28)

Legends are heard about a giant centipede and a giant scorpion, who were also chupia. In these instances chupia seems to carry the meaning of giant as well as condemned.

[He said that he had heard about a *masiwe chupia* (centipede condemned).] One story tells about a man going to work with an ax, who heard a whirlwind coming, making a whirring noise. And there was a centipede inside. When he saw the man, he went after him. And the

man said he used the ax to chop it in the middle, and the whirlwind stopped. The centipede traveled straight up in the whirlwind, and it was bigger than a man.

There is also a story about a *machil chupia* (scorpion condemned). About a man who was working with me. He said that he and a Mayo man, they came to fish in a water lake, and they also heard the sound of a whirlwind coming twisting through the trees and bushes, and they say that they saw a scorpion, a full grown scorpion, about the size of a sea turtle. It went into the water in the lake, and the wind ceased. They ran away when they saw it. It can be true because he saw it himself. (55)

The above informant (55) stated that he did not get the stories about the giant centipede and the giant scorpion from the old stories, but from men who actually saw them. He does not know why the creatures were changed into giants.

There are also stories of giant snakes:

. . . Some kind of snake exists in Yaqui country—[called] *kurues* (rainbow). They naturally grow up to a very large size, and they have a certain kind of magnetic power to overcome the deer, or a young calf, toward him. But it is harmless to people. (There are two kinds of snakes. One is bad, one is harmless.) The one that is harmless has a cross on his forehead. And the one that is more dark is the one with the power to pull a human being toward him, with a whirlwind. Both are about 2 feet thick. The story about the bad snake is that the animal was in a cave, and a man was caught in the whirlwind of the *kurues*, and at the moment that he was being pulled in, he was grabbing at the shrubbery to save himself, but he couldn't. He pulled out his machete and started striking at the wind and cut it, and in that way he saved his life. It can eat a human being. (17)

Names

There is no formalized reluctance to use names. However, last names are seldom spoken in conversation, and often they are not well remembered. It is customary to speak of a person by his first name, plus his ceremonial title, if any. For example, Juan capitán. Younger people may use the title *don* or *doña* in deference to the elders.

It is also usual to hear the ceremonial relationship mentioned, as my *kompai* (compadre), Juan. Nicknames are usual, often given at birth. Sometimes they have to do with a physical characteristic, as Shorty. These are *sobrenombres*, a current regional phrase, and no Yaqui word is reported for them.

Kuaktitiam (turned names) are said to be pure Yaqui. They appear to be used to ward off disaster. When continued infant mortality occurs, the parents (or godparents of baptism) of the next child may choose a turned name in addition to the real one. No new godparents are selected; the turned name is given in a very simple ceremony, which may be spoken of as *ama buanieri* (on it prayed for). The name itself is not inverted, but one is chosen that is not ordinarily used. Current examples known are a legendary figure and two wild birds. They may also be inventions. *Sea* may be a prefix.

Another version of this device is that a curer who is a specialist in childbirth may be called, who turns the fetus around in the womb.

[When a family loses children through sickness] in order to “preserve the generation,” they give a turned name. It is pure Yaqui. (55)

A Pascuan said that when he was small he was sick, and his mother called a curer, who took him to the patio cross, made the sign of the cross over him and gave him a turned name.

It is given before birth when the children keep passing away. (28)

Twins

Twins are currently thought to be “strong for good or bad.” Information differs as to whether they have the same gift for curing as for witchcraft, but they have strong *seataka* and *ute’a*, which enable them to develop the specialty. Only one informant connects them with the *yoania*. No special treatment is accorded to twins.

Twins can be born with either curing or witchcraft power. They would both have the same thing. (10)

A woman being pregnant would acquire twins by being in the country. And she is supposed to hear some kind of noises in the country, and the second creature comes from the wilderness. They come from the *yoania*. They can either both be good, or one may be bad. There is a probability that the second will be bad, and, being from the *yoania*, will be dangerous (a witch). (17)

Ghosts

Mukiam (ghosts) are greatly feared currently and are thought to be the presence of someone who has died. One thus afflicted [with a ghost] may himself resort to the use of holy water or may call a *maestro* to come and bless (*te’ochia*) the house.

They don’t take it for *chupia* when you hear noises in the kitchen. The most part is that not all of us hear the noises. It has been noticed that

when two men travel in the wilderness, one man may see a ghost and tremble and be frightened, but the other don't see anything. It is supposed to be the work of the devil when one man sees it. It is understood that when a ghost is near, you are supposed to feel an electric shock. They say a horse hears a ghost when it is frightened. A dog also has the same sensation for a ghost. [Informant does not know why one man can see a ghost and the other cannot.] (55)

One Yaqui woman says that she throws holy water around herself, when she hears noises and is afraid of ghosts. (52)

Rain

No important rain ceremonies are reported. The deer dancer is not associated with rain, although many of the songs of the deer singers concern rain. Nor is the *pascola*, except in the Rain Act in the early morning of some large fiestas. Even these are said not to be supplications for rain.

A big insect, described as being like a cockroach, is called *Yuku*, or Rain. Some of the older people may still sprinkle it with ashes and send it out to bring rain. Some say that its appearance is a sign of rain. A large frog is also mentioned. One man said that in his grandfather's day they used to tie a big frog to a cross, arms outstretched, and carry it around in procession to induce rain, sometimes whipping it (39). Another man said that in both Pascua and Mexico they would tie a bullfrog to a tree, with a ribbon around it, and that it would not stop raining until it was untied (58).

Omens

Omens are spoken of as *techoem*, and sometimes an animal or bird is said to be doing *techoe* (bad omen). If a coyote (*wo'i*) or a wolf (Spanish, lobo) or a fox (*kawis*) approaches the village howling, it is a warning that someone is going to die. If a dog howls for no apparent reason, he is said to be doing bad omen. A bat (*sochik*), if heard in the daytime, is a fore-warning that someone is coming with bad news; or, more commonly, it is thought to do bad omen of death. The bat is spoken of in connection with ritual behavior of the *chapayekas*. A water bird (*tuibit*) bears an omen for sickness or death, especially at night. An owl is feared. If a rooster (*totoi*) crows very early in the night, they say *totoi kuse mal ora* (the rooster crows a bad hour), and if a man is lying on his back, he is supposed to turn over to avoid illness. If a hen crows like a rooster, it is a bad omen. Sometimes when there are noises in the house they are said to be alerting to bad news.

Menstruating Women

Menstruating women are not dangerous, and there are no special taboos or treatment. One exception: if a menstruating woman comes near a newly born infant, it can develop an infection in the navel (52).

Duendes

Duendes (little people), of Mexican tradition, are called by the Yaquis *ruantem*. They are not considered to be Yaqui and do not play an important part in Yaqui life. Following are some comments on them:

They are little people who live in the mountains and have cities of their own. They can come all around you, but they are like the wind, you can't see them. They may put like dirt in your food, and then you go loco (insane). They do many bad things. They are all bad. [They are not like ghosts], they are real people. If you think about them too much, you will bring them. (65 and 44)

They come in the night but are invisible. They are bad. You hear something in the night, but there is nothing there. (8)

They are supposed to own all the ore in the mines. The miners used to carry an open candle into the mines to work. He used to carry his *labon* (a kind of slow match?) to light the candle. The duendes are supposed to put out the lights, and when they do that they say they feel the touch of those duendes when they are working. When this happens, they are not supposed to work all night. (55)

Magic

Magic is not an inborn gift, nor is it supernatural. It is something that one learns. A sharp distinction is made between magic and enchantment or charm. By magic one could pretend that he was a curer, but he would not actually be one.

If he studied, by magic a person could pretend he was a curer and take something out, like a spider or something. (52)

Ocean

There is no special fear of the ocean, though there are stories about the *yoania* in the ocean which one man related. They would certainly make every effort to rescue a drowning man. (55)

A woman informant has heard that “the ocean has life and at night it is very still and goes to sleep.” It does not have ute’a. (52)

Ancient People Turned Into Stone

Like a little boy. He had gone mad with his mother, and he picked up a stone to throw at her. And both his arms turned to stone. (52)

See Toor (1947: 494–496) for legends.

3

Yaqui Christian Beliefs

The concepts described here are based on the Christian beliefs that appear to be most prominent in Yaqui public sermons, prayers, and speeches. They also seem to be most important in conversation with the people.

The people regard themselves as true Catholics and have a firm individual as well as group commitment to Catholicism. The Yaquis have almost without exception resisted the often importunate attempts of missionaries to win them to other faiths. One man expressed it in this way:

There are many religions now. People come around to us and say this is true or that is true. And I always say that I have always been a Catholic, and I do not want to change. (23)

Pascuans turn to the parish church for Mass and other sacraments, but the native ceremonies center around the Yaqui church and the fiesta ramada in the plaza, or at the household ramada and the patio cross. The total religion as practiced currently is a combination of Catholic doctrine and liturgy, medieval liturgical drama introduced by the Jesuits, and some strong elements of pre-Spanish beliefs and behavior, which still have validity in varying degrees for most. Some of the native concepts have been integrated into the Catholic way; some have been reinterpreted; some remain untouched. All are intertwined, and it is difficult and often impossible to separate them. Most of the people see no inconsistencies in their expression of religion. Many think that the Yaquis have always been Catholics and that Catholicism was present before Christ. The head maestro stated it this way:

Church at Pascua Village, 1941 (Photo by Edward Weston)

God gave every living creature something to believe in. He might have given someone the knowledge before He was born, so that he, the person, knew about the prayers, but maybe not about Jesus, and it spread.

The Trinity

Pascuans believe in the concept of the Triune God, three distinct persons, infinite and eternal, all-equal, and possessing one and the same divine nature.

The Trinity is spoken of as *Tiniran*, or *Trinida*, from the Spanish *Trinidad*. The latter is also used frequently and combined with *Santísima*, as in Spanish or Latin. In Yaqui one may hear in sermons: “*Diosta Achai, Diosta U’usi, Dios Espiritu Hanto, me Bai Personasim betana Wepu’ulaka tua Dios Santísimo Trinidad hiba*” (God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy

Spirit, from these Three Persons, being truly One God, always, the Most Holy Trinity; Painter 1955*: 180).

God. Freely in sermons, and almost always in conversation, the term *Itom Achai* is used interchangeably for God and Jesus. The word *ya'uchiwa* (universal leader) is often combined with God or Jesus or both together. For example: *Itom Ya'uchiwa Dios Hesu Kristo* (Our Leader God Jesus Christ; Painter 1955: 54).

All Yaquis believe that Jesus and God are one in the Holy Trinity—three persons in one, *Wepul Dios* (One God). But they also believe that in heaven Jesus is the Son of God, that Jesus came to this earth to save “the man.” . . . [In the legends the singular is always used.] They believe that Jesus separated Himself from God to come to earth to save “the man.” When the maestro says that He created Himself, he means when Jesus came to earth. (55) [In summary, the informant said that it is believed that Jesus separated Himself from God and transformed Himself into a human being to save mankind.]

I do not actually think of God. I think of Jesus. God and Jesus are the same. (58)

They think that Jesus is God. God is the Leader and Jesus is the Son of God. . . . Jesus is close and very real. They think of God, but they have more to say toward Jesus. (52)

The Yaqui name for God is *Lios*, from the Spanish *Dios*, which is more often heard. God may also be referred to as *Achai O'ola* (Father Old Man), a term of respect. He is considered to be the Supreme Being, infinitely perfect. His omnipotence, omnipresence, wisdom, goodness, and absolute power are unquestioned. He reigns in glory, eternally supreme. He is considered to have existed before Christianity was introduced to the Yaquis. He is thought to have created the world in its entirety and to be the Father of Catholics and Christians alike, and of all creatures.

God is conceived of in remote majesty, a vaguely anthropomorphic figure, sitting “up there” in heaven, surrounded by flowers and holy light. He is not as clearly personified as are Jesus and Mary, but it is incontrovertible that he has infinite love and solicitude for man, whom He created. Divine

* This reference will be used throughout. Painter, Savala, and Alvarez edited the *Yaqui Easter Sermon*—the words of Ignacio Alvarez, head maestro of Pascua. In the University of Arizona Library this publication is listed as it properly should be, under the name of Ignacio Alvarez only. Nevertheless, following standard editorial practice, we shall refer to the name of the senior editor in our citations.—MTP

providence and abundant divine blessing are mentioned in prayers and sermons.

[I think of God] as somewhere beautiful, like flowers. Some say He is in gold and silver, but I don't think that. I imagine He is in a place where there are lots of flowers and trees. Nobody has seen God, so nobody knows how He really looks, but I always picture Him with a beard. (16)

God is above in the heavens and on earth, in all places. In all the world one God no more. (49)

He made it, all this, the world, the heaven, the glory, all the world over, He, God, He created them, all those baptized people here on this earth of weeping, on this earth of suffering, on the earth, the world. (Painter, 1955: 134–35)

My father told me that things from God are always from the east. He also said that all good things came from God, and that all that came from God was good. All punishment also comes from God. There are times when God will let us fall, and in that moment is when we would be at the mercy of the “enemy” (the devil). There are times when He would get tired and let us fall after our transgressions. (55)

Pascuans communicate with God through adoration, prayers, thanksgiving, and offerings, or quietly in the heart, without verbalization. God is frequently mentioned in sermons and prayers, but as a more remote figure than Jesus. No *mandas* are made directly to God, although He is spoken of as punishing people for broken vows or other sins. Expiation for sins is achieved through beseeching forgiveness in prayer, through faithful fulfillment of vows, and through good and righteous deeds.

One of the most direct approaches to God is the notice sent by means of the church bell or small rockets at the beginning and end of fiestas and at certain other times, to inform God, through the Archangel Michael and the other angels, that obligations are about to be undertaken, or have been consummated.

The head maestro speaks of the seven sacraments as a throne for the Holy Trinity as follows:

Seven sacraments refers to the Holy Trinity. . . . This did not come out of any book or any history, but those elders, in the very beginning (*batnatakai*), the maestros have had the sermon like this. They modify it that way because most of the pueblo does not know about those things, so they try to make it clear to them.

Jesus. Itom Achai, Our Father, is the term most frequently heard for Jesus, both in conversation and in sermons. He is referred to in sermons as Healer, Savior, Teacher, Our Leader (Itom Ya'uchiwa), and, less often, as Creator. Regional Spanish terms such as Jesucristo (Yaqui, *Hesukrihto*) and el Señor are often employed. In conversation one occasionally hears *hopul Woki* (literally, crossed over, or folded, feet), which refers to the Christ of the Crucifixion. In accordance with the cultural respect for old age, He is sometimes referred to by the respect term of *O'ola* (elder or old man).

Jesus is represented on the altars of church and households and in processions by crucifixes, crosses, and images. They are all called Itom Achai. San Juan (Saint John) is spoken of as the godfather of Jesus, as "he took Him to the river."

Jesus is ever present in the minds and lives of the people in a deeply personal way at all times, but especially in connection with the manda and during the Easter Ceremony. All agree that Jesus is divine and eternal, God incarnate, and one with God in the Holy Trinity. "Jesus is the second person of God. He sits on the right hand of God." They think that God so loved mankind that He sacrificed His Son to assume human form and to live on earth as an example. The concept of the atonement is understood. Jesus constantly intercedes with God for the salvation of man.

In his earthly manifestation Jesus had qualities with which Pascuans can identify and with which they are comfortable, such as compassion, love, the gift of healing; also a stern self-discipline during fatigue and moral and physical suffering quite compatible with Yaqui codes of behavior. He is envisioned as a poor man of the people, dressed like a Yaqui in a straw hat and sandals. It is considered that the moral and religious codes that Jesus established during his life on earth must be emulated. Possibly it is from earnest contemplation of these that Pascuans measure the stature of a man by his spiritual rather than by his material values. In sermons and prayers emphasis is placed on generous and compassionate acts, as well as on the pursuit of ritual demands.

A universal conception is that Jesus went from pueblo to pueblo, forded streams, crossed deserts, forced His way through rough foothill country, across mountains, torn and bleeding from thickets and brambles, resting wherever He found Himself as daylight faded. He blessed all people everywhere "to the far corners of the world." As a curer, He ministered to and healed the sick. Some think that He passed through Yaqui country in Sonora, others that His presence there may be only legendary. A few of the older people think that Jesus was a Yaqui, and that He was born in the village of Beene (Spanish, Belen; Bethlehem) in the Yaqui country in Sonora. The processions around the Way of the Cross as evening approaches on the Friday afternoons of Lent, and the green boughs placed in the church for specified ceremonies, are reminiscent of the wanderings of Jesus.

Jesus might have been a Yaqui because He spoke all languages. Jesus went to the monte because He had to see all kinds of animals and name them. He went through all the people and put their names. All kinds of races; everything that you see on this earth. And He came then to the monte. He made all different kinds of animals and He named them. He created everything, what they are supposed to eat and everything, when He wandered in the monte. . . . Jesus went to the pocho'oria, and everywhere. (8)

In the very beginning He made Himself like that, created Himself like that. Truly gave Himself the journey all over the world—on land, at sea, on wasteland, on rock, in brush, somewhere in impenetrable places, going about among thorns—has shed His blood there, has fallen, was bruised, knees scratched. And just has had even the worst punishment, has shed blood. (Painter 1955: 108–10)

But He, Lord Jesus Christ, He being God, truly suffered like this for all our wrongdoing, did this desiring to blot out for us all our wrongdoing. (Painter 1955: 43)

It is considered by many that Jesus gave the first fiesta. Sometimes it is said that Mary gave one at the same time. Generally attributed to Jesus is the creation of all of the original participants in the ceremonies, the dancers, musical instruments, and paraphernalia—with the exception of the *matachin* dance society, which Mary is believed to have created for her fiesta. Some think that the *pascola* and deer dancers were present before the advent of Jesus.

Jesus made a fiesta and then He, Jesus, made *pascolas* and deer dancer and coyote dancers, and one of the disciples He made into a *moro*. And then the Virgin, too, made the soldiers—the *matachinis*—and she took them to the fiesta of Jesus. Then Jesus and the Virgin made the fiesta for all the people. Then the Virgin told the *matachinis* that they had to do it with whole devotion, and then they would save themselves. Because He, the Virgin and the Lord, were giving salvation to them and a blessing. (49)

Jesus is strongly associated with generalized, as well as specific, health and well-being. Especially, but not exclusively, through the *manda*, supplications are made to Jesus for aid in curing. Dreams of Jesus are frequent. Punishments visited by Jesus for broken vows or other wrongdoing incur no resentment, but rather self-accusation, because they are thought to be justifiable.

The men of the *fariseo* (Pharisee) and *caballero* (horseman) societies are

under vow to Jesus, but their devotion is not limited to the ceremonial season, which is the Lenten period.

They always remember the miracles that Jesus worked, and they depend on Him for healing both in and out of Lent. Christ will punish, and, as a curer, will heal. (55)

The members of the church group and the matachin dance society are promised to the Virgin Mary, but all feel that they are also in the service of Jesus. The pascola and deer dancers, who have no formal vows, say that in their hearts they are dedicated to Christ. The words *el Señor* have crept into some of the ancient deer songs. The most important event of the year, the Easter Ceremony, is a commemoration of events in the life of Jesus. The whole village identifies with Him more closely during that period.

The following legends give insight into the attitudes and feelings of the people, as do other legends scattered throughout this publication.

... they tell about, maybe two or three generations back, they had the conception that Jesus was born in the Yaqui country and was of the Yaqui race. He was born in Beene. (55)

When Jesus was a little boy, about six years old, His mother called Him. When He came, He saw the shadow of a cross, made by a tree outside. He marked it, that He was going to be crucified. (8)

Jesus is seen in dreams wearing a straw hat because He is a Yaqui. In dreams [He] is usually seen as a poor man with a straw hat and all a poor man's clothes. He was a Yaqui and is known as *Jesu Nazareno* (Jesus, the Nazarene) among the Yaquis. When God was in the world, He was not known as God, but was going all over the world curing people, being called a *hitebi*. Now anyone who asks Him to help when he is sick, and he is cured, then he promises himself to the service of the ceremonies. [Jesus] is known as a Yaqui among the Yaquis. [Who pursued and persecuted Him?] They were *Hudiom* (Jews). It was a nation, and those are the people who crucified Him. He was crucified in the province of *Hudia* (Judea). But Jesus has been in every part of the world and in the Yaqui country, too; but not known as God, but as a curer. (17)

The Lord went about among the flowers all the time, seven years, in the foothills and in the mountains; and then He went to the deserts. He moved from place to place and kept on traveling, by day and by night. He crossed rivers and came to land. He kept on traveling until He arrived at the city, and all the people met Him and pursued Him, but they could not overtake Him. Then He entered the city, and they did not see

Him. He went through another part. Then the Lord gave grace to His sons (Yaquis) and kept on curing those who were sick. They could not heal; therefore, they did not like it, those who were after Him, because they wanted to seize Him, because they could not do what the Lord did, because the Lord had much power, and they could not do anything. They did not have the power that the Lord had. Always they asked for Him, but no one could tell them, because His sons knew that the Lord was there in that city curing His sons that had all the faith in Him, and that they did not have the power to cure. But He always cured His sons, even though they did not have faith in Him. But He loved His sons and therefore gave them health. Then they all met Him and praised Him, and He blessed all His sons. That is all. (49)

Jesus Christ wanders in the monte where there is water. He sits down and rests. He goes again to the same place. He goes in the hills. He goes through them to the mountains. (20)

When Jesus was young He used to help His father, who was a carpenter. He made a cross, and that is the cross on which He was crucified. (9)

It is a legend that goes way back. The Virgin Mary descended to the river to get water in a red earthen *cántaro*. That is a bowl that is carried on the shoulder, and it is a water carrier. When she arrived to the stream, there was a little whirlpool where she used to come to get water. She arrived and found a red rose floating in the water in the whirlpool; until it came near to her, and she dipped the bowl and caught the rose inside of it. And then when she caught it, she inhaled it and loved the perfume and desired very much to show it to Joseph. And she dropped it down into her loose robe into her breast, and she walked back to the spot where Joseph was, and the rose was not found. It is said that the perfume was present at the moment. And that is the Yaqui story of the conception of Christ. All those things about the red color come back to this story. And many times when a person was sick, he would see the Virgin bringing water to him in a little red bowl. (55)

[The flower from the stream] got into her heart. And that is why there are lots of flowers when Christ is alive. Jesus' blood got on that flower, and that is why it is red. That is why the matachinis have lots of colors, and if a matachini does it [his ceremonial duty] with all his heart, he can see it in the same way. Christ can enter his heart, too. (20)

According to my father, he said that when God, the Heavenly Father, was going to destroy us, he says the Lord Jesus intervened to give "the man" [mankind] just one more chance. He said that He would come to talk to him. Then the Father explained that it was just vain, and that it

was too hard for Him. He said, "That man will kill you." That is just what my father said. And then when He, God, decided to give Him permission to come, then He said He would not let Him come in any other form than a human being facing all sorts of suffering, and that He wouldn't be born in nice things, that is, a rich person. That He would never have anything better than a poor person. His neighbors were poor, and His friends were poor, young and old. So that is about how God told Him in the heavenly laboratory. So my father said that, just before giving Him entire permission, he said that God notified all the big stars or planets (*si'ime buere chokim*) and Saint Gabriel was supposed to be the messenger to carry the news to all these stars. The stars went to God in answer to His summons, and they assembled in heavenly court, to decide this mission of importance. And then after the court came to conclusion, the permission was granted to Jesus to come to this earth. So the human being of Christ was to be made in the body. That is why I said "heavenly laboratory."

After, the little body was made by the angels (*anhelesim aet tekpa-noak*). And then he said that the same stars that came to the heavenly court, they started to put all the good things in that little body, such as patience, kindheartedness, and a lot of other things that I don't remember, such as faith and love. And then he said that the sun was to develop the little body after it was born. As the little body was growing the sun was to give it life and vitality.

The relation between God the Father is comparative to the legend of Jesus, so there are three persons on earth like the three persons in the Trinity. God chose Mary before Jesus was sent to earth to "the man." Mary didn't see the angel, and it just happened to her. When she got the flower, she didn't know what it meant. When this happened, Joseph didn't know all that it was about the flower. [See legend of the rose, above.] He was happily working at his labor. Mary was also singing very happily, going with her pitcher to the river. Now the next events in any of those events—did they ever come to the knowledge that such a thing would happen? The only thing they know was that they were very happy that morning. Another comparison. How did she get the flower and the perfume that was there? And with all those thoughts, Joseph was getting mad. Now here you don't see in the Bible anywhere what happened up in heaven. I only heard it from my father and my great uncle. The Father told the Son. They don't mention it by name. He told Him just as if he were telling Jesus that He, God, was going to destroy "the man" forever, because he is bad. The Son answered the Father, "Let me go, Father, and talk with 'the man'." And then He told the Father how He was going to deal with "the man" in good deeds and to

teach him God's virtues about health (*saluta*). God warned Him the second time, that He was going to deal with a bad man, and that He was not going to earth just as He was. But He was going to be born an innocent infant in a world of turmoil. God, in order to send His Son, He informed all the planets, the buere chokim, which are holding the earth up. It sounds in that like the world is being held up by all the planets—the sun, the moon, the North Star, and the Milky Way. Saint Gabriel was informed to carry the message to the planets about the journey of the Son to the earth. He was supposed to be a worldly infant. He had no wings like an angel. He had to walk. Twelve angels were chosen to make the heart of Jesus, and the ingredients for the heart were all taken from the planets. Each one gave, donated, one to make the heart of Jesus. And then the angels went to work (*anhelesim tekil hoapo*). They were singing, too. As they added each ingredient, they were singing their canticles. There were no hymns then, but there were angel canticles, or chants. And the work was finished. The Yaquis didn't know when Jesus was born, but the rooster crowed "Cristo nació" (Christ was born). There are no legends about Jesus as an infant, except He was born in Beene. And all the world will come to Beene for water, and the end will come. (55)

Holy Spirit. Older persons speak of the Holy Spirit as *Ehpitu Santo*, from the more common *Espiritu Santo*. It is said to be the heart of God, or the heart of el Señor, which is a concrete way of expressing the orthodox Catholic conception of generation of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son. The dove is a symbol of the Holy Spirit.

The Espiritu Santo is in the heart of el Señor and is the same. (49)

The Espiritu Santo is the same because it lives in the heart of Heskristo. (8)

The Virgin Mary

The term *Itom Ae* (Our Mother) is used more frequently than any other in conversations involving the Blessed Virgin. The more formal version, *Itom Aye*, is sometimes employed in sermons. Either may be combined with the familiar Spanish *María Santísima*, as "Itom Aye María Santísima." Mary is honored and revered as the earthly mother of Jesus by virginal conception and as the Mother of God. The term *Diosta Aye* is used in either case. She is the spiritual mother of all people everywhere, including Protestants, and is continually watching lovingly over her children and constantly praying for them. Some think that she created a first fiesta at the same time that Jesus created His. For some, especially those in the church group and

the matachinis, Mary seems more accessible than Jesus when favors are entreated. For all, she is an intercessor, a medium to obtain divine favors. "You ask her, and she will speak to Jesus" (52). Although the Lenten season is controlled by the two men's societies whose vows are to Jesus, Mary is equally present in the hearts of the people, who identify with her as well as with Jesus, and who feel a tender compassion for the sorrowing mother.

All manifestations of Mary are thought to be the same, and all are called *Itom Ae*, except for the Virgin of Guadalupe (Spanish, *Guadalupe*; Yaqui, *Walupana*), whom some consider to be a saint. Images of Mary appear on the church and household altars and in processions.

Mary is revered as the actual head of the church group and of the matachin dance society. Members of both are bound to her by vow. Like Jesus, Mary has potent healing power. She is not expected to be more lenient than Jesus in punishment for broken vows. Descriptions of the behavior and regalia of these groups will reveal their close association with the Virgin. When Mary appears in dreams in connection with the vow, she wears a white dress with a flowing blue outer garment.

In the Catholic tradition, Mary is honored with gifts of flowers, both real and hand-fashioned of crepe paper. They may be offered at any time, but most freely in the month of May. As described in the section on altar images, there are several statues of Mary which stand on the altar, and which are used in various ways in the ceremonies.

The concept of the earth mother has not been found among informants.

The following legends give insight into the relationship of the people with the Blessed Virgin.

She is in the heavens, but she always sees her sons. She is always watching. (49)

Truly, having that good truth up yonder in heaven, she sends it down here to you, nursing you under that holy benediction through day and night. (Painter 1955: 88)

They say they have to believe in Mary because she made up an army [the matachinis] to fight evil along with the Son. So there is where it comes that the Yaquis believe in Mary as an intercession between God and us. As for this, I do not know if it is true. It is in the legend. The other religions, they don't believe that Mary had any army, much less believe in intercession between us and God. This is the explanation why they cannot shrink away from her, because she created an army to fight evil. (55)

They ask Mary, then Mary goes to Jesus, then Jesus to God. So when the miracle comes they do it [the vow] for Mary, because they promised her what they would do. But the miracle is from Jesus. . . . They always

include Jesus in a manda to Mary or a saint. Some think they have seen Mary in a vision, but Jesus appears only in dreams. They see Mary in their dreams wearing a white robe and blue overdress. (16)

When God the Son was going to destroy “the man,” the Mother wouldn’t let Him. He made the same statement with the same reasons for destroying him that God had made, but Mary did not want Him to destroy “the man.” The Mother told the Son that the Son should bring back to her the milk of her breast with which she raised Him. Then He could destroy “the man.” “But, unless you bring back the milk that you sucked from my breast, you will be afraid to destroy him.” Jesus brought back to her all kinds of milk, as goat milk carried in a bowl. Finally, Mary told Him, “Do you know where that milk is now?” And Jesus told her that He did not know. “That milk is your body now. Where can you get that milk unless you destroy yourself now?” But he did not get the milk, so He did not destroy “the man.” He gave up the idea.

The Holy Mary uses the *bahi wikosam* (three scapulars) as a string to take out the forgiven soul from hell. Our Lady of Carmen, Itom Ae Carmen, is the one that is assigned to take the souls out of hell. When she don’t hear him talk any more in this world, she starts searching for him in hell. (17)

Our Mother María Santísima made the *pascolas* and the deer, because at The Gloria there is supposed to be a *pascola* and a deer. So whenever they shouted the Gloria, the whole *pascolas* shouted too, to defend Jesus.

Maria Madalena (Malena) was with Jesus all the time. She was a disciple. She wanted to see what Jesus did. She was mean, she never pitied nobody. But she liked Jesus, and He made her a saint. Madalena had twenty-five sins. But Jesus cleared her. And whenever all the sins were washed away, she was as clear as a water drop. (8)

The following legend was written by one of the principal informants:

The legend is that there was a guardian angel by a fountain of spring water. That angel was weeping. And then Mary came and asked the angel why he was weeping. And he said that he was weeping because the soul that he was in charge of was being condemned. “And do not cry, angel baron. I shall talk with my Son so that soul will reach upward.” The merciful Virgin approached her Son and said, “Because of the breast thou sucked, give the soul the pardon.” And the Lord answered the Virgin, “Mother of my soul, what do you want with that soul that has offended me so much?” The Virgin answered, “This soul during the time of its life has offered to me a rosary.” Then she was

granted the request, and, being so merciful, she descended into hell and with her holy scapulary she took the soul out of the flames. And the devil, infuriated, to the Lord presented himself. "The soul that thou has given me, your Mother went and took it away from me." "Go thou away, thou ugly devil. What my mother did was with the permission of her Son." (55)

The Saints

The saints are ever present in the lives of the people, and their images appear on altars in households and the church. Every individual is under the aegis of a saint. Certain saints' days are celebrated with vespers, prayers are made beseeching intercession, and saints are often important in the undertaking of vows. Saint Ignatius is the patron saint of Pascua, and Saint Francis and the Santo Niño de Atocha (Holy Child of Atocha) are of great interest.

The Angels

Angels are called *anhelesim* or *ankelesim* (Spanish, *angeles* or *angelitos*). They are invisible spirits created by God, present at all times over the pueblo to guard the village and to record the actions of the people. They are distinct from the *animan* (spirits of the dead). As guards, they are spoken of as *santo ehérsito* (holy army) or the Lord's *santo angel de la guarda* (guardian angel). Their leader, or captain, is Saint Michael Archangel. Angels are specifically mentioned as messengers who report the small rockets sent at certain times in the ceremonies as a notice to God through the Archangel Michael that an obligation is about to be fulfilled or that it has been terminated.

An angel called a *kustoria* "picks up" at dawn the ceremonial labor of the night and delivers it to Saint Michael, who gives it to God. All is recorded in heaven to the account of each person who has participated in a ceremony.

Each individual has a guardian angel, who hovers at his right side, influencing him to "stay in the right," and "not do anything wrong." Angels also frequent the area around the patio cross of each household.

When any person is born, they are given one angel to take care of you. They are spirits. You can't see them. Like God, you can't see them, but He is everywhere. The angels are the same. If they take an angel away from you, that is when something bad happens to you, like an accident or you get killed. God gives them, and God may take them away as a punishment if you don't obey. If you ask God for forgiveness, you might

get the angel back. They record your actions and are the messengers of God. (16)

An angel called a kustoria is the one who at dawn picks up everything and delivers all the good deeds from every person and delivers it. All the good deeds to San Miguel, who receives it and delivers it to God. Up there they putting it down in a book. (8)

The Church

The church is spoken of in Yaqui as *Itom Aye Santa Iglesia* (Our Holy Mother Church; Spanish, *Nuestra Madre Santa Iglesia*). It is considered to be the mother of all people in the same sense that Mary is regarded as mother of all. This concept includes all of the rituals of the church, but clearly not the ground on which the church stands. It is often said that the church is the same as Mary.

The mother of everybody, just like Mary. They say the church is the same as Mary. (52)

The Cross

The cross is of central importance as a religious symbol, the single most important symbol of Pascua Christian beliefs. It is used on altars, in ceremonies and processions, in the plaza and in household patios, and in the regalia of all groups. It is used in healing by the curer and as a weapon against the witch. It is prominent in the death ceremonies and is used for decoration in the Books of the Dead. Most say that the cross is clearly male and is called *Itom Achai*. However, a few think of it also as female. Perhaps this stems from two sources. One is the legend that when Jesus was about to be crucified, Mary made herself into a tree to receive Him, so that He could die in her arms. The other is that the Holy Cross used in the ceremonies having to do with the Finding of the Holy Cross is dressed like *Itom Ae*. Some Pascuans at that time call it *Itom Ae Santísima Cruz* (Our Mother Most Holy Cross).

Six Yaqui men and women in particular have stated that the cross is always thought of as male and represents *Itom Achai* (2, 9, 35, 36, 48, 52).

The form of the cross used in Pascua is the simple Latin Cross, except for the Cross pattée or formée, found on the pascola masks and inside the chapayeka masks. The altar crucifix of the farieseño society has a Calvary (graded) Cross, placed in this instance on two steps.

The holy cross did not become a holy cross until after the death of Christ and was not called “mother” until after the death of Christ.

Because it is supposed that Christ called the cross mother. They say it was so because He was dying in its arms. That is why He called it mother. (55)

There is one cross, no more. But each cross is a city where the Lord stands watching. We each have a blessed cross that is in our body, and thus with Him and with the Virgin. And the Lord gave His sons the benediction of the cross in order that they should not forget Him. [The cross is a woman] because it is the Mother of the Lord, because the Lord died on the cross. The cross was in a desert where the Lord had a path, where He went every day to kneel and to pray to the blessed cross that was His Mother. And He asked her for grace every day. She heard Him and gave Him what the Lord asked from her—health. And He walked every day and came always to where she was, and did not forget for a moment. Always He remembered that He had to go to this part of the desert where the blessed cross was. Amen.

Right now, in this time, she is working for her Son, who suffered pain because He went to be with all His sons whom He had, and to fulfill in obligation for them the hard penance and leave it for them. Amen.

The cross is the Mother of the pueblo [of all people]. And the Lord and God is the Father of everyone. And the Virgin is the Mother of everyone. (49)

The worn cross, weathered gray and smooth, that stands in front of the church is known in Spanish as *cruz mayor*. In sermons it is sometimes called *teope kus mayor* or *teopo kus mayol* (major church cross). Older people have been heard to refer to it as *yo'o kus* or *kus yo'owe*, both of which carry the meaning of older, or major, cross. *Cruz principal* is sometimes used. *Teopo kus* (church cross) is often heard in conversation as well as in sermons; after a discussion with informants, this term has been chosen for use here.

The cross in front of the fiesta ramada in the plaza is referred to as *pahko kus* or *pahko kus mayor* (fiesta cross or main fiesta cross). It is also sometimes called *pahko rama kus* (fiesta ramada cross). As agreed with informants, the term fiesta cross has been adopted.

Four crosses at the four corners of the plaza, reported by R. B. Spicer (1939: 93), have not been present in later years. They were said to represent Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

The cross that stands in each household patio is called *tebat kus* (patio cross). For a household fiesta, it is moved to a position opposite to the altar side of the fiesta ramada. It is then called, for the duration of the fiesta, *pahko kus* or *pahko kus mayor*. It may also be called at that time the matachin cross, if the matachin dancers are performing, as they establish their *waria* (headquarters) around it.

A patio cross is installed without ceremony, but one is expected not to have “bad thoughts or say bad words while doing it.” If a family makes a permanent move, the cross is transported with them and is erected at once in the new patio. It can face in any direction except west, but east is preferred.

A patio cross is thought to keep evil away and to protect all members of the household. Some think that it acts as a witness (*testigo*) to report the deeds of the people. No connection has been found with lightning.

In older times the patio cross was the social center. People coming to visit stopped at the cross until someone came out to greet them, and all gathered there for farewells.

The patio cross is still the functional center for all religious activities. Formerly family prayers were recited there. Special uses are made of it at fiestas, during *limosnas* (expeditions to gather offerings), on the day of the celebration of the Finding of the Holy Cross, and on All Souls’ and All Saints’ Days.

[The patio cross] will be a witness to whether you are good or bad on earth, just like Jesus sees what you do. (14)

[The patio cross] is for the protection of the people living in the household against illness and “the enemy” (the devil). It is the witness of the religion of a person, of the faith he has. And during Lent the Lord is supposed to be received in that same symbol. During Lent the figure of the Lord on limosna is received at the same cross. And at the time of the *Animam* (All Souls’ Day) the table is put up in front of the same cross. And the angels of the Lord, along with the little angels, the little [human] souls departed that we call angels, are supposed to descend at the Animam on November second. All the righteous souls are supposed to descend at dawn that day. (9)

Every evening the family [used to kneel] before that cross in the patio to pray and give thanksgiving for the day. And ask for a blessing for the night. And, after the prayers, all the children [were] put in front of the cross, and they would holler with all their strength “Ave María Purísima” about three times, and then they [were] free to go. In my mother’s story it said they were happy to sing a little dawn song, very early, about dawn. They would get up in their beds and sing and then lay down again. (55)

My father used to say that the patio cross takes care of all the people in the household, and the church cross all of the people in the pueblo. (36)

My father told me that [in his time] the patio cross was like a reception cross, because the household would receive the compadres at the patio

cross to greet them there. Then they would go to the ramada. When they leave, they also would say farewell there. (55)

It symbolizes the Catholic religion, and people who know God have a patio cross. And at the *alba* (dawn) every day the *santo tachiria* (holy light) descends on the cross, and when there is no cross there is no *santo tachiria*. [Informant said he did not know whether it is considered to be a witness to what goes on in the household. He does know that if there is no cross in the patio, in the event of the death of any member of the family, they would request a cross to symbolize the religion. He said again that at every *alba* holy light descends on the patio and on the cross.] (17)

The encampment or procession cross erected for fiestas is discussed in the section on fiestas. The crosses made of willow that hang on the outside of most houses are described in the observances on the night before the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross.

Yaquis do not like stone crosses and monuments because they are too artificial. They like mesquite. It is native born for this purpose. That is what a mesquite tree is for. (55)

A mesquite cross means more to them than a stone or iron cross, because they have in their minds that Jesus was crucified on a mesquite cross. (52)

The Crucifix

The crucifix is called *Itom Achai*. The head maestro and others say that it is the son of the Trinity and is the father of all people. As the symbol of Jesus, it is found on altars at most ceremonies and is used in special ceremonial ways.

One man stated that a crucifix is always just at the head of a coffin on the altar. That is the instructions they always tell the young people, that they should never deny Jesus, because when we die we will lie under Him. (55)

The Soul

Hiapsi means the heart of a living person and the soul of a dead one. Terms also used are *mukia* or *mukila* for the body of a dead individual. *Ehpitu*, *espiritu*, or, more frequently, *anima* are heard for the spirit or soul after death.

The soul or spirit lingers about the household, visiting the places most

frequented in life, until the second death ceremony, the novena or *novenam*, which is held approximately nine days after the funeral. The soul is not feared as is a ghost. It is said that the soul is unaware that it is dead until it hears the special prayers and songs offered for it in the funeral.

A mukia is different from a dead person. But if anyone found a dead person who they did not know, they might refer to the body as mukia. The soul stays around the household till it goes to heaven. It goes to God first. If anyone hears noises around the house, they think that the one who has passed away is still there, and they call a maestro or a priest, and he blesses the house with holy water. (16)

The soul does not know it is dead until they bring the body to the house, when the maestro and *cantoras* sing *alabanzas* (hymns of praise) to him. It is like dreaming until then. (52)

We have already considered the special meaning of the term *yoem bakot chupia*, the soul who, because of incest, is condemned. The single word *chupia*, (or *kondenaroa*), is used for the soul of a person who has erred ritually, who has broken a taboo, or who has done his ceremonial labor *ka tu'i hiapsimak* (not with good heart). This condemned soul is unable to enter either heaven or hell but is thought to wander about the village. Some have heard his ceremonial regalia going around the Way of the Cross. The soul does not harm anyone and evokes uneasiness rather than fear.

The *hiapsi* hovers around the house when it is condemned and cannot go to heaven or to hell. They even say that they hear it sometimes in the kitchen, and even hear the utensils being moved. [Informant thinks this is imagination.] For example, if a *chapyeka* didn't work it right [ritually], you might hear noises of his sticks and rattles marching. A Mexican says he has heard *chapyekas* marching around the *konti bo'o* (Way of the Cross). Many Yaquis have told about *chapyekas* [souls] running around the village the way they do when they are inviting people to the processions and ceremonies. *Pascolas*, too, have been heard for *ka tu'i hiapsimak*. When the soul is condemned, they believe that the soul remains on earth eternally. . . . Not even hell receives them. (55)

The *chapyeka* who does not respect his *insinio* (regalia), and, while he is in a ceremony, he will want to go out in the dark and run around with women while being in the work, he remains not right—*ka tu'isi tawane*. He is also *chupia*. [What is his punishment?] Same as a civilian doing disrespect to his *comadres*. Both own the benediction in the first place, and then if he fails to do it right he is punished. [The *insinio* is only heard around the Way of the Cross after] the death of a person. It

begins to be heard when a person died, and they think [it] is from the person who owns the benediction and trespassed. (17)

The concept of original sin is not discussed. There is no one word for sin. One might say *kulpa yoeme* (person to blame) or *ka tu'i*.

Heaven

Teweka loria, sometimes shortened to *teeka*, is the current term for heaven. *Teweka* means sky and, combined with the word *loria*, from the Spanish *gloria* (a heavenly state, blessedness), it means heaven or heavenly glory. Less frequently either word may be used alone. *Diosta* (or *Liosta*) *hoa*, literally God's home, means heaven. Itom Achaita ho'apo means in Our Father's home. To say he will go to heaven, one might use the words *loriau wene*. The Spanish *santo cielo* is frequently heard.

Heaven is visualized as a place full of flowers, rivers, forests, and green meadows, bathed in holy light. It is thought to be incomparably beautiful, with no suffering and with eternal joy. The words used to describe heaven are often the same or similar to those referring to the sea ania.

The road to heaven is thought to be narrow and rough, thorny and almost impassable, as not many go there. It leads to the east, which is also the direction of the legendary flower world. Informants, however, do not equate heaven with the flower world and say that there are no legends to indicate that it was a pre-Spanish idea of a hereafter.

One Pascuan stated that "people say that the gates of glory are open [to anyone] from the time of The Gloria on Holy Saturday until the day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, May third" (16).

Another man said that there were no legends about any kind of heaven. He has heard that the dead were just put away, not buried. They say [now] that hell is below (*betukuni*). And that heaven is up, and filled with flowers (55).

They say that when you are going up to heaven you have to pass through a rough rocky place, full of snakes, and where there is a lot of stickers. That is the way it all is until you get up there. It is very rough on a person because he is not buried with his shoes on. [Heaven is a] real good place where everyone is nice to one another. . . . Flowers, too, and green. From the beginning of Lent until the Ascension the gates of heaven are closed. (52)

Purgatory

Purgatory (*purgatorio*) is an indeterminate place where souls go in expiation and atonement for sins committed in this life. It is a sorrowful place

of misery, weeping, darkness, where the soul is cleansed of its imperfections before entering heaven. Prayers by the living, in which intercession by Mary may be entreated, shorten the time of the soul in purgatory. These prayers begin with a rosary immediately after death and are intensified at the second death ceremony, the novena, as described below.

After the novena the soul goes straight to heaven, where it receives judgment according to the deeds done during life.

They have to sentence him in heaven, up there. He has to see justice. Up there they tell him if he has to be punished. They look in the book and see if you done bad things, you have to be punished. If you have done good things and also believe in God, you can go straight to God and rest in peace.

He only goes to purgatory if he has sinned a lot. He goes to clean up from his sins. He is washed like water. He must go there before going to heaven. (8)

Hell

The word most frequently used for hell is the Spanish *infierno*. The word *betukuni* is heard. However, informants say that none of the legends speak of a place below, but that it has now been learned from the sermons of the maestros. Hell is also referred to as *ka machikuni*, and the Spanish *oscuridad* is sometimes used in this connection. *Tahi* is said to be used for hell, but it has been heard infrequently. The road to hell is thought to be broad and inviting, beflowered and enlivened by songs and music. It is said that Mary sometimes “pulls one of her souls out of hell with her scapular.” Punishment in hell is not eternal, and the prayers of the living may reduce the sentence.

Yaquis don’t believe in hell. They may believe in purgatory but not in hell. They think that you get all the suffering on earth. If you suffer a lot you go to heaven. Like being sick and having children sick one after another. (52)

And the Lord says that if he does not carry it [the ritual] out right, he will fall in unlighted places; the Lord says that if he goes against His truth he will truly remain in hell. The Lord says that he will remain where he will feel in a sorry plight year after year, without end. (Painter 1955: 114–15)

They describe a locality above, and they don’t say about gates of pearl and gold and diamonds. They only describe it by flowers and valleys and water and streams. The older people say the road to heaven

is full of thorns and almost erased because not many go through it. And the road to hell is described as being broad and paved and with flowers and populated with many houses rich in adornment. They describe that only one out of many go to heaven, because the road is difficult and hard to find. My father used to tell us that story about heaven. There are songs and music on the road to hell. Pascolas in their sermons used to tell this, too. Pascolas describe purgatory as being dark and flame and fire and crying and weeping. And heaven as full of flowers. They tell that purgatory can be worked out here on earth by prayers of the priest or maestro. They even say that Saint Gabriel goes to purgatory to get him out when his prayers are said in full. Today they pray all day (on All Souls' Day), to get those souls out of purgatory. But they never hear of getting anyone out of hell. It is capital punishment. [Informant laughed.] People with light sins go to purgatory where they can be taken out by prayers. Heavy sins go to hell. Very few go direct to heaven. . . . The Virgin Mary is supposed to have a scapular, and they describe her taking souls out of hell with this. According to a chant that they sing in church, with the cord of her scapular she pulled the souls out of hell.

[Where does the soul go right after death?] The novena is the starting point, when the prayers are starting to pay for the souls, something like money. They say that in heaven they have to count how many prayers have been made until the point of being taken out of purgatory. They start praying for the soul during the novena, until they get enough prayers to save the soul. Like the angel de la guarda picking up the work of the night [the ceremonial labor of a fiesta] and delivering it to heaven. Each has an account in heaven according to his work, and according to the prayers that are said for him. This is a common belief now. (55)

[I think of] hell as fire, and that people are thrown inside the fire. Some beg Mary and the angels to help them out, and they do, but only if God forgives them. But some He does not forgive. . . .

When the candles in the cemetery burn down they say "They really need that light because they are in the dark." (16)

[For moderns God is omnipresent. There is no locality for heaven.] In the legends they tell that God is everywhere and heaven is everywhere and hell is everywhere, the devil is present everywhere. There are three things they describe about hell. It is *ka machi* (not light). It is *chupia*. And hell is called *tahi*. They say that a newcomer to hell would be asking for water, and he would be given a bowl of boiling lead, and then he would say he was too hot, and he would be dipped into real cold water, iced water. Then if he don't like that, they would give him the other till he tells that he don't want either. That is how the new

arrivals are treated at first. This is a common story now. They understand now that heaven is up and hell is down, from the sermons of the maestros. But in the legends they don't say this. . . . (55)

The Devil

The devil is most frequently referred to as *itom bebehe'eli* or *bebehe'eri* (our enemy) or by the Spanish equivalent *nuestro enemigo*. *Hiaplo*, from the Spanish *diablo*, is also heard occasionally. The devil is thought to be evil-hearted and filled with vicious hate and envy, determined to revolt against God and all goodness. He is thought to be constantly vigilant in diverting people from prayers and services and from good works in general. He is said to be able to take any form he desires—a ghost, animal, bird, or human—in order to frighten and harm people. He is generally associated with the witch and with yoania visions. The witch is the devil's pupil.

The devil may be intimidated by the sign of the cross and by such noises as firecrackers, small rockets, the gourds and music of the matachinis, and the music of the native dancers.

Aid against the devil is invoked by the pascolas in their prayers at the start of a fiesta, and prayers by them at dawn are in thanksgiving for "having passed the night safely." At fiestas out of Lent, a rite by the pascolas is an invocation against evil and specifically against the devil. Legends tell that the original pascola was the son of the devil. The devil is thought to work "from the left."

It is understood that the devil takes the form of a ghost. A person dies and is dead. The devil has a way of taking the figure of a dead person in order to frighten people. The old Yaquis, they had power to do such things. (55)

One time a woman was coming home alone, and she heard a baby crying and followed it. The family scolded her, because they said it was the devil trying to entice her to follow him. . . .

This lady heard that crying. It was like a baby, but when she got it in her arms, it turned out to be a little devil, with horns and a tail, and with fangs coming out from her teeth; and she threw it down. And she fainted. When she woke up, there was nothing there. And this lady came home and told her parents about it, and she got sick and died of fright. My grandmother told me that this is true. (16)

Holy Light

Santo tachiria is literally translated as holy light, as distinguished from *machiria*, which is ordinary light. The concept of holy light is closely asso-

ciated with the ceremonies. God is thought of as surrounded by holy light or radiance, which the head maestro speaks of as *resplendor*, and which he connects also with the moment of the Resurrection. Holy light may shine down from heaven as a blessing to the people in the ceremonies and on the maestro while he prays for them. This might equate in some degree with the Catholic concept of actual grace.

The holy light shone down upon you like this equally on all baptized people. . . . (Painter 1955: 47)

The good holy heavenly light came down to each of you, to every baptized person. (Painter 1955: 100)

It lights your path to heaven, and when I say my prayers with all my heart, that candle will light my way to heaven. (52)

Holy Ground

A related concept is the illumination by candles or lanterns of the *santo tebat* (holy ground or patio) where ceremonies are taking place. The area between the altar in the church and the church cross is considered to be *santo tebat*, as is that between the altar in the fiesta ramada and the fiesta cross in either the plaza or a household patio. No spectator should cross this during the ceremonies. The area traversed by processions is also considered to be *santo tebat*. The Spanish translation, *tierra sagrada*, is rarely used.

The candle or lantern light that illumines these areas symbolizes the holy light in heaven and also is called *santo tachiria*. It is said that *tu'uwa* (good work) takes place in the light, and that evil may be present outside in the darkness in the form of the witch or the devil, who may harm people or attempt to lure them away.

During the ceremonies the holy patio is holy as far as the light reaches. (17)

It symbolizes that same heavenly light, and whoever wanders into darkness is not supposed to be in righteousness. (8)

The light at any fiesta is *tachiria*. It is blessed as far as the light reaches. Any person that is way out of where the light reaches is considered to be in darkness and not to be in good deed. (9)

The light from candles or lanterns carried in processions, both by the church group and by the pueblo, is also referred to as *santo tachiria*. "The light belongs to the holy figures and they cannot be carried in darkness." (8)

One of the matachin leaders (35) says that the light in front of the

church or fiesta ramada, where the matachinis dance, is called *sewa tachiria* (flower light).

They are light for the *sewa* [ceremonial labor] that we are working on, so it is called *sewa tachiria*. Santo tachiria is as far as the light reaches, so anybody staying out of the light is not in the right place. If [the men] go outside to drink, they don't get no grace and no *induluhensia* (indulgence). (35)

The head maestro has said that the alba is "good too." Actually, after an all-night fiesta, there is sudden relaxation, and the mood changes as the fears of the night fall away with the dawn.

Another common concept is that holy light may surround one's patron saint, as follows:

A lot of people have a patron saint. Anything they see or dream of, they know their patron saint had something to do with it. If a lady is praying to her patron saint, she might say, "Dear San Antonio, ask the good Lord to do this (or that) for me." If she sees the light from heaven she thinks her patron saint had something to do with sending it. It is imagination. An individual's imagination. They see something, and a lot of people, when they are sick they pass out. And when they are coming to, they think they see the light from heaven. They tell that they see it way up high, very small, and it gradually expands until it covers a person. This is general belief. (58)

Discipline

From sermons handed down over many years we learn of the stern discipline of the religion practiced in Pascua. It is apparent to the thoughtful visitor that individual interests are subordinated to group duties. Long, sleepless nights of ritual labor, fatigue, exposure to cold winter nights and to the ruthless desert sun, deprivations and taboos—all these are the lot of those who have taken vows to serve Jesus and Mary.

One hears often in speeches and sermons the phrase *pena dura*, variously translated as harsh punishment, harsh suffering, or harsh penance. For most, however, harsh penance appears to be the most meaningful translation. The word *pesado* is sometimes heard, or the Yaqui equivalent *batte* (heavy, harsh).

Self-discipline in fulfillment of vows is one of the most important imperatives in the Pascua value system. The Spanish word *cumplir* is most often heard for this, and the translation to fulfill is more exact than to comply. In Yaqui, *chupak* (concluded), *yak* (made), and *ansuk* (finished) are

also used. It is believed that, if an individual fails to fulfill his ceremonial obligations, supernatural sanctions in the form of illness, accident, or even death may follow.

Tekipanoa

Tekipanoa is a word repeatedly heard in sermons and in general conversation. It is a gerund possibly derived from *tekil* and *tekia*.

Tekil means any kind of manual work, like wage labor. It may also be oriented toward preparations for, or in connection with, a ceremony. Examples of this latter include chopping wood, contributing material for, or helping to build or repair, a ramada, preparing food, lending utensils, making crepe-paper flowers, or cleaning up the plaza. One might say *a'a tekil ho'a* (he does, or is doing, his work).

As has been discussed, the word *tekia* was originally used for a special innate gift or skill with which one was born. It applied, according to informants, only to the *pascola* and deer dancer groups. The Surem had it, and thus it is connected with the ancient days of the *yonia*.

Our Mother or Our Father created him into his mother's womb with that inheritance. And this is as I have heard it from the older people of long ago. It is considered as a penalty, because it deprives him from many things during the time that he is working [in the ceremonies]. . . . the liquor is one of the most deprived by the Lord. And other temptations that might occur. (17)

It is now commonly thought that individuals may be selected by God before birth for specific ceremonial positions in all groups. This pre-birth selection is not a requisite for performing, but it enhances one's ability. The word *tekia* has come to be used for this. The head maestro so employs it and says, "Tekia is the service of a person, *el destino*, or what God wants him to do in the service" (8). One informant refers to talent in this connection and equates it with *gracia* (grace), or, in Yaqui, with *apo a grasiak* (that is his grace or talent). "God gives them this talent and so they have to do it" (16).

Tekia, then, is used to indicate one's service in the ceremonies, either as a result of being born with a special talent, or undertaking the service as the result of a vow. Note that being born with *tekia* is different from being born with *seataka*, which is a generalized power.

Ever since you were in your mother's womb, you were created with work like this. (55)

It would seem that *tekia* in its original sense could have been an aboriginal forerunner and fruitful basis for the *manda*, or vow, discussed below,

which has a long Christian history. A vow is a pact with a supernatural being, who gives help in a crisis in return for service performed in one of the ceremonial groups. It is also the custom to interpret a dream of Jesus or Mary as recruitment for service. Such a person, in either case, must perform, even if he has not been born with *tekia*. *Tekia* acquired in the womb is not a pact but is a special gift, thought to be from God or the *yoania*, or both. As such, and if strong, it is irresistibly responded to by the individual. If he performs, his allegiance is to Jesus, but this is not in any sense a pact or vow.

You are born with *tekia*. The parents know when a child is born with it and make a *manda* for him. *Tekia* is Yaqui. A *manda* is made later. You can have a *manda* without *tekia*, but a person does not perform as well.

Tekia is work. *Tekia* is an obligation. (52)

A *matachin* leader (35) said that he and his wife had lost two babies, and, when she was pregnant a third time, his wife made a *manda* that the child would be a *matachin* dancer. This was clearly a *manda*, he said, and not *tekia* acquired in the womb. He also said that a relative of his was trying to learn to be a deer dancer, but he could not, as he did not have the *tekia*. He said that anyone with *tekia* starts very early, at the age of six or seven, to show an interest in being a *pascola* or a deer dancer.

The following statement by an older man makes no distinction between a *manda* and the destiny that God gives prenatally. He said it is all from God in the womb.

A mother is guided by God to make the promise or *manda* that is already God-given. If his mother makes no promise, even if nobody promises him into the position, he takes it up by his own will, because God created it in him. (9)

Before you are born they work on you so that you can take the *tekia*. When you are selected for that, God is helping you, and you can live to be an old age and you won't be frequently sick like other persons. Some of them get the power from the *yoania* [in visions] and those are the ones that stay in the *yoania*. Others who have *tekia* from God's will, he goes to heaven. The other one who selects it for himself, he is the one who stays.

[What about a man who might have the *tekia* from God and still might want to dance better than anyone else?] He does not need to go to the *yoania*, because God has given him the gift. The *yoania* would not want him then, and he could never see it even if he wanted to. He could never see it because the *yoania* would not want him. Because it was God's will that imposed that *tekia* on him. [How does a person

know that he has the tekia from God?] They teach you when you are little, whatever your tekia is, while you are growing up. Other people know that you learned it when you were a child. They know you learned your tekia. [How do parents know?] It's God's will, because for generations the one family has the tekia, and they all know it. (2)

The Spanish word *obligación* may be used for tekipanoa but it is not in common use.

It is said that when a chapayeka is sweeping the path to the church without wearing his mask he is doing tekil; but when he is serving in the ceremonies with his mask on, he is doing his tekia. Both may be referred to as tekipanoa and are given equal recognition when the maestros make acknowledgments in their sermons. Both are pleasing to God and are means of gaining heavenly rewards.

It appears that the possessor of tekia has inner strength in the knowledge of it. It makes him more aware of himself as a person. It gives him stature within himself. It also gives him easy access to the ceremonial life of the village. It organizes his life internally and externally.

The Spanish word *oficio* is sometimes heard for tekia, but the most common substitution is *lutu'uria* (truth). This may be used in a philosophical sense but is also in common usage in the sense of tekia. One might say *in lutu'uria yi'ine* (I will dance my truth), meaning that the individual will fulfill his vow to the matachin dance society. (35) An invitation to participate in a fiesta may contain the phrase "share the truth with me," which is the same as "come and serve God with me." (58) *Lutu'uria* may also be used to encompass the obligation of a whole ceremonial society, or of a ceremonial event like the Easter Ceremony.

Good Heart

Complete fulfillment of an obligation with consequent divine favor cannot be accomplished without faith, love, and devotion. This is more important than carrying out correctly the details of ritual. *Tu'i hiapsimak* (with good heart) and *chikti hiapsimak* (with whole heart) are phrases often heard in sermons and among the people. Even a person without vows (*kia pueblo*, just pueblo; or, as some Yaquis translate the phrase, civilian) is expected to participate by whatever offerings he is able to make and by the performance of small duties. He too will receive divine approval if he does his part, however small, "with good heart."

Now then, truly here the Lord truly received the holy benediction made like this for all baptized people; the contributions they made—truly one candle, or one skyrocket, or even one cent, if contributed with the one holy truth. (Painter 1955: 147)

Truly they placed it with Holy Mary in her hand, saying they worked on it like this . . . truly not feeling lazy about it, truly with hearts as clear as the one water drop. (Painter 1955: 64)

If an image is dropped or someone trips, people would say he was not thinking about his work. (8)

If anyone drops a holy figure, it means that that person has done evil, and the holy figure does not want to be touched by that person. If a maestro makes a mistake, he would be doing it not with whole heart. And they are not supposed to quarrel in Lent. (52)

But the Lord says that even if he works on this, and passes through it [Easter Ceremony], if he thinks something not good in his heart he truly will not carry it out right. Or if, even more, he works on it feeling lazy about it, yet, He says, he will not carry it out right. And even more, if he works on it not completely, yet He will pursue him about it, saying thus He made it the truth. But if he works that way with another [false] or not good heart, He will pursue him about it, saying He made it a truth to all parts. (Painter 1955: 116–19)

When anything in the ritual goes wrong, it is thought that the person is *ka tu'isi hiapsimak hoa* (working with not-good heart). If a person should get hurt while he is in church, even a Mexican, they would say he went without faith. If you get robbed or hurt in Magdalena, or get sick, you are thought to have visited the holy figure without faith. Things can happen to a person. If a person dropped a *santo* (holy figure), they would say he was without faith. In Pascua one boy was, during the singing of the Gloria [on Holy Saturday]—in the beginning he was asked to go and carry the *santo hekka* (holy canopy). He told me he refused to go, but he was punished on that. There was a crippled man with a long iron rod that he used as a cane. He struck him right across the shoulders with it. Doing things without faith will be punished one way or another, even in the household. It comes to the mind quickly, why he is being punished.

[Supposed not to quarrel during Lent?] During Lent it is understood that they are not supposed to quarrel, a man and his wife, and even the neighbors. . . . Thursday night after the capture is important not to quarrel then. Not even cut any wood or grass. Cutting is important and pounding with hammers. Until The Gloria on Saturday. . . . They are not supposed to think bad, either. . . . If anyone died during a ceremony that would be *castigo grande* (great punishment; Yaqui, *bueu kahtigo*).

Sometimes when the matachinis are doing their public group veneration, sometimes they drag by a burning candle or something. It makes it clear that he did not do it with all his heart, but there is no *petensia*

(penance). If anyone dropped an altar figures, it would be clear that he was in no way doing it with all his heart. With a maestro, the only time he might make a mistake would be when he is given the uhbuani and don't go. Then he would have petensia, some kind of sickness or ailment. He would do penance by prayers, begging for forgiveness and divine help from God. Any of these would pray for help from God and confess to God that they were sorry for it. He has to wonder about it in prayer and recollect what happened to him until he uncovers the reason for it. If a chapayeka does not treat his mask right, he is punished for *ka chikti hiapsimak* (not doing it with all his heart). He . . . gets some kind of punishment to make it clear that he did not do it with all his heart. (55)

Sacramentals

The rituals for sacramentals, with accompanying prayers, are properly carried out. An important concept is that of *te'ochia*, always translated as blessing and in Spanish as *bendecir*. Implicit in *te'ochia* is an invocation against evil: “. . . to bless, and that is to keep evil away.” (58) Constitutive and invocative blessings are not fully defined, and the single word *te'ochia* is used for both, as a dedication to divine worship.

Sacramentals include crosses, crucifixes, rosaries, statues of Jesus, Mary, and the saints, candles, holy water for the church and for the altar images, palm leaves for Palm Sunday, ashes for Ash Wednesday, and *habitos* (dresses or habits), which are essentially scapulars. These are usually blessed by a priest, but may also be blessed by a maestro.

Examples of constitutive blessing, or setting a person or thing apart for God, are the blessing of a new church or new holy figures. The confirmation of an individual into a ceremonial group is an act of *te'ochia*, carried out by the maestros and other members of the church group acting in conjunction with officers of the ceremonial society. The paraphernalia are automatically blessed at confirmation. The regalia, over which a person makes the sign of the cross before using, are in that way blessed each time. Certain of the paraphernalia, as for example the water in which the water drum of the deer singer floats, accrue blessing by use for sacred purposes.

Examples of an invocative blessing, or an invocation for divine help, are prayers, the sign of the cross, and indeed, the total ritual of any ceremony, including the fiesta dancers. Inherent in an invocative blessing is protection against evil. When a girl flag-bearer waves in the four directions in front of the altar before a ceremony, she is dedicating that area for sacred purposes, and she is also seeking protection against evil for all who participate. The chapayeka who holds a cross in his mouth while wearing a mask is asking for a blessing and is also warding off the evil inherent in the mask.

Flowers

A knowledge of the meanings surrounding the word *sewam* (flowers) is essential to an understanding of Pascuan religion and character, and of the ceremonial events and their interpretations. According to informants, to legends, and especially the deer songs, the native concept of *sewam* had its origin in the ancient times of the Surem. It is evident that flowers were treasured; it is not known whether they were sacred.

The flower concept also embraces symbolism in the Catholic religion. It is not inimical to Catholicism. In fact, priests with whom it has been discussed regard it as an excellent vehicle, probably used by the early padres to bring an understanding of the Christian faith to the Yaquis.

"Flower" is truly the symbol for all righteous and holy acts, devotions, duties—all forms of compassionate and religious expression. One young man (73) said the word is sacred.

It is visually evident to all but the most casual visitor that flowers are important to the life of the village. In defiance of the parched and inhospitable earth, most patios are freshened with carefully tended green things. The visitor sees Pascuans carrying out the tradition of the Catholic church in the association of flowers with the Virgin Mary. As do others native to the region, they offer flowers, real or shaped of crepe paper, in tribute to Mary. The church and household altars are bright with flowers except in time of mourning. Flowers in profusion adorn the Holy Cross at the vespers on May 2. Confetti is symbolic of flowers and is used as a substitute for them. At times in the ceremonies confetti, in lieu of flowers, is showered on the altar and on the holy figures as an honor and a blessing. The *sewa hipetam* (flower carpet or mat) is a piece of canvas to which are brought offerings of flowers, green leaves, and confetti. It is carried in some processions and laid in front of the Stations of the Cross so that holy figures may be held over it and thus honored by flowers. On three of the most important days of the Easter Ceremony cottonwood twigs, symbolic of flowers, line the path to the church. Flower forms may be observed on some of the regalia of the ceremonial societies. Flowers are thrown during The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning, to defeat the fariseos by ritually killing them. Flowers are in continual evidence. Sewa may be the first word that a visitor learns.

Gradually one learns that all of the flowers and flower forms are related to a central theme. The whole flower complex falls into a logical pattern when it is known that it symbolizes the legend, reported by all informants, that at the crucifixion the blood of Jesus, as it fell from the cross, mingled with the earth and was, by a miracle of heaven, transformed into flowers, which then filled heaven and earth. "The hard travail of Christ turned into flowers of God in heaven" (55). Some of the older people believe that the transformation was literal, but most regard it as symbolic.

Now then, it was shown to you like that, that Our Father's flower, that Our Father's blood. He, Our Father, hung on the cross with open arms; the blood, touching the earth and splashing down, spread all over the world. Up yonder, where sits the Lord, the Most Holy Trinity, on the holy throne, up yonder, were truly made the pretty flowers which have been created down upon you. (Painter 1955: 97–99)

[I heard from the maestros and the older people that] the blood as it fell mixed with the earth and became flowers. The flower is in that case [at The Gloria] like the bows and arrows . . . the weapon of the church. (31)

That is when Jesus was nailed to the cross, and the blood was coming down the cross to the ground, and it was supposed to become flowers, in which you know the Holy Cross, they always dressed it up in ribbons and flowers. So that is where the blood became the flowers and why the things on the head are flowers. (8)

The blood of Christ is the flower. All the flowers. That is why we use flowers so much. That is why the pascolas and the deer wear them on their heads, and the musicians and singers and everyone. That is why the matachinis won't dance in Lent, even if a matachini dies. They say "the flower is closed (*aueta'i*).” They say on the first Friday that the flower is closed, and they can't dance. Then on Palm Sunday they dance because the flower is beginning to open. Before that when [the head altar woman] throws flowers on the Virgin, the fariseos say, "Oh, those flowers mean nothing to us.” Then on Palm Sunday, when the matachinis dance, the corporals [of the kohtumbre] say to the fariseos, "Don't you see they are winning?" At the Holy Cross they say, "Now the flower really opens.” Beginning with the first Friday, they don't put flowers on the Marys. They are already in mourning. (16)

Heaven, as above described, is visualized as filled with flowers, where God sits, surrounded by flowers. Divine blessings and heavenly rewards are called *loria* or *gloria* (heavenly glory) but are more frequently referred to, both in sermons and in conversation, as *sewa*.

The Catholic doctrine of indulgences as an avenue to remission of temporal punishment due to forgiven but unexpiated sin is not clearly defined. Plenary and partial indulgences are not mentioned. Rather, indulgence (singular) is considered to be divine favor gained by religious and charitable acts and deeds of penance which lead to rewards in heaven for both the living and the souls in purgatory. The word *indulgencia* is heard; but more frequently used are Yaqui derivations, such as *induluhensia*, *indulihensia*, *inluluhensia*, *induluhensiam*, or *luluhensiam*. The word *sewa* is used interchangeably with these, as well as with *floria* or *loria* and thus is a symbol of divine approval and reward.

The word *sewa* is freely used by members of ceremonial societies when talking about their ceremonial duties. Any *uhbuani*, in the name of Mary or Jesus, inviting a participant to a *fiesta* is likely to contain a phrase such as "share the flower with us," meaning both the ritual and labor of the night and the reward that it merits. Informants of all groups say that the morning prayers after an all-night *fiesta* offer up the *sewa* of the night to Jesus and Mary. Another concept is that at dawn the *sewa* of the night is "picked up" by Saint Michael, or the angels, or by Mary, and recorded in heaven to the credit of each individual who has fulfilled faithfully and "with good heart" the obligations of the long night. It is sometimes spoken of as "heavenly money." It is thought that a record is kept in heaven for each individual of the good deeds he does during his lifetime and that he will be blessed according to the spiritual riches he has amassed on this earth.

The flower symbol extends also to certain of the paraphernalia of the ceremonial societies, especially to those worn on the head. Many of the regalia are called flower, and, as such, are considered to be a weapon against evil, whenever they are worn.

The crowns of the flag girls and of the women who carry in processions the figures of Mary are called *sewa*. They are decorated with ribbons in patterns suggestive of flowers. The white head coverings under the crowns are embroidered by hand in designs in which flowers are prominent. The flower crowns of the angels are called *sewa*. The members of the *matachin* dance society have also a strong flower symbolism. They most often refer to the headdress as flower. The flowing, swaying strips of crepe paper attached to the top of the crown are called flowers, as are the dyed feathers that decorate their wands.

The masks of the *chapayekas* are called flowers. Although the mask itself has supernatural potentialities for evil, and the man who wears it has reason to fear it if he violates the strict taboos that surround the mask, it is commonly called *sewa* because it is through the wearing of the mask that the *chapayeka* fulfills his vow to Jesus. Thus it is sacred as well as dangerous. The red wool tips that appear sometimes on the ears and horns of the mask represent flowers.

Additional aspects of flower symbolism develop in conversations with the *pascola* and deer dancers and their musicians, whose origins predate the arrival of the *padres*. From their legends we learn of the significance of flowers in ancient times. The concept of *seataka* (literally, flower body), already discussed, was and is of fundamental value. An important mythological figure was Sea Hamut, Flower Woman. The whole deer complex is strongly associated with flower symbolism. The red ribbons on the antlers of the headdress of the deer dancer are called flower. The ancient songs of the deer singers tell of the sea ania, the primeval flower world under the dawn, which was the home of the first legendary deer. Currently the *huya*,

forest habitat of the actual deer, is called *sewa ania* when in bloom. The deer songs contain many other references to flowers and also many poetic usages of *sewa*, such as flower raspers and flower patio. At The Gloria the actual dancing of the deer is equated with the flowers that “kill” the fariseos.

The mask of the *pascola* is not called flower, but the small red string that ties the topknot of hair is known as *pahko sewa wikia* (fiesta flower string). Except at fiestas of mourning and at the Palm Sunday Eve fiesta, the *pascolas* and their musicians and the deer singers wear on the head or hat crepe-paper flowers like those used for altar decoration.

Flowers are always considered to be “on the good side.” They are the “weapons of the church against evil” and “guards for the year around against evil.” Since the dancing of the *matachinis* and deer is identified with flowers, these groups are in opposition to the fariseos, who take the part of the enemies of Jesus. It is because of this ritual conflict, because the fariseos hate and fear the whole flower concept, that the *matachinis* and deer do not dance until late in Lent.

It is with actual flowers, greens, and confetti, thrown by the church group, plus the dancing of the *matachinis*, deer, and *pascolas*, that the fariseos are ritually killed when they make their final stand against Christ in the climax of the Easter Ceremony—The Gloria on Holy Saturday. The blood of Jesus, transformed into flowers, is, in the end, the victorious weapon against evil. The flower symbolism in all its aspects runs clearly and logically through the entire Easter Ceremony, and this will be discussed in detail later.

[Flower] refers to two things. He will live in the grace of God on earth, and after he dies he will have the heavenly flower or glory. In talking about the heavenly glory the Yaquis always refer to it as *sewa*. Grace refers to the sustenance here on earth, and in heaven it refers to the reward of the pretty flower, *tutu'uli sewa* (Spanish, gloria). Flower does not mean heavenly grace. There is no such thing as grace in heaven. It is necessary here because we are still on earth. So in heaven we refer to *tutu'uli sewa*, or gloria, or loria; we never refer to grace. Grace is always *pan de cada día* (daily bread) here on earth. To earn heavenly glory one must do good deeds on earth, such as praying with faith and devotion, and charity, such as helping other needy persons and helping the sick and making contributions. We do all this to earn heavenly glory or *sewa*. [This is referred to as] *indulihensia*, not *gracia*! A person doesn't need grace in heaven, and it is not referred to as grace in heaven. A person might be in any, like we say, “worst habits,” still, if he clings to the holy figures and what he believes in and does not forget it, he may earn grace and the glory. . . .

Grace comes from heaven. It is our daily bread, which comes from

The Lord's Prayer. [A person working all night in a ceremony expects to] gain grace. Grace comes from heaven in the form of our daily bread. [Sewa is a symbol for] indulgence or grace [or] heavenly glory. And sewa is the indulgence and is a reward for good work. Sewa is a symbol of grace and glory and indulgence, all three. Every good deed, every good work, is rewarded. (8)

Gloriata is to us like glory, something heavenly. *Grasiata* is indulgence. They say *grasia induluhensia amakova'ene* (will win grace, indulgence). When we think of gloria, we think of flowers as being something beautiful. So, being beautiful, it would always win over something evil. *Grasiata* comes after both the others. When a child learns all the prayers for a communion, after he learns, he takes his first communion and wins grace. [And the chapayekas?] The tiredness and the sleepless nights win sewa, or grace. So grace, sewa, and gloria to us are all heavenly glory, all the same. The matachinis have a patron saint, Itom Aye María Santísima. So every time they dance all night, in the morning when they give their thanks it is something like depositing all their grace or sewa to their patron saint for safekeeping. Grace is the same as flower, and, altogether with glory, is the same as heavenly glory or heavenly grace. Those three words come out the same thing with us. And the chapayekas, when they do their penance, they earn grace by wearing their masks. And that is why it [the mask] is called sewa. (31 and 58)

The fariseos are told in the farewell sermon [Easter Sunday] that at the dawn . . . the angel of the guard picks up all of the flowers of the chapayekas and takes them in the heavenly treasures as a record of the work they have done. And when they are invited by the Lord to depart from this world, they will see them in heaven. The guardian angel has been with us all the time in Lent. . . .

Heaven is considered something like a garden of flowers of many kinds. When a man is having a hard time carrying out his duty as a working man, he is encouraged by being told not to worry, for later all that will be a flower for him. In other words, a reward for his labor. All hope to be rewarded in heaven by God's flower. This is pure Yaqui. (55)

. . . the work they do here during Lent will be recorded up in heaven. The Lord will have it recorded, every bit of it. So the symbol of the flower is put in the sermons. . . . it truly is the heavenly money for the thanks we have received. It is counted like money in heaven. . . . the flower becomes the grace in heaven. All our work is recorded in heaven. If we fail, it is recorded; so it becomes like heavenly money or grace or heavenly glory. . . . It is called flower here and grace in heaven. Loria is the heavenly place. Gracia is the reward for work and is often referred to as flower. And all the ceremonial work is titled to the flower. . . .

being the fact that where the Lord sits and the person who truly has won this reward has to be in the grace of the Lord, and being with the Lord he should be among the flowers. Because the Lord is among the flowers, so the person is among the flowers. All the saints are among the flowers. Being with the Lord is being in grace. . . . the grace is referred to as the flower, and that is the main word. It is true that it is symbolic. The grace is also referred to here on earth as heavenly. Calling work and the regalia flower is also symbolic. (9)

Grace is *Lios buania*, or grace from God, literally God blesses. It means you are being thanked. *Induluhensia* is what we work here in the service, and we want to work it right, so when we get to heaven everything we do right here we get up there. We get all our pay up there for the right things we did on this earth. Whenever he works for his living he gets grace—getting his eats. (35)

[Flowers] are known to be the weapon of the church against evil. They are associated with the Virgin in two legends, the one about the rose and the one about Joseph being chosen as the husband of Mary because flowers sprang from his staff. Both were before the birth of Christ. [And flowers as a reward in heaven?] They are the same as life everlasting. Ceremonial labor is one means by which one gains life everlasting, so they call their regalia flower, which is what they hope to gain in heaven. (55)

[I do not think that the Yaquis ever worshiped the flower] because what we do here is not the material flower, it is all a symbol. If there had been flower worship before the Spanish, we would have some kind of flower, and all we have is the *pascola* and deer. (58)

[The *chapayeka* mask] is a flower for the owner, which means that it is a flower for the owner which the Lord promises to them. The heavenly glory. Among themselves they always call the mask *sewa*. Sometimes other people refer to it as the *chapayeka chomo*. That is like the feather headdress of the North American Indian or the Mexican Indian or the coyote dancer. (17)

The *chapayeka* mask is always for good, anyway. It has the same value as the crown of the *matachinis*, only it works in a different way. (9)

Since the Aztec and Yaqui languages belong to the same family, suggesting common cultural origins, it is of interest to look at the Nahuatl concept of flowers. The wise men, philosophers, in their search for the ultimate truth, “the only truth on earth,” concluded that the way to understanding was through poetry. Poetry is “the fruit of authentic inner experience, the result of intuition,” and the final truth may be revealed in the words of poetry. The symbol for poetry was song and flowers, and through

this symbolism may be revealed the ultimate truth (León-Portilla 1963: 75–76).

Our priests, I ask of you:
 From whence come the flowers that enrapture man?
 The songs that intoxicate, the lovely songs?
 Only from His home do they come, from the innermost part of heaven,
 only from there comes the myriad of flowers . . .
 Where the nectar of the flowers is found
 the fragrant beauty of the flower is refined . . .
 They interlace, they interweave;
 among them sings, among them warbles the quetzal bird.
 (León-Portilla 1963: 77)

There is no Yaqui word for grace. The Spanish *gracia* is used, or the Yaqui derivation *grasiam*. The concepts of actual and sanctifying grace are not understood. Grace is sometimes equated with indulgence and is often used interchangeably with *gloria* or *loria*. *Sewa* is the common symbol for grace, indulgence, and heavenly glory and is more often used by the people in conversation. It is said that grace, indulgence, heavenly glory, and flower all have the same meaning, which is, quite simply, heavenly blessings and rewards.

Grace may be merited by daily labor at the job (*tekil*), as well as by good works. The head maestro says that it is *pan de cada día*, which he connects with the Lord's prayer.

The flower symbolism is extended to embrace the actual behavior which earns heavenly reward or *sewa*. This includes religious acts, such as prayers, sacred songs, gifts offered within the limit of one's resources, such as candles, flowers or coins, charitable deeds, and good works in general; also the faithful discharge of the duties attendant on membership in a society, upright and honorable living, and obeying the precepts of the *yo'ora*, those revered leaders who have gone before. Even attendance at a ceremony without active participation is included, and physical labor is not omitted. For all of these activities, and similar ones, the word *sewa* is used. Thus the word *sewa* not only represents divine reward, but the labor which merits or earns the reward. But all of this must be done with good heart, to be pleasing to Jesus and Mary. "The flower becomes the grace in heaven" (55). The flower of *tekipanoa* (good work done with whole heart) is the perfect fulfillment of the *tekia* received in the womb.

The Flood Myth

The legend tells that Our Heavenly Father sent Jesus Christ after the flood. No one was left [after the flood]. So Jesus came after the flood to

create another existence of humans. [What do you know about existence before the flood?] There were humans, but God was only known by dreams and seataka and just mind power. [In the first place there were no scientific or artificial things, only the creation (comment by interpreter).] Then there was the flood. [Why?] It was to renew the world. The creation was renewed by the Holy Trinity after the flood. (9)

Noah's ark was a long time ago. When the water was coming up all those that didn't want religion or churches jumped from the ark and went into the pocho'oria, and they are now the animals we see there. Those mountains we see now are called Ba'amochim. The snakes jumped, too. (2)

Miscellaneous Legends

Adam is the one who gave the apple to his wife in Yaqui legend, not the snake. (2)

[My mother told me that] once in awhile on the day of San Francisco Xavier de Magdalena they found the door closed when they were going to do services in the vespers. And the sacristan would be using the key that goes to the door, and the people would be waiting outside until San Francisco opened the door. It says that one night it was delayed until very late because it was locked, and when he (San Francisco) came, well, the key could then open the lock, and the vespers was done way out in the night. That is one time when my mother saw it for herself. Most of the people took it for granted that he (San Francisco) is not in the church, but he is out.

When he goes out to the *pitahayas* (organ pipe cactus) in June, that is the time when the door is locked, too. Nobody goes in. It happens from early morning till close to noontime. And some old men who have been up there in the mountains picking those pitaya fruit are supposed to have seen him in the distance picking and eating those pitaya fruit. An old man is supposed to have related the story to his family, and from there on it was heard by my grandmother. Seeing San Francisco out there like that would make a person shiver.

[Saint Peter] wanted to go in to the heavenly glory to take one look at the Loria. And the door was opened, and he pushed himself into the Loria. Then God told him he would become a stone. Then Peter is supposed to answer, "Even if you change me into a stone, please do not change my eyes so that I cannot see." And now he is supposed to be in the heavenly glory, but a stone with eyes. (55)

Relation of Yaqui Christian and Pre-Christian Beliefs

Pascuans are deeply committed to Roman Catholic Christianity, at both the individual and communal levels. In embracing it so ardently, they have taken it for their own.

Yaqui Catholicism has, for complex historical reasons, diverged from the parent church—which has itself changed over the centuries since the Jesuits were first received by the Yaquis. They have added their own interpretations, made changes. However, a spiritual awareness and orientation, and an activating goodness each to the other, pervade both character and daily life in the midst of severe material deprivations and common human errors and frailties. A personal immediacy of religion exists, and a Christian way of behaving, even if some of the structured concepts are missing or incorrectly understood. Eternal and transcendental realities are more important in the minds of the people than the temporal and material.

For almost all, the concepts of comity with God, Jesus, Mary, and the saints, life after death, and the fate of the soul are believed in and are rewarding. And for almost all, connection with the parish church offers not only spiritual satisfaction but a way, second only to employment, to integration with the larger community.

Pascuans have various approaches to Christian spirituality. One is the overall liturgical pattern of the Roman Catholic church. To the corpus of the missal and the prayers, the maestros have made adaptations handed down over the years; but, in general, these remain the same. The Catholic calendar of events is followed and, indeed, is the framework for most religious events. The prayers include requests for mediation by Mary or a saint for those not with God. And not forgotten are those “on land and sea to the far four quarters of the earth.”

Approaches to spirituality may also be made through corporate behavior in the ceremonies, in performance of duties in ceremonial societies, and through established behavior in familial and godparent ties. One of the strengths of the culture lies in these relationships.

Comity with God is achieved also by the individual approach. Prayers may be unspoken in the heart, deeply felt without verbalizing. In these prayers, the presence of Jesus and Mary is experienced in a personal and significant way. Making the sign of the cross, acts of penance, fasting and abstinence, pilgrimages, guidance dreams of Jesus and Mary leading to vows, are all personal experiences. Individual acts of compassion and good will also constitute a personal approach. Faith is implemented by deeds. These ways are a cohesive force in the community. “We are poor people and want to help each other” (58).

Implicit in all approaches to the spiritual life is the concept of sharing the flower, of extending to all the opportunity to join in the ceremonies and

thus to have increased access to divine recognition. Inherent, too, is the necessity of maintaining good heart, without which no act has spiritual validity. These acts and attitudes lead to concordance with God.

Christianity and the yoania seem in many ways to be incompatible. They offer different choices, impose different imperatives. The religion of the padres brought new and rewarding ways. Power, in the old days, whether innate or acquired, was a dominant drive in the effort to adjust to the natural world. Christianity offered a different kind of power. It appears now to be dominant. However, the yoania is still present, its essential form unchanged. It has no set cycle of ceremonies, no overt celebrations. It is an oral, not a written, tradition. The yoania, too, is transcendental. The gifts of seataka and ute'a, inherited from the Surem, remain valid and determine at least part of the Yaqui-ness of Pascuans. They remain separate from, parallel to, Christian doctrine. Tekia continues to exist, and the word has been extended to include duty or ceremonial labor in all groups. Dreaming by the witch and the curer remains the viable instrument of witchcraft and curing. These dreams are separate from and parallel to manda dreams of Jesus and Mary. The yoania is still accessible to pascola and deer in tekia, dreams, and visions. These Yaqui concepts are not abrogated, they are simply not in evidence. The yoania is more in the minds of the people than is apparent. The dichotomy is hidden, but present.

It is true that God has become associated with the yoania. All powerful, all creative, He is thought to have existed, unknown, in yoania times. The legend of the Talking Tree gives credence to the common legends that God—Jesus—created the fiestas and all the participants, and decreed their duties and regalia.

Much has been retained from the ancient ways. It would appear that those traits that remained viable were kept. Each way of life reinforces the other. And each way of thought contributes to the character and to the adjustment of the individual. Old and new legends bind the whole together.

For some, Christianity may have obliterated the yoania. But for most, it is not extinguished. Relationship with the natural habitat has been retained, with its hidden resources for power. For Pascuans it is important that the desert and the rim of foothills and mountains are peripheral to Tucson. The deer continues to be the sacred animal. The pascolas, though woven into the Catholic ceremonies, continue their dreams and visions. In their behavior and their stories, and interplay with the deer throughout fiesta nights, they recreate the yoania and the Surem. Flowers appear actually and symbolically. And so the matrix is mixed, but with separate components. It includes the ancient and the new, in interwoven but separate strands. And it is very strong. It is a fortunate man who has both.

4

Yaqui Ritual Practices

The practices described here are integral to carrying out ceremonies. Most of this overt behavior is European in origin, with very little native derivation. In most of the ritual practices, however, there is at least some adaptation to Pascua thought and behavior. It is all closely structured, expected, traditional. Each individual knows what is his duty and quietly assumes his role. A deep, reserved reverence for holy things characterizes the attitude of the Pascuans.

Altars

The altar in the church is the focus of the religious life of the village. It is spoken of as the *teopo altar* (church altar). Located at the back of the church, it appears as a bare wooden table about 3 yards long before it is dressed by the altar women. Before a ceremony, the altar women place on it an antependium (*poontal*), then an altar cloth of white cotton, often lace-trimmed. The antependium is of a color suitable to the occasion and has the correct cross and bars. White or a pale color is used out of Lent and on Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday. Lavender, purple, or black is used in penitential and mourning periods. Some antependia are made of cotton, some of silk. Often a woman, not necessarily of the church group, makes a vow to furnish a new antependium.

The altar women arrange the statues of the Blessed Virgin. The sacristan, or men doing sacristan duty, place on the altar the crucifixes and male

holy figures. Limosna bowls in front of the holy figures invite gifts of money, used to defray church expenses. The money in the bowls near the Blessed Virgin goes to the head altar woman. The rest is used by the men's church group except in Lent, when it is given to the *kohtumbre ya'ura*. Vigil candles are often present.

A large white cloth (*sábana*, sheet) is hung high over the altar and another behind it, in substitution for the canopy and dorsal, or *reredos*, of the Catholic church. This custom is regional and is followed, for example, by the Papago Indians. For some ceremonies, and always for Holy Saturday and for Christmas Eve, the altar women, assisted by the altar girls, make crepe-paper flowers and paper garlands. With these, and occasional artificial flowers made commercially, they decorate in profusion the white cloths.

A large carpet is placed on the hard dirt floor in front of the altar, on which sit the altar women and occasionally the *maestros*, although chairs are usually available for the latter. They all face the altar until the sermon, when the *maestro* addresses the public. A simple lectern and two wooden candle stands, with crosspieces for candles, are always present.

Several canopies of white cloth (*hekkam*), with white cotton fringe and a white cross embroidered in the middle top, are kept in the sacristy and brought out for some ceremonies. The bearers of the canopy may be either volunteers or may be ritually requested.

When the *fiesta ramada* in the plaza is used for a ceremony, a small table at the back on the altar side is converted into an altar and is taken care of in the same ways. It is called *pahko altar* for a *fiesta* and *lutu* (funeral) *altar* for a death ceremony. The antependium has been observed to be either of rose silk or of black, depending on the occasion. These are borrowed among villagers for household fiestas.

In almost all households there is a small altar, often a little table in a corner or only some shelves on which the household holy figures and pictures are arranged. A few flowers and vigil lights are often present. Private prayers and devotions are offered here.

When a household ceremony occurs, a small altar is arranged at the back of the altar side of the *fiesta ramada*; or, in case of a death ceremony, in front of the patio cross, which has been moved to a position opposite to the altar side of the *fiesta ramada*, about twenty feet away. The altar is dressed suitably for the occasion, as, for example, with a black antependium for the death ceremonies. The household holy figures are moved to this altar for the duration of the ceremony. A small table, arranged in front of the patio cross for a *limosna*, may also be regarded as an altar.

Sometimes a *maestro* or a *sacristan* may incense the altar. The incense is called *kopalim*. When it is waved over the holy figures, it is considered to be "feeding them."

Church Bell

The big church bell, hung in a tower, summons the people to ceremonies and tolls for deaths. It is also rung when, in procession, the holy figures are carried out of the church, and also when they are returned, as a notice to God that the ceremonies are being carried out. It is also a mark of respect to the holy figures.

Confetti

As has been said, confetti is a symbol for flowers and is often used as a substitute for them. It is called in Yaqui *ili sewam* or *sewam ilichi* (little flowers). Women may be seen cutting up extra pieces of crepe paper into confetti-size bits. It is, in fact, sometimes called in Yaqui *seakate* (cut-up flowers). Flowers or confetti may be strewn over the altar or showered on the holy figures as a mark of respect and a blessing.

Arches

At some fiestas out of the Lenten season an arch (*arco*) made of two supple lengths of bamboo (or carrizo cane) is often erected in front of the fiesta altar to the height of the ceiling. Occasionally one is placed back of the altar, and almost always one arches over the patio cross. By tradition an arch may also grace the encampment cross. The arches are bound with sprigged calico, white cloth, or white crepe paper, in such a way as to make a series of puffs. Arches are not carried in procession. When a procession passes between the fiesta ramada and the encampment cross, the people, including the dancers, pass under the arch for an added blessing.

Sermons and Speeches

A sermon (*hinabakari*) or a ritual speech ends almost all ceremonies. It may be delivered by the head maestro, by a senior member of a ceremonial society, or, in the fiesta ramada, by a pascola. The sermons are said to have been started by the yo'ora, ancestors who "in the very beginning" began the work of the Lord at His command and that of the Holy Mother Church. No reference is made to the Jesuit missionaries. The sermons are thought of as general instruction for the people in ancient Yaqui spiritual and religious beliefs and moral codes, as well as explanations of the meanings of the ceremonies. Many of the same words and concepts are common to all, but they are never in actuality, nor are they expected by tradition to be, exactly the same. All begin and end with the same kind of formalities. The sermon of a maestro is more general and more inclusive and contains more religious

concepts. A maestro always mentions each ceremonial group, speaking of the position of each and its contribution toward the fulfillment of the ceremony. He reminds the people of the purpose of the event just completed and announces coming events. A pascola sermon is shorter and always contains an apology for the ribald jokes and behavior that are traditional to the pascolas.

Ritual speeches are shorter and directed more explicitly to the business at hand, such as a baptism or a confirmation. If no one in a society is capable of making such a speech, a maestro may be asked to substitute.

The sermon of Ignacio Alvarez given in 1941 on Easter Sunday (Painter 1955) is typical of sermons given throughout the year, except for its specific references to the events of Lent.

Sermons and speeches are delivered in a formal, authoritative tone and with dignified demeanor. All are, or are by tradition expected to be, couched in the Yaqui language, which is also employed generally in conversation during the preparations for ceremonies. When an informant quotes from a sermon or speech, his conversational, informal manner changes, and he speaks in a loud and measured tone.

The Yaqui language is also for the most part employed during ceremonies, and respect terms are used. All communications in regard to participation are couched in ritualistic language, as are also the accepted forms of reply. An example of the formalities involved is the following possible form of speech by a man who is returning to work with his group after an absence. After veneration at the altar, touching hands, and exchanging personal greetings in Yaqui with each one, he makes a short speech in this manner:

As I came here feeling well, being strongly grateful to God, I desire to work on Our God's truth with you. (55)

Other such examples occur throughout this volume.

Sign of the Cross

Pascuans most often make the sign of the cross (Yaqui, *kuhteka*; Spanish, *persignarse*) twice. Some make it once, and a few of the older people cross themselves three times in a quick, continuous motion. Many of the older people and some of the younger ones make a cross by putting the thumb over the forefinger while they make the sign of the cross and often make a tiny cross on the forehead as they touch it. During the formal group veneration, as later described, the dancers make the sign of the cross by bowing the head, then turning it left, then right. This is also done in Holy Week from Thursday noon to midnight Friday "just like not ringing the bell

because at that time Christ is captured" (17). Almost invariably the members of the matachin dance society, when they are in formation, cross themselves twice when they put on or take off their crowns, or when they are at the altar. Pascolas at the altar before a fiesta are seen to cross themselves three times rapidly. This is the ideal pattern.

Genuflection

The genuflection is a slight, rather quick bend of the right knee, a half, or less than half, genuflection. Characteristically, it is more brief and more rapid than the genuflections of the Papagos and Mexicans observed at, for instance, a fiesta at the Mission San Xavier del Bac. Pascolas, when making a genuflection in the dance, bend the right knee slightly and quickly, then the left, and sometimes the right again. The genuflection step of the matachins in the dance involves a deeper, single bend of the knee.

Veneration

An important ritual is the formalized veneration of the holy figures on the altar. The Yaqui word *muhtiwa* includes both veneration and a blessing. It is an act of reverence that is carried out by an individual when he arrives at or departs from the church, or by groups at the end of ceremonies as part of the formal closing services. Veneration by an individual includes genuflection at the altar, sometimes kneeling, the sign of the cross, bending over each holy figure in a gesture of respect, sometimes leaving an offering in one or several of the limosna bowls on the altar, and short prayers. With the usual restraint, Pascuans do not touch the holy figures as freely as other groups have been observed to do at the Mission San Xavier or the church in Magdalena, Mexico.

Veneration by an individual, and the short form of public group veneration, are described in the account of the procession on the first Friday of Lent. The full form of public group veneration is described in the account of the procession on the fifth Friday.

It is a blessing to yourself and everyone so that they can't get sick or pass anything wrong. *Dios itom aniane* (God will help us). (36)

It is a veneration and adoration of the holy figures done toward the holy figures, and the holy figures in turn bless you. (52)

Rosaries

Many Pascuans use rosaries that are handmade by several of the older men in the village. Wood is gathered for the beads from the wild tomato

bush, which is called *kuh kuta* (cross wood), or from creosote bush. The center of the small branch is very soft, and a string is pulled through it, or a needle thrust through it, to make the opening of the beads. The beads are carved out in a row on the branch and then separated. The correct number of beads is put on a string. The double beads are called *ya'uchiam* (from *ya'uchiwa*, leader, one of the terms for Jesus). The cross on the end is fashioned of two beads above and two beads below a small crosspiece, the outer ends of which are widened. A tassel of colored wool or thread at the bottom is called *sewa*. Rosaries made in the Río Yaqui appear to be the same. A rosary is considered to be protection against witchcraft and evil in general.

Offerings

The most important offerings are prayers, manual or ritual labor done for, or in, a ceremony (*tekipanoa*), and even just presence at a ceremony. Other offerings are candles, flowers, money, confetti, rockets, incense—in fact, any gift or service done “with good heart.”

Rockets

Cohetes (*kuetem*) are small rockets obtainable at the Mexican border towns. Firecrackers are sometimes used, but are less desired.

Before he begins his duties at a fiesta, and after he has said prayers at the fiesta altar, each *pascola* sets off three rockets at the fiesta cross as a notice to God, through the archangel Michael and the angels, that the sacred obligations of the night are about to take place. Accompanying prayers beseech divine protection from the always threatening danger from the devil and the witch. They also ask for a blessing and good health for all those at the fiesta. A secondary function of *cohetes* is that the noise is thought to frighten away the devil.

Respect Behavior

Respect behavior toward sacrosanct objects is an imperative. It is considered that most *regalia* (called *santo insinio*) used in ceremonies are blessed through that use. The *regalia* are also symbols of acts of worship, which enhance their sanctity. Certain formalities are carried out in each group, which will be described. It is thought that if an individual does not observe these formalities, and “with good heart,” he risks supernatural sanctions. “Holy things are dangerous if they are not treated properly” (17).

It is pleasing to Pascuans that the Arizona State Museum on the campus of the University of Arizona has in its collections *regalia* from Pascua, some

of which they supplied; but they made new regalia for the purpose and withheld any that had been used and were therefore sacred.

It is the custom to burn wornout regalia as "it is too sacred to be disposed of in any other way." Also burned are old holy figures and old habitos. Old crosses are burned on the eve of the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, when new crosses are made. These ashes are kept to be used on the following Ash Wednesday.

Ritual Request (Uhbuani)

An uhbuani is a ritual request. It has sacred significance and cannot be refused when it is made in the name of God, Jesus, Mary, or the Trinity. Examples are *Diohta teampo* (in the name of God) or *Bahi Diohta teampo* (in the name of the Trinity). An uhbuani is used when an invitation to participate in a ceremony is given. The individual replies in a short formalized speech. If a man offers himself for service without uhbuani, he must also do this in a traditional form.

Thank-You Circle

A thank-you circle, or hand-touching ritual, is an important item in many ceremonies. It is called in Yaqui *emotebotuame* (themselves thanking), and informants suggest that thank-you circle is the most meaningful translation. It is a mechanism by which one group formally thanks another group for services rendered. The basic structure is that the people who are the recipients of the services gather in a ring in back of the church cross or patio cross, whichever is the appropriate location. They carry lighted candles if the ritual occurs at night. The group being thanked faces them. Someone in the thanking group makes a speech of gratitude, and there may be an answering speech. The second group then makes a counterclockwise circuit past the first group, touching hands with each, and saying "*Dios em chania*." The reply to this is "*Dios em ehiokoe*." The circuit is repeated three times. In older times each touched the right shoulder of the other, before touching hands.

Formal Thank You

The phrase *Lioh buania* (God thanks or blesses, thanks giving) is heard to describe the act of thanking. For example, at a fiesta the fiesteros gather to receive formal thanks by each ceremonial group as it finishes eating at the fiesta table. This is called *Lioh buania*.

Formal Processions

The word *kaminaroa*, from the Spanish *caminar* (to walk, travel, move along) is used for a formal procession in which the holy figures are escorted. This may be a simple procession, as after some vespers, when the church group, led by the dancing matachinis, carries a holy figure around the plaza; or it may be a full dress occasion with all groups participating, as will be described for the Palm Sunday Eve fiesta.

Litters

In the tradition of the Catholic church, and of the region, holy figures are often carried on a litter (*antas*; Spanish, *andas*) when they are in processions. These range from simple wooden structures, such as those used for the Three Marys, the Nazarene and Saint Ignatius, to elaborately decorated litters generally made as a result of a vow, often by someone who wants to honor a new household holy figure. The act of carrying a holy figure is considered to merit a blessing if done with good heart. The duty may be by reason of a vow, because of an uhbuani from those in charge, or it may be a simple offer of help.

Act of Surrounding

The word *konti* is used to describe a ceremonial “surrounding” or taking over, of a cross, a household, or holy figures, by the fariseos during Lent. It is also sometimes used in conversation for the Way of the Cross.

Limosna

The translation for the Spanish word *limosna* (Yaqui, *limohna*) is alms, but this often has a pejorative connotation inappropriate to the use of the term in Pascua. The words offering and sharing come more readily to mind. A limosna of coins or candles left on the altar constitutes an offering to, and a sharing in, the good work of the church and in the attendant divine approval. A gift of, for instance, coffee or sugar to a fiestero is properly tendered as a limosna, and the thought is that the giver is sharing in the fulfillment of sacred duties and also in the heavenly rewards. Help for a person in need approximates most closely the term alms; but in a society in which materialistic standards are not valued criteria, such a gift is thought to be an expected charitable act. If it is offered within a ceremonial relationship, it is indeed an expected sharing, not alms. The with-good-heart concept is strongly associated with a limosna, for it is intrinsic in the attitude of the giver and receiver alike. As has been pointed out, the very presence

of a person at a fiesta, if he comes with good heart, constitutes a *limosna*, a concept often acknowledged in sermons.

An extended meaning of *limosna* is in reference to a formal, organized expedition through the village by a ceremonial society for the purpose of obtaining aid in money and food, either to assist a person who is ill or otherwise incapacitated, or to help defray the expenses of a fiesta. Integral to this type of *limosna* is that it confers a blessing on each household visited. Each gives what he can, if only a few pennies or a handful of beans, and be it ever so small, he is not ashamed. The important thing is that he is sharing what he has with good heart. Consequently, the household is blessed. An auxiliary result when a *limosna* is carried out before any ceremony is that it gives notice to the public that such an event is about to take place. Such a *limosna* is described for the Saturday before Palm Sunday.

Flag Manipulation

Flag manipulation is an important ritual in many ceremonies. It is said that every time a flag is waved it is done three times "in the sign of the cross"; that is, it is done in the name of the Trinity. The basic motion of the wrist is down, to the right, to the left, and it is often done so rapidly that it is difficult to follow. Each time the flag is waved, it is for blessing, although it may also serve as a gesture of respect and as a signal. When the flag is waved three times in the four directions, three times around, it is for blessing, and it is also an incantation against evil. The three-four complex has become the custom in Pascua.

Ceremonial Sponsorship

The ceremonial sponsorship system, with its structure and meanings, is discussed by Spicer (1940a: 91–116 and *passim*). Sponsors are acquired by an individual in times of personal crises. Required are a godmother (*madrina*) and a godfather (*padrino*), to whom the individual is the godson or -daughter (*ahijado*, *-a*). In conversation the terms for godparents may be shortened to *niña* and *niño*. The godparents automatically become *compadres* or *comadres* to each other. All have certain ritual relationships and duties. Thus, a network of recognized ties occurs throughout the village, with duties for the most part being faithfully carried out. It is a stabilizing, reinforcing system, a kind of insurance of reciprocal acts of kindness that involves both individual confidence and stability, as well as financial security. The occasions for acquiring sponsors are baptism, confirmation into the Catholic church, confirmation by rosary into the Pascua church, the ceremony of the *habito*, confirmation into any of the ceremonial societies, marriage, and death.

Fiesta Flag

The flag that is hoisted over the church for big fiestas is called *pahko banteam* (fiesta flag). "It is an insinio for ceremonial purposes" (55). Pascuans cannot recall when it was first made, nor do they know the significance of the decoration. They assume that it was started during the time of Pistola (early leader of Tucson Yaquis) as a symbol for refugees from Mexico. It has almost always been flown at the big fiestas and has been renewed several times, always in the same form. Spicer (1940a: 148) says that the flag was modeled on the banner carried by Cajeme (last great Yaqui war leader in Mexico) in the last wars with the Mexicans.

Ritual Dancing

An important part of many fiestas is ritual dancing. Social dancing in pairs is not the custom at native Yaqui ceremonies. The matachin dances are thought of as hymns of praise to the Blessed Virgin, as she is their patroness and it is to her that the vow is made for a specific position and term. The pascola and deer dancers, though without formal vow, are committed personally to work for the Lord, and their performance merits a reward in heaven for the work of the long night. Matachinis, pascolas, and deer dancer serve as escorts at some fiestas as they lead the processions. In so doing they honor the holy figures and, through them, Jesus and Mary or a saint.

Traditional dances mentioned but seldom seen are the Nahi Dance, said to be from the Opata Indians of Mexico, and the Raccoon Dance. This was danced as late as 1928 by a pascola, who, according to custom, painted himself with black and white stripes. This is the only mention of body paint by any informants. The Coyote Dance of the military society has been seen less and less often, as the number of members has dwindled.

Music

Music is all traditional, with little opportunity for spontaneous individual expression. Chesky (1941: 11) says that it has been greatly influenced by Mexican tunes and Catholic church music, but the deer songs do show aboriginal traits.

The singing of the church group is *a cappella*. Liturgical music is used when appropriate, with prayers by the maestros and responses by the women singers.

The matachin music is European, with violins and guitars, in rhythms suitable to the dances. It is functional to the dances, without individual invention.

The drum and flute of the pascolas, played by one man, are thought to be very old Yaqui. The tunes are traditional, but there is much opportunity for invention, especially when played to accompany dances reminiscent of wild creatures. The violin and harp, also in accompaniment to pascola dances, are European. Here again, there may be individual variations. The songs of the deer singers, accompanied by water drum and rasps, are considered to be from the far distant past.

Flagellation

Flagellation in a mild form occurs on several occasions. One is the ritual whipping at the Tenebrae on Wednesday night of Holy Week. The form and meanings in that context are reported in connection with the event.

On Thursday afternoon of Holy Week, when the chapayekas are carrying out a short ritual to preview the suffering of Jesus on the Way of the Cross, the chapayeka who takes the part of Jesus lightly whips the others. This is most often interpreted as being done for forgiveness and a blessing (*hiokoe*, to forgive, to bless).

When a member of a ceremonial society inadvertently falls down in a ceremony, he is thought to have been performing “not with good heart.” He must be whipped at once lightly three times. This exonerates him from ultimate punishment by God, saves him from the punishment of illness or, more probably, death in the coming year. It is clearly an atonement.

Forced Service

The practice of forced service in a society as a result of capture, trespass, or breaking of ritual taboos is discussed in the section on fariseos and is also mentioned in the description of The Gloria.

Respect Relationship to Animals

The approach to hunting is ritualistic, especially (but not exclusively) in pursuit of the wild deer. The consent of the deer leader must be obtained by the hunter as he beseeches the deer for success in the hunt to obtain needed food and skins. One must have “good thoughts” while hunting; otherwise one will have no luck.

To kill wastefully or for sport is against the tenets of Yaquis, who have a relationship of respect with animals. Rituals surround the hunting of animals. This is especially true for the deer, as will be described. Even when killing for fiesta food, a blessing is first invoked.

The Yaquis kill animals only for food, when needed. A hunter would not ask forgiveness of the animal, but would ask God to give him

food—deer, rabbit, quail, even fish. He might say: “God will it that I find a deer somewhere.”

He does not ask the particular animal about permission to be killed for food. He asks God, as anyone would ask a favor from God to do anything. When he kills an animal, they do not apologize to it. They give thanks to God: “I thank God for my having found a deer out there.”

When they kill a beef at home for a fiesta, they send up a cohete and say a prayer, thanking God for this gift, and ask God to bless it. That it is going to be used for food and not just for killing. Like Jesus gave thanks to break bread. This is partly to the animal, too, and to thank God. San Ysidro probably comes into it too. [Was this done when hunting on the desert?] The older people thank God for the gift; they do not speak to the rabbit, but only give thanks to God. Yaquis don’t kill for fun. If they kill, they use it. (55)

Three-Four Pattern

The pattern of doing things three times is persistent. It is always spoken of as symbolic of the Trinity—“Bahi Diosta, Dios Achai, Dios U’usi, Dios Espiritu Santo.” Many examples come to mind. The vow may be made for three years; some dance routines are executed three times; a curer may effect a cure in three days and three nights; it takes three nights to “develop” an object into a fetish; at some fiestas the pascolas enact a “deer hunt” in which each carries three arrows. “Yaquis always do things three times” is a statement often heard.

Flag manipulation has already been discussed. Flags are waved three times “in the name of the Trinity.” But when it is desired to drive out evil and to consecrate a particular place (which is then called *buiata te’ochia*, blessed ground), flags are waved three times in the four directions, thus combining the numbers three and four.

Three times always means that it is done in the name of the Trinity. . . . Waving in the four directions is to bless the ground and to frighten away the devil and the witch. (52)

. . . doing things four times goes back into old Yaqui—to doing this in the four directions. Because in old Yaqui they abided by nature and consequently in the four directions. (55)

Ceremonial Circuit and Directionalism

A consistent ceremonial circuit has been impossible to determine. Ideal patterns in the four directions vary with the informant, and real patterns

are inconsistent even with the same informant. When the pascola makes a cross in the four directions at the opening of a fiesta, he generally, but not invariably, proceeds counterclockwise.

In the hand-touching ceremony, the direction has been always counterclockwise.

It is clear that the east is the favored direction; it represents fertility, the benevolent sun, the dawn (Spanish, *alba*; Yaqui, *machiatana*), which signals safety after the dangers of the night. The east is the focus of the deer songs. It is the country "where everything is born." The west (*banambetana*) is mentioned in connection with death. Zenith and nadir are not referred to.

No directional color symbols have been found. The *mortaha* (robe put on the corpse) is blue, as are the regalia made for the funeral of a matachini.

Rainmaking

No traditional rainmaking ceremonies have been reported. Pascuans do not believe that the Rain Act of the pascolas, described below, has significance as rain control, nor do they attach mimetic meaning to throwing the water from the pan which floats the gourd drum of the deer singer.

There are beliefs and recent practices associating frogs and rain, however. One man relates the following myth:

Various animals were sent to get rain. It is said that the crow and the hawk and the eagle were sent, those high-flying animals. They failed to bring the rain, and the last was the frog, who was sent to get it, and he did. (55)

The same man speaks of a procession reported on the Río Yaqui as late as the 1920s, in which a ribbon was tied around the neck of a bullfrog (*kuarepa*), and it was carried in a procession on a board, accompanied by the music of violin and drum (55). Another man reports that in his grandfather's day on the Río Yaqui they used to tie a big frog on a cross, arms outstretched, and take it around in a procession to bring rain. Sometimes they would whip the frog (39).

A young man says that it is the custom both in Mexico and in Pascua to tie a bullfrog to a tree with a ribbon, on the theory that it will not stop raining until the frog is turned loose (58). It is current belief that the appearance of an insect called the yuku heralds rain. Some of the older people sprinkle them with ashes and send them out, expecting that they will bring rain.

Dreaming

For Pascuans, as for other groups in the region, dreaming may have ritual significance. The ordeal dreams of the native dancers and musicians

serve to confirm that they are predestined to perform in designated arts. The ordeal dreams also operate as a test of courage. Deer singers sometimes dream their songs. Witches obtain power from animals in their dreams. They also find in dreaming a way to harass their victims. Curers dream healing methods. Dreams of Jesus, Mary, or a saint indicate to the dreamer that he is wanted in one of the services and prompt him to make a vow.

Manda

The manda, in Pascua, is a sacred promise or vow to serve Jesus or Mary or a saint. It is most often made in a time of stress. In return for divine alleviation, ritual offerings or ceremonial duties are promised. An individual who makes a manda has the satisfaction of feeling that, by offering service to a supernatural, he can influence for the better his own (or another's) health, welfare, and life after death. It is a sacred promise, a contractual vow. Mandas are frequently made and, for the most part, freely discussed. No Yaqui word for manda has been found. The Spanish word *promesa* is sometimes used; but the English words vow and promise will be employed here, in accordance with Pascua custom.

The promise must not be confused with tekia, a gift bestowed in the womb by God or the yoania—a gift, not a pact. If indeed tekia was a pre-Spanish concept, it could have been a factor in the wholehearted acceptance of the vow into Yaqui culture. The vow has a well-established use in centuries of Roman Catholic European culture. It is in general use among the native populations of the Southwest who are of the Catholic faith.

A long time ago people were afraid of doctors and they believed in the miracles of God to get well.

If you have a talent [tekia], you don't have to have a manda, you just do it. And then you would not have to make a manda, except for sickness. And if you don't have a talent but have a manda, you have to do it anyway, even if you don't know how. (16)

The vow is most often used as a technique for curing illness and preserving health. The concept of illness as a punishment from God is common in the region and well defined in Pascua. Health is thought to be a gift from God and illness a misfortune visited by God. This is consistent with the preoccupation with health. The word *kahtigo* (punishment) is heard; also *petensia* or *peetensia*, from the Spanish *penitencia*.

During an illness a vow may be made in which the assistance of Jesus or Mary, or, less often, intercession by a saint, is invoked. The promise is made that, if the patient recovers, he is bound to fulfill specific ceremonial or ritual obligations. Thus, the vow is a disease-controlling mechanism for

a misfortune sent by the supernatural and must therefore be controlled by supernatural means. This is most commonly done by parents for a child, but it may be done by godparents or relatives, or by an adult for himself.

Illness is considered to be making penance. We would use the word in Yaqui, *petensia*. Even if he has not broken a vow, when he is in bed sick, we consider we are forgetting to think about God, so we are punished. . . . Then if he is far away from the church, he would have to pray for recovery, as much as he can, because that is the way we always have to do when we are sick.

. . . one man was sick; he had a fever and cold and every other thing. And then the old man said, "Well, the Lord just takes a little willow twig" and whips him with it, and he is dying at the moment and crying. And then the Lord comes and cures him again. (55)

Any ailment is punishment from God, and if then a man desires to live, he promises himself to work for the Lord or Mary. (17)

The vow is never utilized as an avenue to prestige or personal power. No special vows are made for specific diseases. The vow is not operative for illnesses caused by witchcraft, as they are not God-sent but the work of the devil, and the services of a curer must be employed.

. . . you would call a curer or call the person that caused the sickness. Because the witch had a reason for causing sickness, and if he can gain his end, he will cure the person. [He would not make a vow] because the old Yaquis say it is not God-made (*Diohta ya'ari*), and you will have to call a curer or the person that you suspect has intimidated you. (58)

He can't be saved by vow, because the witch works on the devil's side. He may do it, but it could hardly go through. A curer works on the side of God, and if God gives him power he can save him. (17)

Membership in ceremonial societies is usually based on a vow made in time of illness. A boy may be promised to the *caballero* or to the *fariseo* societies, which are dedicated to Jesus, or to the *matachin* dance society, which is pledged to the Virgin. Both boys and girls may be promised to duties in the church group, which is under the aegis of Mary. The Virgin of Guadalupe is the patroness of the military society, but no known vows have been made to her in the period of observation. In many instances a boy is promised to more than one society, in which case he serves in each. Each organization takes precedence in its ceremonial season.

There is freedom of choice in the selection of service within the limits of the male-female dichotomy. The vow is not hereditary, although in some families the interest may be focused on specific types of service. Sometimes

a boy takes over his father's vow at his death without making one of his own, but this is voluntary and infrequent. A parent may serve until his child is old enough to assume his duties.

Vows are sometimes made by the parents of healthy children to ensure welfare and long life. This is often (but not exclusively) done when several children have been lost through illness. For example, a young father promised his robust son to serve the Virgin in the matachin society "because I like to see him grow up big and strong" (3). The Yaqui word *yo'otu* and the Spanish word *crecer* (to grow) are both used in this connection. In many petitions *taiwaim* (days) are asked for, meaning long life.

A vow, equally binding, may be made by an adult in his own behalf, because he or she has a desire to serve; because there is need for someone in a given position; because a friend or relative advises it; because of a dream occurring independently or during illness; or because he is seeking help in overcoming a sickness which he thinks comes as a punishment from God. A possible form of such a vow is as follows:

I will persevere in your law and command year after year until I die. (55)

The procedure of making a vow takes place informally in the home. The promise may be verbalized, often when kneeling, or may be "spoken in the heart." Meditation alone may suffice, as "God knows what is in our hearts." One man remembers that his mother told him that they "would do the petition at the [household] altar in meditation and silent prayer, and consider it received by the Lord" (55).

When a person makes a vow for a sick child he does it with all his heart. He doesn't have to say it in words, just to himself. And then when the child gets well, he tells the family. (16)

I ask my God that He give to my boy, my son, the good health. I promise a vow that he will be a matachini or a fariseo. It is not always the same, but something like that. It is generally by the mother, as she is with the baby all the time, but it may be the father. Then they notify the [matachin] manager or the [fariseo] captain that they have promised the child. (54)

The way it happens is that because of their love of the baby, when it is sick, they beseech the Lord for it. And because of their love of the child they promise him either to Mary or the Lord. . . .

Lord, my Leader God, here this my offspring lies in penance. If he recovers, truly I want you to put him in your holy work. I beg to you for him here with all my heart. Truly speaking I desire to see him grow up, and I want to say that I love him so. (55)

Confirmation into a society is public and formal. It may take place at any time the organization involved is participating in a ceremony, except at the death ceremonies. The same word, *muhti*, is used as for public veneration at the altar. (In conversation the word blessing is sometimes heard.) After a vow is made for a child the parents notify the organization to which he is promised. Confirmation takes place after an individual has become old enough to participate, but he may, and often does, serve for some time before being formally confirmed. Confirmation patterns for each group will be discussed later.

Ceremonial godparents with specified ceremonial society status are chosen by the parents, or by an adult for himself. They are known by the Spanish terms *padrino* and *madrina*, but are commonly called *niño* and *niña* by the godchildren, of whom the godparents speak as *ahijados*. The godparents then become *compadres* or *comadres* with all of the other godparents of the individual. This relationship is sealed in a thank-you circle at the end of the confirmation. If this does not occur, they are not officially designated co-godparents and do not enjoy the usual relationships. A small gift is sometimes given to the sponsors. These ceremonial godparents are retained through life. Mutual obligations and respect attitudes are observed, including the seeking and giving of advice; help in personal crises, such as illness; economic aid; and ritual duties at death ceremonies. The impact on the child is very great in terms of ceremonial status and social approval. A detailed study of ceremonial sponsorship may be found in Spicer (1940a; 91–116).

The head maestro announces new and completed vows at the end of his final sermon on Easter Sunday afternoon “so that they will all have their say, and they will all know” (58).

A common form of adult vow to a ceremonial society is that stimulated by dreams. Especially during illness, but sometimes when a person is well, he may have dreams in which Jesus or Mary, or less often a saint, may appear, sometimes in the form of a curer. An act of curing may be performed in the dream. This is allied to *tekia*, or duty given by God in the womb, because it is thought to be initiated by the supernatural.

When a man dreams of Mary, it shows that he has been chosen by God to be Our Mother’s soldier. God sent the dreams of Mary into his head. [Or] he may of course work because his parents made a vow for him. (55)

A man may submit himself to a second vow under these circumstances, because he feels that, in spite of an obligation he has already incurred, he is wanted for further service. In Yaqui such a dream might be referred to in the following way, *tenkupo a’a bichak Itom Achai* (he saw Our Father in a dream) (55).

Sometimes a supernatural figure does not appear in a dream, but the regalia of a society may be seen, or the individual may see himself performing. One man said that before he was a *matachini* he “dreamed all the time about dancing,” and that before he was a *fariseo*, he dreamed that he was “already a *fariseo*.” His daughter dreamed that she was in a big *fiesta*, singing, and she was then promised as a singer (23).

The same man said that when you already have a vow you “dream about it before you start on it.” Before Easter he dreams about “how I am going to make my mask and that I am staying there with the boys.” Another man (31) said that he would not stay away from any *fiesta* because “the Lord would be urging me to present my obligations.” A third man (40) said that he dreamed about the Easter Ceremony and became a *chapayeka*.

Dreams in connection with vows must be differentiated from *yoania* dreaming, already discussed, in which there is an ordeal, and in which Jesus and Mary do not appear. Unlike the spectacular dreams of the native dancers, these dreams are not oppressive and frightening. They are calm, comforting, reassuring, benevolent. The *manda* type of dreaming may form a useful bridge from the older *yoania* form. Instead of total suppression of dreaming, vow dreaming may serve as a substitute for those who wish to reject the old pattern. Often those willing, in fact, eager, to discuss vow dreaming refuse to discuss *yoania* dreams.

The influence of a relative or friend may be a factor in making a vow.

He might do it by advice of some person telling him he might do this for Our Lady or Our Lord, and such advice might encourage him to make the promise. Usually the person who gives the advice becomes godparent. (55)

Another person can dream for you and make a *manda* for you. Then he can tell the parents about it, and they make him do it. They are grateful to you, because you prayed and tried to get the person well. This is just as binding as a *manda* made by parents or self. (16)

A free choice may be made as to the society and ceremonial position to which the promise is made. However, especially in case of a vow made in maturity, cognizance is often taken of positions that need filling. A definite period is specified, often three years, less often six, and frequently for life (*muktekia*). There is no obligation to extend a short vow, though it is often done, sometimes in gratitude for recovery or continued good health. It is reported that the head maestro says in sermons that “after three years you are *manchado* (stained), and you can’t leave it. But you don’t really have to do it, and you won’t get sick if you don’t” (58, from 8).

Illness is said to be the only excuse for failure to fulfill vows. However, the head maestro says that a *fariseo* may discharge his obligations by ap-

pearing for the last three weeks of Lent. The real pattern is that many who work away from Tucson arrive for Palm Sunday weekend, or for the ceremonies starting on Wednesday of Holy Week. The matachinis are expected to dance unless ill, but this is by no means always done.

Almost all informants agree that there is some degree of criticism of those who fail to fulfill their vows, although more severe social sanctions are not the custom. Typical remarks follow.

It is still true for all that people are criticized if they do not carry out their duties, as if they drink on duty. This is true for all ages. They criticize this more than not supporting their families. Even those who don't participate criticize if people don't carry out their vows well. Ceremonial obligations are still the most important.

They usually just criticize a little, and then they say, "Well, that's his worry. God knows better. He will punish them." (58)

All who carry out the tradition would criticize and occasionally would reprove them that their help is wanted. All, old and young alike, who carry out their duties criticize very much. Most of the young men who leave their obligations and run around wild, they will start again when they are older. They will recollect again the fear of God, and in that way they will get back again to the right thing. (55)

A firm belief is held among the young people as well as the old that those who fail in fulfillment of their vows sin and risk supernatural retribution, including illness, accident, or death. Jesus and Mary are not thought to be capricious; the individual brings punishment on himself by behavior that is not congruent with the obligations of his pact. The first four of the following quotations are from World War II veterans [young at the time of writing].

If somebody doesn't carry out his vow, he will live to regret it, because when he gets sick again he will have to remember that he has a vow and didn't do it. But God forgives all, and at long last God will forgive; but He will try to get that person to do whatever he has promised. It has happened here in the village, and they really believe it. If a matachini is asked and refuses and goes to some other place and has an accident, they will say he is being punished. The same for all. That is one thing they do believe in. (58)

The young people really believe they will get punished, like getting sick or having accidents, if they don't carry out their vows. (46)

If a man laughs at a ceremony or says he does not believe or does not work, he may have an accident or get sick. Then if he cries to God, he is forgiven. (3)

If you don't fulfill your vow you die. (23)

Punishment has occurred, and it has been proven pretty clearly. We have seen three matachinis killed in Pascua for neglecting their duties in Lent. And it has been seen many times too.

Any kind of sickness or accident may be sent by God for a broken vow, doing things with bad heart, stealing, fighting, hurting people. We all know it perfectly well that we all get it coming if someone hurts someone. (55)

If a man or boy is supposed to do something in a fiesta, and he goes off and gets drunk, if he don't show up, and if he has an accident or gets sick, they say "Itom Ae (or Itom Achai) *a kahtikaroak* (Our Mother [or God]) punished him." (39)

If a man does not fulfill his vow he may be punished through the illness or death of his children. Some say that the children are not exempt from retribution if they are old enough to be aware that they are breaking their vows.

In case a man is married, and he has a promise and never carries it out, then they say that God punishes his children. And when two or three die, he starts thinking and sees Christ in his dreams, and then he goes back. That is why there are more married men in the ceremonies than young men. There can be accidents, or something will come in dreams. There has been a lot of people, they get sick and then they promise to do it again, and they get well. (58)

A child is reminded of these things when he is promised. By his father or mother or a maestro or the matachin manager or his godfather. Then when he is old enough to know the right he can be punished. One person told me that when he was about twelve years old, he escaped once while dancing as a matachini and went up into the woods and played in the trees, climbing. He fell down and got all broken up. When he was sick and all injured he remembered that he had broken his promise. He was laid away for about a year and could hardly walk. (55)

Supernatural sanctions are also thought to operate if a person derides a ceremony or is an unbeliever, or if he refuses to perform a service when asked, even if he has no vow. He must also act with good heart, with whole heart.

They realize that it is no fun or like a joke or anything. When young men, just because they can talk Spanish, say they won't work in the ceremonies, they eventually have an illness that they can't get out of. . . .

[A man in Pascua] had to see a curer. The curer tried three times with medicine on his head and under his teeth, and it did not seem to cure him. Then he told him to believe in the church. He said, "You are not sick, you are only being punished." He was coughing all the time. The curer told him that he did not see any TB, that it was a sickness in the cranium. Then just those few words changed that man to believe in those things. He got candles and went in processions, and when he was called to duty he did it. The Lord won't let it fade away.

One time a dance leader and two malinchim were going to do veneration [at the altar]. The crown of the dance leader got burned by a candle, and all the altar was on fire for a few moments, and it scared everybody. It was considered something was wrong with us. We blamed all ourselves, not just the dance leader. They said we must pray to get rid of our sins, and we prayed and prayed. (55)

In some ceremonial positions an individual may serve without vow through personal desire, in which case he, too, learns the expected behavior by the apprentice method. Maestros and sacristans may and do serve in this way. Girl flag-bearers may be augmented by unpromised girls in case of need. Membership in societies through ritual capture and as punishment for broken taboos will be discussed later.

There are other kinds of vows. Promises have been made to make new altar cloths and new garments for the holy figures. It is said that no vows are made for carrying the altar images in processions, but instances have occurred when the Way Cross was carried for a specified period for a reason such as expiation for a member of the family who had committed a crime. Candles are infrequently promised to the Wishing Shrine* in Tucson. A fiesta of promise in Lent is for three years and is given "to honor Jesus and to gain grace and health." Other fiestas, such as that given at the time of the ceremonies for the Finding of the Holy Cross and that honoring the day of the Virgin of Guadalupe, may be given by individual families to ensure the health and welfare of a member as well as to honor the day. These, too, are almost always undertaken for three successive years. For example, two fiestas were given on the eve of the day of Guadalupe in 1947 in behalf of the safe return of men in the armed forces. Punishment is thought to be the consequence of nonfulfillment of these vows.

Vows are also made to saints, in accordance with the native Catholic custom. The most important of these center around the curing complex of Saint Francis Xavier. As is true of Mexicans and Papagos of the region,

* *Editorial note:* El Tiradito Wishing Shrine is located on South Main near Simpson in Tucson. According to legend, a young man involved in a love triangle was killed and buried on the site. Candles offered with prayer for the dead man are said to make wishes come true.

vows are made to this saint during illness in the hope of securing aid in recovery. Just as in a vow to a ceremonial society, the promise may be made on behalf of a child by its parents, or by an adult for himself. In return for regaining health, and to ensure a safe return, one may promise to visit the figure of the saint in the church of Santa Magdalena in Magdalena, Sonora (Mexico), or in the Mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson. This may be done at any time; but many make pilgrimages to these shrines at the time of the fiestas honoring the saint. The important fiesta in Magdalena occurs on, and for some days prior to, the fourth of October. It is well attended by Yaquis from both Arizona and Mexico. About thirty-five made the trip from Pascua in 1951. The October fiesta at San Xavier Mission takes place on the third and fourth of the month. The figure honored and carried in processions is the recumbent statue of Saint Francis Xavier which may be seen at other times in the glass case in the west transept. Actually, the feast day celebrated is that of Saint Francis of Assisi, but for most Indians the two saints are indistinguishable, and a generalized "San Francisco" is venerated. The October fiesta at Mission San Xavier is not as important for any groups as the one in December, and few Yaquis attend. They may be seen in large numbers, however, at the fiesta held each year on December second to fourth, at which time the statue of Saint Francis Xavier that stands in the niche over the altar is placed in a decorated litter and carried in processions.

A vow common in the region is that of wearing an *habito*, or inexpensive replica of the habit of a holy figure. It is blessed by a priest and put on at the shrine in a simple ritual involving special ceremonial godparents. The garment is then worn until it falls apart, when it is burned. Sometimes the vow is for putting on a new *habito* each year for three successive years. This is an extension of wearing a religious habit, or its substitute, the scapular. A favorite time to put on an *habito* of Saint Francis is after the Pontifical High Mass on December third, but it may be done at any time. *Habitos* patterned after that of the Holy Infant of Atocha are often put on at San Xavier Mission in front of the small figure that stands on one of the altars. Occasionally ones are worn for the Virgin, Jesus the Nazarene, the Sacred Heart, Santa Rita, and others.

Vows to saints vary in length and may be for one year, three years, six years, or life. Many go to the fiestas without a clearly defined vow, to ensure welfare for the coming year. A young war veteran, whose mother fulfilled a vow for him when he was a child by taking a votive offering to the saint at Magdalena at fiesta time, now goes yearly to that fiesta. He says, "I go to ask San Francisco to watch over me until next year, and nothing ever happens to me" (58). It is said that on the Río Yaqui fiestas are given for those returning from veneration at Magdalena similar to those given on the Papago Reservation in Arizona. This is done not only to honor those returning but to share in the blessing that they have received.

In summary, the manda as carried out in Pascua is a control mechanism by which an individual believes that he is able to obtain supernatural aid in curing, in maintaining good health, and, more rarely, help in other personal crises. In return, he promises specified services. It is therefore a reciprocal pact in which the benefits received are paid for. It is an appropriate way to implement the preoccupation of the people with curing, and it is also compatible with their characteristic pride, which makes it important to them to earn their own way. It is propitiatory, never preemptory.

The vow carries benefits to the individual in a variety of ways. It offers a pragmatic method of mitigating misfortune by taking positive action, with resultant relief of tension and anxiety. Self-discipline is inherent in fulfilling the vow and in doing it with good heart. It is a sustaining factor in religious life, for making and carrying out a vow is a gravely serious act, preceded by self-searching and reevaluation. It is an avenue to the euphoria of divine approval. Vow dreaming brings Jesus and Mary more fully into the personal life of the people. For most, participation in a collective religious experience has value.

The vow complex is a channel to social approval not only in Pascua but in the larger community of Mexican Catholics. In Pascua, when it involves participation in a ceremonial society, it puts the individual into a formalized reciprocal and favorable relationship with other members of his group and in some measure with those of other societies. It gives him recognized and valued status in a community which regards fulfillment of ritual duties as the highest criterion of behavior. Membership in a society offers security, psychological and economic. If a man moves from one village to another, he suffers the minimum of discontinuity, for his ceremonial position is always open to him, wherever he is.

The vow is also of benefit to the community. Membership in societies extends the compadre system, so important in Yaqui social structure, and thus strengthens its cohesive force. The vow and the attendant ceremonial service are the most important single factors in the continued existence of ceremonial organization. It is therefore a strong influence, perhaps the strongest, in the preservation of the native culture. It is a durable factor in the transmission of culture, a channel for reiteration of the old faiths and ways, and for the indoctrination of children in traditional Yaqui thought and deportment.

There are also negative factors. For those who promise service in the ceremonial societies there is a conflict with the economic demands of the community in which the men work. Most of the all-night fiestas are now given on Saturday night; but continuous ritual activity is necessary in parts of the Easter season. Even dancing until midnight at saints' day vespers presents hardships to a man who must rise at dawn to go to work. There is also conflict with Anglo and Mexican social patterns. Saturday night movies

and dances beckon to the young people. Young men are sometimes embarrassed to dress in costume and perform in public. Guilt feelings, frustration, and shame are present for both the individual and his family when vows are not fulfilled and pacts are broken. Apprehension is felt about the probability of supernatural retribution. In spite of a general belief in these punishments, fear of them is not always a deterrent, with consequent confusion of attitudes.

In spite of all difficulties and predictions that they will die out, the ceremonial societies continue a vigorous existence, and each year there are confirmations of both young and old. Most feel that participation is a privilege and a blessing. "We stay all night, but we never get sick, not even a cold, and we don't get tired either" (58).

Structure in Ritual Practices

It is apparent that ritual practices in Pascua are closely structured and standardized. Spicer (1954b: 155) finds strong patterning "pervasive in Yaqui culture." Little spontaneity occurs except among the pascolas, and to a less extent among the chapayekas. Be it a large plaza fiesta or a small household one, the formalities remain the same. The hand-touching ritual, sign of the cross, genuflection, the phrases used in the uhbuani, in greetings, in speeches, and in sermons, all fall into the same familiar patterns. Equally inherent are the attitudes of respect for holy things, good heart, and the sharing of the flower. Apparent, too, is the custom of doing things three times, whether it be in matachin dance steps or dance patterns of pascola and deer as they lead processions, or when the flag is waved three times in each of the four directions to bless the ground.

Yaqui Ceremonial Organization

5

The Church Group and the Holy Figures

Ceremonial organization is closely structured. All groups are separate, corporate entities, well organized within themselves through traditional individual as well as group commitments. All are interlocked functionally and ritually. Positions are most often filled by vow of the individual. Each has a free choice, but he may be influenced by a friend or, more often, by dreams which summon him to service. None is hereditary, although a family's interest may center on one type of service.

Leadership is based on age, combined with seniority and ability. The individual is subservient to the group, and there is little striving for position. The young men are notably modest and diffident about assuming leadership. Positions are transferable when necessary, and substitutions may be made when a leader is incompetent or when there is insufficient personnel. For example, the head maestro assumed duties beyond his provenience during World War II, because of absence of men in the service. For important decisions all groups, male and female, are summoned, and each may have his say until a unanimous decision is reached. Training is by the apprentice method. Children, almost always present at the ceremonies, learn without being aware of it. When they do undertake their vows, they are gently instructed, largely by gesture, sometimes by a softly spoken word. Confirmation is a public ceremony, "so that all will know." It is valued public recognition of an individual moving into his chosen, respected position. Obligations, both financial and ritual, are an expected part of membership. Rewards of society membership are many (Spicer 1940a: 138–45). Such membership may confer access to heavenly blessings; personal satisfaction in religious expression; unity with the Yaqui way of life; a feeling of identity,

of belonging, and integration of the individual into the larger group; status in his own and in other Yaqui villages; prestige, a way to social approval. The members learn self-discipline, concentration, and endurance of hardship, all important values in the Yaqui way of life.

All groups are wrought into a harmonious whole. The Roman Catholic European tradition dominates, but there is also a covert commitment to the traditions of the *yoania*. The flower complex draws the whole together into a unity.

CHURCH GROUP

All ceremonies are essentially religious, and, because the church group carries out the liturgy, it is basic to any ceremony no matter where or when held. The Roman Catholic liturgy is followed with faithful devotion as far as is possible without ordination of the *maestros*. The Catholic tradition for Lent is carried out closely, with the addition of the concurrent drama of the life of Jesus. In this reenactment, the crucifixes, crosses, and statues of Jesus, and the men who handle and accompany them, all represent Jesus. The figures of Mary and the women both take the part of the Virgin. Thus, the church group has a double role in Lent.

The members work together closely and continuously, but they are not thought of, nor are they spoken of, as a ceremonial society. The words *grupo* and *kompania* are used. The men collectively are called *ohra* and the women *hamutra*.

All members of the church group who work under vow are promised to the Virgin Mary. They are sometimes spoken of as Mary's army. However, it is clear that they regard themselves, and are regarded, as being also in the service of Jesus. The vow may be for three years, but it is most often for life. The vows themselves cannot be changed, but shifts of position are made when necessary. For example, a woman singer with a poor voice was transferred to altar work.

Confirmation is performed in the same way as described for *matachinis*. The confirmer wears a crown and head covering of the type worn by the flag girls. Godparents for boys are a man in the same position to which they are being confirmed and a woman member of the church group. For girls, a *maestro* and a woman who is in the position to which they are promised are chosen. Supernatural sanctions befall the individual who does not fulfill his vow.

Dreams are reported for these vows, as for others. They are always "good dreaming," like the vow dreams already discussed. Frightening or-
deals like those in *yoania* dreams, do not occur.

It is always like the *matachinis*, just about the same thing. My mother told me that she had it in dreams. Because she did not become a singer

until she was very old, after she was in Pascua. She started to help one night when the maestro was all by himself and doing a *Vigilia* (vigil). She started to help, so from there on people kept calling her when there was a fiesta, till she could not get away from it. She already had thought in dreams that she had faith in the Virgin Mary. So she worked until she was old. She had a good voice, which encouraged her. (55)

Everyone dreams. If they forgot to do their vow, they have dreams that remind them what they should do. Then they go back to their vow. Mary can appear as a curer, too. (8)

The maestro dreams about his books and singing and praying and the Saturday of Glory. (23)

When the Virgin Mary wants a lady to be a singer or an altar woman, the lady dreams. (36)

A woman who has a manda and doesn't do it sees Mary in her dreams. When a woman promises a manda to make a pascola [to give a fiesta at which a pascola is to dance] and doesn't, she dreams about Mary. . . . some women get sick and then they remember that they have not paid their mandas. They dream about Mary, so they think she is trying to make them remember. Then an older woman may say to them, "Well, you had better do your promise." Then they pay it, and they don't dream any more. If somebody has promised a girl for an angel, and she don't do it, she can dream about it, too. (20)

Like a certain woman. She told my grandmother that she dreamed she was being confirmed like an altar woman, that [the head altar woman] was putting a head covering on her, and she dreamed she was bashful. She didn't become an altar woman, and now she has sores on her face and all. Sometimes they are sick and dream, but then it is too late to recall their manda. Like a certain man. He was a Pilate, and he stopped being one. He dreamed about it, but he didn't do it, and he died. A woman promised her child as an angel, and that she would stay with her all night. But she didn't do it, and now she is sick all the time. Another woman was promised, but she didn't do her promise. She got into an accident, and now she is crippled. (16)

The parish priest says Mass once a month in the church of Santa Rosa de Lima on the outskirts of Pascua and offers the sacraments; but all of the native ceremonies are conducted by the maestros themselves.

In Pascua a maestro is thought of as a religious leader and teacher. In Yaqui maestro becomes *maesto* or *machto*, and often in sermons *malesto*, *malehto*, or *malehto principal*. He is infrequently referred to in Spanish as *el Capilla* (priest of the chapel). Often the respect term *achai* is appended to

maestro, and, especially in sermons, he may be referred to as *salvador maestro* (savior maestro) "because he represents Jesus." A good maestro is accorded the respect of the people and preferred treatment, such as being served first at fiestas.

Maestros are not ordained, vested, or in any way a part of the Catholic hierarchy. In general, they follow the Catholic ritual, using a Spanish or a Latin missal and a Spanish breviary for the parts that they may read without ordination. They do not celebrate the Mass or perform any of the sacraments. Each maestro has books in which are written by hand, in Spanish or in Latin, many prayers, alabanzas, and parts of the service. Knowledge is acquired by the apprentice method, augmented by long hours of concentrated study. The present head maestro says that he studied for fifteen years to prepare himself. A maestro may serve without a vow to the position. This is the case with the present head maestro, who was promised as a fariseo. Pascuans welcome joyfully the infrequent visits of Catholic priests, and if they are present at a procession, they are invited to walk with the maestros.

It is commonly believed that Jesus created the maestro and that He also created in his mind and memory the prayers and the services that are his duty.

The Lord is a teacher Himself, and so he created the maestro. . . . (8)

. . . the maestro father was created by God and was given His holy benediction. God created the holy book in the mind of the maestro. It happens with every maestro. This is accepted Yaqui belief. Every maestro prays to God every evening during the time he is in training, to create in his memory the holy book. In the beginning God awakens a certain desire in the man to do it, and the man recognizes it, and he says, "God, Thou hast given me a mission, therefore give me the power to perform it according to Thy command." When a singer is being made, they get together, the maestro and the rest of the singers, and they pray that God will give them power to memorize the canticles. (55)

[The Lord] opens the mind of the maestro to be able to learn the book. The Lord might also instruct him in the dreams he has of the Lord before becoming a maestro. (55)

The Lord created it in my mind.

Or:

The Lord opened my mind. (55)

Prayers are an important element in Pascua life, whether formal ones in ceremonies, in private household devotions, or of equal importance, repeated quietly in the heart.

In addition to supplication for spiritual benefits, prayers often beseech

"days," which means long life and health, freedom from illness and from attacks of the witch and the devil. The word *aleaka* is often heard, translated variously as healthy, safe, and happy. Rain and fruitfulness are not mentioned.

The formal prayers are written by hand in the books of the maestros, although they seldom need to refer to them. The sacristans and women singers are familiar with the responses. Even casual visitors mention the quiet fervor of the prayers of the maestros and the apparent immediacy of their relationship with el Señor.

The five prayers spoken in Yaqui which are used in many of the ceremonies are the Our Father, Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, Act of Contrition, and Hail, Holy Queen. Some of the Yaqui words occurring in these prayers are no longer in use. There are also prayers for the Stations of the Cross, which are the standard usage in the Spanish liturgy.

In households they used to, and some people still do, say a rosary for the dead every Monday evening in October. The older people used to pray every evening for the animam and for the living, too, asking for grace. Any prayers that they know, not special prayers. Maybe some families still do this once in awhile, but not every night. They used to have prayers on Sunday evenings at the household altars. Now some just ask God for grace every morning, for grace during the day. They may say an Our Father and an Ave Maria with its Glory [response]. Some do it at night, too. We always used to do it. We [Yaquis] are continuously, every movement, every conversation, we always mention God. My brother does, and the boys do too. That God should help. And even if he would be doing something, he would always remember that you are in the grace of God or in punishment by God.

They do the same thing [pray] for planting. They pray when they plant, when they cook, when they find something, every movement; that is, those faithful ones. The *kia yoemem* (poor [ceremonially] people) do not do that. They just forget God. (55)

Following the example of Jesus, the maestro prays for all people, living or dead, for those present and those distant, for scoffers and sinners, and for those who died in far places unredeemed.

But already in these seven weeks, he [the maestro] has carried his holy book under his arm, embracing it this way; he has prayed for all the world as far as the world suspends, for each of its four corners; holding his holy book, he blessed the world. Therefore the hearts and holy spirits of those who rest somewhere on land, at sea, on rock, on wasteland, who rest somewhere on open wild land, who did not reach that

one benediction, were reclaimed to heaven. Even for those who find themselves in purgatory, while yonder in purgatory they are suffering in the worst punishment, or in hell where there is suffering, relief was asked for them. And equally here we prayed for those baptized people who live on this earth of weeping, who move about in this world of suffering, in this world of mourning, even just those who do not remember His benediction. And we prayed just even for him who, not ever one day, kneels to pray for himself there where sits the figure of the Lord Jesus Christ. And we prayed even for him who walks about, moving about there, around [at the ceremony], and, just the worst, regarding it as "this way, that way" somewhere in his heart. Because He, the Lord Jesus Christ, traveling here on this earth of weeping, truly hated no one. Truly the Lord traveled about here through all parts, blessing just the worst sinner, just the most guilty one, even just that one of worst habits. So He left it that way in the hands of the maestro. He who uses the holy book like this, truly should pray for the world, all over. (Painter 1955: 25–34)

It is thought that when the maestro is praying for the holy flower (reward for the people), holy light falls down upon him from heaven.

In the seven weeks, embracing his holy book, he prayed for it, looking toward heaven; he begged for that flower (grace) like this. (Painter 1955: 94)

In the presence of Our Leader God Jesus Christ, in His house, where the heavenly light comes down, truly came down on the maestro, he asked for the holy flower in the prayers said toward heaven. (Painter 1955: 96)

But with that holy prayer that the maestro prayed toward heaven, right there while he was praying, the holy light was sent down to him. (Painter 1955: 101)

The head maestro must have a knowledge of the Catholic calendar, must notify all groups when events are to take place, and must have the organizing skill to conduct and coordinate the ceremonies. In all of these duties he is, or should be, aided by other maestros and by apprentice maestros. All of the maestros should be able to conduct all of the services, including the Sunday ones: vespers; special saint's day services; parts of the Mass for the Dead; morning, noon, and evening prayers; and the complicated ritual for the Easter Ceremony, including the prayers for the Stations of the Cross. This requires sufficient knowledge of Latin and Spanish to read the missal and breviary and special prayers, also the ability to chant. They must know the standard prayers in Yaqui and Spanish, the *alabanzas*

in Spanish, and hymns in Latin. They must have the presence and eloquence to preach sermons in Yaqui and be able to include in them important Yaqui concepts and mythological and historical events. They are also expected to instruct the people regarding events about to take place. For example, the present head maestro has often been seen in the kohtumbre headquarters, giving short briefings of the events in the Easter Ceremony, or reading the prayers of the Stations of the Cross to children gathered at the church. He states that it is also inherent in his duties to be an influence for good in the pueblo.

Reference is sometimes made to conditions on the Río Yaqui where, it is said, the maestros are supported by the pueblo and are able to give their whole time to religious duties. In Pascua they are not paid, except for small unfixed fees and gifts of food in connection with certain ceremonies.

During the period of observation there have been only two maestros officiating. An apprentice maestro assists irregularly. This is in contrast to 1937 when Spicer (1940a: 118) reports that there were four active maestros and two more who attended part time. This lack of personnel places a great burden on the head maestro, who, in addition to his frequent and exacting religious duties, must earn a living for his family. One of the older fariseo leaders assists him with prayers outside of Lent.

The *yo'o maestro* (head maestro) has no structurally political position in the pueblo, but, depending on his personality and leadership qualities, he exerts much influence. He is chosen for the position by the whole pueblo and is invited by uhbuani. The large missal is placed in his hands by a sacristan in a short ceremony.

The women who constitute the choir are most often called *kantoram* (singular, *kantora*), from the Spanish *cantora*, which is also used. They may also be spoken of as *kopariam*. In formal speeches they are referred to sometimes as *kantora malam* (singer mothers). They sing only in conjunction with a maestro. Each maestro has a group of several women who sing in harmony with him, in church and in the processions. The head singer is known as *koparia yo'owe* or *cantora mayor*.

With their regular clothes the singers wear black *rebozos*, which are called in Yaqui *rebo'osam* or *mobektiam*. In the church or on the altar side of the fiesta ramada they sit near the maestros, legs crossed back and to one side, on the rug in front of the altar. In processions they walk behind the maestro with whom they are associated. A singer may start service before she is confirmed and is then placed under the guidance of an experienced member of the group. During processions and in some ceremonies, the maestros and women singers sing alabanzas together.

Alabanzas (hymns of praise in Spanish) appear to be European in origin, with no native traits. Henderson (1937: 73) says that they have the earmarks of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Spanish. Tate (1967: 30) presents

a photograph of a fifteen-verse alabado from the songbook of the Penitente *Rezador* (leader of prayers). This alabado relates in explicit terms the agony of Jesus. It was handwritten in a very fine script. Tate suggests that the alabados are handed down from one *Rezador* to another.

An alabanza, as defined in Pascua, is an act of praise, usually a folk hymn sung in Spanish in honor of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, or a saint. Exhortation to sinners is often included. It is sacred, never secular. The word alabado, familiar in New Mexico and the Southwest, is not used. Alabanzas are the music of the church. They are not sung by individuals alone but always by a group. Occasional hymns in Latin, having to do with the ritual, may be heard, and they are sung in the same manner as alabanzas and with a Spanish accent. They are not technically alabanzas and few appear in the books of the maestros.

Each maestro has a group of women singers who work with him, generally five or six. If there are two maestros, as there should be, one stays with the men's church group and one with the women's. If only one maestro is present, he accompanies the men's group. When all remain together in front of the altar in the church or in the fiesta ramada, they sing the same alabanzas, alternating verses.

Alabanzas are sung without accompaniment, in conventional thirds and sixths. A maestro initiates a verse, the singers take turns in establishing the harmony, and the other singers follow. An occasional vocal independence is heard, approximating the polyphonic style. The women sing with a tight throat, the maestros in a full resonant voice.

The maestros sometimes clue the singers by murmuring quickly the first words of the next verse, but this is usually not necessary. They often conclude each verse with a short humming sound. The singers hold a part of their black rebozos loosely over their mouths while singing.

Alabanzas are written painstakingly in the notebooks of the maestros. At death they are usually handed down to another maestro. The structure is most often a four-line verse. The words are concrete and direct, with great economy and intensity of feeling. The spelling is phonetic, and the words may be run together or occur in separated syllables. Both spelling and words may vary from book to book, and all alabanzas are not found in all books. The number of verses in those observed varies from seven to into the thirties, with an average of fourteen.

The alabanzas quoted were taken from two books of the head maestro. One was inherited from the previous Pascua head maestro. This one he likes best and uses most. The other was given to him by a Vicam (Sonora) maestro and is dated 7-25-63. The translations of the alabanzas in this work are all by one man who has served frequently as interpreter (55).

Some alabanzas are chosen to dramatize events in the ceremonies. Many others are sung during the long nights of fiestas, when members of the

church group settle down comfortably on a big rug in front of the fiesta altar, well wrapped in blankets on cold nights. Sometimes they doze between songs. However, all are well aware of the antics of the pascolas when they are dancing on the other side of the ramada. The women half cover their faces to hide appreciation of the jokes, but the maestros are openly amused. At any rate, an air of comfortable, relaxed, but deep veneration pervades the altar side. The intimate harmony and strength of a group long accustomed to worshipping together are apparent.

The sacristan is called sacristan in Spanish, but more often is spoken of in Yaqui as *temasti* or *temahti*. He should have the knowledge to aid the maestros in the church and household ceremonies. He has charge of the sacristy, arranges candles, takes care of the crucifixes and male holy figures and all of the appurtenances of the altar not in the province of the altar women. He may serve without vow. It is said that in Mexico the head sacristan (*temahti mol*) handles the church funds; also that he is elected to the position by the pueblo as the one most competent. There are no reports of such an office in Pascua.

After the aging, capable, and highly respected sacristan in Pascua died, there was no replacement. A boy of thirteen, promised to the position, started apprenticeship in 1948 but did not continue, and in 1949 turned to his vow as fariseo. Two men promised as fariseos, but appointed to the pascola group as musicians, have acted as sacristans since 1949.

The position of *teopo kobanao* (head of the church) has never been filled in Pascua.

The altar women are called *kियोhteim*, possibly from the Spanish *prioste*, meaning "member of a female sisterhood" (Spicer 1954b: 84). They may also be referred to formally as *kियोhtei mala* (altar woman mother). The head altar woman is known as *kियोhtei yo'owe*, less often as *yo'o kियोhtei*. She is assisted by a varying number of helpers, generally four to six.

The altar women wear no special regalia. Their duties are to dress the altar in appurtenances suitable to each ceremony and to care for the altar cloths and antependia. They arrange fresh or artificial flowers on the altar. They decorate the white sheets stretched above the altar and behind it, and for this purpose make crepe-paper flowers and garlands. They arrange on the altar the figures of the Blessed Virgin and drape them with lavender, purple, or black at the correct times. They and the flag girls transport these figures to and from the church. They decorate the special structures carried in processions, such as the bier of Jesus on Good Friday and litters for holy figures. They recruit the women who carry the statues of Mary in processions, and they dress in ceremonial regalia these women and the girl flag-bearers. They make these regalia and keep them in repair. They escort in processions the figures of the Virgin, cast confetti on them and the other

holy figures when required, and aid in defeating the fariseos on Holy Saturday by throwing flowers. They take care of the altar at household fiestas and have there similar duties to those at the church. In general, they supervise all of the women in the church group except the singers. Since the death of the sacristan, they also have dressed the altar in the fiesta ramada.

The money that is placed in the limosna bowls on the altar in front of the figures of Mary is disbursed by the head altar woman, who uses it for altar furnishings and for dress materials and ribbons for the statues. Sometimes she gives small amounts to the other altar women, and to the flag girls and angels, so that they may buy snacks during the long vigils. She is also given the money offered during the veneration on Good Friday afternoon.

The duties of the altar women are numerous and exacting, and they must remain present during all-night ceremonies. The current head altar woman has served for many years and is well versed in the requirements of the position. She is one of the most highly respected members of the community.

The flag-bearers of all groups are commonly called *alpes* (plural, *alpesim*) from the Spanish *alférez* (ensign). In sermons one may hear a form of this, *alperéz*. They may also be called *bantealeo*, or, less often, *banteareo*, from *banteam* (flag, flags). The girls in the church group who manipulate flags are referred to as *hamut alpes* (woman flag-bearer). They will be called flag girls or girl flag-bearers, as waving the flag is their primary, although not their only, function.

They must be young unmarried girls and are generally under vow. Some are promised for three years, many for life, in which case they are promised to fill the position of singer or altar woman upon marriage. Often they have already served for three years as angels. In case of need, a young unmarried girl without vow may be asked to fill in.

Each flag girl wears a white cotton head covering (*mobektiam*) about 36 by 30 inches, embroidered in colors at the corners and center with symbolic flowers, leaves, hearts, and crosses. Over this is worn a crown, which may be called *sewa* or *kona* and, infrequently, *corona* (crown). It is of red cardboard about 12 inches long and 6 inches high, with four points, one each at the front, back, and two sides. It is decorated with pastel ribbons in diagonal rows of rosettes, symbolic of flowers, and is bound at the edge with the same ribbon. Each girl carries a flag and a bell in the right hand, and the bell rings at the same time that the flag is waved. The flag is considered to be the property of the Virgin "because Mary and the church are the same." It has a bright red field about 27 inches long and 22 wide, bound around the edges with emerald green ribbon. In the center is a cross about 9 inches high and 7 wide, made of rosettes (flowers) of the same green ribbon. The top of the staff is thrust into a small cardboard tube about 8 inches long, with a horizontal piece to form a cross. The tube is wound with

green ribbon and is covered with six green ribbon rosettes, giving the appearance of a foliated cross. It is tied to the staff with green ribbons. The flag is always for a blessing (te'ochia).

From the sixth Friday of Lent until midnight of Good Friday these regalia are, or should be, replaced by head coverings with lavender embroidery and lavender crowns, and flags with darker lavender ribbon.

During the period of observation there has been an average of five flag girls. Rarely do they all come for a ceremony except on Holy Saturday.

The primary duty of the flag girls is to bless the ground in front of the altar, a ritual which is called *buiata te'ochia*. Implicit is an invocation against evil. They wave three times in each of the four directions, three times around. The ideal circuit for blessing the ground, as given by the head altar woman and an active assistant, is toward the altar, or west; away from the altar, or east; to the south; to the north. Any deviation is considered by them to be incorrect. A chart of observations of flag-waving shows inconsistencies in this pattern, often by the same girls in the same ceremony, although they always wave first toward the altar.

The flag girls are called on by the altar women to help with such tasks as dressing the altar and transporting and preparing the statues of the Virgin for processions and other rituals. They help to dress the three figures of the Virgin in new clothing after midnight on Good Friday and to put up special decorations then and at other times.

In preparation for serving in a ceremony the flag girls kneel on their rug to receive the regalia. An altar woman passes the head covering in the sign of the cross over the face of the girl, who simultaneously crosses herself. The altar woman places the covering on the girl's head, saying under her breath in Yaqui, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit." This procedure is repeated when the crown is put on, and the same ritual is observed upon removal. During services, when not active in the ceremonies, the flag girls sit on their rug, which extends out from the right end of the altar.

The ideal pattern for waving the flag, except when blessing the ground, is down, to the right, to the left, to the right, to the left. This is done three times rapidly (to signify the Trinity) and is not always completed. They do not bless themselves before they start but are supposed to say under their breath as they wave, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit." They wave at stated times in church and in processions. In general, they wave in front of the altar, at the beginning and end of services, at the entrance of the church, at all starts and stops, and at all crosses. They have special duties at the public group veneration. Their behavior will be described more fully in the narrative for the Easter Ceremony.

The women who carry the statues of the Three Marys on litters in processions are known as *tenanchim*, from the Spanish *tenante* (supporter),

which is sometimes heard also. They are not under vow and may volunteer or be recruited by uhbuani by the head altar woman. Anyone of good character may serve. The women wear on their heads the same regalia as the flag girls, donned and removed with the same ritual, with the addition that the flag girls touch the foreheads of the women with the flags in a blessing when they receive their head coverings and crowns. It is not necessary that the same women fill this office at successive ceremonies.

The angels are called in Yaqui *anheles*, plural *anhelesim* (Spanish, *án-gel*). Sometimes the diminutive, *angelito*, is heard, but it is considered incorrect as it is the term for a very young child. The vow for this position is three years, very occasionally six. If they have been promised to other positions, the children fill them after completing angel duty.

The angels have specified posts and duties in the Easter Ceremony, which will be described below. They do not appear at any other time of year. Their basic function is to guard the holy figures and the altar. The girls are always associated with the statues of the Blessed Virgin and the boys with the male holy figures. They are accompanied by one or both of the godparents, acquired when they were confirmed as angels. Sometimes early in Lent they appear without costumes. Their weapons are switches, with which they ward off the chapayekas and the attacks of the fariseos at The Gloria on Holy Saturday. The fariseos may try to kidnap them at The Gloria, in which case they must be redeemed by their godparents. This is a reciprocal threat. Sometimes the chapayekas steal a whip or a crown from an angel, in which case it must be redeemed for a few cents.

Over his blue jeans and white shirt the boy angel wears a skirt of organdy or other thin material of white or pastel color, over one or several heavier white petticoats. He has a silk scarf of a bright color around his neck, folded into a triangle and knotted in front. Colored ribbons around his waist are tied in the back in bows with long streamers. Several strings of small bright-colored beads hang around his neck. A wreath of artificial flowers rests on his head over a square of white cloth, except on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, when it is replaced by a circlet of fresh green leaves. The girls wear white, sometimes pale-colored dresses, white shoes and stockings. The rest of their costume is like the boys', except that they often wear white communion veils under the crown instead of white cloth.

Both boys and girls carry small bowls, in which people sometimes place coins of low denomination, which the children use to buy soft drinks during the long ceremonies of Lent. When they are not actively engaged in the ritual, the boys sit on a carpet at the south end of the altar, and the girls sit on one behind that of the flag girls on the north end. They are expected to remain silent and quiet, with switch upright in right hand. When their godmothers take them out of the church, the crowns are removed.

This first ceremonial service (as angels) is not only functional to the

Easter Ceremony, but it affords the children an early opportunity to become familiar with all phases of the complicated ritual.

In some processions in Holy Week, four boys are chosen to carry the processional cross and candlesticks and the incense. They are called *sirialim*, or sometimes *temahtim*. The boy with the *insensarium* or *incensario* (censer) is said to be "feeding the holy figures." The boys are dressed in simple red cassocks, except for the first one, who may wear a green one.

The word *pasioneom* is sometimes heard in sermons when a maestro is listing the various participants. Because the sermons are very old, they occasionally refer to customs or offices that no longer exist. Some informants think that *pasioneom* refers to various women in the church group, but such is not the case according to the head maestro and the head altar woman. Their descriptions indicate that the word actually refers both to a particular female church official and to the object which is held by her. In both cases the word for one bearer or object is *pasion*, and for several, *pasioneom*. The office, they say, has never been filled in Pascua. They further say that the word *pasioneom* is used for the women, two or three, under life-long vow to the position. Each of the women carries a *pasion*. In her youth, the head altar woman remembers having observed a *pasion* on the Río Yaqui. She describes it as a round wooden disk about six inches in diameter, with ribbons inserted around the edge. It is covered with velvet.

All members of the church group are expected to attend the death ceremonies of any of their members and of the *matachinis*. The *kohtumbre ya'ura* may go in a group or as individuals "to help and pay respects to the people we worked with." Upon death, each person who had a vow to the Virgin wears in the coffin a white head covering and red crown like those of the flag girls, and his rosary is placed by his side. With the maestro are put the books that he used, except for the big Missal. The singers and altar women wear their black *rebozos*. The flag girl has her flag. The angels wear regalia as described, plus the white wings that are customary for the unmarried. The women who carry the figures of the Virgin are not buried with regalia unless they had a vow. All of the clothing of the dead person is burned, except that which would be useful to a maestro or a singer.

In discussions about the *yoania* and *seataka*, it is always said that the church group "consults God," and therefore has no need to seek power from the *yoania*, nor even to be born with *seataka*. It is said, however, that the witch may become jealous of the good voice of a maestro or singer and inflict injury outside of the church, so that the throat becomes hoarse and chanting becomes difficult or impossible.

[The maestro] has to have a remarkable memory and a sound mind, and that only comes from the Heavenly Father. He can't get it from anyone else. None of the church group go to the *yoania*. (55)

. . . the witch should be very powerful, and by some defect on the part of the maestro it could happen. It might occur like a punishment in case the maestro should go wrong in his work. He might think "hither-thither" (not have his mind on his work) and do the work not with his whole heart. Or he might do it being lazy. . . . It has been said that it has happened, but only in case the singer would not work right. They work on the side of the good, and the witch has very little power over them if he is jealous. (9)

[There is danger to all on account of jealousy.] A maestro or a singer might be attacked in the throat so that he could not pray or sing. [The witch] might be jealous of someone who could sing especially well. (20)

HOLY FIGURES

The holy figures and pictures, crucifixes and crosses are an integral part of the ceremonies. They are called *santos*, or, in Yaqui, *teopopo santora*. They are not all in evidence at any event, but those appropriate to the occasion must be present. They are handled gently, with respect and reverence.

The holy figures owned by the pueblo are kept in the locked sacristy in the church. Others are the property of families, who bring or send them to the church when they are necessary to the ritual, or for the blessing of being on the altar and in the ceremonies. The male holy figures and crucifixes are handled and arranged by the sacristans or men doing sacristan duty; the images of Mary are transported and taken care of by the altar women, assisted by the girl flag-bearers. Owing to lack of personnel, the male-female dichotomy is not always strictly followed, although it is recognized as traditional.

In general, the male holy figures and crucifixes occupy the center and left side of the altar, and the statues of Mary grace the right side. However, images of the Virgin have been seen consistently on the left, owing to the fact that their owner has ceremonial obligations on that side. The boxed figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe is also always on the left side, because it is the property of the military society, which, when it appeared, was associated with the men's church group.

The crucifixes almost always have short skirts, in the regional tradition, and may have ribbons tied at the wrists. All of the holy figures are covered with the lavender, purple, or black of mourning when it is appropriate.

Depending on the desire of the owner, a new holy figure may be blessed by a maestro, the parish priest, or by both. Godparents are chosen, who have responsibilities and duties similar to those of godparents to children.

Sometimes a male figure has only a godfather, and a female figure a god-mother. The godparents are expected to accompany the image when it is blessed, and a simple feast may follow. Sometimes godparents visit a figure on its name day and take it flowers or candles. Often a decorated litter is prepared by the family for a new figure, and it is carried in a procession for a blessing. Formerly, the godparents of the special cross used for the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross were expected to give a fiesta at that time.

As often as the householder wishes, altar women or sacristans are called in to incense a household altar (and always a new altar). This is known as “feeding the santos,” or, in Yaqui, *santom hi’ibuatua*. Short prayers accompany this ceremony. The same incense is used as that for the church and is called by the same name (kopalim). Food is prepared for the occasion, which the godparents may eat at once or take home.

It is thought that when a holy figure is dropped and injured or broken, the person who was responsible “did not have her heart in it, or maybe she was angry, so the figure did not want to be handled by her.” A young man said “older people believe this, and the younger ones, too, may believe it in their hearts, but they don’t want to say anything about it if anyone asks” (58). Another man says that it does not mean bad luck, but that “the person was astray” (55).

It is said that some of the older people worship the holy figures, instead of venerating them.

They really respect the holy figures and think that if they really have faith and respect for them, they will answer their prayers. [The informant said that they really do worship the figures, not just venerate Jesus and Mary through them.] (52)

The wooden cross about 6 feet high, painted gray, with “INRI” in black on the white crosspiece at the top, is owned by the pueblo. It is always carried in a white cotton sling at the head of full processions in Lent. Between times it stands behind the altar. It may be called the *cruz alta* or *tebe kus* (tall cross). It is more often known as the *bia kuhta* or *bia cruz* (Way Cross). It will be so designated. Sometimes it is called Itom Achai, but it is not considered to represent Jesus in the drama of the Easter Ceremony, as do the crucifixes and some of the holy figures. It is said that there are no vows for carrying it; but vows have been observed, either through a desire to carry the cross or in penance for the bad behavior of the individual or a member of his family. For example, it was carried for the latter reason in 1947 and 1948. A maestro may ask a villager to perform this service. The burden is shifted at intervals. From four to a dozen men have been seen with the Way Cross in Lent.

It is carried for devotion and mostly by the older people. It is not a true vow generally. It is a devotion. And this is more acceptable by the Lord than a promise, because a promise is an obligation. A man is forced to do it. Even if he does not really want to, he has to. A devotion is more loving. It is a desire to do it, not because something happens. In a devotion the will and love go along with it. Most of the older people do it in devotion. The act of carrying a holy figure is regarded as an action of praying for himself. He would have to recite prayers while doing it. (55)

The crucifix, about 3 feet high, which stands in the center of the altar, is owned by the head altar woman, as it belonged to her father, who was a sacristan. It is transported to and from the church by members of the male church group. It will be called the large crucifix.

Two small crucifixes, owned by the fariseo society, are present when that society is operating. One is called the altar crucifix because it is customarily on the altar. It is a form of the Calvary, or graded, cross—the Latin cross placed on two steps. It is kept in the sacristy and placed on the altar in either the church or a fiesta ramada, transported by a member of the fariseo society. The other is called the limosna cross, because it is carried on limosnas by the fariseos. “It is called *Senyor pasionpo veama* (The Lord in passion goes)” (16). At fiestas it is put on the encampment table.

Beginning with the fifth Friday of Lent a standing figure of Christ, wearing a scarlet robe and carrying a dark green wooden cross, is transported on an undecorated litter instead of the crucifixes, as it is said that they cannot be taken out at that time. The statue is called *el Nazareno*, *Jesu Nazareno*, or *Jesus de Nazaret*. It will be referred to as the Nazarene. It is owned by the pueblo, bought with money raised by popular subscription in the middle thirties. It was taken to the parish church to be blessed. It has always been dressed in a scarlet tunic except in 1945, when a Mexican woman made for it a white one to fulfill a vow. This was not considered suitable, and it was replaced the next year by a red one, which is traditional. Informants best versed in biblical history say that Nazarene is another name for Jesus; but there are many in Pascua who do not believe this. They explain their ideas as follows:

Calling the figure *el Nazareno* has foundation in the Bible. The name Jesus became *el Nazareno* because they cannot say Jesus all during Lent. Because *Nazareno* is what the fariseos called Him during the time they pursued Him. The name started resounding *Nazareno*, *Nazareno*, until it became the name for Jesus. When you ask the chapayekas about Him that is what they tell. The consideration is too that He is still alive, is one thing they tell. *Itom Achai* is how they refer to Him in the crucifixion and after the crucifixion. Before that they call him *Nazareno*. (55)

He is only called that for the town where He was born. (17)

. . . the same [as Jesus]. The fact that he carries a cross shows that. (31)

The story in the village is that there are two persons and this Nazareno is the one who died in place of Jesus. That Jesus did not die, but that it was el Nazareno who died. They said that el Nazareno was the criminal who died in place of Jesus.

[It is said that] el Nazareno was the sinner who took the place of Christ to redeem himself from the bad he had done, such as killing and robbing and doing unclean things. (55) [This man said that he himself believes that el Nazareno is the same as Jesus, and he thinks that “people had got it mixed up with the stories of the robbers who were allowed to live instead of Jesus.”]

They say that he went to the orchard in Jesus’ stead. It was because he was trying to shelter Him. The real Jesus died on the cross. They say that Jesus gave Himself up because they were going to kill el Nazareno. (58)

El Nazareno was a teacher, not the same as Christ, but closely related to Him. . . . and Jesus was not killed at the crucifixion, but el Nazareno was. (25)

It isn’t really Christ, but it just goes out in His stead while Christ is concealed. He doesn’t give Christ up until the last. (20)

It is another man. [I would be in the bower on (Holy) Thursday and I] would jump aside quick so they would catch el Nazareno and be fooled. The fariseos think they have caught Jesus, but they haven’t. They have caught el Nazareno. He is not the same as Jesus. (68)

It was such that, with compassion for the way Jesus was being treated by the fariseos that el Nazareno thought that Jesus had had enough punishment, and he promised himself to die on the cross for Jesus. . . . Being a criminal, he was in hope of redemption. My father told me that right there he went to heaven (*ama tu’isi tawak u sika*). (55)

The small image, called most frequently San Ramos, which represents Christ entering Jerusalem, is described in the introduction to the Palm Sunday ceremonies.

A figure of Jesus as an infant is referred to most frequently as Niño Dios. Villagers say this can be translated equally well as Infant Jesus or Infant God, as “Jesus and God are the same.” Infant Jesus has been chosen, as it is in common use in the region. The image is also called Ilichí Niño (Little Infant), Ilichí Jesús, Niño Jesús, and Niño Resurrección. It is first used in the procession symbolizing the Resurrection on Good Friday night and remains on the altar through Easter Sunday. It is also present on Christ-

mas Eve. It was owned by a woman singer, who left it to the pueblo when she died.

One of several images of the Sacred Heart of Jesus owned by villagers is generally on the altar.

Two holy figures very popular with all native groups in the region are the Santo Niño de Atocha and San Francisco Xavier. As described in the section on the vow, people frequently make vows to wear replicas of their garments in return for a favor, such as curing. These images are almost never seen on the altar in Pascua, but they are treasured on many household altars. A figure of the Holy Infant of Prague, owned by a family in the village, is frequently brought to the church for a ceremony.

Several statues of Saint Joseph (San José) are owned in the pueblo. One must always stand on the altar when the matachinis are dancing. One of these figures was taken to the parish church to be blessed the day before Palm Sunday in 1949 and was carried in the procession that night on a decorated litter. A member of the matachinis was its godfather, and his wife decorated the litter; but there was no godmother. This ritual was spoken of as "giving him the baptism," and it was said that the matachinis should have danced the San José dance for it.

An image of Saint Anthony of Padua (San Antonio de Padua) about a foot high, which is almost always on the altar, was left to the pueblo by a sacristan.

A picture of Saint Lazarus, owned by the family of one of the fariseo officials, appears without fail on the altar on the fifth Friday of Lent and is carried in the procession. It is sometimes decorated with crepe-paper flowers. The head maestro mentions in his sermon that it is the day of San Lazaro, and he takes that occasion to discuss the healing power of Jesus.

The figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe (Walupa or Walalupana) in a box about a foot high, decorated with crepe-paper flowers and sometimes draped with white lace, is owned and carried by the military society, if they are present. Otherwise it is carried by a man or boy requested to do so by the maestro. The large picture of the Guadalupe is owned by the pueblo, willed to it by a man at his death. It is kept in the sacristy and sometimes stands at the back of the altar on the right. It is rarely carried in processions but is the burden of a member of the military society when it is present. Some say that the Guadalupe is a manifestation of the Virgin, but most think she is a saint. She is rarely called Itom Aye.

It is a holy figure, but she is considered in no way to be the Mother of Jesus, and she is not the Blessed Virgin. (9)

It is not the same as Itom Ae, and we never call her that. (35)

All the Marys are the same, including the Guadalupe. (8)

The three figures of the Virgin that are carried on litters in processions are called Bahi Mariam, Las Tres Marías (the Three Marys). They are all known as Itom Aye (or Ae). It is in the Yaqui tradition to have three.

The first one in processions, about 21 inches high, is the Sorrowful Mother, or, in Spanish, Dolorosa (Yaqui, Lolorosa, or less often, Lolosa). Because of the heart painted on it, the statue is sometimes referred to as Corazon de María (Heart of Mary). It is owned and dressed by the head altar woman and kept at her house. The second one, María Santísima (also called by one woman María Purísima Concepción), about 24 inches high, is owned and dressed by one of the women singers. The third one (given various names by various Pascuans) belongs to the head altar woman, who cares for it and dresses it.

A small figure of the Virgin, María Purísima, is owned by the head altar woman and is often on the altar and carried in processions by a young girl, with or without regalia. It is used for the part of Mary Magdalene on Easter Sunday. Several other images of the Virgin are owned by women in the village, who bring them to the ceremonies when they so desire.

The images of the Three Marys are, and should be according to tradition, dressed in robes and rebozos of light pastel colors or white, with ribbons around the waist, small bright beads, sometimes ornamental jewelry and light-colored ribbons. They should be draped with lavender on the sixth Friday of Lent and for the Palm Sunday ceremonies; with purple for Wednesday night and Thursday of Holy Week; with black on Good Friday and for death ceremonies. The mourning is removed on Good Friday after midnight, and the figures are dressed in new finery. Great care is taken of the figures, and their garments are made with meticulous skill. The Three Marys are generally considered to be different manifestations of the Virgin, but some of the older women speak of them as sisters.

Other crucifixes, images, and pictures are owned by various Pascuans and are brought at will to ceremonies to receive the blessing of being present. "When they take a new figure in a procession, that figure is blessed by the Lord" (55).

The bier for the figure of Jesus on Good Friday is called *antas*, from the Spanish *andas*, and sometimes *urnia*, from the Spanish *urna*, (casket). It is decorated in the home of, and by the family of, the head altar woman. The base is a wooden frame with a gallery about 10 inches high fastened to a sturdy wooden carrying structure. A framework of bamboo, made new by the fariseos each year, 5 feet long and 3 feet, 9 inches high, exclusive of the arched dome, is fastened to the wooden frame. The frame and the slats of the gallery are bound with colored crepe paper and hung with a valance of silk or organdy in white or a pale color. A small antependium with a cross is placed on the front end. The dome of the bamboo framework is covered with silk, in white or a pale color, with net over it to match. The four sides

are hung with the same net. At the sides the net is parted and draped back slightly to form openings. It is trimmed with lace, artificial flowers, and ribbons in all colors, hung with tinsel, and surmounted with a dove made of white crepe paper, said to represent the "heart and the Spirit." Fresh cottonwood leaves are placed inside for a mattress, a silk coverlet is laid over them, and a silk pillow and silk coverlet over that. It is said that in older times flower petals were used instead of leaves. If fresh flowers are brought for decoration, they are received with pleasure. The details differ each year, but the general design has been the same during the period of observation.

6

The Matachinis

The matachin dance has its roots in ancient European dances. Chambers, discussing the sword dance (1903, I: 190–204), says that it was called in Italy *mattaccino*, in Spain *matachin*. In France and England during the Renaissance it was known as *matachin* or *danse des buffons*. In the English versions constant features were comic or grotesque figures, one type being a man who wore a woman's dress. Many versions contained quarrels in which a dancer or a comic figure was "killed." Chambers equates the sword dance with the morris dance.

Dances similar to the matachin dance in Pascua are seen in much the same form throughout the Southwest and Mexico. All sources consulted believe them to be of European origin. For example, Dominguez, Montell, Beals, and Toor all make this assumption. Spicer (1962: 510) says that the dance was introduced by the Jesuits as a dramatization of the triumph of the Christians over the Aztec Montezuma through Malinche, the first convert in Mexico, but that this meaning has disappeared. Spicer (1943: 418) also says that the word "matachin" is from the Arabic and was adopted by the Spanish for an Italian dance.

J. D. Robb (1961: 87–89) reports dances of similar characteristics throughout New and Old Mexico. He concludes from personal observation and perusal of sources that they are of common origin, survivals of sixteenth-century Europe. His sources connect the New Mexico matachines dance with eighteenth-century Spain; with the sword dance; the buffoon dance; with a comical figure of Italian comedy, called Il Matacino; with the morris dance; and the moresca or morisca. The latter was executed in Moorish costume, similar to that in the Dance of the Moors and Christians,

seen in New and Old Mexico. He mentions an episodic dance along the Rio Grande which has to do with Indians, Montezuma, and la Malinche, and speaks of the dance of the Aztecas in Tortugas, New Mexico.

The elements of drama and humor, present in other dances of similar name and much the same form in the Southwest and Mexico, are lacking in the Pascua dance, either currently or by tradition. There is no fight, no clown, no extra dancer. However, similarities in form and dedication appear. It is interesting that the basic sequence in Pascua is called *bataya* or *batalla* (battle). The name *malinchi* is reminiscent of Montezuma, although there is no conscious connection. The name of the first part of the dance for winding the maypole, the Azteca, also suggests the dance in Tortugas.

MATACHIN DANCE SOCIETY

The matachin dance society is composed of men and boys under vow to the Virgin Mary. Its ceremonial season is from Easter Sunday until the following Ash Wednesday, at which time the kohtumbre ya'ura assumes control for Lent. There is a duplication of duties between Easter and the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross. Although the matachins are not technically a part of the church group, as they have an autonomous organization, they are closely associated with it at all times, especially through their vow to, and obligation to serve, the Virgin Mary. They have mutual obligations with the church group, as, for instance, at confirmations and at death ceremonies. The dance is purely religious and is always done for blessing. The group has a commitment, both to Mary and to the pueblo, to dance when asked.

In the matachin season the society is expected to dance at all vespers, at some fiestas, and at some death ceremonies, depending on the nature of the fiesta and the wishes of the fiesteros. The society may be called on by the fiesteros for help in the work of preparation for events, such as repairing or erecting fiesta ramadas, moving the patio cross, smoothing and sprinkling the dance area, and obtaining and chopping wood. Unlike the kohtumbre ya'ura, the matachin society is never the host or fiesta-giver but confines its duties to helping those who are. For this reason they do not furnish food for a fiesta, except as they collect from the public on a limosna, nor do they serve or hold candles at the fiesta table, nor receive thanks for the meal, as does the kohtumbre. The authority of this society does not extend beyond ceremonial obligations, in contrast to the kohtumbre, which has civil functions during its season.

The matachins carry out all limosnas outside of Lent, except those made by the kohtumbre for members and their families. On the contrary, if the need arises in Lent for help for a matachin family, the kohtumbre carries out the limosna for them. The *kobanao* (manager) of the matachins leads

the limosna, a malinchi carries a figure of Saint Joseph, and several “soldiers” (dancers) accompany them. An image of the Virgin is not taken, as it must not be carried by a male. The form is that described below for the kohtumbre limosna on the day before Palm Sunday. It is understood that Saint Joseph blesses each household visited. The kobanao says something like “San José is visiting your *tebat ho'aramé*” (household patio). He expresses hope that health will remain in the household and explains the reason for the visit (35). Sometimes a small limosna without formalities is made among spectators at a ceremony, for such incidental expenses as violin strings and candles.

Like all other groups, the matachinis are under orders to the kohtumbre ya'ura during Lent. Because of their strong association with flowers and with the church group, they are in ritual opposition to the fariseos in the Easter drama. On Holy Saturday morning at The Gloria they take an active part in “destroying” the fariseos. Because of this, in a ritual sense, the fariseos hate and fear them and consequently limit their activities. Therefore the matachinis appear in Lent only at specified times—on Palm Sunday Eve, Palm Sunday, and Holy Saturday. It is known that traditionally (and logically) they should not dance until Holy Saturday at The Gloria, “when the flower and everything opens up” (35). However, they danced on Palm Sunday Eve and Palm Sunday in the early days at the Buia Buwalko (early Yaqui settlement near Tucson), and they have done so ever since. Their function in Lent is to dance, lead processions, and participate in the downfall of the fariseos on Holy Saturday.

At the beginning of Lent, we believe that Jesus would be suffering for us, so that we would remember Him and prepare ourselves to do better. The matachinis do not dance then, but dance in the happy season when Jesus has risen. (52)

The number of dancers who call Pascua home is estimated at about sixty [in the 1960s or early 1970s]. It is difficult to arrive at an exact figure by observation, as there are often visiting matachinis from the area, who come either because they desire to do so or wish to pay tribute to a member of their family who has died. On a summer night at vespers there are generally thirteen to fifteen present, plus three or four musicians. At the big fiestas there may be twice or three times as many.

The Virgin Mary is considered to be the actual head of the matachin society, and its members are commonly called Itom Aye sontaom (soldiers of Our Mother). In sermons, but rarely in conversation, they are referred to as *disipulom* (disciples) of Our Mother. Legends relate that Mary recruited dancers as her army and that she dressed them according to her taste. The symbolism connected with their costumes brings them ever more constantly

in heart and mind to the Virgin. A figure of Mary must always be present on the altar at any ceremony in which the matachinis take part. The society has none of its own and uses one of those belonging to the head altar woman. An image of Saint Joseph must always be in evidence also, as "he is the husband of Mary and therefore the patron saint of the matachinis."

The concept of the Virgin as patroness and protector of the society is based on legends current among the people, some of which are quoted here. (See also Spicer 1954b: 119, for another legend.) The one concerning Mary Magdalene was obtained from only one person (48).

They are Mary's army. Mary set out to fight evil. She had to have an army. So she made the army and the music. She used ordinary people, not heavenly people, and she dressed them as she wanted to. (55)

[I have heard it said that] when Christ was crucified Mary felt very sorry, though she knew He had gone to His throne in heaven. The twelve apostles got together the friends of Jesus and fought the fariseos, and that is how the matachinis started. The music and sounds represent the fighting. (39)

The following legend was told to the informant by his uncle, who was a dance leader and then became a maestro:

At the wedding of Magdalena, whom the Yaquis called Madalena, the Yaquis did the first matachin dance. That is how it started. There were no pascolas at that wedding. The legend says that at that first dance the matachinis had a twig of brush for the wand, and a crown was also made from the twigs of brush, and the [gourd] rattles were already in existence at that time. The malinchi now represents the Magdalena, and that is why he is dressed in female style. Now they became the army of Our Lady of Magdalena—Itom Ae Madalena. In the Río [Yaqui] there is a little niche where the Madalena is found. Mary, the Mother of Jesus, is the same as Mary Magdalena, and they both are wherever the matachinis are dancing. [Which figure is most commonly used in the Río Yaqui?] The Magdalena. [Who dressed them in their regalia?] They dressed themselves, in order to honor her. (48)

The matachinis have a strong flower symbol, far exceeding the traditional association of flowers with the Blessed Virgin. It is related to the legend of the blood of Christ turning into flowers as it fell from the cross. It is expressed in ways of referring to the society as a whole and in the naming and meanings connected with some of their regalia. Flowers are thought to be a special weapon against evil throughout the year.

The matachinis represent flowers all the year around. (31)

The flowers represent the Blessed Virgin. It comes that way in the legend, that they are dressed according to her taste. (55)

The matachinis are guards for the good during the year. (35)

[The matachin gourd] is red color mostly. [It represents] the blood of Christ. Only in the meaning of the color it represents the flowers. The color has a meaning similar to the meaning of the chapayekas in all the colors they are decorated with. It is the red color that is used mostly. [What does it represent?] The blood of Christ. That is the reason that all of the insinio [regalia] is put under the cross all the time. In every sermon it has been referred to in the same manner, as the maestro puts it, and the pascolas. In all pascola sermons it is delivered in the same way as the maestro does it. About the blood in the end becoming flowers. As the miracle of Christ, the blood truly has become the flower, and for us who work on it, so those who come out right on it will truly see the flower. Will truly enjoy it in heaven. (9)

The Virgin made the crown and everything that the matachinis wear in colors. . . . You know that the flowers are supposed to be when Jesucristo was crucified, the blood that came out of Him became the flowers. That is why the fariseos are supposed to be so afraid of them. After He is crucified is when we carry the flowers. . . . When the fariseos start the Holy Week, they have no more flowers, no matachinis for seven weeks. (35)

It is considered that the ceremonial labor of the dancers, which is called flower, is "picked up" in the morning by the Virgin, or the "angels of the guard," and stored in heaven, as a record of the good works of each member.

In sermons the matachin leader would explain it. . . . He always says in the morning after a fiesta, "Our Lady Mary's Virgin's flowers have been picked up at the dawn and deposited in heaven for those who worked." He used to tell us not to forsake that flower on account of bad company or bad advice from others. (55)

At dawn, the Virgin Mary picks up everything that we have done in the night. We worked all night and were sleepy and tired and hungry, but we don't miss anything. Because the angel de la guarda picks it up in the morning, everything we worked at night. The maestros say itom buania (bless us), that is when he presents it to the cross, and the angel comes down and picks it up and [takes it to] the Virgin Mary and the Lord. And they keep it for us until we die. And we earn the induluhensia. Like save it for some time when we die, we have something to be saved. (35)

A vow to the matachin society is generally made for life, but occasionally an adult undertakes one for three years, which he sometimes extends of his own accord to life service. Although it is said that no one may dance without a vow, it has been observed that a few have done so. Each is promised to a special position. Vows may also be made for special events, either individually or by the whole group. Ritual capture is neither the ideal nor the real pattern, but one instance is known of a boy promised by his parents as a form of punishment.

A vow may be made at the advice of a friend, who might say to him something like the following:

It is Our Mother's will that you should have love for this; thereby you should become a matachini. (55)

After a vow is made, the manager of the matachinis and the head maestro are notified. When the child is old enough to dance, often at the age of six or seven, he learns by the apprentice method.

Vows are often stimulated by dreams of the Virgin. She may appear as a curer, and sometimes she carries a red bowl, such as is mentioned in the legend of Mary and the rose.

Other people who have seen her, have seen her just as she is. All those matachinis who have told me about it have seen her in white clothes. Brilliantly white. That is, with splendor like a white cloud or something. That is what they have told me, those who have hurt themselves. (55)

You can dream that the Virgin Mary carries the *sewa* where you are sick. Sometimes you can see the Virgin, and you know that she wants you to be a matachini, and you promise. And when you get well you have to do it *muktekia* (for life). (35)

The only valid excuses for not appearing to dance when expected are illness or absence on a job. It is important that those unable to be present notify the leaders.

Supernatural sanctions are the penalty for failure to dance when no good excuse is offered. Some say that the matachinis are more likely than others to receive punishment in the form of injury to the legs and feet.

He might get sick or hurt himself or anything could happen to him. He might dream again then. . . . [I have seen] two or three boys, it has happened to them. One of my uncles, he didn't want to go to the big fiesta of The Gloria. So he didn't go; he got drunk and was drinking. So after a few months he came home dragging his leg. And he was in bed for three months, so he know he was punished. Our Mother pun-

ished him. Sometimes they don't believe till they get pretty sick. When they get sick, they remember the mother and father, the promise they made for them. The mothers tell them about it, to do the service, all the time. But he was sick and he can't go till he is better. So when he is not sick, he just loaf around not dancing, and laughing at the other matachinis. Then he might get punished again. Lots of boys now, they don't carry out their vows. It is not their parents' fault. Then everybody feels bad, and their parents would be ashamed because their son wouldn't work in the service. He would be ashamed before the other matachinis and the maestros, because it would be the same as if it was his fault. And that is how everybody feels when they don't want to dance.

She shows him in dreams what she wants him to do. He could be cured in the dream or not; or, when they make the promise, they get well. And then there are others. There are matachinis who don't do service for a long time. They get sick, so then the Virgin comes to him and tells him in a dream, and tells it to him if he wants to do the service or not. That if he wants to, that she will give him another chance, and then he gets well and does his vow. She might be like a curer to cure him back. If he keeps on making his promise (if he works at his vow) and keep on dreaming, he would have to make another promise, like going to San Xavier. [What if Jesus appeared to him in a dream?] If Jesus comes, even if he is a matachini, he has to go out for *Waehma* (Lent—make a vow to the fariseos or caballeros). That is why there are so many chapayekas who are matachinis. (35)

Matachinis are more likely to have accidents to the feet and legs, that they may be broken. The accidents would be considered as punishment from their patron saint. They would get a vision of the Lady Mary. They would see her in a dream when they break their promise. (55)

Anything can happen that God sends. They can get crippled or sick. A matachini can get a broken leg if he doesn't do it. Or if he is not doing it with all his heart. (20)

[A man I knew] was about to die, and the Virgin Mary came to him and showed him his sewa (headdress) and said to him, "Do you want it? You don't want to dance. You never did care for it. So now I just can't give it back to you. So now you have to come to me." So he died. It's true, because I heard about a man who was in the hospital. He was a matachini and a chapayeka. He went to the hospital two times and he got well. He promised to go back to the service [but he did not]. He went back to the hospital a third time. He said, "I don't think I'll make it this time. You in the service in the matachinis, please pray for me and do anything you can to get me well." Well, we tried to do everything for him, but we can't. So I told him, "Well, I'll go out there and pray to

the Virgin Mary and to Jesucristo. I don't know whether He will hear my prayers for you, but that is up to Him whether He forgive you." So I left him and told him, "God bless you that you be well." So in another week or so, I don't think he was forgiven, because they told me that he had died. So the people who were in the service with him said he never did come and do his duty. So Jesucristo took him: Jesus Christ wants him [and] will keep him in heaven yonder, in the good Glory. So he didn't come out of it. So that is the way it is with us. (35)

The Yaquis know that they will get some kind of misfortune, like an accident or illness. Anything can happen. He can also lose money or something that he has. (55)

A man may also dream of *matachin* regalia, or of dancing with the *matachinis*, and for that reason make a vow. If he is already promised to the *kohtumbre*, he continues to fulfill that service during Lent; during the rest of the year, he works with the *matachinis*. If he is already fulfilling a vow as a *matachini* and continues to dream of Mary, he knows that she wants him for additional service, and he makes a special vow, such as dancing at the December fiesta at the Mission San Xavier del Bac.

Matachin duty, as all other duty, must be done with good heart, or sanctions will be incurred; also the individual will not get his blessing.

Nothing has been found to identify the *matachinis* with pre-Spanish origins. References to the *yoania* are vague and, indeed, disputed. No legendary or linguistic evidence presents itself in conversation with the people. The structure of the group and the names of the positions are either Spanish or of Spanish derivation. The music, dance steps, and the regalia (except possibly the gourd) do not stem from Yaqui tradition. The whole aura differs from that of the *pascola* and deer dancers. The dreaming, considered to be direct communion with Mary, is quiet and reassuring, unlike the violent dreams of the *pascola* and deer. The members are recruited through the vow, not by *tekia*. "Tekia is only for the *pascolas* and deer, not the *matachinis*" (10).

The only *matachin* legend having to do with snakes follows:

A *matachini*, one time he did wrong and made a mistake, and they said the Virgin Mary changed him into a rattlesnake. That is why the rattlesnake has a *cascabel* (rattle). (35)

The *matachinis* generally dance at the patronal feast of the Mission San Xavier del Bac, near Tucson. They dance at the head of the procession on the night of December second, before Benediction, in the same manner as in Pascua. Often they camp out for the night and dance before the Pontifical Mass on December third, and also during the latter part of the Mass. Then

they lead the clerical procession through the atrium. This is pleasing to both the padres and the Papagos. Sometimes they dance at the grotto on the hill, to honor the Virgin there, and occasionally they leave ribbons tied to the gate as a tribute. This devotion may be a group vow, with everyone sharing expenses, or one man may make a vow and pay for everyone. An individual dancer from another village may join in.

In 1951 the head father at the Mission sent Pascuans a special invitation to dance at the fiesta; they had not done so for several years. At the end of the procession on the night of December second, he beckoned them to dance into the church and to the altar, where he blessed them. As usual the father was asked to join them in the atrium for the short sermon given by the head maestro when they finish dancing. Some of the men later said they were afraid "to dance in there with all the santos," but they felt pleased and honored to do so. That night the Papagos invited them to eat with them in the feast house after Benediction.

Pascuans always venerate the holy figures at San Xavier as they do in Pascua, on arrival and before leaving. Sanctions for not fulfilling a vow to dance at San Xavier are the same as for any broken vow.

In present-day Pascua, the matachinis wear trousers, shirts, and shoes of whatever style they are accustomed to wearing for best. In 1939 and the early forties most of the dancers wore brilliantly colored shirts of cotton, sateen, or silk, often in orange, cerise, pink, red, or royal blue. This custom has gradually been discarded. All of the members except the manager wear crown headdresses and carry gourd rattles and wands. Generally each man makes his own, but it is permissible to ask someone else to do it. They wear the rosaries received at confirmation into the society.

The manager of the matachin society is called kobanao, from the Yaqui *koba* (head). His functions are similar to those of the *morom* (managers) of the pascola and deer dancers, but he is never called moro. This is an elective office, from and by the membership, for life, based on ability and experience. Often the man chosen is a dance leader. There is no special vow for the position. It has been held on a temporary basis, without confirmation. However, it is said that after election a man is confirmed to the position and presented with his cane of office in accordance with the customary ritual. Godparents are a kobanao and an altar woman. Occasionally a visiting kobanao may take charge temporarily.

The manager has no regalia except for a carrizo cane, which is called *santo insinio*, or by the Spanish term *vara* (cane of authority). It is about 3 feet long and bears near the top an incised slender cross about 2 inches high, generally painted black. A cluster of narrow pastel ribbons, called *sewam*, is fastened near the top. It is said that the manager used to wear a whip around his waist and whipped anyone who missed a step.

Often aided by the head dance leader, the manager makes all labor

assignments, arranges for benches, lanterns, and candles for the dance area, organizes limosnas, and during them addresses the householders. He coordinates the activities of his group with those of others. In a procession he walks in front, to mark the way, carrying a candle or lantern if it is dark. If there is no safe place to leave hats, he takes care of them. He carries, or arranges to have carried, hot coals to the matachin benches on cold nights. He does not dance, except occasionally when he so desires, but he must be familiar with the dance patterns. With the head dance leader he plans the program of dances, directs them, supervises the steps, and is alert to detect any confusion. If a dancer drops any of his regalia, or a shoe becomes untied, he repairs the damage, as the dancers must not do these things when they are wearing their crowns. He helps the dance leaders to train young dancers and to drill the older ones in intricate steps. He must be able to give sermons and speeches if the head dance leader is not old enough or experienced enough to do so. It is clear that in Pascua he has no civil functions.

The manager has charge of notifying the dancers when they are expected to appear at ceremonies. A former matachini gives the procedure as follows:

To make the request the man who is going to give the *lebosion* (devotion or fiesta) goes first to the matachin manager at his home and tells him of the "righteousness" that he is working on, and his true desire to share it with those who own Our Mother's flowers (the matachinis). The manager accepts and gives thanks and promises to fulfill the ritual request. Then he goes to the head dance leader, who likewise accepts, gives thanks, and sends the manager with his firm regards to all the dancers and their second dance leaders and the musicians. From there, the manager goes to whom he can come to first, regardless of rank. After the customary greetings and reception, he proceeds about as follows:

Well, yes, my father. I truly came here to you in your household property with this one truth. The father [fiesta-giver] who wants to make this devotion sent to you his greetings strongly and begs from you, besides, that request about it. That in his household property yonder we are told to see that holy devotion with him. We are told to own with him those indulgences. With our flower we are told to profit [from] that good work with him. (55)

The term *monaha* (from the Spanish *monarca*, which is seldom used) may be applied to the first man in each of the three lines in the dance formation; but usually only the center one is called monaha (as he is the head dance leader, *yo'o monaha*). The first men in the two outer lines are called *segundos* (second dance leaders), and the last men in the two outer

lines are called *terceros* (third dance leaders). A dance leader makes a special vow to serve in that position. Until he is married, he works as a malinchi, dancing in the middle line behind the monaha. Dance leaders traditionally wear two ribbons or strips of cloth (*sekawam*) crossed over the torso "as a sign from the Virgin." They should also wear a narrow red cloth belt (*wikosam*), but they do not always do so.

The head dance leader directs the actions of the other dancers with movements of his wand and the swaying of his body. He must be well versed in the patterns and steps of the dances. It is his function, with the help of the manager, to train the dancers and to choose the appropriate dances for each occasion. He should be able to give the necessary sermons and speeches; also the prayers at prayer services and at the fiesta table. For this he must be familiar with Yaqui terminology and concepts. If he is young and inexperienced, the task falls to the manager, or, if necessary, to a maestro. The dance leaders at the heads and ends of the two outer lines are responsible for leading steps in their lines as the dance pattern turns back and forth. If the head dancer is not present, one of the other leaders takes his place. The head dance leader is actually the ceremonial head of the society; the kobanao is the general manager.

The boys who dance in the middle line back of the head dance leader are promised as dance leaders, but they are called malinchim until such time as they become leaders. Malinchi is not a Yaqui word, and no meanings have been obtained for it. It has no current or legendary connotation with the companion of Cortez. These boys graduate to the position of dance leader upon marriage, or, in present-day Pascua, when they become old enough to assume the duties of a man and to be embarrassed by the special costume. They wear over their pants several long skirts (*kuarim*), generally of organdy in white or pastel colors, and Mexican embroidered blouses (*supem* or *kueom*) of the *china poblana* (national folk costume) variety. Ribbons (*lihtoniam*) in pink, red, blue, green or yellow, sometimes in white, are worn around the waist, tied at the back in short bows with long streamers. Several strings of tiny bright beads (*kookam*) and a loosely knotted scarf are worn around the neck. Malinchim are always accompanied by their godmothers, who dress them in their regalia at the altar of the church, or, at a household fiesta, near the fiesta cross. They represent María Santísima and are said to be dressed like her and like the Holy Cross. They are regarded as boys "dressed like the Virgin to honor her." They are not referred to as feminine, nor as angels. When not dancing, the boys usually tuck their skirts around the waist. They are then expected to sit or lie near the altar or cross and to remain quiet and decorous at all times. In later days they have been allowed to sleep between dances. By their presence they guard the altar and the holy figures. A certain amount of special behavior is accorded them, as they represent the Blessed Virgin. The most experienced

malinchi is called yo'o malinchi (head malinchi) and dances immediately behind the head dance leader.

When a malinchi graduates to the position of dance leader, he discards all of his regalia except his crown, rattle, and wand. It is reported that he "gives his beads and ribbons back to the Virgin," by which is meant that he offers them to the head altar woman to be used in dressing the Three Marys. No ceremony is reported for this. He may, instead, give them to another malinchi who needs them. It is known that dance leaders should continue to wear Mexican blouses, such as they wore as malinchim, but it is not the custom, as they "don't want to look foolish or be laughed at." (It is also difficult to obtain the blouses in large sizes.)

They are dressed to represent the Virgin, as she is the Mother of the matachinis. (8)

They represent the Virgin Mary. He is like her. He is dressed like a woman because we all dance alabanzas for Mary. That's why we are supposed to respect the malinchim. Unless we fix their ribbons, or something like that must be done to them, we never touch them. There is always a bench where the crowns are, and we make them sit there. They stay alone to get away from the big boys, so they won't play or hear bad words. . . . The malinchim sit on a blanket in front of the altar with the Virgins to guard the pueblo, but the Virgins are guarding all the pueblo. (39)

The malinchim always have to be in front of the Virgin. He does not have to [he must not] go around out of the place unless he has permission. They do not even have to talk to the drunks. Because he is in the service of the Virgin. (35)

The malinchim are supposed to be on a mat or a white canvas at the cross where the sewam (crowns) are too. He could go to sleep for awhile if he wanted to. They are guarding the cross and themselves too. They never hear any vulgar language in the conversation of the grown-up people [near them]. And they wouldn't stand and watch the pascolas, even the grown-up ones. . . . The Yaquis put bright beads on the Virgin, and clothes and ribbons and lace. In Pascua the malinchim are dressed like the Three Marys. The Virgin dressed her soldiers the way she wanted to. Therefore the malinchim are dressed like herself. . . . They are not treated with respect, but with special care. They are supposed to urge them to behave in a way suitable to what they are doing. (55)

The vow to all of the other positions in the two outer lines is that of *sontao*, from the Spanish *soldado* (soldier). They are not placed in any

special order, except that an experienced dancer should always dance opposite to a young dancer so that the latter may follow his example. The men may choose their own partners. The pairs are called *compañeros*, or, when Yaqui is spoken, *kompania* is more often used, meaning in this case partners.

The musicians, who play violins and guitars, have no vow for these positions but are generally promised as soldiers or dance leaders. Occasionally, when necessary, a man without vow is asked to fill in. The violinist is called *lavaleo*, the guitarist *kitareo*. A minimum of four players is usual, but more may join them if they desire to. There may be six or eight at big fiestas. They wear no regalia. They wear their hats while playing except for the Bataya (Blessing Dance).

It is known that in Mexico there is a malinchi drummer, called *santo kubahaleo*, who drums in each of the four directions at the beginning of a ceremony, for the purpose of blessing. He also drums to call the group together. Also in Mexico they have special girl flag-bearers. Neither has been the custom in Pascua.

Before a dancer puts on his headdress or crown, he folds a brightly colored silk scarf diagonally, winds it around his head, and ties it either front or back, as the crown "must not touch his head, as that would be disrespectful to the crown." When he puts on his crown (*sewatene*) preparatory to dancing, he makes the sign of the cross and genuflects slightly with the right knee as he does so. Simultaneously, he blesses himself with the Benediction. An acting kobanao says that the first time he puts on his crown for the evening's dancing, he repeats the following, or its equivalent:

Lord and Virgin Mary with her Leader Son, forgive me in this hour.
Here I am in your presence in behalf of our souls departed and all our
blessed dead. Amen. (39)

Each time a dancer removes his crown (*sewatahoa*), he crosses himself and genuflects. The sign of the cross done twice, ending with touching the thumb to the lips, is the form almost invariably seen among the matachinis.

The crown or headdress worn by all of the dancers is sometimes called by the Spanish word *corona*, or by its Yaqui derivation *kona*; but it is almost always referred to, both in conversation and in sermons, as *sewa*. *Itom Aye* (or *Ae*) is often combined with *kona* or *sewa*. The crown is commonly thought to represent the crown of the Virgin and to have been designed by her. It is thought of as a guard against evil: "In case of the matachin head-dress, it is a weapon against evil" (17).

The crown fits closely to the forehead and head. The face is not covered. The framework of the crown is made of split bamboo strips, a half to three-quarters of an inch wide. A single oval piece at the bottom is formed to fit the head of the owner. Two pieces, attached at each end to the bottom piece,

cross each other and are fastened together at the top center to make a symmetrical, peaked, cone-shaped framework about 12 inches high. It is considered to be symbolic of a cross. The whole is wrapped with ribbon, generally red, or in some instances the upper framework is wound with crepe paper. On each vertical piece two disks, about 4 inches in diameter, are placed. These are most often made of cardboard and are decorated in various ways, according to the desire of the owner. Rounds of crushed crepe paper are also traditional and may still be seen. Sometimes the cardboard itself is painted with small geometric designs, and often several colors and sizes of these are painted one over the other. Stars and star points often play a prominent part. Sometimes thin paper, or crepe paper, is cut out in designs, and often several colors and sizes of these are placed one over the other. There has been an increasing use of metallic paper in various colors. Commercial colored or metallic stars are seen. No meanings have been found for these decorations, but they are said to be designed according to the taste of the wearer and are "just to look pretty." Strips of colored crepe paper about half an inch wide cascade in a loose mass from the top of the crown to about the bottom edge of the framework. These are sensitive to the motions of the wearer. They are called *choa* or *sewam*. They are fastened to a small stick which is inserted into a hole burned in the top of the framework. They are sometimes of one color, sometimes of several. The writer counted one hundred and ten strips on one crown, but they are not all so full. Sometimes the paper is folded before it is attached, so that it falls in horizontal pleats. A dance leader sometimes fastens some of the beads that he wore as a *malinchi* to the top of his crown, so that they fall with the strips. No one else is privileged to do this.

In the left hand of the dancer is held a wand called *palma* (palm leaf) or *pluma* (feather). This is manipulated in the dance for blessing and for signaling. It is held up to form an arch to honor the holy figures in processions or, during a confirmation, the confirmer. Whenever it is waved up, then down, and across horizontally, it is considered to make the sign of the cross. No rainmaking connotations have been found. A dance leader said that he thought that the waving is in no way a blessing to the whole village, nor does the blessing stem from the Virgin. It is thought of as a blessing to the holy patio (or ground), wherever it is that they are dancing. "It is from the dancers and the whole group. It does not come from the Virgin, but from the *matachinis*" (35). One leader said that the wand represents the "long plume that they used to wave in prayer at the time of the king and apostles" (39).

A piece of bamboo about 18 inches long is used to make the wand. Five or 6 inches at one end are bound with thong to form a handle. Through a perforation, a ribbon or piece of thong is inserted, which is slipped over the wrist when in use. About 5 inches above the handle the bamboo is split into

three equal parts, and at this point the bamboo is reinforced with thong. The two outer pieces are moistened and bent outward between nails, so that, when they dry, there are three long points fanning out in a single plane. Dyed feathers in various colors (sometimes in recent years silver-flecked) are fastened in three places—at the end of each of the three tips, at the place where the bamboo is split, and at the upper end of the handle. The whole wand is thought to represent a cross. One man says that the old men used to say that the three points represent the three crows of the cock, which cried out at the birth of Christ, “Cristo nació.” “That is the story of the old men and that is what the rooster says at dawn” (55). The feathers are commonly considered to represent flowers. Chicken feathers from a red or white rooster were reportedly used in the twenties and were collected by a malinchi from a live bird during a dance called *Toto'im* (Rooster). The purpose of the dance was to ask the Virgin to bless the rooster, and thereby the feathers. Later, home-dyed feathers were used and then commercial ones, which are currently employed exclusively. The colors are according to the taste of the owner. No consistent correlation has been found between the colors of the crown and wand.

The gourd rattle is called *ayam*. The size varies somewhat, but it is generally about 6 inches in diameter. It is treated inside with hot glue to strengthen it and to sharpen the sound. Date palm seeds, small beads, or the tiny round pebbles that one sees on ant hills are put inside. (The latter are said to have no connection with the *yoania*.) A rounded length of mesquite wood is inserted through the gourd and anchored on the outside of the far end with a narrow thong. The handle is grooved so that it will not slip from the hand. A leather thong is attached at the near end, which is slipped over the wrist when the rattle is in use. The gourd, in the right hand, is held horizontal and is rotated in a small circle clockwise. Only the wrist and forearm implement the motion. The gourd is functional in keeping percussive time and has no ritual connotations. It is not called *sewa*. The sound of the gourd rattle is said to frighten the devil and the witch.

Traditionally, the gourd is painted red, which a few connect with the flower theme. Many are now red, but some are unpainted. However, it is considered permissible to decorate them, and flower and geometric decorations have been observed.

On occasion, the matachinis stand in formation, holding their crowns. The proper disposition of their regalia at this time is to hold the crown upright in the right hand, with the gourd rattle hanging from the wrist by its thong, and the wand upright in the left hand. The elbows are bent, and the wrists are crossed over the torso. During a dance, if coughing is necessary or the use of a handkerchief is required, the individual stops dancing and removes his crown temporarily. He does not leave his place in line.

Respect behavior is shown toward the paraphernalia of this group, as

toward those of others. They are considered holy, blessed by use in the ceremonies, and are never given away or sold. Members are expected to make new regalia every year, often at Christmas time, and to burn the old on the Eve of the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross. The ashes are kept for Ash Wednesday. The crepe paper left from making the crowns is cut up to make confetti, for use against the fariseos at The Gloria, or, if large enough, it may be used by someone else for a new crown. The regalia are not accorded the special attention given to the masks of the chapayekas.

The obligation of the dancer toward his regalia does not end when he wraps the objects neatly in a scarf before he leaves a ceremony. He is not supposed to linger on the way home, and he is especially warned against talking with men who have been drinking. He hangs his regalia near the household altar. He is also expected not to go back to secular life too abruptly, but first to commit to his patroness, the Blessed Virgin, the holy work of the night.

When you get through with a fiesta, you are supposed to go home and rest. When we got our sewa (crown) in our hand, we are not supposed to drink or stop with another bunch of drunks until we put it in a safe place somewhere. (39)

When a matachini gets through dancing, when he comes home, he is not supposed to mingle with his friends until he goes home and delivers his sewa. [In this case] by the sewa is not meant the headdress, but the indulgence earned during the night. He goes to the home and delivers it. He would say, "Our Mother, here I kneel before you. I place in your hand this holy flower which I earned being in your holy work during the night just gone." (16)

... our respect is to have it in order all the time, hang it away somewhere where no one will bother it. If he don't, it is his own business. Nobody will say anything about it. But Our Mother is up there. And then one day the Virgin Mary might punish him some way. Because it has happened. The people, they don't believe what they are doing, some day he might get punished for it. Our Virgin Mary doesn't punish with a whip like common people. Then some people they dream, and he got to remember what he was supposed to do. (39)

We go right home and hang [our regalia] up or set it down by the santos. We go straight home, because you have been working with it all night, and you have earned your indulhensia with it. So, when you take it home, you present it to the Virgin Mary, and you stay there. That is the only place you can go, is home. You can't talk to anybody after you take your sewa. [Can you say anything to the Virgin?] You might say, "Well, I did my duty with the Virgin Mary, and I thank my

Virgin Mary and the Lord that nothing happened to us all night, and that I am back again here this morning. And I present my sewa back home where I took it, and it will be in your hands till I"—sometimes I take it back where they have the Virgin Mary where I have my duty. You have to have your sewa at home. You kind of clean it up and go to the fiesta and present yourself to the Virgin Mary that you have come to do your tekia for the night. Then you put on your sewa with the others and speak to everybody. (35)

Matachinis speak of earlier times when they used to dance at Sunday evening vespers, especially in the summer. People would come to watch them, and it was like a small fiesta. The young dancers would be separated out and trained by themselves. In present-day Pascua there is little intensive training, except on a few Sunday evenings before Lent. They have also been seen to train before and after fiestas for brief periods.

When at the end of a ceremony the matachinis venerate at the altar, the maestros and singers sing the following alabanza, which is written in the book of the head maestro, and translated by another man (55), as follows:

Sea Bendito yalabado	Blessed and praised be
El Santicimos Joseph	The most holy Joseph
Porque eterno padre	Because (to him) in the word
En el Mundo ymagen Fues	The Eternal Father was an image

The dancers line up at the entrance to the church and go to the altar in pairs. The musicians generally go first, then the head dance leader with one or more malinchim, then in pairs from opposite lines, and last, the manager. Occasionally the manager goes first. At the altar they bow, cross themselves twice, ending with touching the thumb to the lips. Then they venerate the holy figures in the usual way, stand as a pair in front of the altar, cross themselves, genuflect slightly as they remove the crown, and return to their places in line. A sermon by the head maestro or the head dance leader terminates the ceremony, after which all thank the giver of the sermon.

No prayer services are held by the matachinis, although it is known that in Mexico they are conducted three times daily, at dawn, at noon, and at sunset.

A boy may dance for some time before being formally confirmed into the organization. Confirmation is called *muhte*, and in this connection it carries the meaning of blessing, as for example, "He was blessed as a matachini." Confirmation may occur at any ceremony at which the society is dancing, except those connected with death. A favorite time is on Palm Sunday before the processions. The godparents of confirmation must be a dance leader and an altar woman or flag girl. The godfather makes the new

regalia if he has the ability, but it is considered suitable to ask someone else if he is not adept at the art.

The essential form of the confirmation is always the same, but it may differ in minor details. The following is the procedure as outlined by the head dance leader, and it conforms to observations.

The matachinis line up in formation between the church cross and the church. The confirmer stands in front of the altar, with his godfather on his right and his godmother on his left. The godparents wear red crowns over white head coverings, such as have been described for the girl flag-bearers. The confirmer has no regalia, except for a malinchi, who wears his costume. The matachinis dance the Bataya, with the usual three rounds between the front of the church and the church cross. The maestros and singers sing the *muhte sonim* (confirmation alabanza of the matachinis). The words, as written in the book of the head maestro and translated by a Pascua man (55), are as follows:

Pro Picio torio dibino	Divine Propitiator
Refugia de pecadorez	Refuge of Sinners
Soccorenos Confabores	Help us with favors
Madre de Dedios del Camino	Mother of God of the Road

The center line of matachinis steps to one side, and all the dancers lift their wands to form an arch. Preceded by the flag girls, the godparents lead the confirmer by the arms to the church cross. The flag girls wave as they approach the cross, and the confirmer and his godparents genuflect and make the sign of the cross. Thus, they make three rounds between the church altar and the church cross, genuflecting and crossing themselves as they approach each. The last time they approach the altar the flag girls go to stand at their place at the end of the altar, and the confirmer and godparents kneel before the altar in the same relative positions as before. The dancers enter the church and dance the Bataya in place during the ritual that follows. The flag girls ring their bells gently and continuously at the same time.

The godfather makes the sign of the cross in front of the face of the confirmer with a new Yaqui rosary and puts it around the confirmer's neck. He gives his place at the right to the godmother, who follows the same routine. Each godparent resumes his former position, and together they push the head of the confirmer three times under the altar cloth. Together they pass his new matachin crown in the sign of the cross three times in front of his face and put it on his head. They give him his rattle and wand without this formality. Four bearers of the Virgin, wearing head coverings and red crowns, lower each of the Three Marys over his head three times each, in the four directions. "That represents that he is a matachini . . . and from there on she got to recognize him, that he is a matachini. It represents

to receive him in his position by matachinis from then on" (39). The three rise, and the godparents grasp the arms of their godchild and guide him in veneration of the holy figures on the altar, from right to left in the usual way. The dancers, still doing the Bataya in place, separate and raise their wands to form an arch. The flag girls, confirmee, and his godparents go back and forth between the altar and the church cross as before.

When they return to the altar, the new matachini stands with his back to the altar, with his godfather, then his father, at his right, and his godmother, then his mother, at his left. The dancers leave their positions and form a semicircle around them. The flag girls wave their flags three times in front of the new matachini, then return to their places. The head dance leader, or, if he is unable to do so, the head maestro, enters the circle, faces the new matachini and gives a short sermon, which an older matachini described as follows:

The maestro tells him what he is supposed to do. What is the meaning of sewa, and what the vow is. And if he is willing to do it, to stand the night, which is so heavy, and [when] he likes to go to sleep, like to stay and rest and sit down and go out around—tell him he can't do that. And then what he is supposed to do. And is he willing to do it. . . . But a promise is a promise. He got to do it [unless] he is in bed . . . or very sick, or have such important things that he can't be there. The maestro tells all those things, that it is up to him now, and to let him know that he is a matachini. And the mother will tell him to go, and the father is going to tell him what his obligations are. So then they all, knowing everything, they accept. They give thanks to the maestro and the matachinis. He is a matachini from now on, and he will be willing to go. They accept, and they give thanks to the maestro and the godparents. (39)

A thank-you circle, "for the purpose of making compadres," follows, in which the new godparents go around the circle three times touching hands with the parents, saying "Dios em chania," to which the parents reply, "Dios em chiokoe." This may take place either in the church or at the church cross.

According to the head dance leader, following the thank-you circle, a large one used to occur in which were the participants of the whole church group and the matachinis.

They thank the whole group that is in the service of the church. The maestro [then] gives a short sermon, letting them know that a new matachini has been confirmed, and he will be known from now on as a matachini and will do his duty. From there on everybody will know

him, so if there is any dancing or any fiesta going on, everyone will invite him and tell him to come to that place where they are having the dance. Telling his parents to work on his duty and take him down there where the matachinis are dancing; and take him down to the manager, so he will keep him there and keep him dancing all night until the next day, when they give him permission to go home. (35)

At a ceremony the matachinis always remain near the figures of the Virgin, whether on the altar of the church or of the ramada. For example, when, at some big plaza fiestas, the male members of the church group and the male holy figures stay for the night at the fiesta ramada, and the women of the church group and the Three Marys spend the night at the church, the matachinis establish their headquarters at the church and dance there during the night.

Wherever they are, their dance area is between the altar and the church or fiesta cross, on the holy ground or patio. They sometimes call this area flower patio. It is lighted at night by the matachin manager with a lantern on the lintel, and by one or more candles (now called sewam) on either side of the church or fiesta cross. Less often, he arranges candles along the sides of the area also. The light from these, commonly known as holy light, is sometimes referred to by the matachinis as flower light. The head dance leader says that it is traditional to put the same number of candles at each side of the area as the number of Our Fathers in the rosary. He says, "Whenever we dance in front of the Virgin Mary, our sewa (ceremonial labor or dancing) has to be where the light is, between the Virgin and ourselves" (35).

Benches alongside the dance area serve the musicians and are a meeting place for all of the group. The whole area around the benches and the fiesta cross is then called the matachin headquarters. As each man arrives, he deposits his regalia with the rest, then touches hands and exchanges Yaqui greetings quietly with his comrades. If the occasion takes place at the church, he venerates the holy figures on the altar.

When they are dancing at the church, the matachinis hang their regalia on the outer side of the lintel when not in use. It is because they are sacred, and they "would not want to put it just anywhere." When they dance in front of a fiesta ramada, their regalia are hung on the fiesta cross or put on a mat underneath it on the altar side. When the crowns are placed like this, under the cross, they are, by their very presence, symbolic of the flowers into which was transformed the blood of Christ as it fell from the cross.

The group stays together. No one is expected to wander alone outside of the light into the darkness. When they must go out, all go together, with the permission of the manager. "They are in danger from the devil or the jealous witch throughout the night, through jealousy. They must not drink,

nor be with women, nor say hard words, nor fight. If one errs, all suffer." These taboos are currently operative. The malinchim must sit or lie near the regalia to guard them for the Virgin.

When you are on the bench you are not supposed to turn around to the dark places, unless you have business, or your mother or father calls you on an emergency. Because there might be bad words from drunks to disturb you. You are not supposed to listen to some drunks saying such things. (39)

DANCES

In a three-line formation, the matachinis execute stylized and often intricate dances reminiscent of European folk dances. They are always religious in intent and ritualistic in form. Primarily, they salute the Blessed Virgin, but they also honor any saint whose day is being observed, and Jesus is ever present. The dances are intended as *tebat te'ochia* (blessing of the patio, or ground). Since the matachinis are the army of Mary, their dances are often called marches. They are also referred to as *sonim* (tunes) from the Spanish *son* (sound). No exact number of known dances has been obtainable, but leaders hazard a guess of about twenty. Some of the more complex ones are seldom performed and some have been forgotten.

Each dance lasts about an hour, with an hour or so between dances. The motion is largely in the feet and legs; the feet are not pointed but are held parallel to the ground. The head and shoulders move little and are often bent slightly forward. The glance is downward. The expression of the face is serious, impersonal, concentrated. There is no conversation, no free movement, no humor; only a complete and detached concentration. The gourd rattle in the right hand keeps time in a clockwise motion, and, since the gourd is largely activated by the wrist, the arc is small. Arm and wrist motions control the wand held in the left hand. As it is raised, lowered, and moved horizontally, it delineates the sign of the cross. The dance leader may point with it, raise it high, or sweep it horizontally, to indicate the progressions of the dance pattern. When it is not in motion it is held against the left shoulder. The dances begin and end in the matachin dance area, facing the church or the fiesta altar. The formation remains in that area, weaving back and forth, except when it leads the holy figures in a procession.

The matachin music, played on violins and guitars, consists of simple, repetitive march-time melodies in a tempo suitable to the dances. The musicians sit on a bench parallel to the dance area and repeat the *sonim* over and over. Sometimes the hats fall a little forward over the faces, and they appear to be playing in a trance.

When all is ready, the head dance leader shakes his gourd quickly and

Matachinis Dancing (Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography)

sharply as a signal, then starts to rotate it to set the tempo. The rest do likewise for several bars. The dance leader starts the first step, and the rest follow. The first turn is to the left, *masatana* (wing turn) or *plumatana*; then the right turn *ayatana* (rattle turn).

For the dances before midnight, called *alabanzas* because they are acts of praise, the musical instruments are tuned in the normal way, called the *partillo* (or *partilla*, a variant). A basic form of the *partillo* is the *bataya*.

It is to bless the ground before Itom Ae comes out.
It is for tebat te'ochia. (35)

The *bataya* is executed as the first figure of the *kaminaroa sonim* (procession dance), when the *matachinis* lead the church group with the

Matachin Musicians (Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography)

holy figures in full procession. It is also danced at vespers (*vihpa sonim*); at confirmations (*muhte sonim*); at The Gloria (*loria sonim*); at funerals (*mu-kia sonim*); and as the first dance of the series to wind the maypole and the last dance for the unwinding. It is said that in the twenties and thirties the bataya was used for the entire procession between the church and the fiesta ramada.

The bataya pattern is executed three times between the front of the church and the church cross. With a march step, in which the foot touches lightly the opposite ankle between steps, they move to the church cross, where they execute the same pattern three times. Thus they move back and forth three times, genuflecting in the dance to the cross and to the altar.

On occasions, when they lead the church group in full procession, as they finish the third round, facing the church, they move backward slowly, still rotating their rattles, leading the church group out of the church. At the church cross they turn away in the dance known as the kaminaroa, which is similar to the bataya, but twice as fast. They dance back and forth as before, still using the march step to progress about 15 feet each time. As they face the church group, the procession pauses and the flag girls wave

their flags three times toward the *matachinis*. Thus, they dance back and forth until they reach the fiesta cross, where the procession pauses while they dance back and forth three times in front of the cross, to bless it. They move to the area between the fiesta cross and the fiesta altar, and the procession pauses while they dance back and forth three times between the cross and the altar, to bless it. As they approach the entrance to the ramada for the fourth time, they dance backward, facing the procession, drawing the procession on. The lines separate as the church group approaches, and the *matachinis* go to the sides. They hold up their wands to make an arch under which the procession passes on the way into the ramada. Still holding their wands high, they march back to re-form between the fiesta cross and the ramada, facing the ramada. They continue to dance until the prayers that follow, when they kneel as the others do. When they lead the procession back to the church, they follow the same routine in reverse.

On the way back to the church, one of a lively group of dances called *Notisonim*, is executed. These dances are still in the *partillo* and are somewhat syncopated. Among them are *Mu'ukoba* (The Owl's Head) and *Santa Teresita*. Several changes in the tuning of the violin occur during the night.

After the *Alabalo* (Dawn Dance), the dancers may carry out requests. For instance, the women who have been cooking may ask for special dances. They may ask for a dance for a *limosna*, as for example the *Wikia* or the *Toto'im*. By a *limosna* they mean that the dancers are giving it to them as a present.

The last dance is called the *Matachin Kanariam*. It is traditional for an ending to all fiestas.

There are two important series of dances, for all of which the violin is tuned in the normal way (*partillo*). One is the Maypole Dance, which is done at big fiestas. At sundown, or in the early evening, the maypole is wound; the next morning at dawn it is unwound. The other important series of dances is the *mukia sonim*, done at a funeral for members of the society or their families.

The Maypole Dance series may be executed at big fiestas such as Palm Sunday Eve, Saturday of Glory, and the San Ignacio or Holy Cross fiestas. Many spectators gather, as it is intricate and beautiful.

The maypole itself is called *ropo'otei*, and the whole winding sequence is *ropo'otiam* (woven). The maypole bears on its top a bright crown—the crown of the Virgin—carefully made, like those of the dancers, by one of the dance leaders. The dance area is between the church and the church cross.

The *bataya* is the first dance; then the *Choki Lo'i* (Crippled Star), the *Milhuette* (no meaning), and the *Kamoisa* (Ka'abansam, chick beans), three rounds each. The music for the actual winding is called *Aztekam*. For the winding, the manager brings the maypole to the center of the dance area,

Matachinis Doing the Maypole Dance (*Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography*)

and the dancers form a circle around it in the usual positions. The manager gives to each pair matching ribbons, which they hold in the left hand. Twelve is the usual number of dancers, but eight are also seen. The dance leader and the malinchim dance outside the circle in front of the church. The routine for twelve dancers is as follows: The first pair of dancers circles and genuflects to the left, then to the right in place. They dance forward, pass each other in front of the circle, the left dancer going to the outside of the other. Each dances into the circle, past dancers two and three, dances out of the circle between three and four, to position six of the opposite line. The other dancers move up one. This pattern is followed by each succeeding pair until the winding is completed. After it is wound, the maypole is lashed to the church cross for the night, "So that the work of the night may be done around it" (35).

In the morning, generally just as dawn approaches but before the dawn dance, the unwinding is done to the music called *Wikopam*. The same series of dances is employed, except that the bataya is danced at the end instead of the beginning, and the *Wikopam* replaces the *Aztekam*.

The matachin society must be present as a group at the death ceremonies of one of its members, or of a member's family, or of members of the church group. They dance on these occasions unless they occur in Lent, when they may or may not do so, depending on arrangements with the *kohtumbre ya'ura*. They may also respond to a ritual request by others to dance.

The cane of a manager is buried with him. The dancers are given paper regalia, except for the malinchim, who wear their full costume. The corpse is referred to as *saila mukia* (little dead brother).

The general plan of the funeral ceremonies will be discussed below. The head dance leader offers the following description of the behavior of the matachinis on the night of a matachin funeral. This description accords with observations.

During the early evening the head dance leader, working at the funeral altar by the fiesta cross and aided by any of the group who want to volunteer, designs deftly a set of regalia entirely fashioned of crepe paper, preferably dark blue. Small tufts of paper represent the feathers of the wand; paper is wadded to simulate the gourd rattle; and the crown has disks of crepe paper. These are left on the altar. The real paraphernalia of an individual may be burned on the Eve of the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, or they may, after a year, be redecorated and used by someone else.

Two special dances are performed at a funeral. They are spoken of as *Animata Te'ochiawame* (Blessing of the Dead). The first is a moving and beautiful sequence that takes place sometime during the evening. The coffin is placed in front of the altar side of the ramada with the head of the coffin against the patio cross. One side is open. A small altar stands at the other side of the patio cross.

The bataya is executed in the dance area between the patio cross and the encampment cross, facing the coffin. After the usual three rounds, still dancing the bataya, they advance slowly in formation and circle the coffin three times. The head dance leader leads the right line, which goes around counterclockwise; the head malinchi leads the left line, which goes clockwise. In front of each line is a girl flag-bearer, followed by the musicians. The girls wave three times on the four sides of the coffin, and at the open side they also bless the dead person with the flag, as in a *muhte*. The musicians genuflect at each of the four sides. Each dancer genuflects, while dancing, on the four sides. At the open side he waves his wand in the sign of the cross over the body. After thus dancing slowly around three times, all kneel for prayers by the head dance leader. They rise, and he blesses the body

three times with a small figure of the Virgin Mary and with a small crucifix. If the person was a matachini, he passes the paper regalia over him three times, and then places them beside the body. He may or may not put the crown on the head.

They put it at his side in the coffin. That represents that he was a matachini, and he is going to take that to the Virgin Mary when he dies. (35)

The dancers surround the coffin as before; then, dancing backward, they return to the dance area and execute the three rounds of the bataya. For a matachini or a member of the church group, but for no one else, they dance the series of dances preceding the winding of the maypole—the Choki Lo'i, the Kamoisa, and the Milhuette.

Until early morning they dance from time to time in the dance area.

Well before the light of dawn, the matachinis start a sequence of dances known as *Animata Totenniwame* (Running Away from the Dead). This is done only for members of the matachin society and church group. They do the same series as for Blessing of the Dead, with some additions. On the last round past the open side of the coffin, they touch the forehead of the corpse as they make the sign of the cross three times with the wand—*mukiata tebotua* (Farewell to the Dead). As they do the *Tennisonim* at the end, between the patio cross and the encampment cross, they dance more and more rapidly on each round; then, on completion, they run in formation as far out in the monte as possible. They stand in formation facing the east.

The musicians play until they reach the encampment cross, where they put down their instruments, and then they too, run. The manager takes their hats and musical instruments to them. The manager calls the relatives to join them, and the head dance leader speaks to them about the completion of their obligation. He may say something like the following:

We say that we have done the uhbuani, and that is all we can do for them. We have done the best we could, and now we must leave. Some of us have to work, and that is all we can do for the night. And they thank us for doing it, for this service we have done. . . . Then we tie up our sewam [regalia] and go home. (35)

This procedure is a farewell to the dead person and a precaution at the end lest they, too, die if they do not run away.

It is said that if a man falls down while running from the coffin, he should be whipped three times by the manager. It means that “he has a bad heart and must be whipped to be saved. It is a form of petensia” (55 and 35).

7

Kohtumbre Ya'ura

The *kohtumbre ya'ura* is composed of two societies, the caballeros and the fariseos, which are in charge of the Easter Ceremony and of all ceremonial events that take place during Lent both in the plaza and in households. All of Lent, beginning with Ash Wednesday and concluding with Easter Sunday morning, is considered to be one ceremony. The Yaqui term *kohtumbre ya'ura* is the correct designation for the two societies operating together, but in conversation and in sermons this is often shortened to *kohtumbre*.

Spicer (1954b:89) translates the term *kohtumbre ya'ura* as “customs chieftainship” or “protectors of the traditions.” Although *kohtumbre* is a Yaqui version of the Spanish *costumbre* (custom), for Pascuans it has the meaning in this connection of Lenten ceremonial customs—and so carries the connotation of the sacred ceremonial laws for the Lenten season. The Yaqui word *ya'ura* means any group of officials or the authority they exercise, and, combined with the word *kohtumbre*, means those in authority in the Lenten season. Actually the term applies only to the officers, but it is in common use for the total membership of the two groups. When societies from two or more villages are present, one may refer to them as *kohtumbrem ya'ura*, or, less frequently, as *kohtumbre ya'uram*. The translation “Lenten ceremonial officials” is satisfactory to English-speaking informants, but the Yaqui term itself will be employed.

Both societies are organized in military fashion, with officers and soldiers, all of whom bear Spanish titles. They appear in marching formation, with the fariseos in two lines in the center, and the caballeros flanking them in single file on both sides. The caballeros (horsemen) represent the cavalry, and in Mexico they are mounted. The fariseos (Pharisees) take the part of

the infantry. In the dramatization of the Passion of Jesus, the fariseos represent the evil men who persecuted Him. The function of the caballeros is somewhat clouded in Pascua.

The kohtumbre must be present in regalia at all ceremonies in Lent and has functions between Easter and the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, May 3, which day terminates the kohtumbre season. It does not appear officially outside of this period except at the death ceremonies and limosnas of members of their families and of the church group.

Members of both societies are under vow to Jesus, and it is in fulfillment of these vows that they are dedicated to carrying out the Easter Ceremony year after year. In addition to the exacting demands of organization and of ritual, and the severe discipline and deprivations incident to the Easter Ceremony, the kohtumbre has a spiritual obligation to the pueblo. It is often mentioned both in sermons and informally in conversation that it is the kohtumbre who invite people to this most important event of the year and who are thus given the opportunity to earn for themselves the "flower" of divine reward. It is also said that during the long weeks of Lent the members of the kohtumbre do penance and pray for all people, not for themselves alone, in accordance with the command of their Leader, Jesus Christ, and the example set by Him.

. . . the Kohtumbre does all the suffering for all baptized people, desiring to pray for them. (Painter 1955: 69)

The maestro says that all the kohtumbre have been doing penance, and all that work that went on during the seven weeks will become the flower in the heavenly glory. He means that they are going to be rewarded with the flower, that it will blossom into heavenly glory. And he starts explaining what has been done at The Gloria, and the flowers that were strewn on the ground. (55)

In addition to its ritual duties, the kohtumbre is functional to the life of the village during its season. The caballero captain is in charge of these matters. All public questions are referred to the kohtumbre to be discussed in a *junta* (meeting). If the whole pueblo is concerned, all of the villagers are invited by the kohtumbre to attend. During the remainder of the year, excluding Lent, the Church group and the associated matachinis are charged with the ritual authority. Since the early thirties Pascuans have lamented the fact that there has been no elected pueblo governor or "chief" to be the civil authority, although various persons have attempted at least partially to fulfill those duties.

All of the other ceremonial groups are under orders to the kohtumbre at this time. Requests for participation in events are made by kohtumbre corporals by ritual request. For example, a corporal, after the usual greet-

ings, might say the following to a woman singer on the occasion of requesting her to sing at a Lenten household fiesta of promise:

The father householder who received the Lord invites you to do good work, mother. Truly asks you to see it with him yonder, with that, your holy duty. Truly asks you to own it with him in the three names of God.

The kohtumbre, caballeros and fariseos alike, are hosts to the public throughout Lent and are known by the Spanish term *fiesteros* (fiesta hosts); or by the Yaqui terms *pahko achaim* (fiesta fathers), *pahkome* (fiesta givers), *Huras* (Judas) *pahko achaim*, *Huras pahkome*, or *chapayeka pahkome*. The wives who work in the community kitchen are known as *pahko malam* (fiesta mothers), or, more frequently, as *kosineom*, from the Spanish *cocineras* (women who work in the kitchen).

All manual labor incident to the ceremonies is done by the kohtumbre. This includes making needed repairs on the buildings in the plaza; cleaning up the grounds; sweeping out the church and fiesta ramada; preparing the dance areas; supplying water for drinking and for the kitchen; obtaining, chopping, and carrying wood; making and tending fires; and carrying live coals on shovels for the comfort of participants on cold nights and for warming up the drums. They must assist those giving household fiestas in the same ways, build a fiesta ramada when needed, and in general help with whatever tasks must be done. They supply materials for ritual needs, such as cottonwood boughs for the church at stated times, palm leaves for Palm Sunday, and other objects as described later. All of this work is called *tekipanoa*, as is ritual labor, and it is mentioned in sermons, along with other acknowledgments, as one of the ways of earning divine approval.

The kohtumbre is responsible during Lent for all money donated, either inside the church at the altar, or outside in the *limosna* boxes. By tradition the caballero captain is the treasurer. All money is publicly counted by the kohtumbre officials at each event, and the amount announced by one of them or by a maestro. The kohtumbre has charge of all disbursements in behalf of the Easter Ceremony, such as fiesta food, altar supplies, transportation for visiting dancers, and the like. An accounting is given at the farewell ceremony on Easter Sunday afternoon. At that time small amounts of money, often under a dollar, may be given to the *pascola* group, and, formerly, to members of the church organization. If there is a substantial amount left, it is kept for fiestas later in the year or for a special purpose, as in 1951 for the new church. The kohtumbre is also responsible for carrying out all *limosnas*, for whatever purpose, during the Lenten season, and for its members and their families at any time during the year. (Such a *limosna* is described below for the day before Palm Sunday.)

The headquarters of the kohtumbre is called the *waria*, from the Span-

ish *guardia* (guard); occasionally, the Spanish *cuartel* (quarters) is heard. At the request of the head of the kohtumbre, it will be referred to as "head-quarters." It is the roofless structure adjoining the north side of the church, with a partitioned section at the back where the fariseo soldiers (chapayekas) keep their regalia and can dress in seclusion. The headquarters is used as a gathering place day and night for the kohtumbre, and no one else may enter except by invitation or on official business recognized by the officers. On cold nights a mesquite fire blazes near it. In 1951 a building to the south of the church, formerly used as a school, was given to the village. It was repaired and thereafter used as a second headquarters for storing regalia and for housing visitors.

Training is by the apprentice method, as with all groups. One may often see a fariseo Pilate or other officer quietly instructing a small boy of eight or ten years, who walks beside him in regalia suitable to his size. The young members are often sent on errands throughout the village, sword in hand.

By tradition it is the duty of the kohtumbre to patrol the village for violation of Lenten taboos and to punish offenders. Punishment for a broken taboo is considered to be a means of saving the offender from sin and consequent divine disapproval. It is recalled that this function of the kohtumbre was still operative in the early 1920s. In Holy Week, only a minimum of work was allowed, and, in preparation, women cooked and washed ahead of time, and men chopped wood. Everyone in the plaza was required to go barefoot, even visitors. Women let down their hair, discarded all ornaments, and dressed in black. Continence was observed. Any violations were held to be "hurting the Lord" and were punished by the kohtumbre. Service in the fariseo organization was a common form of punishment, either for three years or for life, depending on the degree of violation. Women were put into service in the church group. Kohtumbre members were required to stay in the plaza during all of Holy Week, sometimes beginning even earlier; food was brought to them by members of their families, who took it to the church cross, where it was accepted by a corporal and given to the designated persons. If an errand was required, several went together, usually a chapayeka and one or more corporals. No drinking or "bad language" was allowed. In the 1950s many people of the village still planned their work so that there would be a minimum to be done in the latter part of Holy Week. On Good Friday most of the women, especially the older ones, loosen their hair and wear no ornaments. The current ideal pattern for the kohtumbre is abstinence from drinking and observance of continence during Holy Week. However, no sanctions are invoked, except that men who drink too much are removed from the plaza by the kohtumbre.

Everyone is supposed that they should before Holy Week get everything prepared, as getting wood. The women would have to cook, but

they were not supposed to do washing or do any other work. From Wednesday on, other things are cast away. Rings, earrings, combs, ribbons, neck collars for women, beads. This would be from Palm Sunday or from Wednesday, by their own faith. They were supposed to wear their hair loose all of Holy Week and only wear the black rebozo. . . . The men should wear sandals or go barefoot, or the chapayekas would go after him. He couldn't get into the plaza. So everyone in the plaza was barefoot from the Tinieblas (Tenebrae) on. Even if he was a white man, who did not know that the place was like God said to Moses, to take his shoes off. If he is friendly with them, he takes off his shoes. . . . The corporal explains the situation to him.

During Lent it is understood that they are not supposed to quarrel—a man and his wife, and even the neighbors. *Hiowane* is the word for abstinence. . . . Thursday night after the capture is important not to quarrel then. Not even cut any wood or grass. Cutting is important, and pounding with hammers. Until The Gloria on Saturday. They only sing the *Miserere* in processions. No ornaments, no shoes. They are not supposed to think anything bad, either. They dress the altar with black. If anyone died during a ceremony, that would be *bueu kahtigo*, hard punishment. (55)

He is not supposed even to talk to his own wife, and the worst sin is when he tries to run around with a woman not his wife. From Palm Sunday on, he is not allowed to even have any conversation with his own wife. And during the entire Lent he is not supposed to have conversation with another woman not his wife. During Holy Week he is not supposed to have much conversation with a comadre unless on special business. He is not supposed to have no relation with male or female. As long as he wears that paraphernalia, he is not supposed to have relations with anyone. The officials are supposed to have conversation with particular people, but in that case he has to assemble together and take several corporals and Pilate or captain. . . . During Lent the corporals are the main messengers. When they want to do something, they have to take a chapayeka along. This is customary here in Pascua. The custom is like this in Holy Week. (9)

If a man is a fariseo he must guard his vow with much respect. He must fulfill his vow. He cannot drink, nor go about, he cannot sleep in his house. They stay in the church with all the chapayekas. [This is done as] it is necessary to have a clean heart. They think of el Señor all the time. (14)

The ideal pattern for prayer services for the kohtumbre is three times a day: at dawn, at noon, and at sunset—the alba, the oración, and the Ave Maria. The real pattern is to hold a prayer service at dawn when the koin-

tumbre spends the night at a ceremony and to have one occasionally during the closing services of the Friday afternoon procession. The form, when done at the church, is a march three times around the church cross, after which the lines form a partial circle around the church cross. The heads of the lines stand on the west side of the cross, facing east, fariseo swords held in left hands, points up, fariseo flags upright in left hands, close to body. The officers take off their hats and place them on the ground beside them. The chapayekas lie down to remove their masks and return to their places, carrying their masks on their swords as in the public group veneration. Some men still place the right hand over the heart in the old way. The flag-bearers step forward and, in front of the cross, wave the flag three times in the four directions to bless the ground, as for public veneration at the altar, then return to their places. A senior fariseo officer repeats in Yaqui the five prayers used in the closing services after processions. At the dawn service he generally delivers a short sermon, an example of which is given in the narrative for Palm Sunday morning below. If the kohtumbre has taken up headquarters for the night at a fiesta ramada, the ritual is carried out at the fiesta cross. It is said that the caballeros should have their own services, separate from the fariseos, but this has not been carried out in Pascua.

The pre-Spanish concepts of the yoania and seataka are not spoken of in connection with the kohtumbre, and it is said that the witch does not attack them.

The kohtumbre has special functions in the death ceremonies of members and their families, whether or not they occur in Lent. If a man is so seriously ill that death is imminent, his family sends for the fariseo flutist and drummer. A fariseo crucifix, "that he has worked for," is brought. If it is in Lent, all fariseos come in regalia to pray for him. The kohtumbre makes a limosna if one is needed and helps the family with arrangements. If the funeral is in Lent, the kohtumbre establishes an encampment cross and table. The caballero lances are crossed in front of it and the fariseo limosna crucifix is on the table. The fariseo and caballero flags are tied to the cross back of the table. The Pilate's staff leans against the table, and the gunny sack containing a mask and sword, saved at the previous Gloria, lies underneath. The kohtumbre marches around the house in a konti three times, as in any household fiesta in Lent.

In the coffin are placed the regalia for the position to which the man was originally confirmed. A fariseo officer has a black scarf under the pillow, and a sword; the Pilate has his lance; the flag-bearer his flag; a caballero his sword or lance, or one made for him at the time. A chapayeka has at his side one of the masks and swords saved at The Gloria, his sandals, and, if his wife requests it, the waist and ankle rattles that he has worn.

When a chapayeka is going to die, or is very sick, they go and stay with him for two or three nights and play the drum and flute, because he

would like to hear it before he dies. They give him a stick to take, so that Jesucristo will know him over there, and how he worked for him in this world. (23)

Very late in the night, generally just before dawn, the kohtumbre lines up at either side of their encampment cross. At a slow march, treading hard and firm, they march forward a short way toward the coffin, circle back of their encampment table, advance again a little closer, circle back, and, on the third advance, circle the coffin. They march around the coffin twice more. Each time they pass the open side of the coffin, the flag-bearer blesses the body by touching with the cross on the tip of his flag the feet, arms, and head and by waving the flag back and forth over it three times. All genuflect and touch hats at each side of the coffin. They kneel around the coffin, and the five standard prayers are repeated by one of the older leaders. They rise, take the crucifix from the table, and march away in a slow tempo, leaving the scene not to return. The sound of the flute and drum becomes increasingly faint until the air is still.

During the entire period of observation the caballero society has not had more than four or five members; it had no active leaders until 1949 and took only a passive part in the affairs of the kohtumbre. It has been difficult to obtain information about them, because confusion exists in the minds of the villagers as to their function.

FARISEOS

The Spanish name *fariseo* (Pharisee) is commonly used among Mexicans for this society, and its usage is gaining ground among those Yaquis who increasingly employ Spanish. The Yaqui word *paiseom*, derived from *fariseo*, is heard among the people, but seldom in sermons. Both refer to all members of the society. The name *fariseo* has somewhat reluctantly been chosen for use here. It is not the name most frequently used among the older Yaquis themselves, but it carries a self-evident meaning to non-Yaqui-speaking people, and it has gained usage in the Tucson community in publicity about the Easter Ceremony.

The Yaqui word *Hurasim*, derived from the Spanish *Judas*, actually refers only to the masked members of the society and is in honor of Judas, who is considered their patron saint. However, it is very frequently employed for the whole group and sometimes loosely includes also the *caballeros*. The term *Huras ya'ura* (Judas officials) is commonly heard in referring to the officers. Spicer (1954b: 89) says this group is generally called *Hurasim* in the Sonoran villages.

In sermons the *maestros* frequently mention *Itom Achai disipulom* (disciples of Our Father), used because the members of the *caballeros* and *fariseos* are in the service of Jesus. The *maestros*, and sometimes the people of

the village, say *kohtumbre ya'ura sontaom yeu tahtia* (officers and soldiers throughout). In sermons the maestros often mention the officers by position, starting with Pilate, and then refer to the *sontaom yeu tahtia* (soldiers throughout). In sermons the word *Hudiom*, derived from the Spanish *Judios* (Jews), refers to the whole group, and this is sometimes heard in conversation. Both in sermons and informally, the term *Pilatota o'owim*, or *Pilatota yuemem* (men or people of Pilate) may rarely be heard, and it refers to the whole society. *Sayonim*, from the Spanish *sayon* (executioner), refers to all members of the *fariseos* and may also include the *caballeros*. Its usage stems from the words in the verse of a hymn, *Jesus Amoroso*, sung in processions.

Salen los Sayones	The executioners are coming out
Con tanta crueldad	With much cruelty
Dandole emperones	They give him blows
Manifestado va	He goes revealed

All are sometimes called Soldiers of Rome or *Senyorta bebehe'elim* (enemies of the Lord). The officers, when they appear with black scarves in Holy Week, are sometimes referred to as *hiswara'am* (murderers).

Chapayeka (plural, *chapayekam*) is the most used term for the masked men who are the common soldiers. It is translated as thin-nosed, or compressed-nosed, upturned. Several informants have referred to the expression *chapamamak* or *chapalamamak*, which describes the way the palms of the hands are pressed together during prayers. They say that the nose of the chapayeka is compressed in the same way, but that there is no religious implication in the comparison. Chapayeka is almost invariably used when Yaqui is being spoken. It is very frequently employed to designate the entire society. One often hears the term *chapayeka ya'ura* (fariseo officers), or in combination with special positions, as, for example, *chapayeka alpes* for the flag-bearers. The masked men are also called *sontaom* (soldiers), from the Spanish *soldados*, which is rarely employed. They are also called *naka'aram* (long-eared), which refers to the old type of mask with long ears. Some refer to them as *yekam* (noses). Since there is no meaningful translation, the Yaqui word chapayeka will be used.

The fariseos represent the people who persecuted and executed Christ. Their ritual function in the Easter Ceremony is the enactment of the pursuit, capture, and crucifixion of Jesus. This dramatization is earnestly considered to be for the eventual glory of Christ, as the fariseos are overwhelmed and ritually killed by the church group and others mobilized against them at The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning. The fariseos themselves are apprehensive lest their role of enemies of Jesus be misunderstood by spectators, when actually their hearts and actions are dedicated to Him, a dedication which is real and personal, not only philosophical.

The chapayekas are particularly sensitive about this, since their code of

**Some Alternate Expressions Used for the
Kohtumbre Ya'ura and Its Two Component Societies,
the Caballeros and the Fariseos**

Kohtumbre ya'ura

(Lenten ceremonial officials)

kohtumbre (often used alone to signify kohtumbre ya'ura)

Itom Achai disipulom (disciples of Our Father)

sayonim (from Spanish sayon, executioner; may signify only
fariseos)

Kohtumbre ya'ura

(as hosts to the public throughout Lent)

fiesteros (fiesta hosts)

pahko achaim (fiesta fathers)

pahkome (fiesta givers)

Huras pahko achaim (Judas fiesta fathers)

Huras pahkome (Judas fiesta givers)

chapayeka pahkome (chapayeka fiesta givers)

Caballeros

(horsemen)

Fariseos

(Pharisees)

paescom (Yaqui form of fariseos)

Pilatota o'owim *or* Pilatota yuemem (men or people of Pilate)

Hudiom (from Spanish Judios, Jews)

Senyorta bebehe'elim (enemies of the Lord)

soldiers of Rome

Officers of the fariseos

Huras ya'ura (Judas officials)

chapayeka ya'ura (chapayeka officials)

hiswara'am (murderers)

Chapayekas

(masked members of the fariseos; Yaqui plural, chapayekam)

Hurasim (from Spanish Judases; sometimes used for entire
kohtumbre)

sontaom (soldiers)

naka'aram (long-eared, from long-eared masks)

yekam (noses)

behavior requires acts of derision of the church ritual and of the maestros. Forgiveness is always asked for them in the sermons "for the evil they had to do."

Jesus is regarded as the actual head of the fariseo society and is believed "to know all that they do." At least one of the two small fariseo crucifixes must be present when the society is operating officially.

Fariseos are under vow to Christ for three years, or, more often, for life. They are promised to specific ceremonial positions and may not change them without the consent of the officers, who, however, often decide together to request that a man transfer to a position that needs filling. In this circumstance, the change is announced publicly. It is said that a man may be promoted but not demoted and that the Pilate and flag-bearer may not be transferred. A chapayeka does not alter the original vow, and a man returns to his own position when he can be released. Fariseos may also be asked to fill positions outside the society when there is a need. For example, a man may be asked to dance pascola, or act as a musician, or may even be loaned as a maestro. In the years 1949–52 all of these changes, and others, were observed. Often there are several men who are promised to the same position and march in line together, in which case the oldest has seniority.

A new vow is announced by the parents to the officers of the society. Formal confirmation (*muhte*) does not take place until a boy is old enough to serve, sometimes as early as six, more often when he is eight or ten. It is, in fact, often delayed until he has served for a number of years. If a boy is also promised to three-year angel duty with the church group, he is taken to report to the kohtumbre, then enters service as an angel. When that term is completed, he goes to the kohtumbre to his promised duties there.

Godparents of a fariseo at his confirmation must be a man in the same position to which he is promised, and a woman member of the altar group. When he is old enough to appear in the ceremonies, he chooses additional godparents every three years. These godparents have special ritual duties at The Gloria and furnish drinks for him at the end of the Easter Ceremony. It is not necessary for them to have ceremonial status. Sometimes these godparents are requested to serve for succeeding terms. All sets of godparents are retained for life, all are co-godparents (*compadres*) with each other and with other godparents, and all have the obligations and responsibilities of godparents of baptism and confirmation.

Confirmation into the society takes place at some event in the Lenten season for which the group is already assembled. For example, in 1950 and 1951 it occurred after the blessing of the crosses with the wooden clapper on Holy Thursday. Details may vary.

The kohtumbre lines form in front of the church, and the maestros and singers, sitting in their usual places inside, sing the veneration song of the fariseos, the *Cruz Fidelum*, to which the chapayekas beat time with their

weapons. The flag-bearers kneel by the altar as for any public veneration. A fariseo corporal carries the regalia of the confirmee into the church. As the fariseos hold up their weapons to form an arch, the confirmee is escorted back and forth between the altar and the church cross three times. His godfather for his confirmation holds his right arm, his godmother his left arm, and all genuflect slightly each time they approach the altar and the cross. In the same formation all three kneel at the altar. The godfather makes the sign of the cross with a new Yaqui rosary three times in front of the face of the confirmee, then puts it around his neck. The flag-bearers touch the forehead of the confirmee with the cross on the tips of their flags. The godmother replaces the godfather at the right and repeats this ritual with another rosary. Each godparent resumes his original position. Together they push the head of the confirmee three times under the altar cloth, and the flag-bearers touch his forehead with the flags to bless him. If the confirmee is a chapayeka, each godparent grasps the mask with one hand, and they make the sign of the cross with it in front of his face, then put it on top of his head, facing backwards. If the confirmee is a man who has already served, his own mask is used. If not, he may receive a new one, which is generally made for him by his godfather; or his godfather's own mask may be used. It should be of the long-eared type, but this is not considered necessary.

All rise; the godparents take the arms of the confirmee and lead him along the altar, guiding him in the customary veneration of the holy figures. All go back and forth between the altar and the church cross three times as before. They remain at the church cross, surrounding it, for a thank-you circle. At the termination, one of the parents (or if neither can make a speech, someone designated by them) says a few formal words to the new godparents, thanking them "for the favor they did in confirming the child." If this ceremony is not conducted, the godparent relationship is not official.

All then go to kohtumbre headquarters, where they are joined by the members of the church group, who have been formally invited by the kohtumbre. The head maestro gives a sermon in which advice is tendered to the new member, and his obligations and duties are explained to him. He is questioned about his vow, "whether it was made for sickness or whatever kind of danger."

Confirmation for the caballeros is conducted in the same way, except that the maestros and singers sing the veneration song of the caballeros, the *Popule Meum*.

There are many reports of adult vows as a result of dreaming, and there is no reluctance to talk about them. A man may dream of being a fariseo or of wearing fariseo regalia, and then "talk to the fariseo officers, who tell him that Jesucristo wants him" (23). Christ may appear to an individual either in dreams or in visions, although the former is more common. Some-

times He appears as a young man with the mien and raiment most often seen in Biblical literature. "Just as He is, but not crucified, with a long white robe and hair loose over His shoulders" (55). The Yaquis generally, however, think of Christ as an old man, dressed like a Yaqui, which is compatible with their respect for old age. He often appears that way in dreams.

Christ can come in a dream. They conceive of Christ as a very old man. They consider Him very, very old. In fact, He is supposed to be as old as God. When a man is lying sick in bed, an Old Man appears to him, and then he will know that Christ wants him in the service. Then he would promise himself to work in the ceremonies and ask for recovery from God. When he wakes up, he goes to the church and promises, and then decides with all his heart that he is going to work in the ceremonies. (55)

A chapayeka (in this case any fariseo) always sees a very Old Man. He comes and talks with them and asks what they are doing, and why they don't work in the ceremony. The chapayekas will understand the Old Man. Next day they can't explain how they understood Him, but they will know what He was asking.

This man was not sick at the time, and he didn't have a vow for chapayeka. But he said he was told to take that oficio—that is what they call it. He said for several years he always saw the Old Man in his dream, but the last time, a few years ago, he was just getting into bed, and he wasn't thinking about anything, but just relaxing, and he saw somebody in the room. When he closed his eyes he saw a real Old Man, who came to him and told him he had to have that oficio. He said he should take up the sewa (mask) of the kohtumbre ya'ura. . . . The following year he went in [to headquarters] and he told us. We were all called to order, so that everyone would know when he came in. This was after he came in and shook hands with all of the kohtumbre. (58)

Sometimes . . . he sees it in a dream. . . . He could be making a naka'ara (long-eared mask) in a dream. It is not always correct. Sometimes he is making a chomo, and it may be different. It is not complete. Maybe it has one ear, or his eyes are outside of his mask, or he might be using a stick and not have a mask, or not know how to act. (9)

Jesus might appear in a dream to a person, mostly like an old man. . . . The Old Man would show him all kinds of masks in the dream; and he might show him which kind he might like to use. As long as he takes it up in his hand in the dream, it means that he has already joined. . . . Sometimes a man don't believe it, so he just lets the dream go. So in a couple of days he dreams just the same way. Sometimes it takes three dreams. If he dreams three times, he makes sure that Jesus wants him

to be a chapayeka. . . . And sometimes when one of his sons get pretty sick, and can't seem to get well by doctors' medicine or things they give him to cure him, they promise him as a chapayeka. (35)

Christ may also appear in dreams as a curer, which is in accordance with the Yaqui concept of His wanderings over the world healing the sick. He is often seen wearing a straw hat, because "it is customary for poor people to wear [them] in Mexico, and it means that Christ appears as a humble person" or that "Jesus is considered as a humble person and therefore would wear what they wear."

They consider Him in their dreams as a curer, too. And usually it happens that in any crisis of illness, relief comes. And then in gratitude he would promise to work for the rest of his life in Christ's work. . . . The chapayekas say that Christ comes in the form of a curer, and any cure He does in the dream takes effect at the same moment after they waken from the dream. . . . He can't come well dressed, looking like an ordinary man; He is always poorly dressed, with an old straw hat. A man . . . he told me that when he was sick he saw Him appear, and He cured him. As a curer He would cure him with a hand by rubbing. With no medicine to take, just getting a little dust from the ground and rubbing it on him. He would be dressed in an old straw hat and some patched clothes, old blue jeans and sandals of rawhide, and a cane. Any kind of wood He might pick up for a cane. (55)

When Jesucristo comes in a dream when one of the chapayekas is sick, and He comes and gives him anything to drink, that cures him. He wants him back in the service to work for Him. . . . He wouldn't be a curer unless he was sick; then He would come as a curer.

He was very sick. And of course the Little Old Man came to him, and he didn't know whether he was imagining it, or whether it was a vision. He was wearing a straw hat, and came to him, and told him to come into the house. He asked what was the matter with him, and he told Him he was sick. Then He said He would give him a little rub on the breast, and when He did, He said, "You will be all right, but you will have to work on it" [as a chapayeka]. He had done [other ceremonial duty] since he was a little boy, but he was borrowed from that for the kohtumbre. (9)

Dreaming may also occur to remind a man of neglected duties.

A lot of fariseos say, "Well, I wasn't going to be here till the last day, and then the Old Man came to see me and would not let me stay away." (58)

When I was in camp in New Mexico with a fariseo, he said, "I was going to work here till the last day, and then go, but I have to go now, because the Chopul Woki tells me to go." So he started to prepare that evening. (55)

I kept dreaming of Jesus, and Jesus told me to work as a chapayeka [his vow]. I dreamed so much that last year I started to work as a chapayeka, and now I will lose my head every year [refers to the burning of the masks after The Gloria]. (68)

A person with one vow may feel that he must make one to another society as the result of a dream. Illness is considered to be the only excuse for not fulfilling one's vow. However, if a man is away working, he may comply by serving during the latter part of Lent. If he does not fulfill his promise, or does not do it with good heart, it is the common belief that he will be punished by Jesus, whom he has failed to serve. The word *chupia* (condemned) is often used. (This is not to be confused with *yoem chupia* [a person condemned because of incest]).

He might get sick or hurt himself, or anything could happen to him. He might dream again then. Or his parents would tell him that Jesucristo was punishing him because Jesucristo wants him to serve Him. (35)

They usually get sick. It usually appears to a man as a vision or dream when they break their vows. [Christ] calls them to their duty again, but promising forgiveness if they come back. They kind of get sick from some sort of natural sickness, and, of course, remembering about their promise, and think that is how the vision come. You know any person who is sick is always talking to God about relief. That is the first thing they think of, and that is how it appears to them, and they see the [One] they are serving.

If a person is regarding things as just mere play, not as an obligation of religious duty, he is supposed to suffer punishment of some kind. And those who commit sin while they are working on it, they are supposed to be finished—*chupne* (will be condemned)—by the devil. And the sins that they might commit might be getting drunk and going around with women. They don't even die, they just remain on earth, wandering around during the time of darkness with the *hiaplo* (devil). The small things, like other people handling their paraphernalia, are just punished by some sickness or something, so as to remind him. And in such a case, an older man would remind him what not to do. *Chupia* is the adjective condemned. *Chupne* is the verb meaning will be condemned. A man is only *chupia* when he has committed a capital sin. The *koh-tumbre* punishes a man who breaks the taboos to save the man from being *chupia*. If he is not punished, he dies but remains on earth and

don't go to heaven or hell; but remains on earth in darkness. He comes out only at night as a ghost. The sickness or accident occurs as a reminder from the Lord. Or sickness in the family. Then he will remember that he is not doing it properly. [A man said] that this sound [of a man condemned] was heard [in Pascua]. It was heard once, not continuously every night, but occasionally, especially when it is rainy or cloudy. Yaquis believe that when the night is cloudy or rainy, that it is then that something can be seen out in the forest or in the country. (55)

If a man believes that he has a good excuse not to participate in the Easter Ceremony, he may petition to Jesus for an excuse not to work for the current year. An older chapayeka says that he does this, not by actual prayer, but by "talking in his heart to Jesus."

You say in your heart, "Father Jesucristo, please will you give me permit this year. I want to rest this year, please. I never forget you, but I just want to rest this year. Please let me rest. That's all I want, Jesucristo, so 'scuse me." Then, if Jesucristo give you excuse, you can dream something pretty good. You are friendly with everybody, and everybody likes you when you dream well. And then if Jesucristo says, "I ain't going to let you rest this year, because you are pretty healthy and you ain't got no excuses. You just want to rest because you lazy, or you just want to get drunk"—then you start to dream bad dreams. You wish you never say what you did. You dream bad dreams like being lost in the dark. And when you wake up, your heart is just feeling bad. You scared a little bit, as if it really happened. Maybe some night you dream another thing that is worse. That you are in a hospital, or in bed sick, and it looks like you going to die now. Then the chapayekas come to you in your dream, and then they come and play the flute and the drum. Then your heart feels good. And then they just sort of shake the flag over your face in blessing, like when you are going to die. Then they leave you. When they leave you, you just think you going to die, and you wish they going to stay on with you, till you die. Then you wake up, and, after that, when you wake up you start to think, "What's a matter, why you dream that way for?" Then you say, "Well, I think I ask Our Father Jesucristo to let me rest this year, but He don't want me to rest, He wants me right there with Him." Then you say, "Yes, Father Jesucristo, I told you one time I wasn't going to work this year. But You don't want me to rest this year, so I'm going to stay with you this year. I going to work." So then you say, "Well, Father Jesucristo, 'scuse me for what I tell you before, but I'm going to be with You again, if You let me live till Lent." And then your dreams change, you dream pretty good dreams, just like anybody dreams. (23)

Although almost everyone serving in the fariseo organization does so under vow, it has also been the custom, until the immediate past, to compel service as the result of capture, or trespass, or as punishment for breaking taboos. At The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning, angels and fariseos try to capture each other. All known cases of capture have been ransomed, but service in the opposing organization was the penalty unless ransom by god-parents was arranged. If a man or boy sat with the fariseos, ate with them, or helped them with their work, the kohtumbre was likely to "draft him into the army." One hears of a boy who ate with the fariseos at the community table in Holy Week; the chapayekas slipped a rattle belt on him. Punishments for broken taboos are related to have taken place until the last four or five years. The individual is offered in this way an opportunity to do penance for a sin committed, so that the Lord will give him "grace and forgiveness."

A mechanism by which the fariseos discipline a member who fails in his full obligations is to put him into another position in the ceremonies where he can be watched. For example, a man who often slipped away after The Gloria on Holy Saturday was made to dance pascola at the fiesta on Saturday night.

If anyone threw stones or made fun of the chapayekas, or interfered with their work—they are not doing it for pleasure, you know—then that would be a major offense. Then they might be taken and made a chapayeka for life, because that is the hardest work. The Pilate would read the law to them. Then they might decide to make a vow themselves, as they would feel better about it. . . . If a man runs around with a woman at night in Holy Week, he would have to go into the fariseos. If he did it in the Hours of Darkness, that would be worse. He might have to act as a fariseo, and if it was a very bad offense on the Río [Yaqui], he might have to go around the stations with a cross tied to his back. [In Pascua] a man and a young lady were caught. The man had to serve three years as a chapayeka, and the young lady was made to go into the church as a singer for life. She did not sing, but she helped the bearers of the Virgin for several years, and then she stopped. (55)

He can be taken by any one of the kohtumbre, officers or men, fariseos or caballeros. He is never put in the caballeros as a soldier, but only in the fariseos as a soldier or rookie. The maestro is called after he is caught and taken to the headquarters; so the maestro will give him some advice on why he was taken, what he must do, and when and how he must do it. Otherwise, the maestro has nothing to do with recruiting men into the kohtumbre. (8)

One time they caught two or four boys who were making chapayeka masks out of paper and selling them. They caught them, and brought

them in, and the Huras Ya'ura called their parents, and just for punishment they were going to make chapayekas out of them. So the parents agreed that they didn't want [the boys] to do it. So they tell the officers that they can do what they want for punishment. So they made them chapayekas or corporals for three years. They could do it for life, too. (9)

At the fiestas given outside of Lent men and boys are encouraged to "borrow the music" of the pascolas and deer and to dance in the early morning hours, after the dawn ceremonies. During Lent when the kohtumbre is in charge, no one is allowed to do this unless invited by them.

[In about 1947] a guy was dancing on Palms Day. He was dancing there a long time, and they tried to get him away. Finally they all came and took him to the maestro, and they gave him punishment as a chapayeka for three years. No one is supposed to dance in Lent, ever, no matter who, and no drunks. Another was talking to a girl when he shouldn't. They captured him and made him a fariseo and her an altar woman, both for life. (35)

[The purpose of membership in societies as a punishment for trespass is to] "save one from the sin he has committed so that God will give him grace and forgiveness—*petensia makri* (penance given). It is considered to be a sin, and he is forgiven by doing penance in the hard work, and he is supposed to be saved by that. It is always referred to as *culpa* (sin). There is no Yaqui word for it. (55)

It is thought that if a member of the kohtumbre falls down while he is on ceremonial duty, he must be whipped, or he will become ill and probably die within a year. This is generally done by a fariseo corporal, never by a chapayeka or a godparent. If another caballero is not present, a fariseo may whip a caballero who falls. The whipping is in lieu of divine disapproval or punishment for not performing the duty with good heart, as shown by the act of falling down.

He must be whipped three times. The whips are to save him from the misfortune of falling sick during the year and the danger of dying. The corporal is supposed to be there all the time for that reason. Even in the case of being the father of the chapayeka, or a superior like a Pilate, or a head corporal, he has to whip him. In case of a man falling down, it is a sure sign he is about to have *petensia* (harsh penance). But the remedy is the three whips. It is always known that a person has to have some misfortune if he falls down, and it is always sickness. Of course, [a chapayeka] is already doing *petensia* in his work as chapayeka. (17)

. . . if a chapayeka falls down, he must be whipped. The godmothers, if they fall down, may not live through the year. It has happened lots of times. They, the godmothers, cannot be whipped to save them. (23)

He is whipped to save him from death. If he is not whipped, he is supposed to die in that year. It is not thought to be a sin, but an accident. But falling down means *ka tu'i hiapsimak* (not with good heart). And death is the divine punishment from God. So God punishes him, and he is supposed as a punishment to die in the next year. (55)

They never get whipped when they fall down in any pantomime. And they do not get whipped at other times when they fall, until after the Lord is put down off the cross on Friday, and they run around the Way of the Cross. Then, after that, if they fall down they are whipped three times. Likewise during the night, when one of the chapayekas dies, and they salute him and run away about four o'clock, toward the sunrise, if anyone falls, they get whipped. . . . anyone who fell down would have been whipped. (31)

During the period of observation, parents have been heard to threaten children with *fariseos* and especially with chapayekas, as bogeymen. It is noticeable that young children draw away when chapayekas approach. Teenage, as well as younger, boys sometimes follow the chapayekas about but scatter quickly if the chapayekas turn on them. When the chapayekas are out on a *limosna* or other errand in the village, the accompanying corporals carry small lashes to keep the boys at a respectful distance.

During and after every Easter season children have been seen with make-believe swords and, less frequently, masks made of paper bags, marching in *fariseo* fashion in spontaneous play. Numerous small boys have been seen drawing chapayeka masks on the sandy dirt floor of the church.

When the *fariesos* move about on official duties, they fall into a double-line formation. They commonly use a plain march step, but this is varied in Holy Week by several rhythmic steps which are a cadenced march, not a dance. These are sometimes practiced in Holy Week, after night ceremonies. It is said that "all those marches made are supposed to be the roads they made in the time of Jesus, when they were after Jesus" (55). When the *fariseos* are in formation, they must not speak or in any way be distracted.

In general each *fariseo* makes his own regalia, but, if he has no skill for it, he may ask someone else to do it for him. All of the regalia are considered sacred, as they have been blessed for, and in the service of, Christ. They are called, as are those of the other societies, holy insignia, and they are treated with respect. They are kept in the home of the head maestro, as there is no one within the organization who has enough space. They are collected and deposited there in a brief ritual, during which the *fariseo* crucifix is placed on a low table covered with a fresh white cloth, in front of the patio cross.

The corporals have charge of giving each man his regalia, and each tips his hat and genuflects slightly as he receives the regalia. There is no speech for this. "The insinio is being honored because it has much benedictions" (17).

All of the swords of the officers and the swords, daggers, and masks of the chapayekas are burned on the Judas pyre on the Saturday of Glory, except for two chapayeka masks and swords, which are used for burial purposes. Worn-out sandals should also be burned. Any bits of material that are left over after making the regalia are burned, generally on the Judas pyre, with the implication that such things are dangerous unless used for their original purpose.

The officers wear the usual work clothes of the region. They always wear hats in their official role and only remove them when they go into the church to venerate as individuals. On Good Friday and Holy Saturday they wear, or by custom should wear, black shirts and scarves and Yaqui sandals, *bela'a bocham* (flat shoes). The only insignia of office, except for the Pilate, is a wooden sword, painted white, with bands and geometric or other designs in black, red, and, less often, green or blue. Sometimes bars are used, singly or in groups; triangles in single rows or point to point; diamonds singly or in series; concentric circles, or other conventional designs. Some are executed with precision and beauty. In the old days, natural colors were used; now the paint is commercial. The swords are carried in the left hand, and, while marching or standing in formation, they are held within the fore part of the left arm, point up. When fariseos are walking about on errands, the swords may be held free, still in the left hand. The swords of the captain and sergeant are shorter and wider than those of the corporals. All wear Yaqui rosaries under the shirt, and they say the rosary to themselves as they go around the Way of the Cross in processions. In cold weather some of the men may be seen wearing a handkerchief or scarf over the lower part of the face, but this has nothing to do with the official costume.

Although they take the part of evil men, the fariseos tip or touch their hats when the holy figures are borne past them in processions; also when the members of the other groups make the sign of the cross. This ambivalence is shown, too, in the flag manipulation of the group.

It is their custom. They are not evil in their hearts, only evil as fariseos. . . . They must make this sign of respect. (8)

. . . it is their way of doing the sign of the cross. They do it in reverence even though they are fariseos. . . . It is a moment of veneration. They do it in reverence in that tiny moment. (55)

The fariseos who are dedicated to the position of Pilate represent Pontius Pilate. The Spanish word, *Pilato*, is used always, as there is no Yaqui equivalent. Sometimes he is referred to as *Pilato Achai* (Pilate Father). This

is not true of any other official. The head Pilate is called yo'o Pilato, or in Spanish, Pilato Mayor. He is the ritual head of the organization, and the ideal pattern is that he should do no work but give orders to the captain, who acts as executive assistant and who, in turn, makes the work assignments. During the World War II years, the head Pilate was young and inexperienced, and the fariseo captain and the head maestro shared the actual leadership. It is said that in Mexico the head Pilate is the final civil authority in the Lenten season, and that he decides on punishment for those who break taboos. This is not the case in Pascua. It is also said that in Mexico the Pilate rides a black horse decorated with black trappings, with cocoon rattles on its ankles, and that the horse is trained in a "special prancing step." Villagers recall with pleasure that in Pascua in 1922 and 1923 the Pilate rode a horse so adorned and that "he stepped high."

There can be, and often is, more than one Pilate. Each carries in his right hand a slender round lance about 6 feet long, painted white, with bands of red and black. The flat pointed head of the lance is often painted with bands of red and black. It has a short cross piece at the far end, which forms arms for a small red tunic trimmed with white lace. It is called *el tunico* or *tunikam*, from the Spanish *la tunica* (tunic or robe). It is believed by most to represent the red tunic of the Nazarene, by a few to be a flag. A short bunch of narrow pastel ribbons may be fastened to the lance head or to the sleeves of the tunic. The lance is supposed to represent the one that was used to kill Jesus. The cross piece is said by some to simulate a dagger, by others to suggest a cross. The lance is carried upright in the right hand during processions. Like the fariseo swords, it is rested on the top of the right foot during periods of standing, as it would be disrespectful to let it touch the ground. The lance head is regarded as especially sacred, as it touches the body of Christ at the moment of the symbolic lancing on Good Friday afternoon. It is not burned on the Judas pyre after The Gloria, and it is used in death ceremonies throughout the year. When it is worn out, it is not thrown away but is burned on the Judas pyre on Holy Saturday, or at some other time. After the defeat of the fariseos at The Gloria, the lance head is removed, made into a small bundle, and carried tied to the lance during the rest of the Easter Ceremony.

It is supposed to be sacred, and it is in the form of a cross. And to cover the cross the little tunic is put over it. The tunic is in memory of el Nazareno—the robe that Christ wore. (31)

[It is not burned] because it is the only thing that touches the body of Christ. It has the blood of Christ on it, and therefore it is sacred. . . . When the Pilate taps the ground three times (on Good Friday afternoon), the blood is shaken down, and that is when it becomes flowers. (8)

The lance of the Pilate represents the lance that was used to pierce Christ with. . . . It is considered sacred, more sacred than the mask, because all the *santora* (sacred figures) are worked with it. It cannot be burned as the masks are because it is used in the death ceremonies. (17)

[The lance] is not used to pierce the body of the Lord. It is used like a blessing of the body on the crucifix. He doesn't stab the body of the Lord. He blesses it with his lance. That is why it is not considered evil. Also it is not used with the mask on. All regalia used with the mask on are burned. The flag, the drum, the flute and the lance are the things used for a blessing, and the others have taken the place of evil. Not so many lances being used would be another reason. He owns it, and if he should die he is supposed to take it with him. (31)

On Good Friday afternoon and on Holy Saturday morning the Pilates wear, in addition to black shirts and scarves, long black capes. They do not wear Yaqui sandals, as they are supposed to be mounted.

No hereditary associations have been found for this office. That it has special significance is shown by the fact that a Pilate is said to be essential for starting the Easter Ceremony, although it is not necessary for that purpose to have a captain present.

The captain of the fariseos is usually called by the Spanish term *capitán* and rarely by the Yaqui *kapetai*, a derivation. He is the executive head of the group. This is an elective office, not necessarily filled by a man with a vow to the position. If a good executive who is promised is not available, a fariseo from another position may be chosen. If there is none such, an acting head may be selected, or the position left vacant, and the duties assumed by older fariseo leaders and the head maestro. A man with a vow as captain may walk in the captain's position in line, even if he is not acting as leader. All of these situations have been noted within the period studied. In 1949 and 1951 a caballero captain returned to Pascua and assumed the duties of leadership of the kohtumbre. Leadership depends somewhat on the exigencies of available personnel, the able men being pushed forward to serve but never themselves attempting to assume power.

The fariseo captain should be familiar with the elaborate ritual of the Easter Ceremony and, with the caballero captain and the head maestro, should coordinate the activities of all groups. He should be able to make public announcements and to preach short sermons. With the caballero captain he should plan fiestas that occur in Lent, make labor assignments, make arrangements with the pascolas and deer dancer and their musicians, notify the matachinis when they are to appear, discharge police duties, keep order in the village, and call the public authorities if needed. If there is no caballero captain, he must take charge of limosnas and handle the finances.

The captain, Pilates, flag-bearers, flutist, and drummer are expected to stay at headquarters at all times and never go out on errands.

Assisting the captain are other officers. The position of lieutenant (Spanish, *teniente*; no Yaqui equivalent) has long been vacant in Pascua, as the only man promised to the position has been assigned to another group as musician. The office is frequently mentioned in sermons, however.

There are always one or more sergeants (Spanish, *sargentos*; Yaqui, *sarhentos*), who are next in command. They assist the captain in making assignments, help in coordinating activities, and go on some of the more important errands.

The head corporal (*cabo mayor*), who sometimes carries a whip, supervises the work assignments. He plays an active part in directing both the manual work and the ritual activities of the corporals and chapayekas, who often go in groups of one corporal and several chapayekas. This is an important position and has been ably handled by young men. The other corporals, who occupy positions in line in the order of their experience, are in constant demand for work in connection with the ceremonies, as suggested above.

The flag-bearer is most frequently called alpes (plural alpesim) from the Spanish term *alferez* (ensign), which is not used. Alpes is often combined with a name for the fariseos, as chapayeka alpes, or, less frequently *fariseo alpes* or *paiseo alpes*. *Alpes de Jesus* is often heard in conversation. Bantealeo, from the Spanish *bandera* (flag), is employed more frequently in sermons than in conversation. The flag (banteam, singular and plural) has, like those of the girl flag-bearers, a bright red wool or cotton field, about 27 by 22 inches, bound at the edge with bright green ribbon. In the center is a cross, about 9 inches high and 7 wide, made of rosettes of green ribbon. The top of the staff is thrust into a small, round cardboard tube, which is bound with green ribbon. On it are green ribbon rosettes, which form the shape of a cross about 6 inches high.

The flag is carried in the right hand, against the right shoulder, with the field grasped so that it does not swing free. It is waved at specified times as described below. In case there are two flag-bearers, as frequently happens, one marches at the head of each line, and they wave simultaneously. The older and more experienced man is then considered to be the head flag-bearer. Each one carries his own flag, received and blessed at his confirmation to the position. In case there is no available confirmed bearer, the officers of the kohtumbre draft another fariseo officer by ritual request. The flags are considered to be the property of Our Father and are not burned with the fariseo masks and weapons on the Judas pyre on Holy Saturday. The flag is removed from the staff at that time, wrapped, and put away in a dark scarf. The staff is carried without it for the rest of Saturday and for Easter Sunday.

The flag is not only considered sacred but is of such importance in the ceremonies that it is said that processions could not be held without a flag-bearer. All say that waving the flag is each time an act of blessing (*te'ochia* or *bendecir*), even when it is also a signal to start and stop the marches. The act of benediction is felt to be of greater significance than the signaling. It is not considered inconsistent that a member of a society that portrays evil should wave the flag in benediction.

Each time the flag is waved, the wrist is turned over and back three times, and the flag is waved horizontally to the ground three times. Each process is symbolic of the sign of the cross. Simultaneously, the flag-bearer repeats under his breath the benediction, in Spanish or in Yaqui. (*Dios Achai, Dios U'usi, Dios el Ehipiritu Santo*) or (*En el nombre del Padre, del Hijo, y del Espiritu Santo*).

The head maestro says that when the flag is waved three times in each of the four directions three times around, it is symbolic of "the benedictions done by Our Lord to the four corners of the earth."

Without the flag we just could not go out and bless the church or the holy figures or anybody who went to cross himself at the altar. (31 and 58)

Even if he is a fariseo he still have to bless the ground, because we are not sinners. It is like the chapayekas. They are praying all the time. (58)

The different manifestations of flag manipulation will be discussed here, and then mentioned at the appropriate places in the narrative of the Easter Ceremony.

When the members of the *kohtumbre* are lined up ready to leave their headquarters for a procession, the flute is played three times and the drum answers. At the last notes of the flute, the flag-bearer waves as described above, starts to march with his right foot first, and the rest follow. The waving is considered to be part of the starting signal, but more importantly it is to bless the road. As the lines proceed to march around the church cross three times, the flag is waved once on each side of the cross on each of the three rounds. The purpose of this is to bless the cross (*kuhta te'ochia*), as it belongs to the cross. The spectator might think that surrounding the cross in this manner is for the purpose of subjugating it, but such is not the case.

It is not to take the cross, it is to bless the cross. (58)

When they come out they are marching, and they must act like soldiers. They go around it to bless the cross. . . . We cannot understand how all this started, but that is the custom of the *kohtumbre*. (8)

They follow the flag-bearer when he blesses the cross three times. It is for that. (17)

When the kohtumbre stops in front of the church in formation after blessing the cross, the flag is waved to bless the holy figures on the altar. As they start again, to go around the Way of the Cross, the flag is waved, first to bless the road, and then, with the flute and drum, as a signal to start. When the kohtumbre passes the church cross and the fiesta cross on the way out of the plaza, or any cross at any time, the flag is waved in a blessing "because the Lord died on a cross." When they stop at the first station the flag is waved to bless the cross. During the prayers at the station the flag is waved when the rest make the sign of the cross. When the prayers for the station are finished, the waving serves as "an answer to the prayers, like the flute gives." When they start to the next station, the action of the flag is to bless the road and, secondarily, as a signal to start. This procedure is followed around the Way of the Cross and back to the church.

As the kohtumbre stands in formation in front of the church after the procession, the flag is waved as each group of holy figures passes; at the end of the *O Vos Omnes*; at the end of the five prayers said in Yaqui by the maestros; and each time the congregation makes the sign of the cross. Behavior at the public group veneration will be described during the events of the First Friday in Lent.

At the end of the sermon the flag is waved, and again when the kohtumbre formation starts to march away. Flag waving on other special occasions will be described as the events of Lent unfold.

Signals for marching are furnished by a flute (Yaqui, *baka kusia*; Spanish, *flauta*) and a drum (Yaqui, *kubahe*; Spanish, *tambor*), like "bugles in a march." The flutist is called *kusialeo* or *lauteo* and the drummer *kubaheleo* or *tampaleo*.

According to the man who has been head flutist during the time of observation, the flute is played three times [in a descending scale] as a signal for the lines to start from headquarters. The drum should answer with three beats after the first time, two after the second, and one after the third. As the lines march three times around the church cross, the flute and drum are played in one series for each circling and continue to play until the formation stops in front of the church. When they start from the church for a procession, the flutist and drummer signal as before, play as often as they wish on the way to the first station of the cross, signal for the start when they leave, and so on around the Way of the Cross. They do not play during prayers at the stations except at the eleventh station (Calvary), when they play during the alabanzas. At the church during the closing services they play as they wish during the alabanzas but not during the prayers or the sermon. In general, this is the pattern for all flute playing.

The drummer uses a double-headed drum about 15 inches in diameter, made of rawhide lashed with thongs to a wooden frame. The drum is beaten in answer to the flute, as described above, and never in any other way during

the marching. When the church bell is rung to call people to the ceremonies, the fariseo drum is sometimes beaten rapidly and loudly at the same time, or shortly thereafter.

Neither the drum nor the flute is burned on the Judas pyre on Holy Saturday.

CHAPAYEKAS

The chapayekas are the common soldiers of the fariseos and are an integral part of the fariseo society. There is a tendency for the outsider to differentiate them on account of their masks and greater diversity of behavior; but it is clear that their vow is to service as chapayekas in the fariseo society. One chapayeka appears on the first Friday of Lent to initiate the search for Jesus, and their number is augmented until there are as many as fifteen or twenty in Holy Week. Timid, bewildered, hesitant in their pantomime early in Lent, they evolve gradually and according to established pattern into impudent, threatening, and finally victorious aggressors. They reach their full strength on Holy Thursday with the capture of Jesus, and on Good Friday with the symbolic crucifixion of Jesus. Tricked by the church group, they lose possession of the figure of Christ on Good Friday night. At the climax of the Easter Ceremony during The Gloria on Holy Saturday, when they are again searching, the chapayekas and all the other fariseos are symbolically killed by flowers.

The chapayekas have special tasks pertaining to the ritual, and, by their very appearance and special behavior, they dramatize it. They have formalized ways of deriding the services and teasing the maestros. A secondary function is that of clown and entertainer, although it is displeasing to them to be called clowns, as, even when they are indulging in the most absurd and amusing free play, they are praying silently to themselves and are entirely within their dedicated role.

When they are standing in formation outside the church or fiesta *ramada* with the rest of the fariseos, and often between ceremonies when they wander about the plaza or through the village on errands, they indulge in inventive antics and free play. These are generally traditional, but inventions are introduced spontaneously from year to year. They must be ignored during religious services, but otherwise people are free to enjoy their pantomime. The children are openly amused by them at all times, except when the chapayekas draw too close. Then they are frightened and shrink back in apprehension.

Sometimes the chapayekas are assigned the task of making the rounds of the village, accompanied by corporals, to remind people that ceremonies are about to take place.

The chapayekas have no curing power, either currently or by tradition.

In the old days no one was supposed to take any notice of the chapayekas, because their purpose was to distract people from the religious part of the ceremonies. (35)

Chapayeka work is the most arduous of any duty, and expressions of sympathy are heard for the men whose vow it is. Boys are not allowed to start this service until they are in the middle or, commonly, late teens and are thought to be strong enough to undertake such rigorous penance. Meanwhile they serve generally as corporals. If necessary, a boy may be kept in his temporary position until someone appears with a vow to fill it. In former times a boy was not allowed to "put on his mask" until he was married. The reason for this is not clear to informants, but now they do not always wait. In any event a young chapayeka is instructed in his duties by his superiors and also has ample opportunity to learn by observation.

[When a chapayeka is confirmed] the maestro explains in a short sermon all about his duties and obligations and things he will have to go through, like people talking bad about him, and that he will be tired and thirsty and hungry and sleepy. And the same thing is told in the farewell sermon [on Easter Sunday]. (17)

The captain and Pilate are supposed to talk three times a day and give them advice, so they don't have to lose nothing of the work you are doing for Jesus Christ. (23)

... the parents might make a three-year vow as a chapayeka for a child. It is not a question of how sick he is, but considering the child. It is very hard work, and he considers that he is not doing it himself. So he might make only a three-year vow for the child. Thereafter the boy might still be grateful to the father and to the Lord and might continue to serve until he dies. (55)

From one experienced chapayeka comes an intimation that training starts before birth, another expression of the concept of tekia given in the womb, thought by most to have been confined originally to the pascola and deer.

They say we were born that way since we were little kids. We have to be chapayeka sometime, before we were born. Some old men say that. That's why we act that way. (23)

As with all those under vow, it is believed that a chapayeka must fulfill his obligations with good heart, or he will be punished. It is also thought that Jesus, to whom the men are praying constantly, will aid him in his difficult tasks.

[If it is not done with his whole heart] he would get sick and die. I heard one time of a man who had a mask and stick, and he didn't believe. He just played. He didn't do it with his whole heart, so he died. You miss your glory if you don't do everything you have to do. It is a pretty important thing to do. Chapayeka is the thing you work for God all the time. . . . They say that God helps you to do things right. [This man went on to say that one time he was pretty sick with a bad cough. He didn't know how he was going to get through because he was pretty sick; but he did, and God helped him. And sometimes when he is working at a job, he gets very tired, and he thinks he can't do it. But God helps him. He has been a chapayeka for seventeen years and he never gets sick]. (23)

The leader of the chapayekas (*yo'o chapayeka*, *chapayeka yo'owe* or *Huras yo'owe*) is the man most experienced in the service, and one who can be depended upon. He must be familiar with the alabanzas and prayers of the church group and lead the rest of the chapayekas in ritual behavior. He must have knowledge of the special duties of the chapayekas, and he must know the march steps. He stands in the first chapayeka position in the right line. Heading the left line is another experienced man. Older men say that the first two or first four chapayekas in line not only should be the most experienced but should wear humanoid masks. "They act like foremen, and the others behind act like laborers" (17). The real pattern, as observed, is that four of the older and more dependable men do take the first and second positions but that they do not always wear humanoid masks, not even the head chapayeka.

The man who is the only chapayeka to appear at the first Friday procession in Lent, and who has especially intricate pantomime to perform on that day, does so on ritual request from the fariseo leaders. He is known as the *ke'esam* or *primer chapayeka*, or *ke'esam yeu sikame* (he who comes first). The request is made in the name of Jesus ("it comes from heaven up there"), and therefore the man has an obligation to accept, however inconvenient it may be for him. It is a three-year duty, and for it he is supposed to wear a long-eared mask. Some, especially the older informants, say that it should be a bull mask. The pattern observed has not been consistent. Ideally, the head chapayeka should be the first chapayeka, but this has not always been possible. If the head chapayeka appears late, the first chapayeka is at the head of the right line.

The one who comes out on the second Friday also does so on ritual request, but only for one year. There is disagreement as to whether it is traditional for him to wear a long-eared mask.

One of the senior chapayekas gives the following speech as typical of a ritual request by fariseo officers for a man to appear as first chapayeka:

Well, yes, my father, in this present hour we came to you here in your household property, my father. But we walk here not with our own intention. Maybe Our Leader God, Lord Jesus Christ, ordered us over here. And Our Mother, Most Holy Mary, maybe she said so. Well, we came saying this. Well, my father, truly we make a request of you. Tomorrow that Holy Friday comes to us. Well, my father, you will wear that flower, our flower [chapayeka mask], with us. Forgive us, my father, you will lead us, will sound that bat [the sound of chapayeka weapons hitting together] with us, and will look for tracks [of Jesus] with us. There is no one else, and maybe no one out there was chosen by Our Father Jesus Christ. Maybe you are chosen out there this way. Maybe it was put in our hearts. This way we request you, my father. That much remains in your hands. (23)

The chapayekas wear masks of the helmet type and old pants tied tightly at the ankle with rawhide thongs. Over their blankets or worn-out coats they wear rattle belts, which are called *rihu'utiam*, from *rihuti* (motion). These are wide leather belts, to which are attached short leather thongs, on the ends of which are fastened deer-hoof rattles, or the more modern version, hog-hoof or goat-hoof rattles. Sometimes small metal ones of the same general size and shape, but flatter, are used. Deer-hoof rattles are traditional and more highly prized, but they are difficult to obtain. The rattles stand out in a clump around the hips, and the sound made by shaking them is an important item in chapayeka pantomime. Some belts are decorated handsomely with a lacing of flat leather thongs in conventional patterns. It is said that the type of belt has nothing to do with the mask worn. The belt is sometimes spoken of as a cartridge belt, and chapayekas are seen tapping it in a threatening gesture.

Often strings of cocoon rattles (Yaqui, *teneboim*; Spanish, *cascabeles*) like those of the pascolas, but with only one or two coils, are wrapped around the ankles. These rattles hum and buzz with the movements of the wearer. Pieces of hide are sometimes worn around the ankle, especially by men with animal masks. Yaqui sandals, with rawhide thongs and flat rawhide, or sometimes tire casing, soles are always worn on the feet.

In the right hand the chapayeka carries a long wooden sword called a *chapayeka kuta*, or sometimes *yoko kuta* (stick or spotted stick). Less often the word *ehpam*, from the Spanish *espada*, is employed. The sword is sometimes curved or twisted according to the fancy of its owner. In his left hand, and tied to his wrist by string or rawhide, is a wooden dagger called *kuta kuchi'im* (wooden knife). The sword and dagger are shaped at the top to fit the hand. Some of the swords have saw-toothed edges near the handle to produce a grating sound when the daggers are rubbed against them. Both swords and daggers are painted with a white ground and are decorated with

painted designs, most often in black and red. Design elements include bars, single or in groups; triangles, in single rows or point to point; dots; diamonds, singly or in series; concentric circles; and others, according to the desire of the owner. Sometimes, but not always, they bear relationship to the type of mask worn with them. For example, a man with the mask of a gambler has been seen to have card designs on his sword. The tips of the swords are painted red, symbolic of the blood of Christ. These weapons are used in various ways important in chapayeka behavior. They must be retained in the hands of the chapayeka at all times when he is wearing his mask, except during special ritual duties. These sticks are allowed to touch the ground, unlike the Pilato lance and caballero weapons.

It is explained rather inadequately that, although the chapayekas do things in a left-handed manner, they carry the sword in the right hand for protection.

The chapayeka mask is known by a number of terms, any one of which may be preceded by the word chapayeka. A conservative name, little used, is *hisa* (helmet mask). *Chomo* is more frequently heard, but it is explained that a *chomo* is not a mask, but a feathered headdress, such as is worn by the coyote dancers of the military society, which is said to resemble old Yaqui headdresses. *Chomo* is sometimes used to describe the feathered headdress of the North American Indian. Occasionally the word *koba* (head) is heard, and it is used freely in talking of The Gloria on Holy Saturday, when people say that the chapayekas "will have their heads cut off" (*koba chuktane*) when they throw their masks on the Judas pyre to be burned. The word *naka'ara* (long-eared) is commonly employed for the old type of mask with long ears, and *Yori* (Mexican) for the newer type of humanoid mask, as described below.

The term most frequently heard in village conversation, and almost exclusively by the chapayekas themselves, is *sewa*, or *chapayeka sewa*, or *sewa* of the *kohtumbre ya'ura*. This refers to all types of mask. The older chapayekas say it has been used for as long as they can remember. It stems from the fact that, although the mask represents evil, it is through wearing the mask, and his behavior at that time, that the owner gains the heavenly reward, or *sewa*. Hence the mask is a symbol of ceremonial labor performed, which is itself called *sewa*, and of divine approval and reward, or *sewa*. This is linked specifically with the legend that the blood of Christ turned into flowers as it fell from the cross.

It is a flower for the owner. Which means it is a flower for the owner that the Lord promised to them. The heavenly glory. [Among ourselves] we always call the mask *sewa*. (31)

We call it flower because what we do here is not really done in an evil spirit, but represents evil. Through the mask you represent evil. . . . and

the chapayekas, when they do their penance, they earn grace by wearing their mask. And that is why it is called *sewa*. (58)

[The wool tips] is why the mask is called flower. Even if it is a new type of mask, it is still called flower. It is known by that name since a long time ago. And when a Pilate or any other officer gives an order, he would tell them "You had better start making your *sewa*." He would do that even if the mask was not decorated with flowers. [How did that start?] . . . it is probable that it is the flower of Christ. The same blood that mixed up with the earth and became flowers. That is why the mask is called flower. It came from the Lord's blood. It is the Lord's weapon by which he fought with the fariseos to conquer them. (17)

The chapayeka mask is made of cowhide or, preferably, goathide. In recent years cardboard has been used to some extent. The mask is of the helmet type, covers the entire head, and terminates below the jaw line. It has small openings, almost invisible in the decoration, for vision. Generally each man makes his own in whatever form he desires, but it is considered proper to have another chapayeka do it. Sometimes men become adept at the art and are frequently enlisted. Often the parents of a chapayeka about to be confirmed request an experienced mask maker to fashion one for the confirmer if his godfather is not skilled. There is pride in both the workmanship and the ingenuity of mask making.

Unlike the regalia of any other group, even of the other fariseos, the mask is made in secret, and no one is allowed to see it or to help make it except another chapayeka. When not in use, it is hidden in a sack away from public view. On the inside of each mask, where it touches the forehead, is a cross formée. The mask is held to be sacred, not only because it is blessed by being in the service but because the red on the mask represents the blood of Jesus. All materials left over from making the mask are burned. Godparent terminology is not used when a chapayeka is wearing the mask.

[The man himself] makes it, or it can be another chapayeka. It must be a chapayeka, because anyone else don't got no business with the masks. The corporals are supposed to do it, too, if a chapayeka is busy and can't. Them corporals take care of the chapayekas and they can do it. [And the swords?] Anyone can make those. [Why not the masks?] The paint they put on, they say it is the *sangre*—Hesu kristota ohbo (the blood of Christ). That is why they respect that paint. It is like Jesus' blood. They say it is the blood they paint with. [If any is left] they give it to another chapayeka for their mask. [It is not blessed] they just buy it and use it. All the red on the mask is the blood. (23)

The people speak of two types of mask, the naka'ara or old type, and the Yori or Mexican. There are two types of long-eared masks. One is conventionalized, humanoid, with large ears. The other may resemble an animal, bird or butterfly, which may or may not have large ears. A striped or figured, brightly colored cotton commercial blanket is worn with the old type, draped in a manner to resemble a coat, and pinned with horse blanket pins or wooden pegs. This classification of masks will be called long-eared.

Yori (plural, Yorim) sometimes pronounced Yo'i or Yo'im, means Mexican in the Yaqui language. It is applied to the masks that are naturalistic, anthropomorphic representations of human beings. The term humanoid will be used for them since the caricatures, in earlier times made only of Mexicans, now include many types found elsewhere. With the humanoid mask is worn an old overcoat and hat.

All say that the long-eared type of mask is the oldest. This has very large stiff ears standing out from the head, not modeled, but cut from one thickness of hide. The ears may be pointed, rounded, scalloped, or square. The nose, also not modeled, is long, sharply pointed, and is generally turned up but sometimes horizontal. Small horns, or incipient horns, are often tipped with bits of red wool or string, representing flowers, which also appear sometimes on the ears. The older chapayekas say that many years ago chicken feathers were used for this purpose. These may be seen in photographs taken in 1923.

The mask is painted white, with black and red predominating in the decorations, in that order. Blue and yellow are very occasionally seen. An old chapayeka (17) says that in the Yaqui villages in Mexico natural colors were used: burned bones for white; a soft rich stone for red; a weed for green; charcoal for black; mesquite for yellow; and a bean like a mesquite bean for blue. Commercial paints are now used. There is almost without exception red paint on the tips of the ears and nose, representing the blood of Jesus.

The face may be outlined with lines defining the jaw and forehead, less often the sides. It may be round or pointed. Sometimes there is a heart-shaped line over the forehead. The eyes and mouth are shown by lines, most often black, except for the mouth, which may be red, or black, or both. The mouth is sometimes smiling. Teeth are often painted in, and a moustache is frequently present, either painted on or made of a small piece of undressed hide. The eyes are most often wide open, sometimes colored blue. Eyebrows and eyelashes may be painted on, often very much exaggerated. In addition to the function of defining features, straight, curved or wavy lines may be used as decoration. They may occur on any part of the face, ears, or horns. They are often seen in parallel rows on the horns.

Almost all masks have triangles in rows, often in double rows, which outline the lower part of the face and the lower edge of the mask. They may

also delineate the forehead, appear on the sides of the nose and on the ears, often along the outer edge. These triangles are generally in red, or black, or both, but other colors have been seen.

Dots are frequently used, especially around the area of the eye holes, almost hiding the holes. One elderly chapayeka explains the dots:

There are some little animals that have such little points, some kind of lizard. Sometimes they are black like a Gila monster. It is just a figure that they use for colors. There is a lizard that they call a salamander that is tiny and transparent, that has spots. Sometimes they put dots to represent a person when they get smallpox. (17)

Symbols of flowers, or parts of flowers, especially the corolla, are used in decoration, often in conventionalized flower or leaf forms. Four-, five-, and six-pointed stars are seen, often with the points around a circle with a dot inside. Stars are used on the ears, on the front or back, or both, and occasionally on the cheek or neck. Lizards, snakes, centipedes, tarantulas, scorpions, turtles, horned toads, frogs, and spiders are used less often than the flower forms. They are most often seen on the back of the ear or on the neck.

The older chapayekas say that the use of flower designs on the masks is an innovation, that masks seen in the Yaqui settlements in Tucson between 1909 and 1920 were decorated with scorpions, centipedes, spiders, turtles, lizards, horned toads, tarantulas, and snakes. They had feather tips on the ears instead of red wool or string. They report that the same was true of masks on the Río Yaqui. One of the oldest of the chapayekas (31) correlates this type of decoration with the association of the pascolas with the little animals of the desert, the *animalitos* to whom the pascolas pray in their opening rite. These men say that in about 1920 the younger men started using first stars, then flowers, on their masks. In pictures taken in Pascua in 1923 one chapayeka of the six shown had a spray of flowers painted on each ear.

In older times they never used to have the formal type of flower. They used to paint them with some kind of insects and reptiles, and the triangle has been used all the time. The triangle around the face with the point out, they are supposed to represent the sun. In case of the points are turned toward the inside of the face, then it is supposed to represent the teneboim, because they were decorated with insects and reptiles and so on, and the cocoon rattles represent the cocoon nests, and thereby the insects. The saber and dagger are also decorated with the same forms of the cocoon rattles. The cocoon is the insect . . .[they

use insects and animalitos] because, since he represents evil, he is considering himself with the animals. It is symbolic of what the pascolas also do when he is praying to the reptiles. That is why he decorates the mask with the same kind of animals. Like "Saint Turtle." (31)

It is not very good to use the flower as they do it now. (38)

[Reptiles and insects] are what they should have instead of flowers. The men don't like to have them, because the others are always hitting them, trying to kill them. (9)

Some of the older chapayekas say that many of this type of long-eared mask represent the sun or moon, but this is not a well-established explanation. They say that to represent the sun one puts the triangles bordering the lower part of the mask on the outside of the line facing out, and for the moon they are placed on the inside of the line facing in. The ears for a moon (*mecha*) mask should be in the shape of a new moon, pointing a little up from horizontal. A star may be represented by four star points—two points for the ears, a point between, which takes the place of horns, and a fourth point for the chin. The triangles for this mask face inward from the line at the bottom of the mask. It is called a kometa. One chapayeka says that triangles facing in represent cocoons and, therefore, insects. (31)

Included in the second type of old mask are the bird, animal, and butterfly stereotypes. They are said to have been introduced to give the chapayekas a chance for special imitative play. The wearer behaves, and is behaved toward, like the subject of his mask. For the popular butterfly mask, the great ears are fashioned like the wings of a butterfly and are decorated with designs reminiscent of butterfly wings. Some are executed with great beauty. The horns are extended to represent antennae. The wearer may pretend to fly about like a butterfly, and the other chapayekas sometimes pretend to catch him with a net.

The bull mask is considered to be the oldest and most popular of the animal masks. A pelt, often dark brown, sometimes black, covers the back of the head and neck. The face is shaped somewhat like that of a bull. The ears are small, sometimes of pelt, and the horns are horizontal. Often a nose with red nostrils and a bull-like mouth are painted on. Sometimes pieces of the pelt are worn around the ankles. This is considered an arduous impersonation, as the chapayeka is expected to be very active in his play. He paws the ground, charges, and tries to hook the other chapayekas. They pretend to ride and break him like a wild bull, and he throws them off. This has frequently been observed in Pascua. The goat mask is also popular, but less so. It has white pelt, nose, ears, and horns like a goat. This chapayeka is constantly in motion, butting the others, who may amuse themselves by feeding him cans or rubbish. A ram has turned-down ears. A rabbit mask has long ears and a face painted like that of a rabbit, with a profuse use of

pelt. The chapayeka may hop like a rabbit, or dance to what he pretends is the rabbit song of the pascola. Others chase him and pretend to skin and dismember him. A man with a dog mask is seen to wag his sword like a tail, pretend to worry a bone, and get down on all fours and beg, while the others pretend to feed and pat him. Other animal masks that have been seen, although less frequently, are a burro and a monkey.

Among the bird masks, a pelican with a fish dangling from its beak is well remembered in the village. Several owls have been seen, with tufted ears, a beak, and large round eyes. Other birds represented have been roosters, ravens, hawks, buzzards and roadrunners. The ears of the latter drooped down like wings, the nose rose above the top of the mask in the form of a beak, with a crest on top. Men wearing bird masks sometimes lean over and make head movements like pecking, and tap on the ground with their swords to make the appropriate sound. A bat (*sochik*) is a favorite form, with ears shaped like bat wings. It may have the head and body of a bat on top of the mask between the ears. The wearer swoops about, clicking his sword and dagger to make the sound of a bat at night. The rest flee, as the bat is associated with the fears of the night—ghosts and haunted places.

The making of Yori, or humanoid, masks commenced within the memory of the oldest chapayekas, who say that the “chapayekas started imitating what they saw.” These masks gave opportunities for new impersonations and inventive play. Mexican soldiers and policemen were the first to be caricatured—hence the name Yori. In general, the background of the mask is painted white for Mexicans, pink for Anglos, and black or brown for negroes. Two Oriental masks in 1947 and one in 1952 were yellow. The ears are cupped, approximating human ears, and almost always have some red on them. There are no horns. The nose is turned down in a humanlike shape, is often modeled, and, like the nose of the long-eared type, is tipped with red. The eyes are colored more often than those of the old type, hair is painted on, or, more often, made of pelt, as is the moustache. There is frequently a beard of pelt. Teeth are generally painted in, and at least one mask was seen to have several gold teeth. Triangles around the neck often persist. These masks often have animal or flower decoration on the back when there is room, less often lizard and insect forms, symbols of mythology.

Chapayekas with humanoid masks wear old, long overcoats, over which their rattle belts are fastened; hats suitable to their roles; and frequently a feather on the hat at an amusing angle. The men say that before coats were available they wore blanket-coats of the same type worn with the older masks and hats of sheepskin. This was seen when the older chapayekas were young men.

There is almost always a mask of an old man (Spanish, *viejito*; Yaqui, *wero yo'o tu'i* or *wero o'ola*). Its owner takes the part of the Viejito on

Thursday afternoon in Holy Week. White pelt, generally with hair several inches long, is used for hair and beard. The wearer sometimes pantomimes the uncertain demeanor of an old man, bending over and using his sword for a cane. Mexican soldiers and policemen are still common. Anglo gamblers may have card designs on their swords. Hoboes are dressed in particularly disreputable coats. A chapayeka with a negro mask sometimes pretends to shoot dice and is often joined by the others. A North American Indian mask appeared in 1941 and was said to represent an Apache. He had red-brown skin, a commercial feathered warbonnet, arrows painted on his cheeks, a braid of black paper hair hanging down each side of his face, and he carried a sword that was crooked and painted with snake designs. He used his weapons as if they were bow and arrow. He pretended to do a snake dance, and others tried to teach him Mexican and Yaqui dances. He said afterwards that he tried to "dance and act mean." The Japanese and Chinese masks in 1947 created great interest in the village and have been mentioned many times since. The Korean mask in 1952 was also of interest. An Anglo sheriff in 1951 wore a badge, pretended to police the actions of others, and acted important and bossy. Anglo tourists are sometimes caricatured by the chapayekas, who pretend to take photographs, swing at an imaginary golf ball, act inquisitive about the ceremonies, or ostentatiously look at a wristwatch. A ghost mask has a pointed top, round ears, and the wearer may have a black cloth draped around him. One such carried a toy that squeaked, and the others aped fear when he approached.

Villagers say that it is not allowable to make a feminine mask, and none has been seen by this observer. A snake must not be used because it is not God-made (*Diohta ya'ari*). One man made a mask of a devil, which was "horrible." He became ill and could not finish Lent, and he and "everyone thought it was because of his mask." It is said that there should be a mask like a Jew and one like a king, though the latter is seldom seen. Also that there should be "both wild and domestic animals, because they may be seen among the people who were after Christ. There were all those things. With a whole group of people they will see a lot of things" (58).

All deny any tendency to make the masks as scapegoats for people whom they dislike, and they point out that the early masks were often made like things very agreeable to them, as the sun, moon, stars, butterfly symbols, etc. "They just make what they want." Some men have a special talent for making interesting masks, and the people take pleasure in recalling them or in finding them in old pictures.

On Holy Saturday of 1951, there were twenty masks: nine were conventionalized long-eared, four were representational long-eared (a bird, a bat, and two butterflies), and seven were humanoid (two Anglo hoboes, three Mexican soldiers, an Anglo sheriff, and a *viejito*).

Although the chapayekas with representational masks of either type

indulge in special behavior suitable to their masks, they adhere to chapayeka strictures in all ways and behave as the rest do in relation to chapayeka taboos and to the requirements of the ritual. Even when they are active in free play, they are not thought of as merely entertainers; rather, they are representing the acts of people who mocked Christ.

The way they play around is partly for entertainment, but in the other sense it is to represent the acts when they were taking Christ to Calvary, the way they were leaping around, mocking. They represent the soldiers who were mocking Christ. (17)

The true meaning is that they want to represent how the people were that Christ had to deal with. It is ritual; it is not pure entertainment. They are showing what went on when Jesus was on earth. (55)

Although by special permission pictures have been taken of the ceremonies, making sketches has been forbidden. It would, therefore, be a breach of faith to reproduce any drawings of the masks. However, it is possible to mention a few that memory retains, with no dates or other identifying information. One was a mask of the long-eared type, with light brown hair covering the top and back of the head, and also depicting heavy eyebrows and beard. The hair was parted down the center of the back and combed toward the sides, which offered endless and irresistible opportunities to the other chapayekas for combing and playing with it. Dots in black, red, and blue were the only decoration, except for red on the tip of the nose and a malletlike figure in black, blue, and white on the front of each ear. The wearer was an accomplished pantomimist, and the long hair and floppy ears were in almost constant animation. He appeared to be changing expression.

A mask of an Oriental with yellow-orange complexion had turned-up pointed ears, abnormally slanted eyes, dazzlingly white teeth in a large down-turned mouth, and a rising sun on its small cap. A surprised-looking rabbit had luxuriant black rabbit-fur whiskers over a tiny red mouth, round eyes, and erect straight ears painted pink inside. A *pachuco* (young men of Mexican descent who speak an argot called Pachuco) mask had long thick brown hair, pink round ears that stood straight out from the head, blue eyes, and a small black hat. A round pink spot on each cheek and black dots around the eye spaces completed the decoration. The owner carried a long chain and walked like a pachuco.

A mask with beautifully curved and decorated butterfly wings had red and green triangles on the nose and at the bottom of the mask, and four gracefully curved red centipedes on the back of the head and ears. Red bars and a red tip decorated the nose. On each side of the head was a conventionalized turtle, finely drawn, with green legs and scales, black eyes and

nose, and red on the tip of the tail. Remembered details are a conventionalized lizard and a spider, both in graceful, curving lines and well spaced to form a design on each side of the back of the mask. A conventionalized fish adorned the front of each ear of another.

Within the memory of older chapayekas the men wore the mask on top of the head, facing backward, when they went about doing manual work in connection with the ceremonies, and also during the ritual of public veneration. These practices are no longer observed. Although men are sometimes seen carrying their masks on their swords in processions, in each instance observed it was because the chapayeka was suffering from a cold.

The masks and weapons are burned in the Judas conflagration after The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning, except for two which are used mainly for death ceremonies. It is considered traditional to save the long-eared type, but these masks have not always been selected. They should be among the best and not have been used for more than one year. One or more of the fariseo officers decides which shall be rescued, and a corporal is instructed to attach a string to them so that the men who tend the blaze can find them.

If a mask is used in a death ceremony it cannot be worn again by a chapayeka, but it may be put on the figure of Judas the following year. If a mask is on hand that has not been used in a death ceremony, it may be worn by someone who comes late and has no time to make one. It cannot, however, be worn by its original owner, as "it is his head that has been cut off, so naturally he cannot use it again."

The chapayeka mask is never sold or given away, as it is sacred and "part of their penance." It is regarded as certain that misfortune will beset a man who does so.

A man can't sell his mask when he is using it because it is going to be hard on him that Jesus would not forgive him for doing it. He might punish him for doing it. He might get punished for selling his mask and even the chapayeka ya'ura would punish him because it is Jesus' work. It is being used to serve Jesus. He uses it and sweats in it, and has a hard time if he sells it. It is the same as selling Jesus' blood and is the same as if he was just playing with it. (9)

The mask clearly has potentialities for both good and evil, in ways that are not true for other chapayeka regalia or for that of any other group. This ambivalence has been observed to cause uneasiness among the chapayekas. Like other regalia, the mask is sacred, and perhaps more than any other paraphernalia, it is associated with the blood of Jesus. Through wearing it the owner fulfills his vow, and, if he carries out his duties with good heart, adheres to the rigid code expected of him in his personal life and in respect care of his regalia, he earns the approval of, and the reward from, Christ.

This aspect is comparable to the attitudes of, for instance, a *matachin* dancer toward his crown, and the same punishments are expected if he fails. But special danger is inherent in the *chapayeka* mask. It is spoken of not only as blessed but as evil, as of the devil, as the evil that he wears on his head. No other regalia are referred to in this way. A *chapayeka* may ward off this danger by holding the cross of his rosary in his mouth and by constant recital of prayers and sacred names; but if he does not perform his vows with good heart, if he breaks any of the special taboos surrounding the mask, as described below, and especially if he allows contamination of the mask by an outsider, he risks retaliation by the mask. This animistic attribute of the mask is unique to this one item of regalia, and it is so recognized by informants. It is said variously that the mask may stick to his head when he tries to remove it to throw on the Judas pyre at The Gloria; or he may wear the face of the mask after death; or he may be condemned and return as a ghost to be heard in the village; or the mask and his rattle belt and weapons may be heard going around the Way of the Cross during the night. These beliefs are current and well documented, and it is clear that they concern only the *chapayeka* mask.

A *chapayeka* must guard his mask well. He must not allow anyone to approach him too closely or to stare at him, lest someone with evil in his heart, perhaps someone who has been drinking, look at it too intently or, even worse, touch it. If his mask is thus contaminated, he risks retaliation. He must turn away if an outsider draws near, and, if someone sneezes or coughs, he must clean himself off carefully with his dagger. No ritual or other danger to the public is involved, only to the mask—and therefore to the wearer.

This reaction of quick withdrawal and scraping off against profane contamination is identical to that against holy things, such as prayers, sacred songs, holy figures, flowers. In the first instance the mask is being protected and kept clean, and the *chapayeka* himself, as a creature “in other ways” or “not human,” is protected against contact with human beings. In the second instance there are two elements: antagonism and fear, as the *chapayekas* are opposed to the church group in the dramatization of the Passion and realize that in the end they will be doomed to have their heads cut off.

There is a danger from the mask, and there is not danger from the swords. They must not have evil thoughts, even in all of Lent. The owner is the only one to benefit from the mask. No one else must touch it, or even look at it closely. Because he might have evil thoughts and be drunk and the owner of the mask will have to pay the consequences when he gets to heaven. If that mask should not be clean when burned [on the Judas pyre], the owner will have to take the consequences for

not taking care of it. No one even in the society should touch it except the corporal who takes care of him; and even he should not try to put it on or touch it, except to serve the chapayeka. When a new mask is made, no one except the owner is supposed to know about it or to watch. Anyone can watch an officer make a sword.

If a man does not come out right on the ceremony, if he dies and goes to Itom Achai hoapo, which is God's home, or heaven, he would be punished by having his mask stick to his head for awhile, and he can't take it off. If he does not do that penance, he will come down here as a ghost and will be seen and heard in the night on this earth, out of Lent. (58)

[The chapayekas] must take a certain care of the masks. They turn their backs as soon as people stare at them too much. The mask must not be touched by anyone, and even if someone brushes against a chapayeka, he must clean himself off. The corporal who carries the mask does it with the face not toward the corporal. [If you do not take care of the mask, what happens?] It's something like, well, we have a certain word for calling a person who is condemned for sin, *chupne*, which means [will be] finished. Condemned on this earth, because the sound is heard at night, of rattles and the stick, and it is heard running around. The man is alive, but still the sounds are heard. . . . another thing, the same thing happens when a person should happen to talk while wearing the mask, and even if he coughs or sneezes inside of it. He takes off his mask as quickly as he can and asks directly to the Lord for forgiveness.

It might happen that when he was going to take it off after the three runs [at The Gloria], he might not be able to take it off. Then he might get excited and try to run away with it. It would be the result of not having faith in the Lord. (31)

. . . an old man told me that in Pascua he saw a chapayeka running on the desert about twenty-two years ago. He told a lot of us, not only me. A chapayeka with his mask and everything. That man didn't do it right. He went into darkness, and he was a *mukia*, a ghost. He saw him in the daytime. . . . [A maestro said once that] if you don't work with good heart he has the face of the mask after he dies. [I have heard also] that men get sick and die if he does not work with good heart. (23)

. . . There is another point, that when a person does not work on it with faith, then his sound is heard on the holy Way of the Cross. (9)

The fariseo, as soon as he starts wearing the mask, should not drink any wine or liquor.

If he does not respect his *insinio*, and, while he is working in a ceremony, he will want to go out in the dark and run around with women while being in the work, he remains not right. He is also *chupia* (con-

demned). [What punishment?] The same as a civilian doing disrespect to his co-gōdparents. Both own the benediction in the first place, and then if he fails to do it right he is punished. . . . The insinio begins to be heard when the person dies, and then they think it is from the person who owns the benediction and trespassed. (17)

If he doesn't pray, or anyway if he does it just because someone said he had to, but he doesn't like to do it, then he gets punished. They say "he is going to condemn himself." They say that the mask belongs to the devil, and if they don't pray, the devil will take them. (20)

There are rigid behavior patterns that a chapayeka must follow or risk divine retribution. These are far more complicated than, and, as will be evident, often of a different nature from, those of other participants. Observation and interviews reveal the fact that these are generally honored. If a chapayeka does err in his behavior, he may appeal to Jesus for forgiveness. He may also be saved by a corporal, who, seeing him commit a sin, whips him three times. This action by a corporal has rarely been observed.

The mask of a chapayeka is always put on and taken off while the owner is lying down, even when done in the privacy of the headquarters. He prays as he removes or puts it on with his left hand, and with his right hand makes the sign of the cross and removes or puts in his mouth his rosary. Since it is a sin to cough or sneeze within the mask, a man frequently has occasion to remove it during the ceremonies. He may run to the side of the road and seek the privacy of a small bush or a fence; but if he lies down within the fariseo formation, other chapayekas gather around him to shield him from sight. They often dance or engage in a bit of play or hit their swords with their daggers to distract the attention of onlookers. A courteous spectator will look away. Besides being a sin not to lie down, it is done so that the chapayeka will not be recognized. "They hide the most they can" (17).

He must lie down on his [left] side, with his knees flexed and one foot crossed over the other. It is said that if you don't do it [that way], the devil will get you. . . . so they say if you lie down [wrong] the other chapayekas will run away from you. When you put your mask on again you put it on with the left hand and make the sign of the cross with the right hand and say the Our Father. (23)

It is as if he was starting to pray, because when he is putting on his mask it is like starting to pray. He does it just like he would kneel down in prayer as an individual. While wearing the mask he continues his prayers. It is because he is going to be praying all the time. In case of taking it off, he takes it off with his left hand, but he must hold the dagger in his hand while taking it off. Then when he gets his mask off, he can turn loose of the dagger and sword. (17)

Each chapayeka wears around his neck one of the rosaries given to him by his godparents when he was confirmed into the fariseo society. He must hold the cross of the rosary in his mouth while he wears his mask, and must repeat prayers to himself, or repeat the name of Jesus. Thus he constantly bears in mind Jesus, to whom he is promised and for whom he is acting as chapayeka. He invokes His aid to protect him from the evil inherent in the mask and in the sacrilegious actions necessary in this role. It is also a sin to speak while wearing the mask, and holding the cross in his mouth makes it impossible.

Chapayekas have commented on the difficulty of having to “act in two ways,” that is, keeping the mind on Jesus in His service, and at the same time performing derisive acts as enemies of Jesus.

They have to pray every minute, and the reason they can't talk is that the rosary is in the mouth, so all the time they are praying. If they can't pray, they call “Ave Maria, Ave Maria” all the time to keep the evil that they are wearing on their head away. (9)

They say Hail Marys and Our Fathers all the time so that the devil does not carry them off, and so the evil does not enter their spirit. (8)

. . . to keep away the devil. They are praying all the time. If they did not have [the rosaries] in their mouths, the devil would make them say bad things. (20)

. . . they think of Him all the time. They pray or say “Jesus, Jesus” all the time.

. . . so that they will not talk, because it is their penance that they should not talk. (14)

It is considered that the chapayeka in his memory is always reciting the holy rosary of Mary. In that way he cannot utter a loud noise, which is a sin to do. He holds the little red cotton and cross in his mouth, and he is supposed to be praying all the time, and that is to keep him from talking. Because if a fariseo talks in his mask, he commits a sin. Or if he sneezes and coughs too. (55)

The mask is evil, but the man inside is not, and so he holds the cross in his mouth. (64)

A chapayeka must do everything left-handed and with his back turned, or half-turned. One reason for turning away is so that he will not be fully seen, or be stared at. Even a corporal, when speaking to a chapayeka, does so from behind, to help him carry out his rule. When a chapayeka gives or receives an object, he uses his left hand and turns at least partly away. The older chapayekas say that they have heard that before their time the musical

instruments employed by them on Good Friday night and Holy Saturday were played with the left hand.

Informants do not connect chapayeka left-handedness with practices having to do with the dead. They say, furthermore, that in Yaqui culture left-handed activity has no place in the complex of the death ceremonies.

At first the chapayekas were supposed to do everything in a confused way, in order to represent the people. And those things that they did, they did with their left hands. They were also supposed not to play any tunes such as dancing pieces. My father told me that they would play music of their own, with the left hand. They would make up the tunes and maybe practice them. They would not play standard tunes, but funny tunes. They really played funny tunes. (55)

It is true that the chapayekas formerly were supposed to play their instruments with their left hands, make up their tunes, or just make noises. It was not for the purpose of entertaining in a human way. They have an inhuman way of doing things. (17)

If a chapayeka drops something, he must not pick it up, nor may he stoop down to tie his sandal. This is one reason why there are always corporals in attendance on the chapayekas, no matter where they are. If a corporal does not see at once that a chapayeka is in difficulty, he and generally other chapayekas chatter at the corporal importunately with their weapons until he notices.

When he drops anything he can't pick it up. It is not proper that he should pick it up. If the corporal is not available soon, then the others would pick it up with their swords in a playing way and put it up to where he could get it. . . . It is improper and sinful to pick it up. And no one but a corporal can hand it to him. It can't be just anybody. And if he takes it, he must not face the corporal. He must turn his back. (17)

It is sinful for a chapayeka to pick up anything. It is not that he is not supposed to stoop over, but it is sinful. [Why?] He is not supposed to be a human being. He is not supposed to talk. He is not human, so he can't do anything that a human does. He can't touch anyone, and if he happens to, he has to scrape himself off. He has instructions about these things. (31)

A chapayeka must at all times remain active in order to be alert to the danger that always threatens him. If a man seems to be falling asleep while on duty, the others tease him to keep him awake.

All the masked soldiers protect themselves by moving all the time. If one stays still just one moment, the others would come around him and

hit him or step on his foot. It is to take care of each other. The first two chapayekas in formation do not do very much of these movements, because they have to pay attention to the prayers, and the rest imitate them in their movements. (31)

Since chapayekas must not speak while wearing the mask, they depend on pantomime for communication. An important mechanism for this purpose is the act of jumping (*chepchepte*) and shaking the rattle belt. The basic action is a short, forceful, flat-footed jump, followed by a rapid side-to-side movement of the hips, which shakes harshly the rattles on the belt. Sometimes a chapayeka does not jump, but only raises his heels. Sometimes he makes several—perhaps one to six—preliminary jumps before the final one. The number varies with the whim of the chapayeka. If he wears cocoon ankle rattles, their buzzing adds to the effect.

For a formal greeting or farewell, as for example when the kohtumbre arrives at or leaves a house on limosna, the chapayeka repeats the basic action of the jump and the hip movement three times, thumping his feet firmly to the ground, flat-footed. This is also done when he wants to thank someone. He may signal with his weapons at the same time. If he is addressing specific individuals he turns or half-turns his back. When two chapayekas wish to simulate shaking hands, they jump back to back, each touching the sides of the other, in order to act in unison.

When a chapayeka emerges from fariseo headquarters he jumps and shakes his rattles for a greeting. When he takes his place in line (*lineapo* or *formacionpo*) in the fariseo formation, he faces sideways, jumps, and shakes his rattles for a greeting, and faces forward. The others in line reply in kind. They jump and shake their rattles at all starts and stops, when the fariseos are on the march. They salute each other in this way when they meet, when the fariseo lines are making rounds, and when they pass in front of the church or the altar side of the fiesta ramada.

The weapons of the chapayeka are also a major item in the pantomime of the chapayeka. In order to attract attention, he hits his sword with his dagger in a succession of quick, imperious strokes. By the use of his weapons and movements of his head, body, legs, and feet, he carries on long conversations with the other chapayekas. Along with the jump and noisy crackle of the hip rattles, he may gesticulate with his sticks in greetings. He uses them to beckon, to call attention to objects or events, to carry on mock battles. He touches other chapayekas with the point of his sword or dagger, to tease them or to help them stay awake. The one attacked may draw back in quick alarm, and may, perhaps, pass the gesture on to the next chapayeka in line, and so on until the whole line of chapayekas is in rocking motion. The weapons may be used to toss dirt, to manipulate bits of paper or cloth, which then may be passed from one to another on the swords. The sticks

are used to make derisive motions at the church group and to express a variety of emotions.

Common gestures with the dagger are to raise it over the eyes in a sighting gesture; to hold it up to the ear, head cocked as if straining to hear; to use it as a fan on a hot day; to rub the stomach in a gesture of hunger; and to look at the sky, elevate the dagger, and bring it down in a gentle series of movements suggesting rain.

The sword is often held to the eye as if it were a telescope, used as a cane, or as an aid in getting up off the ground. A chapayeka often leans on his sword as he shifts weight from foot to foot, or he may pivot around it in short hops. Both in ritual and in play he may ride his sword for a hobbyhorse. He may use it to push objects along the ground or to transfer them to other chapayekas.

Chapayekas are often seen to sharpen the sword with the dagger in a threatening gesture, and may make slashing or cutting motions. They may hit the sword with the dagger in a succession of quick, sharp sounds like a machine gun, or click the dagger on the sword held in a rifle fashion. Sometimes they hold two swords parallel and move their daggers quickly and harshly between the two. They simulate drinking vessels, as of water being poured, or they may pretend to get drunk. They often offer a drink to their companions from sword or dagger and sometimes make pouring motions into a hat. They tap the rattle belt as a reminder that they have "ammunition" or point to their pockets suggesting that they contain money. They beat their weapons briskly to keep time to the fariseo march or to matachin music. For this they hold the sword either parallel to the ground or upright.

To express anger a chapayeka may stamp his feet on the ground vigorously, push his sword point into the ground, and wave his arms about. To show off his strength he may push his fists in a series of downward, stiff, jerking motions. He may push his hands apart, palms down, to indicate nothing new, or push them apart in exaggerated fashion to express disgust. When he wants to show that he is bored or impatient with delay, he may beat his weapons in three-four time, or anticipate the next actions of the group that he is watching, as if to cue them. A common gesture of surprise and wonderment is to tap his sticks, press his palms together at about chest level, and look toward the heavens with a puzzled shake of the head.

Chapayekas often imitate the dance groups, either by doing the steps in exaggerated fashion, or by using their weapons to simulate the musical instruments used to accompany them. They have been seen to sit on the ground and smoke a twig, as if it were a Yaqui cigarette, and shake their heads wisely in imitation of a seer. Sometimes they rub the limbs of another with dirt, or massage them, as does the curer.

Chapayekas are easily alarmed, especially by sudden noises. They jump back and may run away in precipitous flight when a dog barks or a car

makes a noise near them. At a safe distance they may throw dirt from the end of the sword or kick out at the perpetrator of the noise. Fear is easily communicated; when one chapayeka becomes frightened, he may start an explosion of movement among the rest.

Every year a few of the chapayekas bring toys to play with. A favorite trick is to pull a rubber snake or lizard along the ground and draw it over the foot of another chapayeka, who leaps back in alarm. A large spider with legs of rubber springs was an object of interest one year, and toy dolls and monkeys are popular. They have been seen to stalk and "kill" with their swords toy animals and, twice, an old fur neckpiece.

A chapayeka may pretend to comb the hair or beard of a companion, or to cut a hair off and carry it along on his sword, or to find lice or fleas, which he either flings away in disgust or pretends to kill by hitting his dagger vigorously on his sword. Together or singly they find pieces of newspaper or old magazines which they retrieve with their weapons and pretend to read. A passing airplane is subject for attention-calling and mimicry. Sometimes when a train passes they chatter about it back and forth, and one may pantomime a long story about a train ride. If the whistle blows, they jump in alarm and sometimes punctuate each whistle with a jump. They have been seen to use an old ball in a left-handed ball game, with the swords as bats.

Occasionally the chapayekas go through the village on a *limosna* for themselves. They take no crucifix with them. One or more corporals are always in attendance to protect and help them. If people want to see them perform, they put a little food in a paper sack or a few cents on the ground near them, and the chapayekas imitate the dancing of other groups before picking it up, always with the left hand and with the back turned.

It is permitted that chapayekas take any objects which they are able to reach over the household fences, to be held for ransom. If the owner sees them and calls "Ave Maria Purísima," they drop everything and run; otherwise they may keep the objects at headquarters until redeemed for a small sum of money. Objects held for ransom have included a bicycle, a scarf, and a child's wagon.

Chapayeka behavior in connection with the activities of the church group is highly ritualized. In front of the church while services are in progress, the chapayekas may slyly and slowly walk up to the entrance, or advance defiantly and importantly to peer in and listen to what is going on inside. They run back to report in pantomime to the others, wiping their bodies off assiduously after contact with holy things. They show disdain of the ritual inside by throwing pieces of dirt at the church on the ends of their sticks, kicking out toward the entrance, scraping off their buttocks and wiping their noses and pretending to throw the refuse at the church, or cleaning out their ears with their daggers and making throwing motions.

They have been seen carefully to arrange toy animals or dolls so that they face the church, and then with their weapons perform the same actions with them. They make threatening motions, sharpen their swords with their daggers, or tap their rattle belts to display their "ammunition." If there is a delay in the ceremony, they beat impatiently on their sticks, beckon the church group to come out, and take steps away from the church as if to cue them.

When prayers are said, either in the church or at the stations on the Way of the Cross, or during sermons, one or two chapayekas may advance to listen carefully, backs half-turned, generally with dagger to ear. At the sound of a sacred name or the benediction, they lead the rest in leaning over in falling movements, swaying and quaking with fear, trembling, staggering, tottering, shifting their weight from one foot to the other, ankle rattles buzzing. They scrape themselves off, toss their daggers in throwing motions, to free themselves of this contamination with holy words, and sometimes wipe off their buttocks or their noses and pretend to toss the refuse toward the church. They also stagger and tremble when they hear the words *loria* and *sewam*, previewing their death at The Gloria, when they are killed by flowers. When the members of the church group make the sign of the cross, they turn their backs and tremble and stagger.

He is afraid that when the Gloria Patri is said, or holy names, and when these are pronounced they get stricken and act like they are being hit hard. The meaning is that they consider that they have been struck with something when the name is mentioned. They are struck with some blow. A chapayeka must know every chant and prayer that is going on at the altar. (55)

At the stations of the Way of the Cross accepted behavior is to go toward the maestros cautiously, dagger to ear, to listen to the prayers, then go back, scraping off the contamination with holy things, and report to the others in the language of the sticks. They may also ape the actions of the maestros, touch their garments with bold discretion, or, as they become ritually stronger in the latter part of Lent, hold an old notebook or a comic book, or even dangle a toy, in front of the maestros to divert their attention. One may pretend to cut a hair from the head of a maestro and transport it back on his sword to show to the others, who recoil. He may pretend to find and kill lice or fleas, clicking his dagger on his sword. Sometimes they clean off the dagger after contact with the maestros by rubbing it on the ground. However bold they may appear temporarily, at the sign of the cross, or when they hear the names of Jesus and Mary, they must pause to shiver and stagger in fear. Those in the lines frequently scrape themselves, to clean off the dreaded holy names and actions.

Between the stations the chapayekas not only stalk the church group but search for clues for the presence of Jesus by turning over bits of old paper or cloth, or dislodging stones. In the early Fridays of Lent, some may watch the church group ahead and imitate their actions by kneeling and pretending to read from books.

While the alabanzas are being sung, either at the stations or in the church, the chapayeka leaders listen carefully, and at the end of each verse they lead the rest in jumping and shaking their hip rattles "as a thanksgiving to the singers." For some of the songs they "dance the alabanzas," beating time with their weapons and keeping time with their feet. For this they may hold the sword parallel to the ground or, more frequently, they put the tip on the ground, hit it with the dagger, and tap their feet in place to the rhythm, first one foot, then the other; or they may stay flat-footed, or tap with alternate feet. No definite pattern has been found for this.

They take it like dancing music, the *O Vos Omnes* especially. They act as if they thought the maestros sang those songs for them to dance to. (31)

During the public veneration in the closing services, when the kohtumbre has finished at the altar, the chapayekas beckon to other groups to go in to venerate, gesticulating officiously. They run after them as they go to the church and kick their feet out after them. When the flag girls and the angels and their godmothers pass between the lines, they stamp and flourish their swords and dart after them.

When the big church bell rings, the chapayekas seem to regard it as the greatest threat of all. They almost fall to the ground with their staggering and tottering—and do sometimes lie on the ground shivering. They may cover their ears, pretend to vomit or to blow their noses. If the bell at the Santa Rosa church rings when they are near it, they do the same things in moderation and have been seen to recover enough to pretend to be ringing it. They also show great apprehension when the flower carpet is carried past them in processions. The maestros have been seen to tease the chapayekas by showing them paper bags filled with flowers and leaves that the women have brought for the flower carpet.

In addition to the assumption that "Jesus made the fariseos," nebulous comments suggest that the chapayekas and their masks have aboriginal origins. Another view, held by a younger Yaqui man (58), is that they represent the souls condemned, lingering in the monte and unable to reach either heaven or hell. They are also spoken of as being inhuman, acting in "different ways," not thinking or behaving or even moving about like human beings. Some say that, although they act like devils, they are not actually the devil. One elderly man (10) suggests that the mask has *ute'a*, which

conforms to certain beliefs about fetishes. All agree that chapayekas behave in ways contrary to those of human beings.

They are not supposed to be people. They act like they are different. Like a devil. I will say that they are supposed to act like devils, or evil, or something like that. They are not devils, but they are supposed to act that way. When we put on our masks we are not people. [The informant thought *diablos* (Yaqui, *lemoniom*) was a good word for them.] They also call them *Hudios*, because they act like the people who were against *Jesucristo*. They say the first *diablo* was right close to *Jesucristo*. They know a lot of things, because *Jesucristo* gave him—because he was close to *Jesucristo*. Any chapayeka is not a devil, just the first one. . . . the chapayekas honor Judas, he is their God. (23)

When he wears the mask he changes the way of walking all the time. They don't walk like a person. He has to change his step entirely. During the time when they are so busy, when one of the chapayekas goes to get something in another part of the working area, he always goes over there trotting (*laplapte buitekai*). As soon as he puts on his mask, he has to change his way of movements in every way, such as sounding his hip rattles and handling his saber. (31)

They act like they was just born. Like a little butterfly. He acts like he just born. Just like a little fly or anything. He hates people, and he is afraid of everything, and he cleans himself off when they come near. They move like paper in the wind. (23)

They don't want to represent human beings. They want to represent actions against the good, entirely contrary to the good. They are representing the *sayonim*, the cruel men, the fariseos. (31)

They are not evil spirits, only the actual soldiers who went after Jesus, and the officers are those officers, too. (31)

They are not supposed to act naturally. A chapayeka is supposed to be nervous because his conscience bothers him, because of what they are doing to *Itom Achai*, and they would be afraid to be caught. (58)

[We talked of *mal aire*, or evil spirits, the devil, animals.] It might be that they just take the place of the devil, because while other people are doing the right things, he is trying to distract the ones in the services. So he can take everything from other peoples' heart. So just by trying to tease people he is trying to save himself out of his evil spirit. So that is why they have to work it right and not make any mistakes, or that mask might stay on him. Like doing wrong. As long as he is wearing his mask he is not supposed to be looking at a woman. Or looking the wrong way. He has to look straight at *Jesucristo* all the time and is

saying his prayers. So that is why he has to keep on dancing and doing things to make people laugh. They call them Judios; they call them interrupters. They don't call them the devil. A chapayeka, when he does anything wrong, then they say he stays in the hands of the devil forever. As long as he keeps out of any mistakes, like not thinking toward Jesus. So whenever he doesn't think toward Jesus and is thinking like he is not wearing a mask, then that would be bad. They must not talk to women, not even their wife. When they act, they must act like the devil, but in their heart they must think like Jesus. It is pretty hard for them because they have to act two ways. They have to act like the devil, and in their heart they have to act toward Jesus.

One time in Mexico a chapayeka at The Gloria, an evil spirit got him. He was thinking wrong. He ran into the bushes. There were soldiers there, and they had to lasso him, and had a fight, and a hard time to bring him in. They had to bring him in to the maestro and do prayers on him. And maybe they even take him to the padre. And they took off his mask. That is why they have a rosary in the mouth. [Who got him?] The devil, but they saved him. So that is just a little reason that Jesus did to just one person, so the rest would understand that it might happen to them, too. The evil could be in their own heart. Just to think only of Jesucristo, and to pay attention to the singing and the prayers that they hear. They always have to be in their hearts and minds. They don't have to [must not] think of something else that might do them wrong, or see what they are not supposed to see, or look at other people and laugh at other people. The evil spirit might come into their hearts if they don't keep on praying and paying attention to what they are doing. So that is why they all have to move around. It is true that they act like the devil. [The informants concluded that they did not want it said that the chapayekas represent the devil but that they just kind of act like the devil. They then decided that evil (*malota* or *ka tu'i hoamta*) was a better word to use than devil.] (9 and 35)

[In a discussion about whether the masks are pre-Spanish, one Yaqui man stated that he has no evidence one way or the other, but that he has always thought that they were pre-Spanish. He volunteered that he thinks, for what reason he does not know, that they represent the spirits of people who were condemned.] Not necessarily those who are sold to the yuania, but in purgatory. But people who did not believe as others did, like scoffers. . . . And then in post-Spanish times they represent the people who were around Jesus, and who were scoffers, and came for a good time, sex, etc. (58)

[An elderly man made essentially the following statements, which are paraphrased:] The mask has ute'a and is evil. The chapayekas say silent prayers—the Our Father and Holy Mary—and hold the cross of the

rosary in the mouth to ward off the evil of the mask. The fariseos have nothing else of this nature. (10)

Most of the legends gathered about the fariseos link them to Jesus and the vow to serve Him. The following quotations are typical of Pascua thinking:

At first the fariseos were supposed to do everything in a confused way in order to represent the people and those things that they did with their left hands. . . . They do not consider themselves as we consider ourself. That they are something else. They call themselves Senyorta bebehe'elim. (55)

Long ago Jesus made the fariseos. Then they followed the step, with Jesus making them very bad and good. They worked for Jesus in order to fulfill their obligation to Him. Then Jesus gave them good salvation. Then, through Jesus, they were not sinners, because He thus said to them that they had to do what He told them. Then they suffered much with Him by day and by night. And when anything threatened them, they sought the protection of Jesus. Then they said that they were very tired. Then Jesus told them that nothing [evil] would happen to them. He was going to help them and was going to give them strength in order that they could fulfill their obligation to Him. He has much power for them. That is all. (49)

. . . they came from the older people. Jesucristo one time made a promise to the Yaquis that they could work for Him by trying to make chomos. So they can work for Him. So they can bless themselves from what wrong they do. So that they might make vows like that to be well, and in case, if they have children they might want to see them grown, and if they are sick or anything that they might make a vow, and they would live. And so that is how the older Yaquis started it. Our fathers' grandfathers, they figured by working with Jesucristo they might have a chance by making vows like that, and try to live in many places by not doing wrong things. And from trying to stop fighting, and from trying to get eats by raising fields, trying to walk in the monte without getting hurt by animals or snakes. And so they figured that Jesucristo might excuse them, for working like that. (9)

They came in with the Spanish missionaries and the padres have put this fashion of work for them to celebrate this Easter and Lent. . . . from the sunrise the Spaniards came, and then the padres. It is not known that there was any mask for dancing before the padres came, only the wo'i chomo [coyote dance headdress], and after the padres came it was then put on, because there is still acting in the Mexican

pueblos. There are men who also do the same thing at The Gloria and wear masks. The only difference is that they don't have the saber, and talk [while] wearing masks. The flute-drummer and the deer have been before, but not the harpist or violinist, nor the chapayekas. (17)

The quotation below gives the legend of the ear, which is postulated as the source of left-handedness and of the useless wooden sword:

[The fariseos] were put into action by the priest to do penance representing all the play. They are all doing penance for some favor from God or Christ. The swords of the kohtumbre are replicas of the Spanish steel ones. Also the swords and dagger of the Hurasim. . . . The Yaquis had no masks. There is no mention of it in the myths, only the chomo, which was a feather headdress, and it became the headdress of the coyote dancer. The [chapayeka] mask could be derived from the Mexican way of fariseos wearing a mask in church. In Sonora they have a fariseo organization that wear masks. The cascabeles are not pure Yaqui; all Indians wear them. The three point sandals are pure Mexican Indian—*tres puntados*.

In the action and unruly manner and burlesque way that [the chapayekas] have, it represents how unruly the people were with whom Christ had to deal in His life. It was almost intolerable to teach them good things when they were already bad. [How did the chapayekas start?] They came in along with Judas. And when one of the disciples who were with Jesus cut off the ear from one of His [*sic*] soldiers, Christ reproached him and put the ear on, and put it on backwards. In this moment all the soldiers of the king became one nightmare of ugly figures, and Christ told them, "Thou shall come eventually again to Me and I shall make thee beautiful again." This explanation is from the Yaqui study of Christ. It is instruction from the older people to the younger. The actions of the chapayekas show that they (the people) were very unruly (Spanish, *malcriado*, badly brought up). So Christ had to deal with those people who were very bad and rejoiced in iniquity. In their actions [the chapayekas] try to confuse the maestro in order to represent how bad it was to deal with them. When Christ prayed to the Heavenly Father to save the world, God told Him he was going to deal with men who were going to do hard things and slay Him. God told Him these men rejoice in doing all sorts of crime and in doing all sorts of unholy pantomime. The chapayeka always acts in a pantomime way. So the actions of the [Holy Saturday] morning, throwing away all the masks and swords, eventually they come back to Him, so he turned them into human figures again, as He promised He would do. "Come back and I shall redeem thee again." This is how they instruct the people. They tell them this army became powerless because the knives

and swords were made into wood, and they couldn't use the right hand any more, and they do everything backward.

The only legend on the Yaqui side is the one about cutting off Peter's [sic] ear and putting it on backwards, and in that moment the transfiguration of the soldiers with the sabers and knives occurred. And the weapons became wooden toys, and the persons became ugly figures with long noses and long ears, and they became mute. That is how they describe the transfiguration of the whole army. And that is the reason they carry all those noisy things like the belts, so they can be heard. (55)

One man (55) is sure that the reason that the chapayekas do everything left-handed is on account of the legend; that, for punishment Christ changed them to doing things with the left hand, because they were accursed. They were even supposed to play the violin and harp with the left hand.

Chapayeka duty is a difficult assignment, not only because of the arduous physical exertion and the acute discomfort of the mask, but because of simultaneous and disharmonious functions. First is the fulfillment of the vow to Jesus, with the duties, attitudes, rewards, and punishments attendant on any vow to a society. For this the thoughts of the chapayekas must always be on Jesus. They march in the fariseo formation, perform special ritual tasks, and take the brunt of the great amount of physical labor incident to any ceremony. Added to this, and in direct opposition psychologically, they must, in more varied and ingenious ways than the other fariseos, take the part of the people who mocked and persecuted Christ. In this capacity they are evil and act like devils. This is what the chapayekas mean when they say, "It is hard to act two ways."

Interesting comparisons to the pascolas come to mind. Like the pascolas, they come from far-away places. They behave in a nonhuman way. They have affinities with the little animals of the desert. Both have ambivalent roles, good and bad. Both have been deftly installed into the ritual of the Easter Ceremony.

No clear connection with the past can be demonstrated for the chapayekas, such as the legends of the pascolas, the songs of the deer singers, and the yoania, which is known to both of those groups. But there are faint internal linkages which remain to be explored.

It is clear that, no matter what their origins, however obscene and blasphemous, however much they violate Pascua social and religious codes, they are with whole heart in the service of the Lord. They have been given useful functions in the Easter Ceremony. They function as part of the fariseo group in carrying out the ritual of the drama of the Easter Ceremony. They monitor the behavior of other groups. They call the attention of the villagers to the ceremonies and summon them to attend. And, what is to them the least important, a secondary function, they furnish comic relief.

It is possible that they combine both European and aboriginal origins. It is known that grotesque masks were present in processions in Europe. The presence of helmet masks in the region is well known (Hopi, Apache, Papago, and others) and leads to the belief that the Yaquis may have had similar ones, although it is not so remembered. They speak only of the *chomo*, the headdress of the military society.

It is interesting to watch the un-Yaqui-like behavior of the *chapayekas*. Men in Pascua are in general quiet, reserved, unobtrusive, and not given to a public display of emotions. When they don the mask their behavior changes, and they become noisy, officious, importunate, and aggressive show-offs. They are at the same time apprehensive, uneasy and insecure, sensitive and easily frightened, as by sudden noises and movements, to which they overreact. They show incessant curiosity, emphasized by their long noses poking about. They are a little silly and always vulnerable to jokes which they play on each other and which make them look foolish. They give the impression of living in an unrealistic world of their own, quite apart from and unlike the life of the village, preoccupied and very busy with their own unique affairs.

As one observes the *chapayekas*, especially during Holy Week when they are at their fullest expression, the great masks seem to become personalities that long return to memory. A few, particularly those covered with long hair, seem actually to change expression with the pantomime of the wearer. In the moonlight of Holy Week the masks chase each other as black shadows on the pale ground. At noon, although their colors are somewhat drained by the sharp, demanding desert sun, the decorations on the masks and weapons, combined with the plaid blankets, are in colorful contrast to the sandy soil.

Perhaps because so many of the men are dancers in other groups, their movements are inclined to be co-ordinated, graceful, all of a piece, in the simplified and exaggerated gestures of pantomime. The whole body arches in the rocking, backward leap of pretended fright. When a line of *chapayekas* jumps back in quick successive response, each alerted by the man in front of him, a wind might be sweeping them. The walk, an easy relaxed lope or trot, is a small dance in itself. One retains the image of color in graceful motion, of linear fluidity, after watching them at play. In contrast, they are taut and disciplined when they march to the harsh beat of their weapons.

CABALLEROS

This society is known by either the Spanish term *caballeros* (mounted men) or the Yaqui adaptation of it, *kabayeom*. The name *Caballeros de Colón* (Knights of Columbus) is known in this connection to one informant

only, who said that in about 1910 he heard priests call it that, but he has never heard it used among the Yaquis themselves. Spicer (1954b: 89) uses the term horsemen.

The caballeros are under vow to serve Jesus. The godparents of each member must be a caballero in the same position to which he is being promised and a woman singer or an altar woman. The godfather is expected to make the regalia given in the confirmation ceremony, which is carried out in the same manner as that described for the fariseos. Caballeros do not have special godparents every three years for the Easter Ceremony as do the fariseos. Dreaming and sanctions for breaking obligations are reported to be the same as for the fariseos.

The caballeros are organized in military fashion, like the fariseos. They are the cavalry of the kohtumbre ya'ura and, as such, are mounted in Mexico. Although this is the ideal pattern in Pascua, it has been too costly and difficult to achieve. However, because of this tradition they do not practice and execute special march steps with the fariseos, nor do they wear sandals on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. There are no masked members.

The reason for the small membership, which has consistently been about four or five, remains obscure to the people of Pascua.

It is said that the caballeros should have separate headquarters, eat their meals apart, and have their own prayer services; but such has not been the case, nor do they have their own holy figure. They operate under the aegis of the fariseo crucifixes. A member well versed in tradition in Mexico says that a figure of Jesus about 6 inches high, called Salvador, was carried there by a caballero lieutenant. None has ever heard of the figure of the Santo Niño de Atocha in connection with the caballeros (48).

The custom of whipping a man who falls down while he is on ceremonial duty, to save him from sin and divine disapproval, is carried out by the caballeros, as by the fariseos. If no other caballero should be present, the light lashes may be administered by a fariseo officer.

The members wear the work clothes of the region and, like the fariseos, wear their hats when on duty, during which time they tip their hats instead of making the sign of the cross. They do not wear black shirts and scarves on Good Friday and Holy Saturday when the fariseos do. One man (55) said that during that time they used to wear gray shirts.

The captain, who marches at the head of the right line, carries a wooden sword, call ehpam, from the Spanish espada (sword). This is realistically shaped, with a crosspiece at the hilt, and is silver colored. Ideally, a real sword should be carried, as is done in Mexico. The office of lieutenant has not been filled, and all other members of the group have been corporals. Each corporal carries a silvered wooden lance, called *lansam*, from the Spanish *lanza*. It is about 5 feet long with a flat, oval tip made of iron. The sword and lance are carried in the right hand, points up. When they are

standing, the corporals rest the end of the lance on the right foot, as "the outfit of every individual is sacred to him, and he is not supposed to let it get dirty. It must be kept off the ground" (58). During the public veneration, the weapons are held in the left hand, points down. These regalia are not destroyed on the Judas pyre on Holy Saturday, as are the weapons and masks of the fariseos. They are kept in the sacristy when not in use. They are called *santo insinio*.

It is known that the caballero captain should, by tradition, be the head of the whole *kohtumbre ya'ura*. All orders should emanate from him, and he should take charge of finances.

He is the head. It is the same as a Mexican or American army. They have to have a leader like a general at the head of the whole division, in command of all the branches like the infantry, cavalry, engineers, etc. The old folks taught us to put in a leader, and God says that the captain of the caballeros should be the leader. (8)

An aging *pascola* dancer, who was acting captain for about four years before his death in 1947, did not assume full duties. Within the memory of the older men there has been no promised captain until a young man who has a vow for the position returned to Pascua after a long absence. He quietly took his place as captain, but, in the Yaqui tradition of modesty, he did not assume leadership of the whole *kohtumbre* until he was requested to by the pueblo in 1949. He has been responsible for all plans and orders and finances of the *kohtumbre ya'ura*.

During the Easter Ceremony the head corporal crosses two lances in front of the altar, points embedded in the ground, at all times when church services are not in progress. They must be removed entirely or placed erect at either end of the altar before the maestros start prayers or services, but this is not the custom when the maestros and singers are only singing *alabanzas*. Placed in front of the altar, they are commonly understood to constitute a gate (*puerta*), closed to keep Christ a prisoner.

The flag-bearer, who is called caballero alpes (Yaqui *kabayeo alpes*), marches at the head of the left line. He carries a pale gray flag, with green cross, rosettes, and edging, made in the same way as the flags of the church group and the fariseos. It is waved at the same times as the fariseo flag and for the same reasons. The caballero flag-bearer says that the caballeros should wave clockwise, and the fariseos counterclockwise, but observed patterns have not always borne this out. The caballero flag-bearer is the leader of all the flag-bearers.

There is little legendary material about the caballeros. There have been intimations by two persons that they were soldiers who went to sleep at the

time Jesus was captured and who therefore did no evil and are on the side of the good.

The caballeros represent the long time when the whole pueblo was after God, and they rode horses and fought with lances. They had no guns. They fought each other with lances and went after God, too. (39)

The matachinis were the same soldiers of King Herod. But when they were going after Christ, they were camping, and there was the infantry and the cavalry in the camp. But when the capture was made, some of the soldiers fell asleep, and so they didn't do anything to Christ. They didn't know anything till they woke up. So that is how the matachinis and the caballeros came to be. So the cavalry members were the caballeros and the infantry were the matachinis. Just because they went to sleep, they didn't do anything. So they are called good soldiers, and the fariseos bad soldiers. (55)

The behavior of the caballeros in the Easter Ceremony is in accordance with the meanings gathered from informants—that they represent evil men like the fariseos, with the common purpose of the pursuit of Jesus, until they start to separate from them at the Tenebrae on Wednesday night of Holy Week. Then they “turn good for Jesus.” Their behavior and the meanings given for it during the rest of Holy Week will be found in the narrative of the Easter Ceremony.

However, there are certain traits outside the main action of the Ceremony which differ from those of the fariseos and point to a more complete differentiation from them, as reported by Spicer (1954b: 92–93, 153) for Potam on the Río Yaqui in Mexico. The regalia of the caballeros are kept in the sacristy of the church. The weapons are carried in the right hand, not the left. None of the regalia are burned on the Judas pyre on Holy Saturday, and their flag is not dismantled at that time. They do not go to the altar for rededication after The Gloria, nor do they have special godparents for that reason. They do not wear black on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Their veneration alabanza is the same as that for the general pueblo. It is known that they should have a separate headquarters. The one legend about them displays them as good soldiers.

For these reasons it appears that identification with the fariseos until the Tenebrae in Holy Week may be a late development, due perhaps to the small and, until recently, comparatively weak personnel. It should be noted, too, that in the thank-you circle that ends the Easter Ceremony, the caballeros are first in line, preceding the fariseos.

The Knights of Columbus was a common society in sixteenth-century Spain, and this group may have been modeled after it. They also resemble

the Roman soldiers who arrested Jesus and, at the same time, observed a certain neutrality in protecting Him.

In the first part of Lent the caballeros were in the same group as the other army of the kohtumbre; the only difference was that they were mounted. But when the Lord has been crucified [3:00 P.M. on Good Friday] these horsemen remained at the place where Jesus was crucified and didn't move any more, so they have their lances down, meaning that temporarily they have lost the battle. They have decided to be on the side of God at the last moment after He died, instead of looking for any more power. (17)

8

The Native Dancers

In addition to the church group, the matachin dance society, and the koh-tumbre ya'ura, two sets of dancers take a profoundly important part in the life of Pascua. These are the pascola dancers and their musicians, and the deer dancer and his singers. Each operates as a group and each has its manager. The pascolas may dance without the deer dancer, but the deer never makes an appearance without the pascolas. The base of their operations is the fiesta ramada, whether in the plaza or in private households. The native dancers perform at certain fiestas and ceremonies and, with the matachinis, lead some of the full processions in which holy figures are carried.

As will be apparent, they operate under a different aegis from the participants already described. Christian terminology, behavior, and concepts have somewhat overlaid their native origins, but much that is pre-Christian remains. It is in discussing these two groups with informants, watching and listening to them at fiestas, that one gets a glimpse, however fragmentary, of the world before the padres made their contributions to Yaqui culture.

PASCOLAS

The word *pascola* is in common use for these dancers, although the older people and those who are speaking in Yaqui call them *pahkola* or, more correctly, *pahko'ola* (plural, *pahkolam* or *pahko'olam*). The word is derived from the Yaqui word for fiesta (*pahko*), plus o'ola (old man). The term *pahkoalente*, heard often in sermons and sometimes in conversation, means "the pascolas and everything they do." Pascolas play such a signifi-

cant part in fiestas that a fiesta host is often heard to say, "We are going to make a pascola," instead of "We are going to give a fiesta."

The pascolas, their musicians, and their manager (who always accompanies them) form a group which operates together. They might speak of themselves in this way: "We all go together, with our same duty" (28). They do not operate under a formal vow and are not organized as a ceremonial society, with the attendant hierarchy, rituals, and mutual organization. However, they consider themselves to be in the service of Jesus and in their hearts to be dedicated to Him. They also have a strong feeling of obligation to the pueblo.

When a fiesta host desires to have pascolas perform at a fiesta, he goes to the house of their manager and makes a ritual request, in the name of the Lord. The manager then makes arrangements with the pascola group.

The request includes the following:

Our Father gave us this one poor little duty for all Yaquis to do. Our Father commanded us to do this, our work. If you do not work on it, you will be punished. (28)

Pascolas are present at large fiestas, such as Palm Sunday Eve, Easter Eve, Holy Cross, and Saint Ignatius; at fiestas of promise; at some of the death ceremonies; and at weddings. It is remembered by both Yaquis and Papagos that, with the deer dancer, pascolas earlier danced at the December fiesta of the Mission San Xavier del Bac, as the matachinis still do.

Sometimes only one pascola serves, but two are always present if possible. Three and, even better, four are considered desirable for a big fiesta.

They act as ceremonial hosts for the fiesta givers. Besides dancing throughout the night, they offer cigarettes to guests and furnish drinking water to those who request it from a pail and dipper that hang from the central pole of the ramada. They tell jokes and stories and tall tales, converse humorously with each other, and engage in often hilarious repartee with the men who cluster around the entrance of the pascola side of the ramada. When a deer dancer is present, they participate with him in standardized behavior. With the deer dancer and the matachinis they escort holy figures in processions. They give sermons similar to those of the maestros, but shorter. At The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning they are on the side of the church group, and, by their threats, by their vigorous pelting with flowers, and by their dancing, they have a share in the symbolic defeat of the fariseos. At a fiesta the pascolas are the focus of all the fun and are the surest way to attract a crowd. Their quick repartee gives the men in the audience an opportunity to show their wit, too, which is never without appreciation from the crowd.

The oldest resident pascola acts as the *yo'o pahko'ola* (head pascola)

and takes precedence over a more experienced one or an older visiting pascola. He dances first in the sequences, gives the sermons and the prayers at table.

The manager is one of the older men of the village, well versed in pascola ways. He is not necessarily gifted before birth as a pascola. During Lent he is supplanted by someone appointed by the kohtumbre, generally a fariseo corporal or sergeant. He prepares the dance area, helps the pascolas dress, looks after their regalia, leads them in the opening ritual, walks with them in processions, and in general takes care of their needs. He makes the cigarettes offered by the pascolas, now made from commercial tobacco, as they no longer have a supply of Yaqui tobacco. It is kept in commercial cans, as the wooden bowl on a rocker, formerly used, has been lost.

A fee is rarely paid for their services, but the fiesta hosts may offer them small sums if there is money left after the expenses of the fiesta have been paid. Transportation is generally provided if they come from a distance, and they are given small amounts of fiesta food. The writer knows of only one pascola who asked for payment in money, and he was criticized for it, as "pascolas are not supposed to be paid." One pascola said, "We get *muchas gracias* (many thanks) and maybe a little food."

Pascola regalia are referred to as *pahko'ola trahte* or *pahko'ola a'ane* (pascola things). Sometimes they are spoken of in a phrase such as *pahko'olata betana gwobusani weeme* (the seven things that belong to the pascola). They are not called santo insinio. The items may be sold if the pascola so desires, or a man may make a new mask to sell or give away. The regalia require no taboos or special treatment, and at home are kept in a sack, a trunk, or a suitcase.

The regalia have meanings closely associated with the legends of the snake and the goat, as well as with Christian symbolism and with flowers. The noise (*hiawai*) of the regalia is considered effective in frightening away the witch and the devil.

. . . [The pascola regalia are from the yoania and] it appeared in a vision. You could hear the bells in the huya [in this case, in a revelation of the yoania]. (35)

The pascola wears his hair long on top, so that it may be pulled into a tuft at the top of his head. This may be called *clavo* (nail) or *chon clavo* (hair nail). This tuft is tied with a red string that has a short red tassel, which is called *pahko sewa wikia* (fiesta flower string) and is indeed symbolic of a flower. At some big fiestas the fiesta host gives the pascolas and their musicians and manager each a crepe-paper flower, generally red or pink, for the topknot or hat. This has the same symbolic value. At the end of a fiesta the paper flowers are given to a figure of Jesus on the altar.

He is supposed to have it [a flower] in the little string in his hair, and that is a flower. The real thing is a little thing that they make at the ends of the string. It is bright red, and it can be of wool or cotton string, and it is in the shape of a flower. Now they put paper flowers there, too, but they never used to have them. . . . the flower and the tuft of hair are for the same purpose as the white beads they wear—against the witch. (55)

The mask is called by a variety of terms—*pahko'ola mahka*, *kuta puhuba* (wood face), *koba* (which is rarely heard), and, in fun, *nonoka'a* (talker). Very seldom is it called by the Spanish *mascara*. It is never spoken of as *sewa*. The mask is generally an adult male face, carved in relief. It is made of cottonwood, formed barely to cover the face, and is held in place by a string running from each side to the back. It is painted dull black, with white and sometimes red decorations. A few masks have bits of mother-of-pearl set in. A cross is always painted or incised on the forehead or chin. This is a formée cross. No explanation has been found for this type of cross, but it is said that, unless this form is used, the pascolas do not feel protected. There is no cross on the inside of the mask. A series of triangles is generally painted across the top, sometimes all around. The triangles are similar to those on the chapayeka mask, but pascolas say they are not related and, in fact, represent the teeth of the goat. Pascuans say that as late as 1919 and 1920 all of the pascolas used for decoration spiders, lizards, “all the little animals of the pascola.” Currently these are seen, but also floral and geometric designs.

The mask has a long beard of white horsehair, reminiscent of the goat; also eyebrows, generally tufts of hair springing from the upper cheek, and sometimes short hair, like a brush, inserted across the top or over the eyebrows. The lips are often red and generally apart. There are apertures at the eyes and nostrils. Sometimes there are teeth, and sometimes the tongue is hanging out, a sign of fatigue. The white hatches occasionally seen on either side of the nose are said to be for decoration only. Infrequently a mask is formed to look like a goat, for which no special qualifications are necessary on the part of the wearer. For a detailed study of pascola masks, see Griffith (1972: 191–92).

When Mary made her fiesta, a real bad man appeared and offered to lend her a pascola dancer. And he offered to lend her a face. And this is how the pascola mask started. (14)

It is said that, after midnight, the mask, when not over the face, should be worn on the left side, as it is from the left that the witch and devil strike. In Pascua it is worn on either side or thrust to the back of the head. The mask is said to have no *ute'a* and is not to be feared, as is the chapayeka mask.

The devil comes from the left. He wears [the mask] on the left because it stayed that way on the first pascola. Because the devil comes from the left. (52)

According to a man well versed in pascola routine (28), before a pascola puts on his mask for a fiesta, he holds it face up in his left hand. "He talks to it and to God at the same time, asking for safety for the night." He says something like "Help me, God, so the witch people will not hurt me while I am dancing and talking to the people." Then he makes the sign of the cross over the mask in the usual way—down, then left to right, then right to left, and crosses himself. He genuflects slightly with each knee as he puts on the mask. The mask is not necessarily buried with the owner.

A commercial blanket of cotton, usually in a plaid of white and a light color, is wrapped around the waist and tightly bound around each knee. It is folded and draped in such a way that a diagonal piece hangs loose at the back of each thigh, which represents the hind leg of the goat. Goatskins were used in the distant past. Long cotton strips (*hisumiam*), hung from the waist and tied tightly around the knees, are connected by legend with the coral snake. One man (28) says that his uncle painted them to look like the snake, with yellow and black stripes.

The torso of the pascola is bare to the waist. He wears a string of very small beads around his neck, often black and white, sometimes all white. They are said to have been made originally from the seeds of a plant called *lopo'orosi*. A cross, traditionally made from the powerful huchahko wood, hangs from the center of the string; but this has gradually been replaced by handsome crosses of abalone shell. The cross is protection from the witch and the devil.

A leather belt (*koyolim*) is worn around the waist over the blanket. This is made of heavy leather about 3 inches wide in the front, tapering to about an inch and a half in the back. It is tied in the back with rawhide thongs. In the middle front an extra piece of leather about 3 inches long is fastened to the belt with rawhide lacing. On this extra piece, hung on narrow rawhide strips, are seven copper or bronze bells of graduated size, with the largest in the center. The bells are of the sleigh-bell type. Under the belt, ends tucked in, is often worn a bright handwoven sash (*wikosam*). The noise of the bells is thought to be frightening to the devil and the witch.

A string of cocoon rattles is wound around each leg, covering the ankle and calf. The cocoons are emptied out, cured, and filled with tiny pebbles. The cocoons are about an inch and a quarter long and an inch wide. They are sewed double onto a narrow piece of rawhide. A loop of rawhide is placed over the large toe to anchor the whole during the wrapping process. Care is taken to ensure that the rattles all hang downward. The strings of cocoons may be of any length, depending on the ability of the pascola to

obtain them. A good one is about 6 feet long. They are called *teneboim* (Spanish, *cascabeles*). A red wool tassel on the strip of rawhide used to fasten them at the top is called *flower*. The cocoons make a dry crackling sound, not dissimilar to that of the rattlesnake, and are, in fact, said to represent the snake. "The sound [of the *teneboim*] is like tiny pebbles in a paper bag" (55). *Teneboim* feature frequently in the power dreams of the *pascola*.

The manager and the musicians wear no costumes.

A hand-carved wooden instrument is manipulated by the right hand, in rhythm to the music, and when not in use is tucked into the belt, generally at the back. This is called a *sonasum* (from *sonaja*, *timbrel*, *tambourine*), sometimes in conversation referred to as a *santo martium* (holy hammer). It is about 10 inches long. The main part, about 6 inches long, is hollowed out, and two sets of four metal disks are fastened inside on pieces of wire. The disks are loose, and when shaken sound like a *tambourine*. The main part is tapered at each end. A handle, about 4 inches long, is carved to fit the hand. Redwood, or any hard wood, is used for the frame, while any metal is used to form the disks. The noise frightens away the witch and the devil.

Infrequently, and only outside of Lent, an *iguana*, made of bread dough by the women of the household, is fastened to the belt of each *pascola* at the back. The reason given is that "the people going out to the desert are supposed to bring an *iguana* on their backs" (55). Turtles, bullfrogs, or lizards may also be carried. It is said that the *tampaleo* should be given a turtle made of dough in the morning at the end of the *fiesta*. The violinist and harpist are not so favored. In August of 1948 *iguanas* were thus carried at a *fiesta*. Children took them away and happily devoured them.

The native dancers, and especially the *pascolas*, are almost invariably mentioned in any discussion of the *yoania*. It is clear that the *pascolas* have an intimate and special relationship with it. When members of this group discuss the *yoania*, they seem to be as much at ease with it as with Christian concepts. It appears to be a present and real part of their lives.

It has been established in conversations with those best versed in Yaqui tradition that *tekia* (in the sense of ceremonial duty acquired before birth) and also *seataka* (the power to carry out the *tekia*) are concepts which originally applied only to the native dancers. However, as has been stated, the *yoania* and Christian deities have become intertwined almost inextricably in both concept and terminology. The *pascolas*, for example, say, "everything comes from God," or "God sends it." But enough of them have added that *tekia* in the womb (see Chapter 1) is also the gift of the *yoania* to make credible the possible assumption, already discussed, that in this area exists a forerunner of the Christian concept of the *manda*, in which God is indeed the giver of everything.

A person thus gifted before birth shows an early interest in the arts of the pascola. He is inevitably drawn to watch the dancers and to listen to the music. He makes immature efforts to perform.

At the age of nine or ten he has significant dreams. These are thought to be from the yoania, but in the last analysis are said to be also from God, since the original gift was from God. The dreams do not take the form of the gentle dreams of Jesus or Mary or a saint that are important in recruitment for the ceremonial societies. The pascola dreams have an un-Christian iconography and are terrifying nightmares, with the elements of a challenge, a struggle, and the possibility of danger or even death if the individual does not meet the ordeal with courage (see Chapter 1).

Fabila (1940: 239–40) offers an interesting legend that connects the pascola with both the yoania and the goat. A pascola, unpopular because he was inept and without gracefulness, while passing a cave in the mountains hears pascola music and has a vision of the yoania. He is not frightened by the appearance of a goat, who licks him and urinates over him. On his return he exceeds all other pascolas in excellence in every way. It was said that the goat was an enchanted pascola, lost forever in the yoania.

The yochiba'ato, the enchanted goat associated by legend and dreams with the pascolas, is their most important symbol. One man (10) affirms that the Surem had the yochiba'ato, that the dance copies the goat, and that "everything comes from the yochiba'ato."

There were no goats in the Yaqui country in pre-Spanish times, and the wild sheep may be the prototype, although Pascuans are not aware of it. In dreams the yochiba'ato appears as half human, half goat, with the ears, horns, and hooves of a goat. The dance, described under fiestas, often simulates the movements of a goat. For example, a pascola may lift his knee and sniff at it, as goats do.

As a young pascola learns by watching and then by trying out his talent at the relaxed period of a fiesta after the dawn prayers, he is watched closely by the others and applauded if he shows exceptional ability. He is then recognized as having the tekia.

Snakes also frequent the dreams of the dancer and the tampaleo, but the harpist more often dreams of water and entangling water plants, or horses' tails, from which he must free himself. These have the same cluster of meanings—terror, challenge, and reward or failure.

An individual who dreams successfully passes with honor through an initiation, by means of a stout heart and endurance, aided by his seataka. He is secure in the knowledge that he was both born with and is qualified for his art and that he has the seataka to be successful.

The goat fights you in your dream and those snakes try to crawl up. All you have to do is not to be afraid. (58)

The snake dream is from the yoania, and, if you are frightened by it, you cannot be a pascola. (2)

It is possible to dance or to play without either predestiny or dreaming, but performers who have dreamed are considered to be tyros by the others.

In conversations one sometimes hears the phrase “from the left,” and it most often refers to the pascola. The term seems to be positional as well as philosophical. A maestro (8) says that the pascolas work on the left side of the ramada, i.e., when one is facing the entrance to the ramada from the inside. Traditionally, and in Pascua, the term is used in the sense of evil or wrongdoing, versus good. “If you are not strong, you can go to the left. The left is wrong, evil, mean. To the right is something good” (8). In connection with pascolas, the left is also equated with the source of their skills—the yoania.

At the first Gloria María Santísima made them [the pascolas] that way—to work to the left, to defend Apo Senyor (the Lord Himself). But they come out all right. They have to stay in the light and work on it. (8)

The pascola dances to the left and says things the wrong way—bad words. Yaqui for bad words is *ka am mali noka*. They always ask forgiveness in the morning for the bad things they said at night. They have to be that way, because they are from the yoania. (35)

To the left means to the bad side. Like if anyone tempts a chapayeka to do anything he was not supposed to do, that would be trying to make him go to the left. (14)

In speaking with a Pascuan (28) the writer stated that she did not understand what he meant by “to the left.” He said that she should say “from the left,” not “to the left.” He said that the pascola, the tampaleo, the deer, and the deer singers are the only ones who get it from the left “because they are the only ones who learned it from the desert, from the yoania. The rest learn it from books.” He said that the violinist and harpist are not from the left, as they did not learn it from the desert. “The others have it from inside.” The left is *mikotana* in Yaqui.

One of the mandates of pascola work is that they must never laugh or smile when they are working, no matter what the provocation.

If a pascola is good, he will try to make the maestros and cantoras laugh and forget the good work they are doing. If a pascola laughs, he would be doing it *ka tu'i hiapsimak*, and he would not get his reward. It won't do any good in his heart. He is not supposed to. God told him in the first fiesta if he didn't laugh he would be forgiven his sins. (14)

They laugh inside their hearts. They act like the goat, so they can't laugh. . . . God gave the pascolas and that is why they are without clothes. He made them that way, but He helps them with that. (2)

The progress of a current member of the pascola group (28), a tampaleo, toward fulfillment of his tekia is given as an example of typical attitudes. He said that his tekia was given to him while still in the womb, by both God and yoania. In speaking of this he emphasized God more than the yoania; in fact, in one interview he denied the part played by the yoania. Throughout the conversations, he was proud of his gift, gathered strength from it, and his belief in it was implicit. He said that he had never been and did not want ever to go to the yoania in the forest for further skills. However, he said that all of his "songs" were from the yoania, in contrast to another tampaleo, who, he said, got his songs from "up here," tapping his head, which he obviously regarded as an inferior source, indeed, not valid. He appeared to be completely adjusted to and proud of his relationship with God and the yoania and said that his family felt as he did.

He gave a text in Yaqui to illustrate how he would speak of his gift and translated it as follows:

Our Father, He sent me this my duty of tampaleo. Our Father, He was saying this, maybe when I was born over there, that I should work when I was a kid, when I was twelve years old, at this my duty of tampaleo. (28)

He offered the following account of how he learned to play:

[A certain man]—he is the one who gave me the drum and the flute. And then when I was playing outside the ramada at home, about 9:00 [P.M.], and I was thinking about how to get the sound out of the flute, and then when I was playing the drum and flute, the goat jumped in front of me. And I stood up, but I didn't run away from him. And that was when I got my tekia of *tambolero* [tampaleo]. I asked my mother what was that animal that jumped out in front of me. And then she told me it was the *chiba'ato* (the goat). Then she told me, "Don't run away from him. He likes you and you're going to be a *tambolero*." And the next night I dreamed a snake, and I couldn't get out of my bed because I was afraid. He come up after me on my bed and was trying to bite me in the mouth. He come after me on top of my bed where I was laying. But I didn't get up. Then I was thinking, setting there on my bed, "What was that snake for?" And the next morning I asked my mother that I dreamed a snake, and then my mother said, "That's the flute you are

playing right now. You going to be a tambolero one of these days." That's what she told me. And that's where I got my tekia. (28)

He said that he was about nine at the time. He had already played on a little tin can when he was six or seven. He wanted to learn to play the drum and flute.

[A certain man]—when he was at _____, he was working over there, and he came over to me over there and asked me would I like to be a tambolero. And then I told him I liked it very much. That I can't learn. Then he told me he was going to teach me to play all the songs from the yoania. And then he asked my father to give him permission to teach me. Then he took me over to where he lived. He teach me playing the tambolero and everything, the songs. He just teach me once in awhile because he been working in _____. Just part of the time, every Saturday or Sunday. It took me about when I was fourteen, I start to play. Then when he went back to _____, he made me a flute and the drum. . . . I was thirteen then. (28)

This tampaleo also said that in about 1958 or 1959 near Picacho on the desert he heard "all the sounds of a fiesta—the music and the sounds of the pascola and deer and all the sounds of a fiesta." This, he said, was the yoania, and he made it clear that he only heard it—he did not seek it out. He volunteered that his son is learning to be a tampaleo. He was always drumming on something, and about two years ago, when he was fourteen, he said that he had dreamed of the yochiba'ato. Then another night he dreamed that a snake had crawled up on his bed and kissed him on the lips. So then it was sure that he had the tekia. He told his son, "Don't be afraid. If you like it, you go ahead. You keep on with it." So now he is teaching all of the songs to his son. He is very much pleased about this.

Similar revelations have been reported by others, and it is the thought that the yoania is seeking to lure the individual. No opprobrium, but rather a pride in the fact of rejection, is the attitude toward such experiences.

The following quotations show the varying and often nebulous concepts, held by different individuals, of the relationship between the pascolas and the yoania, both in dreams and in remote places.

You got to have a good strong heart [to go to the yoania cave], because if he is afraid he will go out crazy, and then he dies; he stops there in the cave and don't go to heaven. [Asked for the location, he first said only in the Río Yaqui; then he remembered that a pascola went to a place near Escatel, near Phoenix, and saw it there.] [How does anyone know where to go?] The oldest pascola tells them. You have to go through the mouth of a snake and come out the same place. You see

everything there that you want. . . . He just looks at it and picks it up. They show him how to do it, and he doesn't play it there. . . .

Dreams from the yoania come about three or four in the morning, at home. . . . Dreams from the yoania are not bad if you have the tekia before you are born. [A certain tampaleo] got his songs out of his mind, and he doesn't play what we play on the flute. You got to be born like that.

The cave is bad. You stay there when you die. The dream comes from the yoania, not from God. [Another time he said the dreams were from God.] If you are afraid in the dream you can't get it. . . . Every tekia is like that for the pascolas, their musicians, and the deer and his singers . . .

If you go to a cave, you keep it secret, but it is not secret about being given tekia in the womb and about dreams. [If anyone asks me why I can play so well, I say] I just learned it from God and the dream He gave me. I didn't went to the cave. [Can a person be a Christian after going to the cave?] His body is buried in the cemetery, but his heart goes to the cave. [Why do they want to go?] Because they are going to beat each other. They say, "Who is better than that other one." Like [a pascola] from the Río Yaqui, a really fine dancer. He went to the cave in the Río Yaqui. . . .

In a dream the man has horns, a beard like Santa Claus, and goat feet. . . . You are born with seataka for your tekia. You would lose your seataka if you ran away.

[Why is it necessary to have such frightening dreams?] If the God send it to you, you have to have a big heart, because if you are afraid you can't get it. (28)

Far out on the desert something come from beyond, and if you don't get frightened you learn something. . . . And if you don't take what the yoania has to offer you, you die, and when you die the yoania takes you. [Do matachinis ever do this?] No, they don't get it that way. The pascolas used to get it from beyond, and sometimes you just disappear because you made a promise [to the yoania]. You had ten or fifteen or five years to live.

Those pascolas believe in it (the yoania). Those things they wear come from the yoania. And when they take them off they ask forgiveness for what they said. And then they are just like anybody else. (35)

The ordeal occurs from the yoawa [in this case, the animal world]. The snake that goes up his leg is a rattlesnake, and in case he would be frightened and be overcome in the dream he will go insane and run away and get lost. It has been told that it happens that he actually sees the goat. The yoania is the country with all kinds of vegetation, and the

yoawa is the animals. . . . A person is susceptible when he has a desire for it. He loves the work and goes [to the yoania] for the purpose of facing the magic goat and not being afraid of it and not going insane. Or he sees it in dreams. He sees it in dreams. He sees it always, not absolutely fighting it, but he has it in his mind always. It becomes a voluntary act on the part of the pascola. He sees it in the tenku ania. The dreams of the holy things are far more important than the yoania dreams. . . . One person might be doing the work in a clean way [the word tui was used], not adding to it any aid from the yoania. Those are the people who are getting the benediction from the heavenly powers. But those who want to be outstanding go to the yoania, but will lose teweka loria. But the dreams of Jesus and Mary are more important than any other dreams. . . . There are many players who don't even attempt to go to the yoania and learn to play, but they are not very good players. . . . [They work] for the love of it; at least, they don't offend the holy God. (17)

. . . dreaming [of the pascola mask] differs from [dreaming of] the arts of the yoania because he sees it only in a dream. The pascola who is not yet a dancer sees the yochiba'ato in the dream, and like the others, the yoania arts, he is disturbed; and if he goes through this nightmare, and if he is strong enough to go through it without being frightened, he will get the art of dancing. If he is frightened, he will run away and then have to get caught. Sometimes they use cowboys and horses to catch them. If he gets the art, he should after that go out in the forest and dance in a lonely place by himself to his own imaginary music that he dreamed. He whistles, either the music of the flute-drum or the violin.

He don't go to the yoania unless he wants to be an outstanding dancer. He becomes interested and enthusiastic about the dance. He loves the dancing and music until the yochiba'ato come to him in a dream and challenges him. And if he can take it, he becomes a pascola. Some of them don't do it that much. But he has a little fever, and he sees in a dream the goat fighting him, and he runs and escapes from the goat. He has to be cured by a curer in order to be cured from his fever. It is also said that a man who has run away would not be a pascola. He is bitten by the goat and loses all his seataka.

The deer is a natural born dancer and the pascola is, too, but he can go to the forest and get more. . . . [If a pascola does not go to the yoania] he is always on God's side. Only a person who wants to sell himself to the devil gets his art there. He would not get cramps [from the wild] then. Only those on God's side will get cramps. A dancer who has been to the yoania will not get cramps. A dancer who has been to the yoania keeps on his work and doesn't tell. He can deliver a sermon, etc., just the way the others do. (55)

Originally the billy goat gave the pascola his image, but since then the pascolas don't do it. The pascolas with their prayers drove the goat away, and now they don't have the vision any more. (24)

[The tampaleo told me that] he had a nightmare of a flute floating in a ditch of water, and it was the king snake (*siktabat*).

The flute of the tampaleo is the one that the player has to get in a dream in the night world. A tampaleo [told me] that he had been playing awhile, but that he was not strong enough to get the dream. He was frightened by the dream and had a nightmare. He saw a king snake coming right in the canal of water while he was walking there in his dream. He was having a pretty hard nightmare. Someone had to wake him up, and he was so frightened that he had to stay awake all night. So he could not get the art.

[An old man who went to the Río Yaqui said that] he would hear the sound of the snake rattles and would dream that he had heard the sound of rattles in time with the music. He would try to dance in the dream without any ankle rattles. Then he would see the snake start crawling up his leg. He would start crying and be frightened. But then he got the art. He said there was nothing to it, the snake just crawled up your leg in the dream. There are some fellows who know they are dreaming and can resist it, so they are not afraid. (55)

The dream of the yochiba'ato is part of the yoania, like the snakes crawling up their legs and trying to bite. . . . Telling about the dreams they are really thinking of the yoania, but they don't want to say so. You have to renounce your Christianity, because after you get it you have just so many years, then you go to the yoania forever. (58)

The yoania is sometimes acquired in the tenku ania. The snake dreams of the pascolas are from the yoania. The dreams of the musicians are not as much an ordeal as those of the dancer. A tampaleo may see a water snake, and if he picks it up and takes it he has overcome it. It is usually known that a harper will dream of water and swimming and some kind of tangling. Not of snakes, but just brush, and those are the strings of the harp. A violinist may see the body of the violin in the form of some kind of snake or turtle. But he will still know what is causing it is his love for it. The dreams are from the yoania. The tampaleo never dreams of the drum, but only the snake, and he will grab it with his hands, and then take it, and he will know what he has taken. After taking the snake, both the flute and drum are taken. (9)

[Does God appear in the snake dreams of the pascola?] No, not the snake dreams, because the snake is a different kind of thing. But anyway, it was of God that sent that dream, because He selected him to be a pascola. [Earlier this man said that the snake dream of the pascola is

from the yoania, and if you are frightened by it, you can't be a pascola.] (2)

[This man, who has two other ceremonial positions, said that he dreamed about pascola once. He started to learn the drum when he was fourteen years old. He bought a drum and flute, and every night he played on it a little, but he got scared.] One night I dreamed that I was going along a river, and I had the flute and drum. I was walking along the river and a snake was going along in the water. And every time I turned and looked at the snake, the snake lifted up his head and looked at me. The snake ran after me and made me throw away the drum and flute. And they said that because it scares me, that isn't for you. I liked it and wanted to learn, and if I don't get scared I would keep it up. (23)

The violin player goes too. There is a snake with a little thing (a red feather) on its head like a quail, and while the snake is singing that thing goes back and forth. It has a name, and I can't think of it. [He later said it is called *baba tukut*.] As a kid a certain man dreamed of it and saw it. He was practicing on a hollowed-out bamboo with cords, and then on a big gourd with cords. And then he graduated to a violin. He constantly saw that snake and everyone else was afraid of that snake. He and some men were eating lunch on a board in a place where they were digging out quicksand. The snake came crawling over the board and everyone ran away. And he stood there, and the snake went up his leg and rolled around, and he was not afraid of it because he knew he was getting his gift. So all the old men said that this kid was getting to be a pretty good musician. He has been gifted. He was not afraid of it because he had dreamed about it, and he had seen it a few feet away from him. He was the best violinist in the states. [He had a drink with a compadre to quiet him and so there would not be a fight, and finally "passed out" at a fiesta.] Since then he just couldn't face his public, and he quit playing in fiestas. He was too embarrassed to accept any more uhbuanis. That was an unforgivable sin, and he didn't do it any more. He was eleven when he first played in a big fiesta. He saw the snake before, when he was just learning to play.

. . . The violin bow is a snake, and the ridge of the harp, and the flute. In the dream the flute turns into a snake, and if you get a mouthful you are all right. If you are afraid, you don't learn it. (58)

My father was a harpist, and he loved the harp when he was very young. When he was about twelve years old, he was already playing in fiestas with grown-up people. He dreamed about a place on the Río Yaqui. He knew the place. He saw three white women sitting dressed in white facing the sunset. He wanted to swim in a place where the water was deep. He saw some little cliffs, and he undressed and went

up to the little cliffs, and the women they were sort of laughing and making fun of him, because he was naked. He saw the water and knew it was deep. He started and he went way down to the bottom of the lake, and he got tangled up in some kind of rootlings down there. And he couldn't get out. He was choking. Then he breathed some way and took his time and got himself untangled and got out, and the women were gone. Now those little rootlings were the chords of the harp that he got tangled with. And he had to untangle himself, and that was tuning the harp. If he had wakened up before he untangled those roots, he wouldn't have got the art.

The pascola, when he is born with it, starts to dance from childhood. He will go to dance when he hears the music and later he will have the dream, and the seataka gives him the resistance to the dream, and when he resists the goat in the dream he know that he is ready to be a pascola. . . . The dream is from the seataka. It is the seataka in him, so it is not evil because it is from the man's own seataka. He has the virtue from the seataka, so the dream occurs. But that is from God because he dreams what he is destined to do in the first place for God. Your seataka is working in your mind. . . . The pascola who has gone to the cave can do some *mudanzas* (figures) when the rattlesnake [music] is being played. They put the big toe on the ground and make their ankle rattles rattle like a rattlesnake. (55)

[A man with tekia] does not need to go to the yoania, because God has given him the gift. The yoania would not want him then, and he could never see it even if he wanted to. He could never see it because the yoania would not want him. Because it was God's will that imposed that tekia on him. [How does a person know that he has tekia from God?] They teach you when you are little whatever your tekia is, while you are growing up. Other people know that you learned it when you were a child. They know you learned your tekia. [How do the parents know?] It's God's will, because for generations the one family has the tekia and they all know it. (2)

Many stories circulate about pascolas who have acquired extraordinary skills by visiting yoania caves. There may also be an element of magic in what they do. Most of the stories concern Bakot Pascola, but another called Koyo is mentioned. Similar pascola tricks were practiced by the Surem.

They say that [Bakot Pascola] can convert himself into a snake and can get inside the harp. . . . Way back before the first war. They told me he had done that act in Tucson, for money, of course. They tell me he went into the drum, through a little hole, and stuck his head out and wiggled his tongue. It is something like magic. He made an optical

illusion. He didn't really do it. Like those magicians on the stage who can make you see things. He is supposed to have made himself small and danced on the drum. He died in the twenties and reappeared in the forties. The first time he dies he loses some of his tricks and he loses all the second time. And the third time he stays dead. He has been seen. He is supposed to be buried in Scottsdale, and when you go there they will show you where. [This man said he did not believe that the pascola had magic, that it must have been some kind of sleight of hand. He also said that he has seen a pascola dance on a drum without losing his rhythm, and that he did not put his whole weight on it. He is induced to perform by a gift of liquor from the fiestero. This is considered to be a trick and not magical.]

A lot of pascolas go to the yoania to profit themselves. They do it because they are mercenary, not religious, so they have to learn something extra good. All who dance on drums and harps do it for money and [I think] they have been to the yoania. (58)

[A pascola who has been to the yoania] does some magic tricks, too, but he does these things for money. They are magicians and can do tricks of the harp and drum. He lays the drum flat on the ground and dances on top of it without tearing it down. Or he puts it upright and dances on it and makes it roll like a barrel. . . . The person can go into the little hole of the harp and can dance on top of the harp. [Do they do this now?] These are stories that I heard when I was a boy. [How do they learn?] Only from the yoania. [What do you call these men?] *Mahikeo* or *kimikeo*, both from the Spanish (*mágico*, person who performs magic; *químico*, chemist). (17)

A violinist takes off the strings of his violin, and the violin keeps right on playing. And a pascola would go into the hole of the harp, and the music must keep right on going, because if the music stops he won't be able to get out. So the musicians don't have to [must not] get scared and stop. [This was Bakot Pascola] and he danced on a drum, and the ankle rattles came loose and kept on dancing [the same tune] by themselves. (35)

There was another act they say they do over in Guadalupe. The pascola's name was Koyo, meaning the shell of an oyster. He danced on top of the harp. Those acts have been seen very often in Sonora, and these acts have been seen in Tucson. . . . Both men are dead now. (55)

A Pascua man (8) drew a harp in the dirt and showed how Bakot Pascola used to go into the large hole, dance inside the harp and come out through the small hole. Then he put his feet side by side, twisted his knees, gradually getting closer to the ground. He said that from this position the

pascola could, with his toes, pick up a silver dollar thrown by an onlooker, toss it into the air and catch it with his hands.

A pascola feels an obligation to serve when invited because of his allegiance to Jesus and because of his allegiance to Jesus and because "he has a gift for it. God gave it" (28). If he refuses, he may be punished, for example, by pains in the legs and feet, or even by death. One pascola currently neglected to pray at the altar before dancing, and he was badly injured by a nail on the floor of the dance area. Another refused to dance, but when he began to have pains in his legs, he was reminded of his duty and started to fulfill his obligation once more. Pascolas also are always aware of their importance to the people of the pueblo in fulfilling their sacred obligations of fiesta-giving.

As in other situations, any change of plans is announced publicly. For instance, in a formal public speech one pascola said that he had decided to renounce his other ceremonial commitments in favor of dancing pascola.

[The writer had heard of a pascola who had stopped dancing entirely for a long time. He got pains in his legs and feet and thought it was punishment for not dancing.] That is entirely logical. The cause can come from negligence of his work. It operates as if he had a manda. It is understood that he is promised to the Holy Trinity. He believes himself working for Our Mother María Santísima and the Holy Trinity. But it is not like a manda like a chapayeka. He puts his mind like he is working for Mary and Holy Trinity. And in any sermon he puts out he uses those. When the manager comes to the pascola he has a sermon to tell him by way of request. He tells him about the Person he is going to work for. (55)

He has no vow. The pascola dances in the devotions that a fiesta has everywhere in all of its parts. The people come to him and say to him that they want to make a fiesta. That they want one pascola or three pascolas, because they want to work out the devotion that they have intended to do, in order to fill the devotion of the fiesta. Then he [the fiestero] brings the maestro and the matachinis and all of the officials. Then the pascola gives them the ceremony. Then the maestro continues praying, because he has the permission of the pascola. And then the pascola continues dancing his piece in order to fill the devotion that he has to do. Then he gives thanks to all the people and to the maestro and to all those of the fiesta. Then he gives a sermon asking all the people to pardon him for what he had to say. Then they all give him thanks. Then the pascola remains very much thanked by all the pueblo. [The above was dictated in Spanish by a man who was head pascola in Pascua (49).]

I heard a pascola one time. He said to me, "I don't want to dance

pascola any more. When they come to ask me, I am just going to say, 'Don't talk to me about it.'" I smiled. He said, "When I see them coming to my home, I am going to close the doors." I smiled and said, "That manager will not come to your house alone. You know Who he is going to bring along in order to invite you to dance." He knew what I meant. He knew that the manager would bring Christ along. And then the man said, "My God, I should not have said that." (55)

A central theme of many legends about the pascolas is that the first pascola was the son of the devil and that he was enticed to join the first fiesta which was created by God (Jesus), Mary, or both. With their aid, and in spite of his father's opposition, he was kept in the ceremonies and allowed a share in the good work. It is thought that sanction was given him at that time to say "whatever came into his head," no matter how ribald or blasphemous, provided he did not smile or laugh. This has been well carried out by the older pascolas in Pascua. Reference is made to the seven pieces of pascola regalia, which are thought to have been supplied by Jesus and the noise of which is frightening to the devil. The legends include the prototype for the use of the sign of the cross, prayers and rockets at the cross, and for the rite of the invocation against evil by making crosses in the four directions. Admonishment is given not to go outside the holy ground in front of the fiesta ramada, and precedent is related for offering cigarettes to those who stand in front of the ramada. In this way, the inventory of paraphernalia and behavior of the pascolas are given sanction and Christian meanings, thought to have originated with Jesus. One man (23) says that the fiesta was invented by Jesus solely for the Yaquis. Only one pascola (14) and a manager (24) have said that they thought that the Yaquis had pascolas before Jesus came to the Yaqui country.

The following are legends offered by various individuals. Note that the legend of Jesus and Mary has overlaid for most of them any feeling that the Surem had pascolas and deer dancers.

They say that God and the devil, they made fiestas. God had one on his side and the devil on the other. God made the maestro and the singers and the angels [children who dress as angels], the bearers of the Virgin and the altar women. God made everything. Then they had no meat to eat either. God made the cow out of a man. And He made the cowboy because He was going to make a fiesta and they had nothing to eat. God made the matachinis and dance leaders and everything. The violinist and harpist said they did not know how to play, but God made them. As soon as they got the violin and harp they knew how to play already. The maestro didn't know how to pray, but God gave him the book, and he knows already. And then the cow He made because the

cooks didn't have nothing to cook. The cow was a man. God sent the man, Sino, to the monte, and then He sent the cowboy over there to get him. And this cow was going to kill the cowboy, and he killed the cow. They bring the cow to the fiesta, and they killed him, and they had one of those rockets when they killed the cow. They lighted one of those rockets for the fiesta. They had no pascola. They had everything but pascolas.

The devil had a son. He was pascola, the devil's son. The devil asked God, "What's the matter?" God said, "We ain't got no pascola." The devil said, "I got a pascola, my son." He brought his boy over there and brought him to God. He had managers and everything. He didn't want to make the pascola. He brought the pascola over there, and they fix him up ready to dance, and then they take him out there to the altar with that little stick they use. The devil told the boy not to do certain things, not to mark the ground with crosses, not to cross himself, and a lot of things, but he did it. Because he was under control under God already. He went to the altar and he prayed already. The devil, he wants to make love with St. Mary in that fiesta. And they lighted the rocket, and he started to talk to his son. "Give me a cigarette, pascola" and so on, just like they talk now to the pascola. They scared the devil away with the rockets, because he is afraid of the rockets, so they light them to scare the devil away. The boy was a cripple, and that is why the pascolas come out as if they was crippled. The boy was a devil, but he got on the Lord's side after he dance there that night. And then, well, they had that dance all night. And the devil didn't show up till the dawn. And then they light the dawn rocket and scare him away again, and so he didn't show up at that fiesta at all, because God didn't let him.

The devil had his dance over there, and there was drinking and liquor and dancing. And over here God had His fiesta, His pascola, and His ceremonies and His prayers, the ones that were right. And then they said, "The ones go that way and the ones go this way." And all those with the devil had horns and tails and didn't look like people. And those on God's side, everything was nice.

It was the first fiesta that God ever made. And He gave it to the Yaquis. They are the only people He ever gave it to. The pascola talks the way he does because he is the devil's son. And he don't respect nobody, even his comadre. . . . But he is a devil and he can say anything, as long as he don't laugh. The devil was knocked out when he lighted those rockets. Then he had to run away. Those crosses on the ground are against the devil. The devil told him not to make them, but he couldn't help it, he was on God's side already. The pascola comes out like a crippled man, because the first pascola was crippled. I think his name was Loreto. He was a very good pascola. [The informant said

that he used to hear his uncle tell this story. He died a long time ago, at fifty years, on the Río Yaqui.] (23)

The pascola is come from long time ago, one of the old-timers. Was when Christ was on earth. And this pascola was the devil long time ago, when Christ and the saints was in this world. One morning Christ told him that we are going to have a fiesta right there. They didn't know what a fiesta is. Then the devil, father of the little devil, told him not to go, because it is not good. The pascola was a little boy then, a little devil. And then Christ said, "I want you to come over here." "No," he says, "because my father don't want me to go, because it is not good." "I order you to come. Don't care what your father tells you to do." He went back and told his father, and he said, "All right, go, but I am coming to you before dawn." "All right," he says. Then Christ said, "Promise me not to go back before the dawn." "All right," he said. "I'm going to make you a prisoner. You aren't going back to your father, and your father won't recognize you."

So Christ put a chain on his ankles [the ankle rattles], and He put a rope around each knee [the ribbons that come down from the pascola belt on both sides]. He put a chain around his hips. The little rattles [bells] on the belt of the pascola represent the links of the chain. Then He made naked his upper side. Then He put a little mask on his face so the devil doesn't know him. And He said, "You will say lots of things that will come to your tongue. You will talk and talk and then begin to dance, so he can't recognize you. He says that you are going out of this place. But don't go out from here. Every corner will be blessed. Don't give anyone anything from outside the wall. Tell him to come around from the front, where the pleasant place is. I'm going to put a line near the tampaleo, and that is the end of it, the blessed place."

And then He beat the devil and got him out to where the holy cross is. And then He made the little boy pray, what we call the pascola now. And then he prayed. . . . And sent that message to the Espíritu Santo in the heavens—Christ's Father. And then He told the pascola, "You talk all this, but don't laugh. If you laugh you have lost everything. That is for your own good. That is the way you will be with Me." That is why you have seen the pascola talk and talk and give cigarettes, but never laugh. The dawn ends the blessing. After that they quit right there. After the dawn is when they kill the deer. In that part they do whatever they wish to do, but that is not blessed any more. That is why the pascolas get drunk then. (39)

. . . Jesus and Mary made a fiesta, and they didn't have a good pascola. They had one, but he did not jump around enough. So they saw a boy and asked him to dance, and he was the devil's son. The devil was at

the back of the ramada. He was glad to have his son dance, because he said they had to eat and would like to smoke. The pascola was told that he could not give cigarettes out at the back of the ramada, but only at the front, and only within arm's length, within the lighted area. He could say funny things to make people laugh and lessen their grief, but he himself must not laugh or smile. If he did not carry out these instructions, he would not get his reward. If he agreed and did what they said, he would make a lot of new friends, and people would talk to him that he did not even know, and hand him a cigarette or a bit of bread or a glass of water. And he would teach his young friends how to make jokes without laughing, and lessen the grief and suffering. (8)

The legend is that at the beginning when Jesucristo, the first time that He made a fiesta, He was doing the good part, that is, at the altar, on that side, and He found that nobody wanted the tu'uwa. There were no people in there. Then He took up there the son of the devil—he didn't have no name before, until he danced for Jesus—and then they called him pahko'ola. The mother was a baptized person, and the pascola was baptized at the fiesta and given his name. The little devil chased the big devil away with three rockets, at the beginning of the fiesta. It was bidden by Jesucristo to do that with three rockets. The little devil would not know how to chase him away. The paraphernalia was given to him by the Lord. All the hiawai that the regalia made was to keep his father away. The devil is very sensitive of hearing and very fearful of any noise that a human being will sound. The pascola has the hiawai at his home, too, just the way he does now, so the devil would not get there. (9)

Jesus started the pascolas. It is all in the Bible. Before Christ there was no pascola, and while Christ was here He gave permission to do a lot of things that human beings do. . . . the devil tried to adopt the pascola, and he couldn't do it because the pascola and the land were already blessed, so he had no power, but he tried. (24)

One story current about the pascola is that when Mary was going to make a fiesta with her matachinis and all the other dances, she is said to have taken the son of the devil to dance, and he gained the good in the dance and remained in the ceremonies.

. . . A pascola, when he wears those seven things that he has, he can say anything, even about Christ and the altar and Mary, and the maestro and the singers, and make people laugh. (55)

When Jesus was in the tomb, a man dressed in a real goatskin, and with a mask on, clowned and attracted the attention of the people so that Jesus could rise from the tomb. When they looked again, there was no one there. (8 to 58)

It is said that already when Jesus Christ came, there was one pascola. And it is said that one day Saint John was strolling through the country and met the pascola, but his name was not pascola—his name was Pascual. Then Saint John asked Pascual who he was. Then Pascual answered that he was Pascual. Then Saint John baptized him. Then that name was changed to Pascualmente. Then already when the Most Holy Mary hired him, she told Pascual that on the Saturday of The Gloria he should come near to the church cross, and she told him that when all the fariseos were together that he should yell at the church cross. And at the first Gloria, close to the church cross, he should yell in order that the fariseos, watching him, should be delayed. While Jesus was coming out from the stone, he [the pascola] kept on yelling until Jesus retired from the tomb. And so was the fulfillment of the pascola with Saint John, and he fulfilled the order of the Blessed Mary. (14)

The first pascola, when they borned the God, the Niño, in Christmas, that is where they started having this pascola, because they had no one to dance for the Niño, Our God. One man gave himself up to be a pascola when Our God was born. He was called Pastore. And they always called him pascola because he was a joker. Then everyone got glad and laughing at him and talked to him. Then they gave him those blankets for to be a pascola and the belt and the ankle rattles. [Who gave them?] He invented the seven things for himself. (28)

[They are bent over and crippled] because there were some crippled people a long time ago. The first pascola, when the Lord told him to stand up, he was crippled, and He made him walk. (10)

The pascolas and their musicians (but not the moro) are more susceptible to attack by the witch than anyone else in the ceremonies on account of their immense popularity. However, the witch will not strike a person who has obtained his special gift from the yoania because he is “on the left of God.” Nor can anyone be injured during the periods when the maestros are praying. The motivation of jealousy is stressed by all. Pascolas may become so afflicted by cramps that they cannot dance, and the tampaleo may find himself with so much saliva that he cannot play. It is suspected that a witch might suck a lemon near a tampaleo to cause this condition. The only cure is to call a curer, who proceeds at once with medicine and prayers. During the period of observation a pascola reported that he suffered such severe cramps, sent by the witch, that he could not dance, and others of the group have currently shown real fear of the witch. In former times seers stood guard in the ramada against the witch. Their methods are described in the section on seers.

The witch will hurt anyone, but especially the pascolas. Because the witch is much more after those than any other person, because they hate any work done in honor of God. They are against the others too, but more against the pascola because they have a certain grace with the public. The witch, like the devil, has no power over anyone working faithfully for God, as the maestros and church group. [Nor the matachinis] because they are soldiers of the Virgin and they don't try to hurt them. The pascolas are working for God, but the witch can hurt them because they are also from the supernatural things, and the witch is from the supernatural things and envies them for their popularity.

[My father was a curer.] He had the power to cure the pascolas. When they got sick it would be mostly in the form of cramps in the legs. The harper might get cramps in the hands and arms. The violinist the same. The tampaleo the same, and he would also get in the mouth saliva, so that he can't play any more. They usually try to get cured in the fiesta because it is a fight against the witch and, once cured, the witch won't bother anyone else any more, as it will know that there is someone there to fight it. . . . The only things he is jealous of is the supernatural representation of the pascolas, the tampaleo, violinist and harper. (55)

[The pascolas pray at the altar] in case they sin in the night. And they pray against "the enemy," the devil, so that all night and all during the fiesta no evil will come. [There is danger to all in the ceremonies] because of the jealousy of the witch. Maybe he is more jealous of the pascola because he is so popular. (20)

The witch can't hurt while the maestros are saying prayers and the pascolas sit down then. The witch can't hurt them when the maestro starts praying like that and blessing all the people everywhere, and the dead too. He tells the pascola to sit down and listen. After the maestro has finished, the pascola has another little sermon. He says just what the maestro says only in fewer words and one can laugh at it. . . . In this time the witch cannot hurt the maestro at this period. He cannot penetrate. (24)

The pascolas dance, solo, alternately to the European music of a violin and harp, and to the, probably, aboriginal music of the flute and drum, played simultaneously by one man, the tampaleo (sometimes called *tambolero*, from *tamborilero*, drummer). The music is said to have been learned from the birds and animals of the desert and the huya by the earliest pascolas, who then transmitted it to others. It is said to be connected with the *yoania*.

The tampaleo traditionally sits cross-legged on a blanket (sometimes in

later years on a chair) at the front of the pascola side of the fiesta ramada, facing inside. He is expected to remain quiet and impassive during the night, no matter how much the crowd tries to draw him into dialogue. At the beginning and end of a fiesta he makes a cross on the ground with the end of his flute, near where he sits, to dedicate his work of the night to the Lord.

An experienced tampaleo volunteered the following:

The snake comes into the ramada sometimes, about 3:00 A.M., but no one except the tampaleo can see it. He flies like air or like a *difunto* (dead person) all over the world. Just once in awhile it comes. Sometimes it is moving me, my arm. . . . Then there is nothing there. Nobody else can see it. It is always out on the desert or some place. It only belongs to the tampaleo. That is what they say in Mexico. It passes by, and they don't see it. That is why you don't sit in a chair. You sit on the dirt, because you know where the snake lives. It lives underground [and if you sit on a chair] it just comes and pushes you out of there. (28)

The flute is called *baka kusia*. Carrizo cane and cow sinew are used in the making.

The drum is called *kubahe*. It is double-headed and is made of goatskin (*chibabea*) stretched over the rigid edges of a narrow circular frame, made of the wood of the male willow (*wata*). The strips that lash the drumheads over the frame are called *makuchiam*. In processions the tampaleo loops a scarf around his neck to hold the drum in place. See Beals (1943: 32 and Fig. 5f; 1945: 42) for excellent descriptions of the drum.

The pieces played by the tampaleo are known as *sonim* (songs). It is doubtful if any two tampaleos use the identical sequence of songs, but in general the plan is the same. The information that follows, regarding the songs and the method of tuning the flute, was supplied by an expert tampaleo (28), who was born with the gift.

In the closing sequence of the opening ritual of the pascolas at a fiesta, as described under "Fiestas," the tampaleo plays the *Tampaleota Kanariam* (kanariam of the tampaleo). This is again played at the end of a fiesta. During Lent it is played only at the first fiesta of that period and not again until Easter Sunday morning when the fiesta ends in the fiesta ramada. The reason for this is that all of Lent is considered to be one ceremony.

When the dancing starts, the pascolas dance first to the music of the violin and harp. The first dance thereafter, to the music of the tampaleo, is called *Senyor Hiavihtek* (The Lord Lives).

The tampaleo songs before midnight are "*puras alabanzas*" (only alabanzas). "We are with the maestros" (28). They have no names, are abstract in content, are not imitative, and are not dramatized by the pascolas. They bear no relation to whatever play occurs among the pascolas at that time.

For the songs after midnight both the tuning and the content change. The tampaleo (28) says that he tightens the flute at midnight and leaves it that way until dawn. Before midnight the lower edge of the tongue of the flute is even with the first hole. At midnight, he removes the plug that holds the tongue and lowers the tongue about half way to the bottom of the first hole. The word *kuhtiawame* is used for this change. He states that he beats the drum in double time and tightens the flute so that it is close to the violin. The songs are livelier and more dramatic and concern the animals and birds and other creatures in the huya ania. He takes delight in imitating these sounds. The pascolas often dramatize them. Actually, the songs are more than imitative. The music then conveys the whole mystery and enchantment of the huya. Songs are not only imitative of, say, a coyote or a cardinal, but invoke the whole natural world that lives in legend and in memory. They are cognate to the arcane memories of the huya and of the yoania. Three songs for this series are *Kauroaktia* (Mountain Bird), *Wo'i* (Coyote), and *Wichalakas* (Cardinal).

The two songs played at the time of the dawn, after the pascolas come back from morning prayers at the fiesta cross, are in the quieter manner of the alabanzas before midnight. They are always the same.

The ones played after this are also in the normal tuning, but they are dramatic. This is the relaxed time, when performers may rest and when others "borrow the music" and dance according to their ability. In Lent this only happens on request of the kohtumbre ya'ura. Four examples of songs played after the dawn are *Yo'i Sankora* (Drunken Mexican), *Walupeta Sonim* (Song of the Guadalupe), *Alamai* (a snake song), and *Chu'u Asola* (Little Puppy).

The tampaleo says that the last song of the fiesta, *Tampaleota Kanariam*, is "like gracias to the people who have stayed with us all night in the ramada."

In processions, when the pascolas escort the holy figures, the tampaleo plays *Diosta Kaminaroam Sonim* (God's Procession Song). Unlike the matachin musicians, he does not change the tune for the return to the church.

On Holy Saturday, during the attacks on the church, he plays *Diosta Hiavihtek*. This is the same as his first song of the fiesta, but the name is changed "because the Lord has risen." As Judas burns, he plays *Huania Takasewa*. This is a song of rejoicing, "and people are all rejoicing because the chapayekas are all through."

When the figure of the Infant Jesus is taken from the church to the fiesta ramada after The Gloria, he plays *Niño Diosta Alabanza* (Alabanza of the Infant Jesus). On Easter Sunday he plays the same thing, but changes the name to *Aleluya Sonim*. Also on Easter Sunday, when the dancers have finished in the ramada and move out to the path to the church to entertain

the spectators, they all play whatever they want; but all songs are called *Loria Sonim*.

At baby funerals only alabanzas are played until after the dawn, when they can play anything they like. When the coffin is taken from the ramada to the patio cross, *Anhelitota Sewa* (Flower of the Angel) is played.

The other two pascola musicians, violinist and harpist, sit on a bench at the back of the ramada. The violin is now a commercial one, although crude ones, fashioned of cane and chords, are said to have been used by the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of those living now. In about 1914 or 1915 the uncle of a Pascuan (55) made one of redwood. The violinist (*lav-alero* or *lavaleo*) is accompanied by a harpist (*arpero* or *aapeleo*).

For this music the pascola thrusts his mask to one side and his sonasum under his belt. When he dances to the music of the tampaleo his mask covers his face and he manipulates his sonasum.

The violin also undergoes changes of tuning during the night. The head violinist (38) and a harpist from another village (83) identified pascola tunes.

The songs before midnight are tuned in the traditional way, the *partillo*. "These are called puras alabanzas, in the nature of a prayer." They are abstract, and they are not dramatized by the pascolas.

The *Kanariam*, the first tune of the fiesta, is started by the violin and harp when the pascolas are approaching the ramada to open the fiesta for the night. It is continued almost to the end of the long opening ritual of the pascolas, as described in the section on fiestas. Since Lent is considered to be a single fiesta or ceremony, the *Kanariam* is played to open only the first fiesta in Lent. At subsequent fiestas the *Saila Kanariam* (Little Brother of the *Kanariam*), ordinarily the second song of the fiesta, is played first. The morning *Kanariam*, which ends a fiesta, is not played until Easter Sunday morning, during the sermon that ends the fiesta in the fiesta ramada. It is reported that when the Holy Cross fiesta was given, the morning *Kanariam* was not played until the close of that fiesta.

After midnight, in the *Kampania* tuning, the songs are more lively and descriptive. During some songs, like *The Itching Dog*, the pascolas get down on all fours and scratch and rub against each other and howl like dogs. Later, in the *Kusaroa* or *Kusaria* tuning, the songs have to do with birds and animals. After the dawn, in the *Unabahti* tuning, there is a relaxed time when the dancers may rest and when others are permitted to try their skills. Popular tunes are played then. The morning *Kanariam* is played softly during the pascola speech to end the fiesta in the ramada and during the few steps they execute in front of the violin and harp. When they turn to the tampaleo, he plays the *Tampaleota Kanariam*.

When, in a *kaminaroa*, the *matachinis*, pascolas, and deer escort the

holy figures, the pascolas and deer use their procession step, in which they tap, then step, with each foot alternately within the rhythm of the music of the *tampaleo*. During processions the pascolas yelp like coyotes from time to time. This is considered to clear the road of evil, "because they say that when the pascolas do not do this the devil comes pushing himself in among the people. He leaves when the pascola yells" (27). Another pascola (14) says, "It is to clear the road of all bad things." It is also useful as a signal to the church group.

The pascolas sometimes take up a collection (*limosna*) for their own use. This has habitually been done on Easter Sunday morning, but it may occur at other times. For example, on Palm Sunday morning in 1945 two pascolas came into the church during a *matachin* confirmation and took up a collection, holding out their masks. They clowning, imitated the participants, pretended to chant the service by counting in English in falsetto tones, sang in Spanish in affected ways and rhythms, and urged the confirmees to invite them to their confirmation fiestas. This was said to be according to custom, and everyone in the church appeared to be amused.

When the pascolas go to the altar for their public veneration, the *maestro* and singers sing the same hymn as for the *caballeros* and general public, called in Yaqui *Popule Meum*.

No shamanistic or curing power has been ascribed to the pascolas. It is said that not even when the pascolas at a fiesta are boastfully bragging about their prowess do they mention being curers. The following is the only pascola story that a well-informed Yaqui man (55) remembers as being at all connected with curing:

The only joke I have ever heard him tell [about curing] was that he had a book that he had found somewhere. And there was a man dying, and they saw he had a book, and they told him to come and administer a last hour ceremony for the person dying. They got him to come after a great effort, and he tried to help them. When he came to the dying person, he told everyone to get out of the room. He told them that the person was dying for lack of prayers and to get out. He choked him. He did not tell the people that he had not administered prayers. People were crying. He took off, and he came back later, and he was on horseback, on a stallion, a high bred horse, a bay. And all his clothes were high quality in price. And the saddle was of fine leather, and it squeaked when the horse moved. The man was calling him, and he didn't know whether in thanks or payment. He had silver spurs and a gun with an ivory handle, and a "*poblano*" (rustic villager) hat with a horsehair band and silver buckles. So everything he was wearing was new and of good quality. He didn't want to pay any attention, and the horse was

on a little canter—*kapara, kapara, kapara*. So the pascola had to spur the bay so it went *kapara, kapara, kapara*. He was afraid for what he has done before. (55)

At burial, a pascola retains none of his regalia, but a statement written by a maestro is put in the coffin, testifying to his ceremonial status.

As has been pointed out, certain ritual taboos operate in the Lenten season. These include almost the whole opening ceremony of the pascolas; also, after the dawn prayers, the dramatizations of the Rain Act and Killing the Deer, as well as the snake dances. The basic reason given for these omissions is that the above rituals center too much attention on the pascolas, when, actually, thoughts in Lent should be, and are, centered on the Lord.

[Snake songs are] not permitted to be played before the dawn. Now it can only be played long after the dawn, just before the whole thing is over. It is prohibited because it is about the Kurues (the mythical snake with a cross on his forehead). There are many of them on the Río Yaqui, and they don't want nothing connected with those things until just before they are through. It isn't allowed at all in Lent. It is only played because the man who makes the fiesta wants that song, or if he thinks the pascola can dance it. Or if the public wants it. Otherwise the musicians don't play it just because they want to. There are others like that, that the pascola after his church ceremony [prayers at the cross] will dance. The pascola tells the people that that period is like a *pilon* (something extra), and now they can request songs, and that is when they play those songs that are prohibited. (9)

A secondary reason for these taboos is that the repartee is particularly vulgar at these times. This repartee and subjects pertaining to the snake are not considered appropriate for the Lenten season.

The full opening ritual is not done in Lent because:

It is supposed to be closed for the pascolas just like for the matachinis and deer. The pascola is placed in Lent for mere entertainment of the people present. Out of Lent they are supposed to light rockets at the cross, but not in Lent. And this is supposed to be at the beginning of a fiesta and at the dawn. It is commonly understood that the Lord considered it as directing the people's thought to His figure and Mary, instead of to the pascolas. (2)

It is also taboo in Lent for anyone but the kohtumbre to "borrow the music" (*sonim reweh*) and dance after the dawn prayers. If any man persists

in doing this, he is recruited as an often reluctant member of the kohtumbre as follows:

If a man did it, he would first be told it is not allowed, and then if he keeps on he would be pulled into the service. (38)

Since it [the Easter Ceremony] belongs to the kohtumbre, no one can take it without being taken into the kohtumbre. In case of a person being drunk, they take him anyway, and for life. (9)

The pascola must be familiar with the lore of pascola and deer in order to carry on intermittent talk during the night having to do with the yoania and the deer in the huya. This is important, as it links the past with the present in the minds of listeners.

An effective pascola must be at ease with people and be able to draw verbal responses from the male audience. He must have a sense of the ridiculous and have the ability to express himself in quick and spontaneous witticisms. His humor is finely drawn as well as broad. He must be able to take advantage of situations easily and expertly, as they present themselves. Like the chapayekas, pascolas have an opportunity to sublimate anxieties and frustrations in a socially recognized and approved channel, as part of their role in the ceremonies. The people are both audience and participants.

One finds in everyday talk with pascolas that they often make jokes similar to those at a fiesta. For example, one pascola, when asked where the other pascolas and deer dancer were, said that the deer had gone to the monte and the pascolas to New York. Another time, when introduced to visitors from New York, he said that he himself was from Washington. In the community kitchen he pointed to the picture of a bee on a can of honey and said that if anyone looked at the bee he would fly away home.

The following field notes may shed some light on the personality of one of the head pascolas.

I was immediately, and all through the interview, struck with the marked difference in personality of this pascola (14) at home, in contrast to his personality at a ceremony. As a pascola he appears to me to have a rather ribald, devil-may-care bold look, with his head back. And he talks constantly in a high, sometimes whining, sometimes querulous voice, very off-hand, sometimes with an injured tone. At home, he is gentle, courteous, unpretentious, with a very disarming, friendly smile and a pleasant voice.

[At an Easter Eve fiesta] he was at his best, telling stories and pantomiming. He sang some songs in falsetto. Face perfectly deadpan all the time. A good, conservative pascola performance, no laughing or smiling, quick wit, pantomime controlled and sparse and effective. . . . Tonight the man was lost in the pascola role. He used his pascola voice, high and slightly complaining. . . . sang "alabanzas" and gave a sermon in imitation of a

maestro. Used the words, but evidently changed them around. Much mirth on the part of [the maestro] and all the Yaquis. . . . [For the dance of the Dog That Has Fleas] each pascola got down on the ground and rubbed up against each of the others to scratch himself, and the other rubbed and scratched his back. Then the dog lifted his leg at them, and they jumped back. They all barked, too. They were all very amusing. . . . He lifted his leg over the deer headdress and over the deer's leg, too.

During the period of observation about twelve pascolas have presented themselves. In all but one instance they were grown men. No one is in training at the present time. A reason given by one of the *tampaleos* (28) is that "it is too hard. Ours comes from the *yoania* way over there." On the whole, this would seem to be true. It appears that it is much easier to approach work for the Lord and Mary through the avenue of the *manda*, with the attendant benefactions of the godparent system and the solidarity of a large group. The route to pascola work is esoteric, with emphasis on the *yoania*, which is often socially disapproved. In particular, the seeking of extra skills through revelation in the *yoania* is universally thought to be "on the evil side." Also, pascola work, though less frequent than that of the church group and the *matachinis*, is extremely arduous. Success depends so largely on the personality of the dancer that there must be some timidity in assuming that one could operate successfully. But the main reason appears to be that the whole area of pascola work is in the field of pre-Spanish culture that has decreasing significance compared with the *manda* system, which is socially approved and fits into the pattern of regional religious customs.

They don't want to take off their shirts. It's too hard. It's too much work to put on the *trahete* (regalia). It's easier to do it through the church. [This man—a *tampaleo*—also said that they are afraid of the *yoania* dreams. That the *matachinis* "do not have to get it from the *yoania*." That in *matachin* work there is a large group, not just a few. He made a clear distinction between the ambience of the pascola and deer groups and the *matachinis* and church group.] Even if they are born with the *tekie*, they don't want to do it. (28)

The concept of the pascola as an old man, as his name implies, is a universal one. One reason given for his appearance in the opening ritual is that he is bent and stumbling like an old man. The pascolas are also often spoken of as clowns.

The pascolas are like clowns. They make everyone laugh, and they talk a lot, whatever they want to say. (14)

The talking of the pascola is like a wind traveling and has no more meaning. The heart of the pascola is good. He must talk like that; he is a clown. (8)

The association of the pascola with the yochiba'ato is very strong, indeed fundamental. "Everything comes from the goat." "The goat belongs to the pascola." The actions of the goat are copied in the dance. Some of the regalia are reminiscent of the goat. The goat is present in many of the dreams of the pascolas, and many of the legends include the goat. One wonders how many of the European traditions have overlaid the original conception. And it is of importance that *chiva* (chiba) is a Spanish word.

The snake is to a lesser degree a symbol of the pascolas. The initiatory dreams are often of the snake, and it figures in some of the paraphernalia. Legends surround the snake. Dances called snake dances occur after the dawn ceremonies outside of Lent. And there are the feats of Bakot Pascola.

The pascola has certain affinities with the chapayeka which set them aside from Christian concepts. Both are forgiven for obscene and irreverent behavior. Both entertain as clowns. Both come from faraway places. Both utilize the "little animals of the desert" for decoration of the mask. However, there are basic differences. For example, the chapayeka fears the evil inherent in his mask; he cannot give it away or sell it. Not so with the pascola.

The contrast with the matachinis is marked. The whole feeling is different. The matachin dance is structured and disciplined, with no opportunity for individual movement. No conversation is allowed, and no humor. Matachinis have no fearsome dreams, only the gentle fortifying ones of Jesus and Mary. They have no connection with the dim past and the yoania.

The prayers to the "little animals of the desert" in the opening ritual of the pascolas are perhaps of great significance in linking them with the past. Some say they are a joke, but most think that they are serious. "They are serious; he learned them in the yoania" (28).

It is clear that in Pascua the pascola operates under a different mandate from the ceremonial societies. It is true that he has been given a function in the ceremonies, although primarily as an entertainer and ceremonial host. The pascola (alone among all ceremonial participants) occasionally receives applause. Nevertheless, certain usages and activities, such as the sign of the cross; the use of the cross on mask and necklace; prayers, sermons, and speeches like those of the maestros; escorting processions carrying the holy figures; opposition to the fariseos at The Gloria, have drawn him into the Christian aspects of the ceremonies.

But there are differences. The pascola operates as an individual in a loosely knit group, without the supportive benefits of the manda and cere-

monial godparents. Instead, a true pascola is given his tekia in the womb and enough seataka to assure his performance. Significant dreams in which a terrifying ordeal is a test of courage confirm the tekia. He has access, if he wants to risk the opprobrium, to exceptional prowess gained from the yoania caves. Clearly, the pascola has a more intimate relation to the yoania than do the others. The pascola group appears to be equally at home with the concepts of God and the yoania and to derive strength from both. Some say that the special behavior of the pascola in the opening ritual at fiestas repeats what he saw in the yoania.

It is difficult to obtain a precise statement as to the deeper meanings and derivation of the pascola role. There lingers the faint suggestion that he is nonhuman when he dances.

With a final exchange of thanks, the fiesta in the ramada is officially ended, and the pascola places himself again like a human being with the rest of us. (55)

After the final sermon of the fiesta, the pascola comes back just like the rest of us, just like anybody else. (24)

DEER DANCER (WILD DEER)

Another group, the deer dancer and his singers, performs simultaneously with the pascolas at some ceremonies. However, this performance has a different symbolism, closely related to the wild deer, his habitat, and especially to flowers. Pascuans have a ritual relationship to the deer. Even though currently they do little or no deer hunting, it is remembered that in the Río Yaqui the deer was the most favored and, indeed, the most sacred animal. It was the most important source of food and skins, the most beloved animal, and the most feared. The special relationships with the deer remain in song and dance and pantomime. In addition, conversation about the deer invokes an aura of enchantment not true with any other wild creature.

God has created the deer to be the most loved kind of creature and the most closely related to humans. (48)

[The deer is most loved by man] because you eat the deer and like it most and need it most. (2)

The deer is the animal closest to the Yaquis because they are dependent on the deer for meat. (73)

The following special relationship to the wild deer was volunteered by a member of the pascola group. He said that a deer dancer or singer might utter the following prayer before starting the work of the night:

Wild deer, help us [so that] we will be happy (*aleaka*) until morning. God Hissself will help us [so that] nothing bad will pass to us. (28)

He said the phrase "wild deer" refers to the deer leader and that it is clear that the prayer is addressed to him, that he is giving the information that God will help them. His translation of *aleaka* as "happy" is not in conformity with others, who prefer "well-being or safe." He also said, "The *yoawa* [in this case the deer] was born like that from God. It is from the *yoania* way over there."

Several kinds of deer are reported as having been known in the Río Yaqui. The *soote'ela* is the one most commonly mentioned. One man (10) says he is "the meanest one," and it is he who "blows out the witchcraft and blinds a person." Another man (2) says that this is a pronghorn deer, and that *soote'ela* is the kind of noise he makes "like a person coughing or a dog barking." He also says that the deer has a stone concealed in the skin of the left thigh, which bewitches the hunter. It appears like a human mole. He has even more power to kill than the ordinary deer. In case this deer is killed, the stone quivers for about an hour before the deer dies.

Also mentioned are the large *veenta* (burro deer), which has only two prongs to the antlers; the *wilohko maso*, which is slim and has big antlers; and the *mahko meela*, which is short and heavy with big antlers.

The habitat of the wild deer is almost always spoken of as the *huya ania*. It is foothill country, heavily wooded, with low trees and a tangle of low-lying shrubs. When it is in bloom it is called the *sea ania*. At that time it is especially associated, both in the minds of the people and in the deer songs, with the wild deer. There is about it an element of enchantment, owing to the supernatural power of the deer, the other animals, and the birds that inhabit it.

During a discussion on the meaning of *sea yoleme*, a young Yaqui man said that it means "sacred man."

The maestros talk about this. It all goes back to the deer dancer. It comes from that. You cannot compare it with anything else. The whole thing goes back to trees and flowers and mountains. (73)

The wild deer is created with us on this earth and comes from the *sea ania*. (9)

It is from the monte, where there are many flowers; and it has a flower on its head and on the tip of its antlers. (1)

Like other animals, the deer have a leader. He is called *maso ya'ut* (deer leader), and he governs and protects them. He may also, less often, be called *yo'o maso* (elder, or patriarch, deer), a term of respect. One deer dancer (9) thinks the position is God-given.

The term *mali'itchi*, or *mali'ichi*, sometimes shortened to *malichi*, stems from the word for fawn, *malit*, plus the diminutive *ilichi*. It is a poetic term of endearment, not an honorific title, and is most often heard in the deer songs. It does not in Pascua refer to a legendary leader of the deer, as suggested by Beals (1943: 17; 1945: 13), and it has no association with *malinchi*, a *matachin* dancer.

According to one man (28) the maso ya'ut may be called *katin yoeme huyapo* (person far away in the desert). He said that you always hunt him in the desert, and he never lets anyone hurt him.

The deer are not free. They have a system of governing each other, just as humans do; they are governed by a leader. (1 and 2)

It is thought that the wild deer has more *seataka* than any other animal and, indeed, more than man. A Pascua deer singer (2) says that the *seataka* of the deer, as of other animals, is located in worms at the side of the body. Another informant (73) says that the deer also has strong *ute'a*.

. . . and the wild deer is the one that superseded every other wild creature in *seataka*. The hunter should also use the help of the *seataka* to hunt the deer and will get the deer, but not often, because the deer is superior to the human in *seataka*. (9)

It is also current belief that all wild deer have *morea* to a very highly developed degree. This is most often evidenced in relationships with hunters, but never captiously, only in self-protection.

If you harm them they can bewitch you, but if you don't, they will not harm you. (2) [He speaks of this as *morea*.]

A special ritual and emotional relationship exists between the wild deer and the hunter (*masoleo*). This is especially between the deer leader and the hunter. The relationship is possible through the *seataka* that each possesses. The reciprocal vehicle of communication is most often dreaming.

The deer hunter knows by his dreams whether the deer leader is willing for him to hunt. The deer leader sends these dreams, and, if in the dream the leader offers meat to the hunter, the hunter knows that he has permission to hunt. He must "have the right dreams in order to hunt" (10). If the hunter goes out without these dreams, the leader hides the deer, and the hunter has no luck. A sure sign that the hunter has permission is the brief appearance to the hunter of a *mali'ichi*. If a hunter pursues game without the permission of the deer leader, the leader takes away the man's *seataka* for life, and he can never hunt again.

Seataka is necessary for success in the hunt, though it is never as strong

in the hunter as in the deer. A person without seataka would have no luck (1 and 2). The hunter must have a legitimate need for hunting and must never hunt for sport. He must have ute'a and the desire to succeed "and must also be brave and strong, as the deer is dangerous" (10). He is then in accord with the deer leader, who otherwise, through his witchcraft, will punish the hunter. Quarreling during the hunt is prohibited.

The hunter must have seataka to hunt and must need the meat and skins. . . . All deer have bewitching power over the hunter, but the deer leader watches over all and himself may punish the hunter. Or he may give permission to hunt. It is the will of the leader to let the hunter have it for food. . . . The good hunter will know that he has permission because he has good intentions. . . . The leader does not take away a hunter's seataka, but he only bewitches him. . . . The leader only bewitches when he wants to punish the hunter, like a castigo. (2)

The leader of the deer is called maso ya'ut, and, when the hunters are killing too many deer, the deer leader leads them to some other place and hides them.

The leader has the God-given power of being the leader, and he is supposed to heed warnings according to the movements of the hunter, and the traps. (9)

As in other ritual activities, to be successful the hunter must have good heart while hunting deer. His thoughts must be concentrated on the hunt, and it is particularly inadmissible to think about women. A deer dancer (9), and other Pascuans as well, state that the deer is like the scalp fetish in its jealousy and that the deer will change his luck if the hunter thinks about women, especially about any woman except his spouse. It is also said that the hunter must not blow on his food but let it cool, or his luck will change.

He must not have bad thoughts, because it is not good to have bad thoughts. If they have bad thoughts they can get killed. [How?] The deer leader can make the person look like a deer, and the other person will kill him.

If he hunts with a bow and arrow, he must not blow on his food. If with a gun, it is all right. (10)

The hunter should wait till the food cools off. Like the hitebi. He does not blow on medicine but waits until it cools off.

The deer has the same as the chonita, about the foreign women not his wife. He is jealous of another woman, like the chonita. It is not good to be thinking of other women while hunting. The deer is jealous. (9)

If he should not have his mind right, he would be punished; and, if he thinks right and sings right and desires it for meat, he will find deer. (2)

The hunters gathered on the night before (or three nights before) each hunt to sing until dawn. It is remembered that this occurred not only in Sonora but in Arizona until about 1914. The songs were sung by the hunters themselves, and no other specialists performed. The songs were spoken of as *amu buikam* (kill songs). They were addressed to the deer, and especially to the deer leader, and were for the purpose of charming or supplicating the deer to yield to the hunter's petition for needed supplies. A deer singer (2) says that they are called "songs to charm the wild deer."

The hunters asked for no other favor than luck in hunting. This ritual was carried out for no other animal. There is disagreement about the offering of prayers for good fortune in hunting.

[The songs are] typical of the life of the forest, the life of the hunters. The songs are usually sung by the hunters before going out hunting. They sing in the evening until about ten. They don't have their instruments. They might have someone dancing. He wouldn't wear a rebozo, and he don't take off his shirt, but have ankle rattles, rattle belt, and headdress.

[There may be magic in the hunting songs.] When they are going to hunt they sing from dawn on. They sing different kinds of songs, and they camouflage themselves with green boughs and rub themselves with something to smell like the forest, and they bathe before they go. (55)

Sometimes a group of hunters would celebrate before the season of hunting, and celebrate a little *velaroa*, and have food during the night. This was done at the beginning, and the group of hunters would go their own way. And after the season they would have another. And, during the time of the songs, some of the younger boys, who want to learn, may borrow the rattle and dance. [The prayers] are done by the head singer of the deer, which is the hunter himself; and he asked for divine help in hunting. There are no regular prayers, but the hunter will talk to God as if he were right in His presence, and in his own words. (2)

The deer hunter would only ask the deer for luck in hunting. He has only the power to give him luck in hunting. (9)

The bow and arrow and the trap are the traditional weapons mentioned in conversation. They also occur in the deer songs. The bow is called *kuta wiko'i* and the arrow *vaakahuia*. Traps (*wite'im*) were made by fastening a lasso to a tree trunk and extending it over a hole to a wooden stake. The hands and the lasso itself were rubbed with greens to reduce the scent.

Poisoned arrows and spears are also recalled. Another method was to stalk the deer until it was exhausted. This could only be done by a strong "high-spirited person" having *hiapsi ute'ak* (spirit power) (10). Firearms are mentioned for a later date.

To disguise the human scent the hunter bathed early in the morning and then smoked himself under a blanket over smoldering herbs, especially sage. He also rubbed himself and his weapons with fresh tender leaves, and with peppery red berries called *huakokoim* (Spanish, chiltipiquin). These customs are imitated in the long mock deer hunt and, to a lesser extent, in the early part of a big fiesta when the pascolas are trying to catch the deer dancer-fawn.

Some say that the hunter wore a deer headdress and imitated the stance and actions of the deer. Body paint was not applied. An elderly deer singer (10) said that he himself carried three sharp sticks of the powerful huchahko wood for luck and safety.

The deer was killed with a very sharp knife if a last measure was needed, and blood was let out of the throat to be taken home if possible for cooking purposes.

A man might say when in the act of killing the deer, "With this seataka that I have, I have charmed you and I have overcome you." Or he might say, "After working a long time, I have overcome you" (2). No prayers were said at the time because "the prayers are done before hunting in asking for divine help."

In case the deer leader is not in accord with the hunter, the deer has many ways of punishment. He can destroy the power of the hunter's weapons; he may cause the trap to spring prematurely; or he may inform the deer to avoid it. The cartridge belt may drop off. Cramps may be induced so that the bow and arrow are useless. He may "point at" the hunter, rendering him ill or paralyzed. He may send a fawn to bewitch the hunter and make him ill with a glance. He may cause the gun to fire, and to ricochet, so that it kills the hunter.

If the hunter gets too close to the deer, it can bewitch him by blowing. This is called *seboa puhtane* (blowing tiny thorns like those from the pancake cactus). The stone of one kind of deer (*soote'ela*) can bewitch the hunter so that the deer cannot be harmed. Two men (2 and 10) said that the deer leader may take a liking to a hunter and send him a fawn to let him know that he has permission to hunt. The deer is most dangerous at the point of death, especially "when he is shot and don't die real quick." At that time with a glance he can blind the hunter or even kill him.

It has been seen that a deer will point at a person, and the firearms will not work, and the whole cartridge belt falls, and the deer is just moving away. [Is the hunter harmed?] No harm is done to the hunter. Or,

cramps might come to his arms when he is using the bow and arrow; or the trap might be set off before the deer steps on it, and thereby the deer would get away. Often the deer gets wise to the trap and avoids it by not getting too close to it. If the deer looks at the hunter at the moment of death, if he don't die at that moment, he will get very sick. It will paralyze him. [Do deer bewitch people now?] It can happen that the deer can bewitch a person in the same manner. Not the tame ones. And no one but the hunter. (1 and 2)

Informants said that if a man kills deer just for fun, and not for the purpose of needed food, God will punish him, and the *yoania* will bewitch him and cut off his luck for deer hunting.

The deer always have one principal leader, like American law. In a flock of deer one of the older deer is always the leader and the rest follow. . . . If a person kills a deer just for fun and not for food, the leader will send a little *malichi* to the person, and he will go to the person and bewitch him and cause him to get sick at a glance. It is curable by a *hitebi*, but the person will never be able to kill any more deer. (1 and 2)

The *maso ya'ut* bewitches the hunter who kills for sport and takes the *seataka* away from him so that he will not be a hunter any more. The usual punishment is usually the eyes or the arms, and other pains too. But taking away the *seataka* is the important thing.

The deer hunter would never approach a dying deer from the front, but from behind, so that he will not look at him. A deer can bewitch a hunter by blowing if the hunter gets too close to him, and, in that case, the sickness affects him in the eyes. This blowing is called in Yaqui *seboa puhtane*. *Puhtane* means blowing and *seboa* means the very thin, tiny thorns from the pancake cactus. [He has heard that the leader might send a *malichi* to punish the hunter.] It has been told by the older people that the firearms took a shot at a deer, and the bullet didn't penetrate the deer's body and turned it back and hit the hunter and killed him. [It was the *wingo* (bezoar) that turned it back.] If the leader has not given permission to the hunter to kill, thereby the deer avoids the trap. If the leader likes a person, he may send a *malichi* to him. . . . And there are hunters who get the profession for using the skin to make coats [and other things], and those are the people the *maso ya'ut* has a liking for [as well as killing just for food]. All those things are used for good. In the way that a *malichi* is sent, if he should see a *malichi* alone in the wilderness, then he would know that he has permission to hunt either for food or for skins for coats and other leather things. (9)

The deer is supposed to be the one that can bewitch any person that is not very strong, not very familiar with the forest. It is supposed to have

power to bewitch persons and hunters; the hunter has to be careful against being bewitched. He is supposed to sing during the evening hours before he goes hunting the next day. . . . Many people have said that the hunter can go out in the forest and would not find [the deer], so he needed songs to find the deer. . . . The only way that a deer is supposed to bewitch a person is by the—sometimes—you know, by the use of firearms. The firearms will not discharge, and the bow, too. They use a trap too, called wite'im. They sing a good deal about it in the deer songs. They also call it *sewailo witelim* (little flower trap). The ropes that is used for the trap is the wite'im. (55)

A deer singer (2) stated, in essence, that it is apparent that the deer has morea, because he can bewitch, and he could not bewitch without morea. He only bewitches when he wants to punish, like a castigo. All deer have morea. . . .

[It is still current belief.] Some believe it now, because when the deer comes out and you try to kill it, you can't.

The hunter has a way of confessing (*auhiokoe*, forgive oneself) to the deer leader. He uses his own words, no special prayers. . . . He says, "Like you, I am just a poor fellow, who knows nothing, just like a wild deer." (2)

Sickness caused by a deer (*ne buichia mayak*, worm hit me) may be cured by a native curer, but only if the deer leader is willing. If he does not want the cure effected, the curer will know this by his seataka and by his dreams.

One of the hunters (10) said that the way the curer knows is if he has "good dreams. He dreams that he has a fight with the deer leader, and if he wins he knows that he has permission to cure."

The hitebi does not kill the deer in his dreams because it is like a prayer. (2)

No detailed study has been made of curing methods; but it is said that deer wood is boiled in water and used for bathing (2). Deer bones may be burned into a powder and used as a plaster over the affected parts (1 and 2). The same informants say that the seataka of the deer is important in curing, also. Another method is as follows:

In case of deer sickness the curer uses the points of the deer hoof burned at the ends and made into a powder. It is better to have the hooves of the deer that was killed by the hunter. The powder is used as a lotion over the heart and abdomen. If the deer leader does not want the person

to get well, it is impossible for the curer to cure him. He knows by his seataka in dreams whether he has permission from the deer leader. (2)

Parts of the deer may be used for other illnesses than deer sickness. For nervous trouble the antlers may be burned into a chalk and applied to the neck, head, and ears to "cut off the nerves" (2). The antlers may be burned with any bone of a horse and applied to smallpox when it gets too severe and "turns inside." This preparation may also be used to allay itching (1 and 2). Buckskin may be used to bind broken bones: "... they take a deer hide, because that has something to do with it, too" (58). Tanned deerskin may be scraped until a powder comes off. This is gathered and put over a wound that will not heal. It acts like stitches. One man (2) used this for a smashed finger that would not heal in a hospital. A deer horn may be held to the ear for earache. All of those questioned say that the deer tail is not used for curing. A Yaqui man reported the following:

When a child gets some kind of sickness . . . their parents go off and leave them too much. Like a father who is used to carrying his child around and caressing it, and suddenly is called away, and the child gets sick from missing him too much. Then it is curable by other means. They scrape the dust off the deer horn and put it in water and let it settle till the water is all clear, during the night. Then they put some on the child and make it drink it. They put other things around his neck, too. Maybe some of the deer bones. And they sing it a little deer song and amuse it until it is all right. [Just the parents?] No, anyone who is close to the child. [What songs?] They make up a little song with one or two words. (55)

The deer tail is called *maso buasia* and may be taken for good luck in hunting (1, 2, 9). Some say it is effective for generalized good luck. No ritual is held over it, and it may be hung in any direction, not necessarily to the east. It is not called flower (2).

The English term bezoar is not known, but a stone found in the alimentary tract of the deer was called, by two deer singers (1 and 2), ba'awingo, and by a deer dancer (9) wingo. Another deer singer (10), as well as other Pascuans, state that the ba'awingo is the small seed of a water plant used in curing and for endurance. They call the object found in the stomach of the deer maso teta (deer stone) or maso vachia (deer stone). The hunter takes it for generalized good luck. It is a token something, like a lucky stone, found in a deer's stomach. Two men (1 and 2) say that the deer conserves moisture in it. Another (9) reports that inside it has small fine thorns with which it may injure the hunters. Another (10) believes that it is not magic. None has heard that there is any danger from lightning to a hunter carrying a bezoar,

nor that there is a small snake inside (cf. Beals 1945: 12–13). A cow has one, too, the size of a baseball.

The wingo has something hard as a stone inside, and also those little fine thorns inside (from cactus), and it could be that the wingo he has is used to turn the [hunter's] bullet back. The wingo has the power to hurt people with its thorns. (9)

Buia sewam are a kind of lichen on which the deer enjoy browsing. It is considered that the deer “owns” them, and therefore they bring good luck in hunting. Two Pascua men (1 and 2) say that the Yaquis used to rub their hands with them for good luck in cards and in love.

The Yaquis use [earth flowers] to rub their hands with and shake hands with a Yaqui woman, and she becomes in love. It is used only for women and playing cards, not for hunting. (1 and 2)

The deer is the owner of the earth flower; therefore it is good luck in hunting. Where it exists, the deer exists near it. It is touched for luck, not rubbed on. Not used for luck in love. (9)

A knot in a wood which looks like the eye of a deer is hung about the neck for luck. (28 and 10)

It is often said that the wild deer is able to hide himself in the forest among the shrubs and trees, and at that time his antlers bear a resemblance to the branches. Some think that he actually transforms himself into the brush, others that he only merges with it in order to hide.

The deer grows every year his antlers like trees—their branches. There is a plant called the ocotillo. This ocotillo can easily fool a man by appearing at a distance like a deer. If you see a deer between trees and shrubbery you will at the moment think it is an ocotillo. It is also said the deer, when it is being sought by the hunter, will for a moment stand far away and make the hunter think it is an ocotillo. There is a deer song about the ocotillo and its flower, comparing the deer with the flowers of the ocotillo. The ribbons on the horns are supposed to be the flowers of the trees.

The moose grows antlers like the *nopal* (prickly pear cactus) branches and looks like them. (55)

It happens like hypnotizing a person. He actually turns himself into the vegetation. It is a kind of hypnotizing a person to not see him, because he closes his sight. He actually turns himself into the huya. (2)

Several persons have said that the deer has a hole in his knee, in which he stores water. Deer dancers have been seen to simulate this by leaning over the knee to drink.

They say that the deer has a little hole between the toes, and he goes to a stream of water and loads with water his body. He drinks naturally, too. Then when he goes away, when he feels thirsty and has no water, he sucks water from his knees. (55)

The deer can hear through its hooves. Its sense of hearing comes through its front hooves and on the right side, and on his legs on the right side.

There are times in August when the wild deer assemble in a certain place where they have a *ba'awingo* buried in the ground in a watering place where the deer assemble. This is from a dead deer. They come in large numbers, and they play and frolic and simulate fighting by the bull deers. (2)

In August they make a big meeting and have a good time together. They go chasing after females. In February, too. (8)

One man (10) said that the skins are used for bows, for shoestrings, for binding broken bones. "He must know how to dress the deerskin. The *Surem* used them for dresses and ribbons for the hair."

No rituals about butchering are remembered and no respect treatment for the carcass; but it was considered bad to waste meat. It could be given to the dogs if desired (9 and 55). One man said that the bones were not burned (10). A menstruating woman risked illness if she ate or even came into contact with raw deer meat.

If a menstruating woman eats raw deer meat, she will get stomach trouble. She must not even touch it. Not true of other people. If it hurts her it does not affect others.

[Deer meat must not come in contact with menstruating women] . . . because the deer has a worm in their body, which is the *morea* of the deer. Near the skin. An *ilichi* or small worm the size of a finger. It is used like magnetic power. (2)

Deer Dance Group

The deer dance group consists of a dancer, three singers who accompany him, and a manager. There is said to be no one word to describe the group as a whole, but one deer singer (10) says that they would "speak of working together on this one truth." The deer dancer dances singly to the music of his three singers. He dances simultaneously with, and in turn with, each of the *pascolas* at some fiestas, but only when the *pascolas* are performing to the music of their *tampaleo*. If there are two villages present, with two *ramadas*, it is appropriate to have a dance group in each *ramada*. It is considered proper that the deer should not dance when there are fewer

than two pascolas present. His role differs greatly from that of the pascola. In fact, the whole aura surrounding him is unique.

The dance costume includes a rebozo (rebo'osam), which is folded and wrapped around the waist, falling to just below the knees. It overlaps a little in front and hangs free, allowing ample leg movement. It is said that any kind of rebozo may be used, but in almost all instances in Pascua the dancers have worn the gray-blue mercerized type, about a yard wide, so common in Mexico and easily obtainable in Tucson or upper Sonora. No meanings have been found for the fringe, but two deer singers (1 and 2) say that the small light dots represent the markings of a fawn. Under the rebozo the dancer's rolled up pants are visible.

Over a woven belt (wikosam) the dancer wears a rattle belt (rihu'utiam, the plural of the word rihuti, meaning movement). This belt is of leather, with rawhide strips inserted close together, from which dangle deer-hoof rattles (*maso sutum*). If they are not available, hog-hoof rattles may be used, but this is not considered desirable. Tin ones are never utilized by the deer. The rattles are tied in small bunches of equal size all the way around the belt. One of the Pascuans said that "The sound of the rihu'utiam is like empty oyster shells" (55).

The dancer is bare above the waist, except for a necklace of small black and white, or all white, beads with a cross of mother-of-pearl, such as that of the pascola. The whole necklace is called *hopo'orosim*. Anyone may make it, but the cross is generally carved by a pascola. The cross on the necklace is worn "against the witch, in case something goes wrong" (9). The necklace varies in length with the size of the neck of the dancer. It must not dangle too much (55). At large fiestas the deer may also wear a bright scarf passed over the left shoulder, across his chest, and under the right arm. No meanings have been obtained for the scarf.

Cocoon rattles, called teneboim (Spanish, cascabeles), are worn around the ankle and up the leg, approximately to the level of the rebozo hem. They are of the same type worn by the pascolas and are described in that section. However, they are not associated with snakes, as are those of the pascolas. Like the pascolas, the deer dances barefoot.

The headdress of the deer is called *maso koba* (deer head). It is often referred to as *sewa*. It is generally a real deer head of small size, including a few inches of neck, stuffed and furnished with glass eyes. It may be simulated, as described by Wilder (1963: 165). In order that the headdress does not rest directly on the head of the dancer, a fresh white cloth (*buam*) about a yard square is utilized. This is folded into a triangle. The wide edge of the triangle covers the forehead, sometimes to the eyebrows. The two side corners are drawn around the head and tied securely at the back. The small bamboo peg that is thrust into the knot is called *bua hisumia*. The third corner hangs free over the knot. With the head of the dancer thus entirely

covered, the deer head is placed on top, at a slightly forward angle. A short rawhide thong at the back of the headdress is placed over and then under the knot of the cloth. A second thong on one side of the deer head is passed in front of the ear, under the chin, and through a small opening on the opposite side, when it is tightened and knotted on itself.

The antlers (*awam*) are wound with red ribbons (*lihtoniam*) so arranged that the short ends protrude from the tips of the antlers. These wrappings are known as *sewam*, and for this reason the antlers are sometimes referred to in the deer songs as flower-forked antlers. The ribbons are removed for cleaning when necessary; when they are worn out, they are put away as keepsakes or may be cut up into confetti to be used as flowers at The Gloria. A red ribbon bow fastened on the forehead of the headdress simulates the shape of a cross. At some big fiestas the *fiesteros* give the dancer a crepe-paper flower to wear on top of the headdress between the antlers. It may be any color except black, but only red and rose have been seen. It is offered to the Blessed Virgin on the ramada altar at the end of a fiesta.

It is customary to make the sign of the cross when the headdress is put on for the first time at a fiesta, but not thereafter. A new headdress is not blessed, nor is it subjected to any other ritual.

The dancer manipulates two gourd rattles, one in each hand. These are called *ayam*. They are said to have been unpainted originally, but in almost all instances noted they have been red. All say that they should, if possible, be of the same size and shape, but more beans or beads are put into the left one. Originally the abrasive material inside was beans from the palo verde tree. Sometimes pebbles are used, but they are said to wear out the gourds. Currently store-bought beads, very tiny, round, and not very sharp, are inserted, in about the amount "that could be held in the palm of the hand." The wooden handles have encircling grooves about half an inch apart, for facility in grasping. The sound of the gourd rattle frightens the witch and the devil.

Each dancer has his own variations in shaking the rattles, some in very complicated rhythms. The head deer dancer in Pascua revolves his right rattle in a circular motion of the wrist, clockwise, and he shakes the left one up and down. He is expert and precise, and, if the light falls on his rattles, one may see a small circle of light revolving on the right rattle and a vertical bright line on the left. All of the muscles of the arm are involved in each thrust, with a simultaneous sharp jerking movement of the wrists.

The deer dancer dances to the music of three deer singers, called *maso buikame*. They wear no special costumes, but it is customary for them to have broad-brimmed hats, tipped a little forward as they bend over their instruments. Ribbons or flowers, generally red, may be given to each by the *fiesteros*, to wear in their hatbands at big fiestas out of Lent. These they present to Mary at the fiesta ramada altar after the ceremonies are com-

Deer Singers

pleted. The singers kneel or sit cross-legged, with their instruments on the ground in front of them. By tradition they should face east, but the fiesta ramada is not always suitably oriented.

A tampaleo says the deer singers should face east "because when they are hunted deer always run to the east." The deer singers sing:

ta'ata	yeu	weye	bicha	buitek	itom	yoawa
sun	out	goes	toward	running	our	deer

Our deer goes running toward the sun. (28)

The head singer (*nasukyestame*) sits in the middle. He manipulates a set of rasping sticks and a gourd resonator. He sets the rhythm, then increases the speed, and the others follow. The second singer, at his right, uses the same kind of instruments. The third singer operates a water drum. The singers' voices are deep and low; they sing with relaxed throats.

The rasping sticks are called *hirukiam*, or, in poetic usage, *hilukiam* (from *hiruki*, to scrape). They may also, in deer songs, be referred to as flower rasp. They are made from the powerful huchahko wood. A set of rasping sticks consists of a larger notched stick (*hirukum*) and a smaller unnotched stick, called *hiruki asola* (child rasp). The smaller stick is about

12 inches long. The larger stick is about 18 inches long. It is flat and is finely and evenly notched crosswise on one flat surface. The notches are sometimes called *tamin* (teeth). Thirty-five such teeth were counted on one rasp; two others had sixty-two and sixty-eight. The singer holds one end of the notched stick in his left hand between thumb and fingers. The other end rests on a half-gourd resonator (*beuha*), which stands inverted on the ground in front of him. In his right hand he holds the smaller stick between thumb and fingers. With an easy, even, and swift motion of the wrist, he moves it back and forth over the notches of the larger piece. The motion is so rapid that the moving stick gives the impression of a fluid triangle. The intervals between the teeth of the rasps of the two singers are the same. They move in unison. It is said that the sound of the rasps imitates the scraping of antlers against the brush. When not in use, the sticks are laid across the gourd resonator in such a way as to form a cross, with the smaller piece on top.

Each stick has a cross incised on the end that is held in the hand. The cross resembles a four-petaled flower form. It is sometimes called flower. Two rasps that were examined had an incised line on either side of the cross. They also had an x at the opposite end, with lines on either side. The x's were said also to represent crosses. It is related that sometimes another word for teeth, *kichutame*, is used for rasps.

The hirukiam originated from the deer antlers. So the one that is rubbed against the other is the antlers of the deer, and the stick used should be any stick, because the deer rubs his antlers on any bush. Because the antlers have a little fuzz that they scrape off. So they go to a bush and rub off that fuzz, and that is where the hirukiam came from. The water is supposed to be the pond and water where the deer come to take a drink. (55)

The water drum (*ba'abweha'i*) is a half-gourd, larger than the one used with the rasp. It floats inverted in a large flat pottery bowl of water. It is held in place by the deer singer either with the fingers of his left hand, or by a short string tied to the gourd's edge. It is undecorated. In the deer singer's right hand is held a light drumstick (*ba'ahiponia kuta*) which is wrapped in cornhusks and tied with any kind of strong string. When beaten on the half-gourd, it evokes a low, hollow, pervasive thump, which can be heard all over the village. When not in use the stick is placed on the edge of the pottery bowl, with the half-gourd on top of it.

The water in which this resonator floats symbolizes the lakes and streams of the homeland of the deer and so forms the subject of some of the pascola comments during a fiesta. It is called *yo'oba'am* (literally wild, or enchanted, water) in the same sense that *yoawa* means wild animal. It is

used in some of the pantomime between pascolas and deer dancer. The deer songs often refer to flower water. It is considered sacred after the songs of the night have been sung over it, because the "songs are like the alabanzas of the maestro." It is therefore given respect treatment. At the end of a fiesta the operator of the water drum dips up some of the water in the half-gourd and with it makes a cross on the ground in front of him. The manager of the group then throws the remainder on the ground in the shape of a cross. It may also be thrown to the crowd for *te'ochia*.

[The water is considered holy.] It is of the same value as the church holy water. . . . And the songs that are sung on it and the gourd that is placed on it have the prayer songs. And all those songs have the same value as the Latin prayers of the priest when he blesses holy water. It is *te'ochari* (blessed). (9)

It is thrown for a benediction to the fiesta. (20)

[It is for] a benediction to the ground. (14)

[The water is thrown for] a benediction of the fiesta, because all that the deer dances is pure alabanzas. (49 and 50)

The water is blessed because they were on the blessed part. And you who get a drop of water means *Dios te salve* (God saves you). (38)

One Pascuan (55) was pleased and amused that the writer was sprinkled by water from the deer singer's bowl at a San Ignacio fiesta. The deer dancer was teasing the pascolas, and, following his example, they all stooped down to drink. One of the pascolas puckered up his lips and blew the water out of his mouth. The Pascuan said that this was *te'ochia*, *tu'i teochia* (truly a blessing) and that the writer was fortunate to have had it happen.

In the Rain Act in the morning the water is also *te'ochia*. Also, in the drama of killing the deer, the pascolas, pretending to tan the skin after killing the deer, wet a blanket in the water. They throw this around and when it hits anyone, that is *te'ochia* (55).

No Pascuan is aware of any compulsive or imitative magic for rain in the deer dances, in the songs, or in the water in the bowl. When the water is thrown by the pascolas in the Rain Act, described below, in the early morning after an all-night fiesta, it is not considered to be for the purposes of rain or fertility; but it operates as a blessing to anyone on whom it is splashed.

The paraphernalia of the deer dance group are called *santo insinio* and are treated with respect. Unlike the *chapayeka* regalia, the various articles may be sold, "but not for profit." Even this is rarely done. They might, rather, be given to someone who had a real interest in owning them. Like the mask of the pascola, they have none of the supernatural qualities of the

chapayeka mask. At the end of a fiesta the paraphernalia are dedicated to Jesus and put into a bag and stored in a safe place in the household.

Like the pascola, the deer dancer wears his necklace when he is buried. A statement by a maestro, attesting to his ceremonial status, is also put in his coffin. The deer singer is buried with his cross of huchahko wood and a similar statement.

The deer dance group, like the pascolas, is subject to the depredations of a jealous witch. For example, a witch might so injure, or cause cramp to, an arm or a leg, that the victim would be unable to manipulate the gourds or to dance. The cross on the necklace of a dancer helps to avert this, and a small cross of the powerful huchahko wood may be worn. The man himself might try to cure the trouble by making a cross over the injured part with mesquite ashes mixed with saliva, or plain dirt used in the same way (1 and 2). In a severe case a native curer is the only resort.

A fiestero who wants the deer dance group to perform at a fiesta goes to their manager with a ritual request for them to serve. The manager visits each member of the group with a ritual request. After the usual greetings, something like the following might be said:

Well, yes, my father, having for Father with me Our Leader God, Lord Jesus Christ, and having for Mother with me Our Mother, Most Holy Mary, we invite you to work on it [the fiesta] with us, so that you will own with us the good work.

The people of Pascua know few legends (*etehoim*) about the deer dancer and singers. Some say that, when Jesus and Mary gave the first fiestas, they created at that time the pascola and deer dance groups. One deer dancer (9) said that the dance is not an imitation of a wild deer, but that "God has given them as a gift for the purpose of letting them serve in the ceremonies. . . . that they were taken by God." The same person said that the first time a deer dancer was introduced into a fiesta was at the death of a child. There was no maestro available, so the deer dancer and singers were asked to perform the rituals, and thus they remained as a ceremonial dance. One elderly woman (20) said that "the boys made up the steps to the deer songs," and another man (55) said that the dance originated when a boy saw a deer in a stream of water and started imitating it.

The writer has been able to elicit few definite statements about a legendary home of the deer to the east under the sunrise. One such statement was by a man (8) who said that the home of the deer is toward the sunrise; that it is legendary, and it is called *sewa tebachia* (flower patio). An older and accomplished singer (10) said, "The home of the deer is a mythical place under the dawn." However, the two head deer singers of Pascua and the head deer dancer disavowed any knowledge of such a place or of any

legendary deer living there. They said that the east was only a direction. All, however, agreed that in the songs the deer is said to come from the east. The best clues come from the songs themselves.

Flower forest, to you I am coming
 Flower forest, flower forest world
 I am going, flower forest
 Over there under the sunrise
 When this clearing of the dawn appears [to be] spreading
 I am coming to you, flower forest
 Flower forest, flower forest world
 I am coming to you, flower forest (10)

All say that the sea ania mentioned in the deer songs is not legendary but is temporal and real, that it refers to all vegetation when it is in bloom, and that it is in no particular direction but is everywhere.

The songs are the most beautiful things in the Yaqui language. They represent all the natural things, even the little animals like the spider. The trees and the clouds and wind . . . and flowers. (55)

A deer dancer don't promise; he just does it for the pueblo. When a certain man was young, some other people taught him about dancing. Nobody learns to dance unless he gets it from someone who just kind of gives it to him. Maybe he learns it because Itom Achai wants him to learn it, so when he grows up he will know how to serve the people. If someone asks him to dance, he always have to say yes, because that is what he learn it for, to serve the people. (9)

When the boy starts growing, he knows he is going to make it, so he asks God to help him make it. He is given the *memoriam* [from the Spanish, *hacer memoria*, to remember] to learn and to remember the songs. (10)

A man who has the gift for work in the deer dance group, who has been chosen for it, risks sanctions if he does not fulfill his duty. However, a man who is not a dancer or a singer, and who dreams, "would ask grace from God by giving a limosna. He would not promise himself the way a man would for the matachinis."

It is thought by most Pascuans that a performer in this group does not need to seek visions in the yoania caves, as he already has his sources of strength in his tekia and seataka and to quest further would be a sin. The yoania and the huya ania are sometimes intermingled in discussions of both dreaming and visions.

All the others are susceptible [to the yoania caves], but the deer dancer is not. The songs of the deer have the yoania in them. The songs explain

the yoania all the way from the start of the dance. The rain pools. The yoania expresses things good and bad. It is surprising to see or hear those things. [Did the original singers get their songs from the yoania?] They did compose the songs by inspiration by going to the yoania, or the way of the wilderness. It is probable that the singers have heard the songs in the yoania. That is the way it started. That the first singers heard those songs in the yoania in the wilderness. It has never been told by anyone that the original deer dancer sold himself (*aunenki*, himself sold) to the yoania caves. (2)

The deer is a natural born dancer. He doesn't go to the yoania caves because he is natural and good. (55)

It has been seen that some have got the art from the yoania, but it is very hard for a deer dancer to do it. [Harder than for a pascola?] The reason and true point is that the pascola, as anyone can see, is on the side of evil, and he just automatically has to play with the yoania even in the goat dream. And the deer is different, because he does not say any words to offend them, or to play, and that is why the yoania is much more hard for him to get it from. He can, but he will suffer much more than the pascola. (9 and 55)

A deer dancer would commit a sin by going to the yoania [caves]. He has a natural gift for dancing. If he should go, he will not see the face of God. It is God-given to be a deer dancer. A man can go to the yoania, but then he goes to the yoania when he dies. (1 and 2)

It develops according to the love that he has for the work. The deer dancer usually acquires the art as a child, so he can hardly explain whether his dreams were from the yoania or just plain dreams. From the beginning it was always understood that the deer dancers acquire it as a child—most of them. In case a deer dancer should want to go to the yoania [caves] to get it, then he will reject the heavenly grace. It is not necessary for the deer dancer to go because it is from the seataka. (9)

At a fiesta, if there are two deer dancers, the one who wants to outdo the other, that is the one who has been to the caves. (14)

All informants have stressed the importance of dreaming for the deer dance group. Dreams come only to the man with *tekia* and the necessary *seataka*. For him, his dreams are a necessity as a link between his *tekia* and his performance. The same sequence prevails as for a *pascola*—*tekia*, *seataka*, and dreams, which confirm and/or remind him of his *tekia*. They at the same time alert him to, and confirm, his destiny as a performer. "A good performer must dream" (10). They are spoken of as *yoania tenkuim* (yoania

dreams). However, in the same breath they are attributed to the Lord. As with the pascolas, no opprobrium is attached to dreaming; rather, it is prideful. These dreams which confirm the tekia may be classified as preparatory or initiatory dreams before the deer dancer enters active duty. One may also accrue ute'a from the dreams (10).

Most say that the deer dreams are not frightening ordeals like those of the pascola. However, some versed in tradition say that deer dancers do, indeed, have terrifying nightmares and that by overcoming fear in the dream an individual proves his gift and his ability to carry it out.

The dancer may dream, especially when he is learning, of dancing and operating the rattles. He may even dream himself a wild deer (9). The singer may dream of singing and utilizing his instruments. Either might dream of a fiesta ramada, the people, the processions, the holy figures, or even of an expected ritual request to serve.

For the singer, his dreams of the huya become the images of his songs—the sounds of the forest, the lakes, streams, verdant growth, flowers, and the calls of the wild things. Dreaming usually comes during the approaching time of Lent.

[Suppose a very young boy keeps dreaming of the songs and dances?] Then he would think that he should take it up as a tekia. The Lord would want him to be a dancer or singer even in his mother's womb. He is considered to be born with tekia. [And if he does not want to do it?] Then he gets punished—kahtigo. [Suppose he has an accident and can't?] If he was already a dancer and would reject the request made [by a fiestero], in that case it happens as a punishment. Even if he is crippled, he would have the obligation to present himself before the Lord's figure and pray (auhiokoe). Even if he would go away from his home, and if he takes a remembrance about Lent and goes to the church and prays the way he would at home, it has the value as if he had made the trip home. (2)

The deer singers and the dancers truly come from the sea ania instead of the yoania. [Direction?] Toward the sunrise (machiatana). [What kind of place is it?] There is nothing very mysterious in the way of seeing it in dreams. It would be something like meadows, flowers, and streams. The singers are inspired by this, and they make the songs out of dreams about them. In the deer songs there are songs made from the small insects, bugs, and bees flying. Some are inspired through dreams, and some are inspired just mental. [Must a dancer dream before he can dance?] If he loves the dance, he sees it in dreams, and, if not, he doesn't, and he can't dance. [Content of dreams?] He don't see a wild deer, he dreams himself a wild deer. [Where?] In the yoania. . . . The comparison with the pascola is that the deer dancer in his dreams does

not ever get frightened. Neither the singer. And if he wants to dance, he dreams in a pleasant way. He is not frightened and does not struggle as in the *pascola* dream. The singers [also] dream about what they are going to do with their instruments. (9)

The following paraphrased information was given by an elderly deer singer:

In the dreams the dancer would see a real deer jumping around, and it would teach him to dance. And the singer sees three deer singers with rasps "showing you how to do it, to teach you." He would see the same if he went to the caves. [Note that this man is the only one who has not recoiled from vision-seeking.] But the dreams seem more important to him than the visions. (10)

There were other descriptions of these dreams:

They dream of the gourds and the rasps, and occasionally they will dream of dancing to the figures of Jesus and Mary. The dreams are created into the mind by the Lord, and in case of not doing it, they would have the usual punishment. The songs are given by the Lord in the womb. (1 and 2)

One man told me that he dreamed a big deer, a moose, came in a dream. It is a frightening dream, and you must not have fear of the moose. The deer singers dream that the rasps come out of the mouth of an alligator, and they dream of alligator teeth, big ones. They are called *tame'am*, and, sometimes in fun, they call the rasps that. (28)

A *tampaleo* (28) stated that the deer dancer may dream that a big deer might kill him. The singers may dream of snakes, or the deer, or anything in the *huya*. He also said that one of the harpists said he dreamed of horses' tails (the harp strings). Another dreamed when he was young, and he had antlers on his head. The *tampaleo* said that he had been told that the harpists and violinists can dream of crocodiles and dinosaurs.

Dreaming is of special importance to a singer, who often dreams his songs, with his strong *seataka*. Some say that the songs of the ancient ones were also composed by inspiration, by close association with, and imaginative communion with, the actual wild deer and his forest scene. Only a *seataka yoeme* could do this. "They are close to being *saurinos*. They are poets" (8).

The Lord is mentioned as giving the *sentidom* (brains, sense) and the *memoriam* necessary to learn and remember the songs. Often they are attributed to the Lord. Clear statements are hard to come by, not because of

reticence to discuss this subject but because the material is nebulous in the minds of informants. Often contradictions occur with the same person.

All of the sounds of the animals are called collectively *yoawa noki* (wild animal language). The wild deer songs are *maso noki* (deer language). The *maso buikam* (deer songs) are about the *yoawa* and the *hiawai* (sounds of the wilderness). . . . The *hiawai* and the *maso noki* sing to the poet, and the poet makes his songs from these sounds. . . . The *hiawai* is what the wilderness sings to the poet. Then in dreams the poet makes his songs from these sounds. Most of the deer singers learned their songs from the older singers, and the songs become well-known. . . . a person without *seataka* would not distinguish the sounds of the forest. Only a man with *seataka* could make up deer songs. The singers are like the maestros in that all they sing is from memory. . . . Nobody knows how they started, but they tell that the songs were started from hunting songs. The purpose was to charm the animal to yield to the person, or to compel the animal.

yoawata	yoyuma'a	bechi'ibo	buikam	
wild animal charm		for	songs	(9)

God will give the power. If he dreams gradually, gradually the song, he will learn it, because God will give him the power to be a deer singer. God will give him the brains so he can serve his people, so they can hear him singing. El Señor may appear in a dream because He is the one that is giving it to him. El Señor appears in the dreams because the songs are religious; and if God didn't appear to him in his dreams, everyone would know it, if God didn't select the person.

The deer songs are kind of sacred on account of el Señor gives the inspiration. Not everyone can acquire the ability, and the songs are considered to be sacred. [Are songs made now?] It is understood that anyone can build a song now, but they are like the old ones. The composer of the song always dreams it and uses the object of his dream, like an animal, or grass, or flowers. It is always based on the subject he dreams about—water, rain, the *yoania*, anything in the *pocho'oria*. . . . It is probable that the singer has heard the song in the *yoania*. That is the way it started, that the first singer heard those songs in the *yoania* in the wilderness. (2)

The following are replies (sometimes paraphrased) to questions that were asked of an elderly deer singer:

[How did the elders learn the deer songs in the first place?] They got the songs from the *yoania*. [How did they learn them?] In dreams, in the *tenku ania*. [And at the present time?] The same way. While he is

learning, he dreams. [And in these times, where do the songs come from?] The same. From the yoania. [What kind of dreams would the deer dancer have?] He dreams about what he is learning, like dancing and using the gourds. [Frightening, like those of the pascola?] If he gets frightened in the dream, he can't be a dancer. [How frightened?] The person in the dreams makes him feel heavy, like a bad dream. But not everyone dreams. The ones that don't are not real dancers and singers. A real one must always dream. The deer hunter knows the yoania because he sees it in his dreams. The deer singers and the deer dancer see it. . . . It is a gift from God. It happens very far from here in the huya ania or the pocho'oria. The deer singer goes out in the forest where there are lots of animals. He must have seataka and his dreams must be very good or he will not see it. When he is singing, he gets it from the yoania. It is very hard to be a deer singer. But he is given the sentidom to remember all of the songs. [If a singer wants to see the yoania, what does he do?] He must have faith and ask with all his heart. If not, he won't see it. Chikti hiapsimak or tu'i hiapsimak are all right for faith. He says it in his heart, with no words, like when you are in school you want to learn, but you don't say anything. . . . Sometimes the dream for the singers is like a nightmare. The maso ya'ut comes and you get scared like when you think a snake is going to bite you. [And the dancer?] The same, the deer leader. But if you are frightened you don't get anything. (10)

The head deer dancer made these comments:

The songs are derived from a legendary story that has been told. All the songs have been sung by the wild deer, and the songs of the singers were derived from the wild deer's songs. The wild legendary deer is the one that made the songs they are now imitating. The old-time legend of the deer is that he made the songs, and these singers imitate them. The songs are made from the real pool of rain water where the deer plays, and the real rain water is represented in the [fiesta] patio by the water in the pan. . . . [Are the songs dreamed?] The songs are derived from dreaming only in the sense that they are the result of inspiration. [Informant and interpreter had some difficulty finding a word that pleased them, settled on this together.] They were made up by people who studied wild life. For example [the opening deer song of the fiesta] was made up by a person who was inspired by the fawn. He truly saw the fawn, playing in an actual pond of water.

The wild deer sings songs and has a special language of his own. Some of these words are used now. . . . The singer is the one that makes the songs. [What about the songs that the wild deer sang?] The true

songs that were made by the deer are not sung. They are made by the singers. [How do they learn deer language?] They understand it by the movements and noises and footprints of the deer in the daytime and in the nighttime. And the deer understands the language of men in the same way. (9)

The following is of interest in its combination of the yoania type of dreaming about animals and the dreams of Jesus or Mary of the matachinis and the kohtumbre. The informant (a deer singer) said it was a yoania dream. "It is the way of the wilderness." It was pleasing to him to have it quoted. He said that he had an inspiration for a song about a black rabbit and that he was going to try to make it into a song.

A little black hare sitting by the path is speaking to me. Hare is *paros*, but in the song it will be *palos*. The place dreamed about was very enchanting in the way of appearance. It was beautiful, and there was an arch of ocotillo, and there were flowers on the ocotillo and flowers on the small shrubbery and on the ground. In the place where he saw the arch it was beautiful and enchanting, and he saw the Lord. And in the dream he was very thirsty, and the Lord gave him a very small jug with a little water in it. And he drank out of this, and he was afraid he would not have enough; and he drank, and when he was finished there was still a little water in the jug. It was a very small jar that the Lord gave him, and it was made of a gourd, not earthen. (2)

The singer said this was a yoania dream. . . . He went to sleep thinking about his dead father and the songs that he had taught him and that he had forgotten. And asking his dead father to help him remember them. That is why the rabbit sang to him.

The deer songs are handed down from deer singer to deer singer and are recorded only in memory. Rarely is a new song composed, and then it falls into the form of the old ones. The songs are spoken of as alabanzas, equally as revered as the prayers and songs of the maestros. One deer singer refers to the deer as "the creature of the alabanzas, which are like the songs and book of the maestros" (9).

The head deer dancer (9), who also sings, gives the following outline of the songs of the night during a fiesta. This outline was approved by three deer singers. In the early evening, before about 10:00 P.M., they sing "toward the sunset, about flowers," because the deer comes from the forest; so the trees and flowers are sung about, like the ocotillo and the pitahaya and other trees and shrubs of the huya ania. In the later evening the songs concern the animals of the forest. "They are about the animals that walk before midnight." After twelve, at the same time that the pascola music is

changed, they sing to the east. The subjects are bees and insects and "birds that come out in the morning." In the dawn they sing "toward the sunrise" about streams and lakes. "The lake is supposed to be the water in the pan of the deer singer." And, finally, the clouds, and then the rain. They may choose any songs they like, within these categories.

The form of the songs is almost consistently the same. Wilder (1963: 176) says, "Each song is divided into a basic and a concluding stanza. The basic stanza is repeated, with rests, *ad lib.* from four to seven times. The concluding stanza is then sung once. This entire process is repeated three times in actual practice to constitute the complete rendition of the song." However, the singers say that when the *pascola* gives the signal to stop, the deer singers start the last stanza, the deer answers with his gourds, and they all stop together.

To quote Wilder again (1963: 197), "This basic division of each deer song is, in effect, the reflection in form of a fundamental division in the meaning of the song. The basic stanza is a statement concerning this world. The variation in the concluding stanza relates the meaning of the song as expressed in the basic stanza to an indefinite mythical place in the East. Thus, the structural duality is paralleled by difference in meaning." (See also Spicer 1961: 62–63.)

Flowers supersede all other manifestations of the *huya ania* as the most important linguistic and philosophical symbol of the deer. Wilder (1963: 198) found that twelve of the nineteen songs analyzed by him contained references to flowers. The songs speak of the deer as a flower creature; his horns are flower-decorated; his rasps are little flower rasps; he plays in the flower patio; and the water in the bowl of the singer is flower water.

Discussion with members of the deer dance group reinforces the concept that *tekia*, as the term is used for a gift or aptitude received in a prenatal state, originally applied only to the *pascola* and deer dance groups. According to them, the *matachinis* and the church group are not born with *tekia*; but, with the help of the *manda* and their *seataka*, they learn the rituals. "The *pascolas* and deer don't have to look at it in a book" (10). It is clear that, although anyone may choose to practice the arts of *pascola* and deer, the only ones regarded as real specialists are those who are born with *tekia* for the work and who have the necessary *seataka*. However, it is not clear that one's *tekia* is from the *yoania*. The conversation always comes around in the end to the thought that God was the creator and giver of everything. The members of the deer dance group, like the *pascolas*, do not make *mandas* to perform. They have no formal vow, but perform, according to the head dancer, "for the love of it." However, he says that "his mind is turned toward Christ . . . his firm thought is on the Lord" (9). The head deer singer states that the work of the night is dedicated to Jesus. "It has to be dedicated to Jesus. It includes the other saints, too, but the main thought is for Jesus" (2). Another singer (10) says that the allegiance is to both Jesus and Mary.

Like the pascolas, they perform as a service to the pueblo. They are not paid a fee; but, if there is money left over from a fiesta, they receive a small amount. They are generally given food to take home.

As in other forms of service, performance of duties is considered to be a way to personal salvation and well-being, by pleasing the Lord. One of the singers said that he started singing when he was a young boy and has had "the grace of God not to have any severe illness" (2). Aided by their *tekia*, by dreaming, and by their *seataka*, they learn to dance and sing by the apprentice method.

The deer dancer never tells jokes or stories as do the pascolas. He does not engage in repartee with the crowd or give sermons. He may supply cigarettes to those who ask for them, but the request is not made in the joking and often ribald double talk of those who call to the pascola for attention. The simple request is made, and thanks are quietly given. The deer never speaks, except during a very short sequence with the pascolas in the early part of the evening of a fiesta. When he is not dancing he stands quietly, arms folded. He neither laughs nor smiles and appears a figure remote and apart. He engages in bits of pantomime with the pascolas, which are meaningful in terms of the habitat of the deer and the deer hunt, which are enormously enjoyed. Otherwise he remains aloof and impersonal. However, although he is not in such free and uninhibited contact with the crowd as are the popular pascolas, his presence adds great prestige to a fiesta, and there is always disappointment when he is absent. The fiesta then takes place without him. He is not ritually essential to the carrying out of a fiesta. The deer songs to which he dances are treasured poetry, sung in old and sometimes archaic Yaqui, and it is difficult to find translations for some of the phrases.

In processions the deer dancer, with the pascolas, escorts the holy figures and shakes his gourds in time to the *tampaleo* music. His procession step is a tap, then a step, with each foot alternately. When he faces the holy figures, he genuflects slightly with the right knee, then the left, and again the right. He bows slightly each time, his gourds lowered. This emulates the sign of the cross.

In the Lenten season the deer dancer, like the *matachinis*, is never in evidence until the fiesta of the night before Palm Sunday and on Palm Sunday. He appears again from the morning of the Saturday of Glory through the ceremonies of Easter Sunday. The reason given for his absence is that, like the *matachinis*, he has a strong association with flowers, although it takes a different form, and the *kohtumbre ya'ura* is in ritual opposition to, and afraid of, flowers. At The Gloria he dances to repel and to help "kill" the *fariseos*. At that time he represents the flowers which are the "ammunition" that "kills" them. In some other villages it is the custom for the deer and the *matachinis* to appear for the first time at The Gloria on Holy Saturday.

The deer doesn't dance until Palm Sunday Eve because he is considered something like the matachinis. The matachinis don't dance then because they are connected with the Virgin Mary and flowers. So the deer is in the same category. Even if a deer dancer died, they still would not have a deer dancer in Lent [at his funeral]. (58)

The deer in that time [at The Gloria] dances on the side of the church, and in that time he is also a soldier of the church, and the matachinis are the army of the Virgin. (9)

Pascuans consider that the original function of this group was to perform hunting rituals held on the night before a deer hunt. They believe that the present dances and songs and the pantomime with the pascola recreate the world of the yoania and of the huya ania, the home of the deer. The dances and songs also symbolize the sacred rites by which the real deer was made amenable to the hunter, both by rituals and by actual communication with the deer through the strong seataka of both.

A deer singer (10) says that hunters sang during the hunt:

First song, at start of hunt:

Flower being, I have overcome you
Going along there in the middle of the blooming forest

Second song, during hunt:

Beautiful flower being, I have overcome you
Walking flower being

Third song, after deer is killed:

Flower creature, in the weeds on the ground
I lay thee down
Flower creature

The deer singer (10) also stated that many deer songs were sung by the Surem and handed down:

Behold the wonderful star, counting
From a reviving sun
A vine went out

The blooming (mythical) bird is calling in the magical world
Yonder in the flower forest world
The blooming (mythical) bird calls

Who is stretching over me a green string (snare)
Yonder blooming in the middle of the forest
Behold in the passage on the pathway
Over me a green string stretches

It is believed that some songs were composed by the hunters, who sang them on the night before a hunt, and that the hunters taught them to the singers.

Flower world, thee I love
To you I come, flower world, up yonder blooming
To you I am going, flower world

The songs that have been made after the original hunting songs are supposed to be in a separate way of singing. They are more complicated. They still use the hunting songs before dawn, after about three-quarters of the night is over. If the deer have a language, it is only understood by them, not by us. New deer songs are commonly made. They are not dreamed but come to a singer by inspiration. He thinks about it and finally establishes a new song (2). An example of such a song follows:

Where the thirsty hunter is dying
It seems like a bad wind blowing
Yonder in the middle of the meadow
I rubbed the snare hanging here in the brushy meadow
I am gathering this dew
Here the snare is hanging

There appears to be no way to determine how important in earlier days the deer songs and dances were merely as entertainment. They have been continued after the ritual function has fallen into disuse.

The presence of the deer dancer is of great importance to a fiesta. The pascolas are popular entertainers and always draw an audience, but it is of the presence of the deer that *fiesteros* speak with pride and endearment. It is only with the deer that the pascolas can recreate the ancient world, remembered in dance, mimetic dramatization, and in the words of the ancient deer songs.

The deer dancer is called *maso yoeme* (he who dances deer). However, the second word is generally omitted in conversation, and the Pascua custom of referring to him as, simply, the maso, will be followed to some extent. Very occasionally one hears the Spanish *venado* (deer).

There are also special ways of referring to the deer dancer during fiestas. He and the three singers represent those hunters who used to meet on the night before a deer hunt to communicate with the maso ya'ut by means of dances and songs and their mutual *seataka*. They sing for permission to hunt and for success on the following day. In the songs the hunter is referred to not as masoleo but as *yebuku yoleme*, a term which will be explored. In the songs the dancer and singers represent the hunter, and their area may be called *sewa tebachia*.

The deer dancer has other roles. When he first appears at a fiesta, he is thought to be a fawn and to represent the fawn which the deer leader causes to appear briefly to the hunter as a sign that he has permission to hunt.

The dancer, a fawn who grows to maturity during the night, is the object of playful pantomime with the pascolas, who try to catch and tame him and play with him throughout the night, as described in the section on fiestas. In the morning pantomime of catching and killing the deer, the pascolas represent the hunters. The interplay between pascolas and deer, never mentioned in the songs, is said to be for the entertainment of the spectators and to have nothing to do with the historic role of the dance.

During the early hours of a fiesta the pascolas may call the deer *saila*. After midnight, full-grown, he is known as *maso*. The word *yoawa* is heard frequently at this time too. It is explained that *yoawa* refers to the living wild creatures and insects that inhabit the *huya ania*. In this context the *yo* means wild. When the pascolas use *yoawa*, it usually refers to the deer. In the deer songs the wild deer is often referred to as *sea yoleme* (wild flower creature, in this instance). A young dancer was incensed when he was teasingly dubbed Bambi.

All the wild creatures are called *yoawa*. Anything that lives in the wilderness, the pascolas call him *yoawa*. (9)

The real deer may come from the *huya ania*, because it is from the trees . . . the real deer, not the dancer. *Yoawa*—one word; it means wild life or animals. (55)

The *malit* is the small deer with no horns. This *yoawa* is the deer that goes around the woods, and no one can catch him. So every time he comes out to the pascolas, they can't even touch him. They try to tame him, so that is why they call him *yoawa*.

The reason why they call the deer *yoawa* is because the deer knows very much about the forest. When someone goes around to catch him and kill him, he can smell the person. He already knows. So in the forest, in the *yoania*, he can easily hide so you wouldn't see him, because he gets mixed up with the forest. That is why you call him *yoawa*, because he can get mixed up in it, and you can't find him. (35)

Examples of special vocabulary common in the deer songs are as follows: *ayamansu*, from *amani* (over there); *beyetana*, from *betana* (from); *beyetukuni*, from *betukuni* (in the middle of); *mayachila*, from *machila* (dawn); *hilukiam*, from *hirukiam* (rasps); *sule*, from *Sürem* (legendary ancestors); *sewa tebachia*, *seyewailo* and *sewailo*, referring to flower-bearing vegetation (flower patio or blooming, flower-bearing, flower-covered). All of the latter terms are related to the *huya ania* or, specifically, to the *sewa ania*.

One of the deer dancers (9) says that *mayachila* for *machila*, *seyewailo*, and *beyetukuni* are all deer language, learned from the actual wild deer. He reserved *hilukiam*, *sulu* for *suru* (smoking), and *ayamansu* as poetic human language, not deer language.

The ubiquitous phrase *yebuku yoleme* has been difficult and sometimes impossible for informants to translate. It is not in common use, nor is it remembered by most. *Yoleme* is the poetic form of *yoeme*. Earnest consideration by various Pascuans, including references in legends known to them, brings out the following information. They all say that, while *masoleo* is the word commonly used for deer hunter, it does not appear in the deer songs. *Yebuku* is actual deer language for any human being seen by the deer, and, in the context of the songs and together with the word *yoleme*, it should be translated as hunter, or deer hunter. All of those versed in this lore say that in the songs it refers to the deer dancer, who represents the hunter. Following are some quotations used in explaining the term, *yebuku yoleme*:

Yoeme is a person. The wild animal calls the other person *yebuku yoleme*. *Yebuku* is what the fawn calls the man. *Tebachia* is the home or place of the person. *Yebu* means like a person who captures or tames or gets the deer in his own hands. Because the deer, nobody can catch him. This man may have some idea how to capture the deer. The deer has to give up, so that is what he means by *yebuku yoleme*. The person who draws the deer in the same way. He draws the deer to his place just like the *pascola* does, to get close to the deer to tame it. [In summary], *yoleme* is the one who takes the deer, *yebuku* is the way he does it.

[This is a legend derived from a song.] One time a deer hunter was out in the wilderness, and he was thirsty and dying of thirst. And there was a yellow-jacket wasp, and he was looking at the man when he was dying. And he was singing about the hunter. He sang that where the *yebuku yoleme* is dying, the wind (*heka*) is very unhappy. Then he was telling that he was not the *yo'o yoawa* (head wild creature), but said he had a kind of *tachilo* (a kind of flower) where he had hung his home. [He said this was an example of how the hunter is called *yebuku yoleme*.]

It is from the legend of the two young bucks who were in the forest, and for the first time they saw a man, and he was armed with the bow and arrow, and they named him *yebuku yoleme*. . . . And the man, understanding the language of the deer, he knew that he was named by them *yebuku yoleme*. And then he in turn named them *yebuku yoleme*; so they called each other *yebuku yoleme*. Like people start now calling each other by the same name. (9)

[The name comes from a] story about two wild deer, who were together in the forest. And they were telling each other, “*hunu yebuku yoleme hunum weama*.” That is, “the yebuku yoleme going, or walking, over there.” If they saw a hunter with a bow and arrow or any other person walking in the forest, they said, “there goes the hunter or yebuku yoleme.” The deer names the people, whenever he sees a person in a forest, yebuku yoleme, and therefore, when he says in the patio of the yebuku yoleme, he means in the patio of the hunter or of a person. (8)

The hunter is the yebuku yoleme. In some of the songs the older deer warns the young fawn to be very careful. He says, “Don’t fall into the trap of the yebuku yoleme, who is the hunter.” He warns him not to “go into the forest, my little brother, because there is great danger. Do not fall into the trap of the yebuku yoleme.” [The informant thinks that hunter is the correct translation “as he uses a trap and bow and arrow and firearms and is also making magic by singing.” He said that his great uncle used to say it this way—*yeu bu’uka yoleme* (literally, a play much person, or, where there is much play and frolic). That is, the patio is supposed to be the playground.] (55)

9

The Military Society

The military society has been an ephemeral group in Pascua, a small remnant of the Yaqui military organization in Sonora. It is said in Pascua that on the Río Yaqui each pueblo has its own troops, who in time of peace act as guards, police the pueblo, and carry out executions when decreed by the Yaqui civil authorities. (See Beals 1945: 51–55). During Lent, if it is in peacetime, the members of the ceremonial societies are exempt from duty in the military society. (Informants are confused in their thinking about this society, and it has been difficult to obtain information. See Spicer 1954b: 67–72, for their function in Mexico.) In Pascua they are few and diminishing in numbers, have no civil functions, and appear only sporadically at ceremonies. Their appearance has been noted whenever they have been present as a group during the period of observation.

The society is known as the *wiko'i ya'ura* (literally, bow officers), which refers to the whole group. They are sometimes called the *wiko'i sontaorua* (bow soldiers or troops). In conversation one almost always hears them referred to as coyotes. They have officers and soldiers as described for the *kohtumbre ya'ura*.

The patron saint is the Virgin of Guadalupe. Some say that service is by vow to her and that boys are promised to specific positions, just as in the *kohtumbre*. Others say that membership should be automatic. All know of one instance in which there was confirmation to the society, with full regalia; but it is said that there was criticism at the time, as it was out of order to do this. The aged leader of the group (65) said that he was promised as a boy because of a serious illness and that he did not have godparents, as it

was customary. It is clear that military service is thought to have nothing to do with membership by vow.

The society owns a small figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe, encased in a wooden box about a foot high, with an open front decorated with crepe paper and flowers and sometimes draped with white lace. It may be seen on the left side of the altar in most ceremonies in the Lenten season and often at other times. It is carried in processions by a member of the society, if available; otherwise by a man or boy of the pueblo, who may offer his services or who may do it on ritual request from the head maestro. The large picture of the Guadalupe, seen sometimes leaning against the wall at the back of the right side of the altar, belongs to the pueblo. It was carried in the processions of 1946 by a member of the society (65). Neither picture nor image may be carried by a woman. When the maestro asks someone to bear the Guadalupe, he asks for a *sontao* (soldier), a word which he does not use for any other request to carry an image. Even when the military society is not present, their holy figure remains with the paraphernalia of the men's church group, as it is with them that the military society marches.

During the Lenten season the society is under the authority of the *koh-tumbre*, as are other groups. They are thought to have no part in the dramatization of the Passion, but to be neutral guards of both Jesus and the Virgin, and also to represent the pueblo.

They represent the pueblo. They are not part of the old story about Christ, but they come to represent the pueblo, not to participate as the others do. (39)

They are not like the fariseos. They are guards of Jesucristo and [of the Virgin]. (65)

They are good, like the *matachinis*. They are children of the church. (8)

The flag-bearer is called *sontao alpes* or *bantealeo* (soldier flag-bearer). He carries a flag with a gray field, and with cross, rosettes, and edging of blue, made in the same way as those of the church group and the *kohtumbre*. The drummer (*kubaheleo*) employs a double-headed drum of rawhide, called *sontao kubahe* or *wo'i kubahe* (soldier drum). This is held in the crook of the left arm and is beaten in processions in a martial tone and rhythm with two drumsticks (*kubahe hiponiam*), one held in each hand. The drum and flag have been seen in ceremonies when the other regalia were not in use.

The headdress, made of dark red cloth, fits over the crown of the head. It is decorated with various sizes of pearl buttons, the largest ones decorating the area over the forehead. A coyote skin hangs down from the back of the headdress and falls loose to the hips. Feathers are sewn in three places, at the top, middle, and bottom, in such a manner that they fly out when the

wearer is in motion. They should be owl feathers, with hawk feathers as second choice. This headdress is called *chomo*, *hisa*, or *penacho* (tuft of feathers). It is said to be a descendant of the feather headdress worn by the Yaquis in pre-Spanish times, often mentioned in myth, legend, and story. It is not called *sewa*, and informants know of no flower meanings attached to it nor to any other items of the paraphernalia. The regalia is buried with the owner.

A bow and arrows are part of the regalia. The bow, called *kuta wiko'i* (wood bow), is made of a wood called *garambullo* by local Mexicans and *kungwo* by Yaquis. The bowstring is of sinew. The bow is a little less than shoulder height. The arrows (*hu'iwam*) are of carrizo cane, with wooden foreshafts. The points are hardened by fire. The arrows are fletched with new owl or hawk feathers. The quiver (*hu'iwa to'oria*, sometimes shortened to *hu'itoria*) and the bow-guard (*hato'i*) are of rawhide. In Pascua, when members appeared at ceremonies, those who did not carry bows substituted switches.

All of the regalia are worn in the dance which was performed (though rarely) as late as 1941 but which has not been seen by the writer. Imitations of the dance by *pascolas* and *chapayekas* are still seen. One man describes the dance as follows:

The coyote being the symbol, they named it the coyote dance. . . . Three dance together. The drummer holds the drum in the crook of his left arm and puts his mouth in the hole of the drum and sings into it. A little swinging tune. Each of the soldiers has a long bow, and he gets astride of that, and have little bamboo sticks that make a noise like deer hooves. . . . He goes down on his knees and up, and weaves his head from one side to the other. They work backward with their steps, and to call them back the drummer stops singing and taps his drum. Then the dancer goes back to the drummer. . . . They do a little play sometimes. One in the crowd would like to see them play, so he puts three apples or oranges on the ground, and they have to pick them up with their mouths without stopping the sound of the bamboo. Some lie down and do it from the side. . . . Some fall down. They tell that in the Río Yaqui they even put watermelon. . . . Bowls of food they put, too. They have to pick up the entire bowl without spilling it. This was seen in Pascua before the First World War. (55)

The dance is called *wo'i yi'iwame* (doing the coyote dance). The head maestro in Pascua still knows some of the songs, but only one person (28) has been found who is able to dance it. The members of the society are reported (65) to go to the altar and cross themselves before dancing at a *fiesta*, as described for the *pascolas* and deer.

The songs for the coyote dance are said to be very short, with a meager variety of words. Some are about animals, such as the coyote, raccoon, or wildcat; others concern birds; and some are of a military nature. One of the villagers dictated the following song as being typical:

Coyote, coyote, coyote, coyote pregnant was killed
 Coyote, coyote, coyote, coyote pregnant was killed
 Coyote, coyote, coyote, coyote runs with a tail like a bamboo [carrizo]
 plume
 Runs with a tail like a bamboo [carrizo] plume
 Runs, runs, runs, runs . . . (55)

The last line is repeated in decreasing volume until the dancer gets back to the drummer.

The coyote call was used in Mexico as a signal at night; likewise the hoot of the owl.

No legends have been found for this society. The members have no connection with the *yoania*. A *fariseo* leader (49) said that Jesus made them, and an older woman leader (20) thinks they were “here when Jesus came.” The following legends concern the bow and references in the songs to Saint Peter and Saint Francis.

A big bird was hovering over the Río and picked up a woman about to be a mother. It carried her to Otam Kawi. He ate up all the rest of her body except the child. And when the people went after the bird, the baby was picked up by the grandparents of the child and taken back to the Río, where he lived. And after, he rose to be a great archer, and studied the art of the bow to the most exquisite point, and prepared to kill the bird that made him an orphan. He is the one who invented the bow and arrow to kill, which was later used as a weapon all over. From then on, men in the army started to use the bow and arrow, to fight with it, and to hunt with it.

[Another legend refers to San Pedro.] He is supposed to be the captain of the army, and the adviser of the army. He is in a coyote song for dancing, and in the way it says that San Pedro sits at the gate of the headquarters and advises the soldiers.

Another old song refers to San Francisco Xavier being in the army as a soldier. San Pedro is supposed to have borrowed a bow and arrow from San Francisco Xavier and to have pulled on the bow until it broke. These two songs are often sung. (55)

When the members of the society have gathered as a group, their headquarters have been a bench and cross just south of the church and a little to

the east. The cross was about 5 feet tall, made of unpeeled mesquite, embedded in the ground. On the rare occasions when they have carried their regalia, they have hung them on the cross when not in use.

It is said that prayer services are conducted in Mexico as an important ritual, but they have not been observed in Pascua. Villagers say that, when asked to perform at a fiesta, members of the military society have done ritual labor in connection with the fiesta, as described for the matachinis and the kohtumbre. Members of the society are said to have mutual obligations to aid each other. The head maestro states that, when they join in the public group veneration, the *Laudate Domine Omnes Gentes* is sung for them. Any villager may march with the military society, so that all those in line are not necessarily members.

It may be assumed from these observations that the military society in Pascua is indeed not associated by tradition with the actual dramatization of the Passion but acts, rather, as guards for Jesus and Mary and that it does represent the pueblo. However, its lack of firm leadership, its sporadic appearances, and the paucity of information concerning it make it difficult to define its true function in Pascua.

The Ceremonies

10

Ceremonies Outside Lent and Easter

CALENDRIAL CEREMONIES

Services on Sunday mornings are sometimes conducted by the maestro with the help of the women singers and the sacristan. Although these are called *Misa* (Mass), the maestro conducts only those parts of the service that may be performed by a layman.

Vespers (*hispa* or *hihpa* from the Spanish *vísperas*) held in the church before certain major feasts,* are also conducted by the maestro with women singers and sacristan. The altar is always appropriately dressed, the appropriate holy figure is always prominently displayed, and sometimes the holy figure is carried in procession. The matachinis dance in the area between the church and the church cross, sometimes continuing for an hour or more after the close of the service. Attendance is usually scant at these occasions, but villagers may come and go during the dancing.

Vespers are always said before such popular and important feasts as the Finding of the Holy Cross (May 2), the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 23), and the Virgin of the Road (July 2). Sometimes for convenience the Vespers is transferred to the nearest Saturday or Sunday. Vespers are sometimes observed on the movable feast of Holy Trinity (Tiniran or Trinidad) and Corpus Christi (Korp, or Korpa, Krihti) in May or June and for the feasts of Saint Anthony of Padua on June 12, Our Lady of Mount

* *Editorial note:* Major feast days in Pascua seem to be a composite of the major feast days of each pueblo in the Río Yaqui. Each Río Yaqui pueblo has only one major fiesta; the fact that Pascua has many probably reflects the multiple origins of the Pascua population, as well as the synthesis of pan-Yaqui culture in Arizona.

Carmel on July 15, Saint Ignatius of Loyola on July 30, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on August 14, Saint Francis of Assisi on October 3, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin on December 7, and Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 11. The patronal feast of the church of Santa Rosa de Lima (on the edge of Pascua) is often observed on August 29 and 30, sometimes with a procession.

The vigil of Christmas (*Nochebuena*) is always observed on Christmas Eve. For this occasion the white sheets behind and over the altar are abundantly decorated with Christmas tree balls, red paper bells, strings of tinsel, and handmade garlands of green and red paper. A figure of the Infant Jesus is on the altar, with one or more statues of the Virgin and one of Saint Joseph. At midnight the church bell is rung and all join in a formal group veneration at the altar.

During the month of May rosaries for the Blessed Virgin may be said in the church on Monday evenings. Young girls wearing their communion veils offer flowers to the Virgin and sing with the maestro and women singers.

Because of their close link with the Mission San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, some Pascuans attend ceremonies there on October 3 and 4 to honor the feast of Saint Francis of Assisi. Greater numbers, however, go to the patronal feast on December 2 through 4, when the *matachinis* lead the procession before Benediction on the night of December 2.

All Souls' Day, November 1, is commemorated in nearly every household. Early in the morning the patio cross is decorated with crepe paper and with a wreath (*corona*), either homemade or commercial, which is destined for the cemetery on the following day. In front of the cross is placed a table covered with a fresh cloth and loaded with food on plates or in containers. Special attention is given to food that the deceased enjoyed, for tradition has it that the dead come to partake of the food. Every household so prepared is visited by the maestro and singers on All Souls' Day. The services conducted always include the *Vigilia* and the reading of the names in the household Book of the Dead. Lighted candles stand in the patio where the deceased formerly spent time, and they stand also on the outskirts of the village for "everyone who died away from home without confessing, or without having crossed themselves, without a prayer on their lips, be they friend or foe, known or unknown, Yaqui or not Yaquis" (48).

On November 2, All Saints' Day, Pascuans go to the Catholic cemetery, dressed in their best, with rakes, shovels, water buckets, candles, flowers, greens and wreaths, to smooth and decorate the graves. Crepe paper is wound around the crosses at the graves and the wreaths are attached. Greens are strewn over the graves and watered, and cans of fresh flowers are placed on top. Candles are laid against the sloping sides of the graves and lighted. The maestros and singers go from grave to grave, chanting

Table with Food for the Spirits of the Dead (*Photo by R. B. Spicer*)

Responses for the Dead. At the end little rockets or firecrackers are set off. Many families return from ranches and cotton fields for this time of reunion, renewal of friendships, and nostalgic remembrance of those who have gone before.

NONCALENDRIAL CEREMONIES

Baptisms take place in the parish church according to the usual Catholic baptismal rites. The godparents of baptism take the child to the church and also prepare refreshments, which are taken to the parents' home. After the presentation of the child in the context of a thank-you circle, everyone sits down to eat. The maestro gives advice to the godparents and the parents of the child and reads the names of the baby from the baptismal certificate. In conclusion, another thank-you circle like the first one is formed.

Confirmations follow the same pattern described for baptisms. Confir-

mations into ceremonial organizations are described in the sections on the societies.

The traditional Yaqui wedding is described by Spicer (1940a: 99–100, 188–89, 221–22), but the trend has been continually away from this. Most of the young people are married in the parish church by the parish priest, and the wedding is followed by a small gathering, such as that described for baptisms.

Although birthdays are not celebrated, small fiestas are often held for saints' name days (*in taiwai*, my day).

DEATH CEREMONIES

Death, the dead, and rituals connected with both in Pascua are well discussed by Spicer (1940a: 216–20 and *passim*). Only a brief discussion of the significance of the death rituals in the total ceremonial complex will be given here.

When death appears imminent, a maestro sits with the person, and members of his ceremonial society are in attendance. The matachinis bring a figure of the Virgin, the fariseos their limosna crucifix.

At the death of an adult, the church bell is tolled. The relatives are the *festeros*. In addition to the other godparents, three men and three women, godparents of death, are chosen. They give the dead person new names, one each, to be used in the death ceremonies and at no other time.

The body (*mukila*) is prepared by a Tucson mortician and in late afternoon is returned to the family home for the funeral. The godparents of baptism help the godparents of death dress the body. Over the ordinary clothing is put a long blue or white shroud, known as a *mortaha* (from the Spanish *mortaja*). In recent years this has sometimes been placed alongside the body, or omitted entirely. A small cross, about 1 by 2 inches made of palm leaf, is sometimes tied to the right thumb. "It is to tell God. That way they feel closer to God, and it was like a good life to the person" (16).

The patio cross is moved to a position opposite the altar side of the fiesta ramada, and an encampment cross is placed in line with it. A small table, dressed with a black antependium, forms an altar, called the *lutu* altar. It is placed in front of the patio cross facing the ramada. On it are household holy figures and some brought from the church by the church group, including a small crucifix. If the dead person favored a special saint, that image is included. All figures are veiled in black. The household Book of the Dead is laid on the altar. Two tall brass candelabra and a brass crucifix on a pedestal are generally supplied by the mortician. The casket is put in the area between the *lutu* altar and the fiesta ramada, head toward the altar. The lid is turned back.

The maestro and singers gather on the carpet on the altar side of the

ramada, facing the casket, with the altar women and flag girls behind them. The maestro recites a rosary, then the Vigilia. They sing the Miserere, and next a special alabanza for this occasion, called "Ala Bansa Ala Anima Bendita."

The encampment cross, table, and benches alongside them are headquarters for one or both of the ceremonial societies, if their presence is required. If both attend, the matachin regalia is placed on the encampment table and on a canvas in front of it. The flags and staffs of the kohtumbre ya'ura are lashed to the back of the cross. The fariseo limosna crucifix is present and a lantern shines nearby.

The godmothers prepare the fiesta food over great fires adjacent to the ramada and serve the ceremonial groups one by one at a long table nearby. Some of the godfathers are appointed to stand with lighted candles around the table so that those eating may see.

The people of the village come to kneel and cross themselves at the coffin and to make their farewells by touching the right shoulder, or both shoulders, and the hand of the deceased. They make the sign of the cross and genuflect slightly and almost always leave those treasured offerings, candles or flowers. Many gently touch the clothing or tenderly rearrange the coverlets. Some depart at once; others remain quietly nearby for a few hours or all night. The godparents arrive in pairs, kneel, cross themselves, and then stand beside the coffin with the godfather on the right. The godfather moves a Yaqui rosary in the sign of the cross three times over the body, then places it under the head or by the body. The godmother goes to the right side and repeats the process. Together they move a small crucifix from the altar three times in the sign of the cross over the body. They kneel, cross themselves, and leave.

At some time during the evening a thank-you circle is formed at the patio cross, in which the relatives, holding lighted candles, thank the godparents for the duties that they have performed. A maestro, or a substitute for him, takes the candles from the relatives, and they go to sit near the body all night. At about 4:00 or 5:00 in the morning all of the relatives and godparents pass around the coffin three times and touch the body in farewell.

In the morning, as the church bell tolls, the undertaker, accompanied by the godparents, removes the coffin to the parish church, where it is blessed by a priest and then transported to the Yaqui section of a Catholic cemetery. After the maestro gives a short sermon, the coffin is lowered by the godfathers into the grave. Each person takes up a handful of dirt, makes the sign of the cross, and throws the dirt into the grave. Meanwhile, the relatives stand aside facing east until the grave is filled. Ritual wailing may occur. After candles and flowers have been placed on the grave, all kneel and pray. A thank-you circle is formed to thank the godparents.

After the funeral a rosary is said for two nights, with the third one reserved for the novena. A candle is placed for three nights by the bed of the deceased. The hiapsi (spirit) of the person is thought to remain around the household until the novena.

The funeral of a child or of unmarried persons differs in some ways. No mourning marks the altar, and the altar side of the fiesta ramada is decorated with crepe-paper flowers and garlands. A pascola dances and serves as host, and the matachinis dance if requested. The pascola musicians play puras alabanzas until the alba, after which they can play what they like. A flower crown is placed on the head of the dead child, paper flowers are attached to the rosaries. *Masam* (wings of small loops of white crepe paper, made by a woman of the village) are placed in the coffin at shoulder level. This is a time not for mourning but for rejoicing, as a child is thought to go straight to heaven.

A novena (or *velaroa* or *novenario*) may be held nine days after the funeral, on the nearest Saturday, or postponed. Between late afternoon or evening and the following morning, the rosary is said; prayers and supplications are offered for the dead. In the early morning, the maestro and singers scatter holy water around "the most important places where the person chopped wood or did washing or sat a lot." At the thank-you circle, the relatives thank the godparents and others who have participated.

About a year after death a *lutu pahko* or *luto pahko* (death anniversary fiesta) takes place at the household. This is also called a *cumpleaño*. On the first day, after a rosary, symbolic mourning (a black string or piece of wool, called *lu'uta*) is put by the sacristan around the necks of the relatives and godparents of birth. This takes place in the fiesta ramada, where the altar is again draped in black. Sometimes black crepe-paper flowers are used in decoration. About noon the next day the mourning is removed by the sacristan. This signifies the end of the mourning period. The *lu'uta* is placed at the foot of the cross, where it is burned the next morning at dawn. The altar and the white sheet behind it are then decked in bright flowers, and all signs of mourning are removed. An all-night fiesta then occurs, which will be described below.

HOUSEHOLD FIESTAS

Cumpleaño

The *cumpleaño*, closing the year of mourning, is a good example of a household fiesta. It is given at the home of the dead person, and the relatives are the fiesta hosts, with whatever help the godparents can give. The fiesta occurs on the second night of the ceremony, after mourning has been removed.

The fiesta hosts have been confronted with a variety of preparations. They must notify relatives and ceremonial kin. They must invite, by *uhbuni*, the other participants. They go to the head of each ceremonial group, who, in turn, invites his members. All invitations and their replies are formalized.

The matachin dance society acts as manager, since a *cumpleaño* almost never occurs in Lent, and aids the fiesta hosts in their preparations. Work (*tekipanoa*) includes repairing, or perhaps building, a fiesta ramada, obtaining and chopping wood for fires, preparing and replenishing the fires, carrying hot coals on shovels to warm the participants if the weather be cold, making sure of an adequate water supply, assembling food and utensils, and making the *masa* (dough) for tortillas.

The *tebat kus* (patio cross) is moved to a position directly opposite to the altar side of the fiesta ramada and about 20 feet away. It is called, for the duration of the fiesta, the *pahko kus* (fiesta cross) or *pahko rama kus* (fiesta ramada cross or, when English is spoken, altar cross). Another cross is erected about 20 feet away from the patio cross and in line with it. This is known as the *kampamento kus* (encampment cross) or, less often, the *kaminaroa kus* (procession cross). A small table, placed in front of the cross on the ramada side, is the *kampamento mesa* (encampment table). It is not an altar. This is the temporary headquarters for the matachin society until, later, the regalia are placed on and around the fiesta cross. The fiesta cross, with benches alongside and a big fire burning nearby on a cold night, then becomes the matachin headquarters for the night. It is then sometimes called the matachin cross. The little *malinchim* often curl up there to guard the regalia and to rest. If the presence of the *kohtumbre* is required, their regalia are put at the back of the cross.

The fiesta ramada is prepared in the same way for all fiestas, whatever the occasion, whether in a household patio or in the plaza. It is divided into two parts. The left side has a small altar at the center back, called the *pahko altar*, which is the center for the church group. The right side is occupied by the *pascolas* and the deer dancer, their managers and their musicians.

At a *cumpleaño*, as soon as the mourning is removed from the altar, the fiesta hosts replace the black antependium with a pink one. White sheets (*sábanam*) are hung back of and over the altar. Crepe-paper flowers are pinned on them in a profusion of color, and some are generally pinned in the shape of a cross back of the altar. Paper garlands are strung over the altar. Arches made of supple bamboo, covered with crepe paper or sprigged muslin, are placed over the front and back of the altar, and one is generally put over the patio cross. A carpet is laid in front of the altar to accommodate the *maestros* and singers. The household holy figures and Book of the Dead, candles in cans, and real or artificial flowers are placed on the altar.

At the back of the *pascola* side of the ramada is a bench for the violinist

and harpist. A chair for the tampaleo may be placed center front, facing the interior. By tradition he should sit on the ground with his back against a plank, and this is often seen. Sometimes both chair and plank are present. A pile of hot coals, over which the tampaleo warms his drum, glows at his side even in the summer. The pascola dance area is between the tampaleo and the bench for harpist and violinist. A small rug or canvas is put near the wall at one side of the ramada entrance, facing east if possible. On this sit the three deer singers, their instruments before them—a water drum and two sets of rasps. A bench or two along the right wall accommodate the two managers for the pascolas and deer, alternates for the musicians, and any men who have been closely associated with the activities of this side of the ramada. Lanterns hung from the rafters and candles on, or sometimes in front of, the altar furnish light. A pail of water and a dipper hang from the center plank of the ceiling. The managers sift the dirt on the dance ground for any stray pebbles and water down the earth.

Legend relates that these and other dances started in a cave in the Yaqui country in Sonora. One elderly man, a tampaleo, says he has seen the place and describes it as follows:

It is a great big area, as if cleaned by scrapers. And that is why the ramadas are swept here, to make them look like the original dance area. This is the first place where they started dancing and where the yuania was. (17)

For the fiestas out of Lent, and for those of Palm Sunday and Easter Eve, cottonwood twigs are often hung from the ceiling of the dance side of the ramada. Some say they are only for decoration. However, those best versed in Yaqui tradition say that they are reminiscent of the habitat of the deer and other wild creatures—the huya ania. One suggests that at the Palm Sunday fiesta they also foretell the leaves and flowers that will help repel the fariseos at The Gloria (2). In former times the whole fiesta ramada was made of fresh cottonwood boughs, representing the huya ania (35).

A few days before the fiesta, the matachin dance society carries out a limosna through the village in behalf of the fiesta hosts. This is for the purpose of obtaining food and money for the fiesta but is also thought of as a blessing to each house visited.

The fiesta hosts also buy food, called the *mandado* (Spanish, command). There are always *wakabaki* (meat and fresh vegetable stew); frijoles; tortillas; coffee with sugar and canned milk; generally *menudo* (tripe soup) for the morning meal; and perhaps other food, such as meatballs in soup, *atole* (corn meal gruel), or, rarely, potato salad. Water in a bucket with dipper is offered to each at the end of the meal. Each throws out the water remaining in the dipper that he cannot drink. Since all participants and

guests (from fifty to a hundred or more) are fed twice, in the evening and the early morning, with generally a snack at midnight, the cost is not inconsiderable. R. B. Spicer (1939: 72) estimated it to be twenty to forty dollars in 1937, but in later years it has mounted to over a hundred dollars.

The food is cooked outside over open fires. Near them is provided a long table with fresh oilcloth, a tablecloth (*mantel*), and benches. A plate or flat bowl, cup (both turned down), and spoon are at each place; sugar and canned milk are present. Two piles of hot tortillas in a white cloth, sometimes large buns, two pots of coffee, and bowls of food are set on the table. Members of the *fiestero* group serve and also hold lighted candles behind the benches. They never sit down at table. The general public is rarely invited to eat. Ceremonial groups come to the table together. The church group is served first, then the *pascola* and deer dance members, then the *matachinis*. If the *kohtumbre* is present, they generally eat by their own fire. If a man is absent when his society is at table, he reports to the head of his group when he returns, and, with permission, he eats with the next serving. Those at the table have the privilege of sending what is left over to their homes or to people in need. Thus, they too participate. No food is ever left on the table. In Lent the *kohtumbre* members help with the serving, but the *matachinis* do not do this in their period.

Etiquette demands that all wait until the head of the group serves himself. There is an air of restraint, even diffidence, and food is always offered to one's neighbor before one helps oneself. Smoking is not indulged in at table. As each group finishes, hands are placed, palms together, on the table and heads are bowed as the leader of the group repeats prayers. According to the head maestro they are the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Holy Mary, and the Benediction. Then thanks are given to the *fiesta* hosts and to the cooks. Something like this is said:

Diosta	mampo	tawa	aet	chukula	enchim
God's	hands in	remains	on it	after	your
mampo	tawa				
hands in	remains				
Dios en chiokoe ute'esia achalim					
Now it remains in the hands of God and in your hands.					
God forgive you strongly, fathers. (8)					

The *matachin* leader may also give a speech, which may take this form:

This morsel that you have offered with all your heart (*chikti hiapsimak*) has been witnessed by God. It will not be spread on the earth with the winds. It will go to heaven. In time to come, may God forbid if you should die, you will be rewarded for your deeds here on earth. Your table, ladies and gentlemen, we thank you very much. (58)

The fiesta hosts, lined up near the table, reply, "Yes, truly, we thank you very much."

This ritual is known as *Lioh buania* (translated by one informant (58) as "to give thanks to God") or *buanwame* (thanks giving). As the people rise, they turn back the edges of the tablecloth onto the table. The fiesta hosts then clear the table for the next group. The midnight snacks are served informally, wherever the groups are working.

On the second day, probably late in the afternoon, the black cords are cut. According to one man they are put by the cross, to be burned at dawn (35). Mourning is removed from the altar. The family gathers with lighted candles in front of the altar, where the maestros and singers offer prayers for the dead person and sing *alabanzas*.

The *pascolas* dance to open the fiesta soon after this. Before starting his long night of entertaining, a *pascola* offers a silent prayer, which, according to one of the group, might be something like the following:

Lord God, Father, Our Mother, Most Holy Mary, help us. You, Our Leader, will give everybody the four truths. You will keep us happy until the dawn. Truly, we will not be sick. Thank you very much. It remains in your hands. (28)

As the musicians for the *pascolas* arrive, they go to the altar for prayers, supplicating help for the night to reach the morning in safety. The *tampaleo*, as he sits down, makes a cross in the earth to dedicate the work of the night to the Lord.

The *pascolas* enact an opening ritual at fiestas outside of Lent. As they finish dressing in a sheltered place near the fiesta ramada, the violinist and harpist play the first tune of the fiesta, the *Kanariam* (Spanish, *Canario*, canary). According to the head violinist and others, it is named for the canary. One of the *tampaleos* (28) says that it is for the *sewa wikit* (flower bird). A definite association with the snake also appears. An aged manager of the *pascolas* (24) reported that the name is from a yellow bird that originated in Surem times in the Yaqui town of Belen. He also said that when it was being played a snake called *sa'akame* entered the ramada but that "it could not stand the ramada, as it was blessed." Other versions of the snake legend follow:

There is a legend, and the *pascola* was the son of the devil. And Mary was making a fiesta, and she borrowed the *pascola* and the harpist and violinist. And then the devil instructed the *pascola* not to light the rockets at the beginning of the fiesta. And then the *pascola* didn't obey his father, and he lighted the three rockets which he was told not to do, because the devil would get frightened. After he lighted the rockets he

[the pascola] became the Kanariam and entered the ramada, and he crawled in where the harpist and violinist are playing the Kanariam and departed at the left side of the tampaleo. He was [thus] punished by his father to become a snake, and then his body remained in the figure of the dancer, to stay all night with the paraphernalia, and not to return to his father. And the actual dancing represents that legend. And that occurred while he was at the altar. (17)

It is supposed to be a great snake that crawled into the ramada and went around and stayed in front of the harper until the music of the Canario was over. Then when it went, the tampaleo would start playing the beginning piece. The people would stand crowding to see that particular snake that was in the ramada; so it is said that the snake is the one that gathered the people, to come in and see it. The name of that dragon [snake] was supposed to be Canario. (55)

When the pascolas are dressed, their manager leads them out in a line. In his right hand is a bamboo stick (*moro kuta*, manager stick; Spanish, *vara*). The head pascola holds the other end of the stick in his right hand. Each pascola who follows grasps the belt of the man in front of him. They are masked, and all walk with slow, groping, stumbling steps. They are bent over. They utter little cries, which are not as shrill as those heard in processions, and their remarks, made in Yaqui, are muffled under their masks.

Some say that in their posture and their fumbling steps they are taking the part of old men. One man (28) says they walk thus because they represent the crippled son of the devil. However, those most aware of the ancient ways say that they are imitating the Surem, whom they saw in the caves of the yoania.

Like they are a little calf, just born, and like they are wobbly. (14)

They represent the people of the yoania. They represent the people in their vision, because they have known it. They represent the forest and the yoania both. [What are they saying?] They are asking help from God to pass through the night. [Why are they bent over?] Because that is the way they saw the men in the yoania. (10)

[When they first come out with their manager] they say: "We come from a long ways. Where we come from, there would be lonely places there." So they come to present their dances, and they stay all night dancing and joking and saying lots of mean, bad words, until the morning alba. They have to come from the yoania because that is what they represent. (35)

They say, "Here we are to help you out with our tekia." And they petition for safety through the night until morning.

A tampaleo said that they look crippled, not old. That they wear the mask because they don't want anyone to know who they are. (28)

The manager and pascolas circle three times counterclockwise in the pascola side of the fiesta ramada and continue to cry out and to speak. They stop, facing the violinist and harpist, and the manager places one end of the stick on the sounding board of the harp. The head pascola takes the other end. According to one man (10), "This represents that they are going to stay there all night and if they don't help, they will fail."

The head pascola gives a short speech in Yaqui, first crossing himself three times and still wearing his mask. The head pascola during the period of observation stated that, in the speech, they ask for help first from Itom Achai, then from Itom Ae, and then from all the people who were pascolas and deer dancers. They ask for strength to pass the night safely, and to be happy (aleaka) during the night. When they swing their hips between each request, it is a kind of punctuation point (14).

The hip swinging is also said (28) to be an answer to the people who are calling them from outside the ramada. The motion is a smooth continuous one, feet not moving. The violin and harp, still playing the Kanariam, keep time with the swinging. The bells on the pascola's belt ring as he swings his hips. Another version of the swinging was given by a deer singer, who stated that the pascolas are threatening the harpist and violinist, saying that if they don't help them the musicians will fail, and the pascolas will win, "and your strings will bust and you will fail, and that is when we will win (yuma)" (10).

The pascolas make a humorous sign of the cross. They may put the hand first to the topknot, or to the back of the head, or to the back of the neck; then to the stomach or between the thighs, or to the small of the back; then to the extreme tips of the shoulders. One Pascuan (28) says they do it "like they don't know nothing, and they look like clowns." An elderly man (10) says it is because "that is the way they learned it in the yoania." A pascola (14) says it is just for fun. The pascola manager leads them to the altar in the fiesta ramada in the same manner in which they arrived. They push their masks to one side, kneel, cross themselves in the traditional manner, and pray. One of the pascolas (14) says that they say the five prayers in Yaqui and add a few words about passing the night safely. This group is especially vulnerable to the ravages of the witch because they are so popular.

They pray in case they sin in the night, and they pray against the "enemy" (the devil), so that all night and all during the fiesta no evil spirits will come. (20)

He prays that nothing will happen in the night, and that all will go well. (1)

He speaks for all; they all should come there with the maestro and all should pray with the maestro. (49)

They cross themselves, put their masks over their faces, and go in a line to the fiesta cross outside. Then they thrust their masks aside, cross themselves, and pray. The manager lights a small rocket for each and gives it to him with mutual slight genuflections. Or, he may give each a rocket and a match, in which case they genuflect both times. Following are representative reasons for the use of rockets:

To clean (*limpiar*) against the devil and all bad things. (14)

The rockets . . . by the pascola is the announcement of the duty of the pascola, and he does a prayer to ask the Lord about beginning his duty and coming out all right on it. (9)

Rockets at the beginning of a fiesta are for a notice to San Miguel and against the "enemy." (35)

A notice to God that they are going to start, so that God will know. (20)

To present everything to the Saint Michael Archangel. (27)

To send them up to the Virgin to let her know that the fiesta is starting. (1)

. . . for frightening the devil. (55)

To fight the devil. (49)

As a signal to the people that they are starting to dance. (17)

The following paraphrased information was furnished by a pascola manager:

Each pascola is supposed to send up three rockets at night, so that God will know that they are there, and that they will dance all night, and that they have started at a certain time. In the morning they do the same thing, because they want to send all their sins away and to ask for God's forgiveness for anything they have done wrong. [The interpreter said that he meant the bad things they had to say as pascolas.] It is to say, too, that they have done their work faithfully during the night. And it is also against the devil. "We don't see them, but all the time there are angels watching the ceremonies. They come and guard the place. We don't see them, but some day we will all see them. They take messages to God from the rockets and from the prayers." This is true both night and morning. [The archangel Michael] is supposed to get the messages

and pass them to God; and he, being the archangel, is supposed to send the angels down to guard where the fiesta is. To guard the place. (24)

They return to the ramada in the same manner as before. The manager puts the stick on the harp and the head pascola takes the other end. The manager now leaves the pascolas for other duties, such as making cigarettes, but he remains in the ramada. The pascolas stand in a row facing violin and harp, and they speak in Yaqui.

They offer prayers to the harmless little animals of the desert, those always mentioned in association with the pascolas or "those that belong to the pascolas, such as the different kinds of frog, horned toad, turtle, lizard, iguana, and cricket. Some say that these were really the saints of the pascolas in former times or that they were learned in visions in the yoania. Some say that they were never believed in seriously.

The lizard and the horned toad are the only ones they ever think of as saints. They call the others just to get a group. They don't believe that they are saints any more, but they used to believe in them here in this country [since I can remember]. He tells the people that he has a certain saint. He says it to all the public so that he can scare anyone who is trying to harm him, because among our people there are a lot of us who are not very good, and he is trying to get protection from his saint. (24)

[I do not believe that they were really believed in before the Spanish came], but by doing this, the pascola places himself in a different category from other people. He does not pray to them to keep away the witch, but to show that as a pascola he has a different creed from the rest of us. (55)

The pascolas say these words in a very pantomimic language. But his mind is always on God when he is doing it. [It has been told] that these prayers used to be said before the maestros came. (17)

The pascola makes himself to be an animal among the wild beings. According to his prayers all the little animals have their virtues, and he compares these virtues to himself. He thinks they have the capacity to help him. (55)

[They pray to the little animals of the desert] because they have to dance all those songs on the desert. They say to help because they learned the songs from the desert. They do not do this for fun, they are serious about it. They say:

tua ito me ania
truly you us help

followed by the words Santo Vovok (Saint Frog), Santo Wikui (Saint Lizard), Santo Mochokol (Saint Horned Toad), Santo Mochik (Saint Turtle), or Santo Wata'akal (Saint Lizard). (28)

It was clear that he thought of these prayers as a serious quest for help.

They are prayers from the yoania like we pray to the church. (10)

One man (55) gave the following examples of what the pascolas might say:

Saint Bullfrog (Santo Kuarepa), I pray to thee. Thou art amphibious, who can stay under water and out of the water as well. Help me.

Saint Horned Toad (Santo Mochokol), thou who has the crown like the Virgin of Guadalupe, help me.

Saint Turtle (Santo Mochik), thou who are known never to be afraid, even if you see your enemy coming to kill you, you always walk slow and never run away, help me.

Oh, Saint Lizard (Santo Wata'akal), thou who can resist the heat of the summer and bury thyself in the soft dust of the desert, help me.

Thou Holy Cricket, thou who is able to stay awake all night and sing for me to sleep. Let me not feel very hard about staying up all night tonight.

The rite of the invocation against evil follows. The pascolas are still standing facing the rear of the ramada. The head pascola, using the bamboo rod, turns to his left, points it in the air, then makes a cross on the ground. To do this he draws a line toward himself, a line from left to right, then a line toward himself. Before the cross he says something in Yaqui like, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit" and then, "if the enemy (devil or witch) should come from this direction, because of this sign he will not harm us." And he prays to God to keep everyone safe during the night. "He talks to God" (14). All make a slight genuflection when he finishes, slowly with each knee, and swing their hips from side to side. This ritual is carried out in each of the four directions. By tradition they should make a counter-clockwise circuit, and it is generally so done.

I make the cross so that the Lord will aid me so that nothing will happen to me. I speak for all. (49)

While they are doing this they ask each nation (*nasionta*) to keep watch over them. They do the cross in all directions so the devil will not come. . . . Making the crosses is to keep everything away that is evil, including the wars that we have been having. Anything that could harm us in any way. (24)

In the air he is blessing the ramada. The same on the ground. From the east, if anything come, it will not have access, etc. He is defending himself from the evil and from the witch.

An example of how the first pascola began to save himself from his father, the devil. (55)

To bless the place where they are going to spend the night. (20)

So that nothing will happen and to bless the earth. (1)

Against the "enemy." (35)

For the people who live way outside, south, north, east and west, and to keep the devil and the witch away from the ramada. (28)

All face the violinist and harpist again, and then come tall tales about the prowess of different members of the body. Each brags about the amazing ability of a part of his body, calling attention to it by pointing to it or pulling it, all the time acting out the story in exaggerated pantomime. A man has been seen to describe the unusual agility of his arms in making bread, during which he pulled and twisted his arms and went through the motions of kneading bread.

One spoke of his ability in tracking to distinguish between the quick little steps of the burro and the canter of a horse. Another was heard to brag about the sensitivity of his nose in smelling melons at a great distance. Others have demonstrated their ability to find mescal, to walk great distances, to break wild horses, to find beehives. One said, "I must comb my hair because everyone thinks I have such pretty hair." There is no set pattern for these tales; many are spontaneous, some are traditional, and all are colored according to the fancy of the pascola. None has been heard to describe modern technology. Various men reported the following tales:

A pascola walks around the ramada, saying, "With these legs, after I have walked all day, I can keep going as if I had just started." Talking about his eyes, he might look up into the air and say, "with my eyes there was a beehive in the country that I could not locate. By just watching the bees up in the sky, which way they were traveling, I could find out where they had their honey." Speaking about his hands, he might describe the way he works as a cowboy, or the handling of animals. (55)

I was a violinist and yesterday (or awhile ago) I was teaching everyone in the forest. I was a tampaleo and yesterday (or awhile ago) I made all the birds talk in the forest world where they are. (10)

I might hold my head and say, "I am José Koba (Head), and with this head I know everything. I am José Nakara (Ear), and with this nose I can smell everything. With this shoulder I can carry everything and just throw it over. I am a cowboy, and with these legs I can ride a horse." (14)

Between each tale the pascolas swing their hips slowly and smoothly from side to side, and, as they do so, the bells dangling from their belts sing

sweetly and gently. The musicians follow the tempo of each pascola as he talks. A Pascua man expresses it this way, "The music remains in a swinging tone, and the pascola moves to make the little chimes sound harmoniously with the music" (55).

The pascolas break into a brief dance now and then, turning back and forth slowly and tentatively, feet close to the ground. They shuffle at first; gradually their feet move in small quick steps, not intricate. As they dance, they utter little cries and yelps, and, when they stop, they jump two or three times in place, but gently. The music of the Kanariam quietly follows their movements.

Finally, all turn to face the tampaleo, who has begun beating his drum lightly and slowly, and the Kanariam ends. The pascolas stand in a row in front of the tampaleo, the head pascola with the bamboo stick under his left arm. They shake their sonasums from side to side slowly, holding them parallel to the ground and a little forward. They speak in Yaqui, and now it is expected that there will be sallies and jokes from the men in front of the ramada, which enable the pascolas to enter into repartee. A pascola describes this as follows:

... each tells a joke in turn. The first man might say, "San Isidro (or any saint) sends his regards to you, and, since you are the biggest man and can send a message real far, I want you to tell him to send me some rain water so my seeds will grow." The second one might say the same, but a little different, but he, too, has got some seeds. The third one might say, "Since you are the tampaleo and have the world (the drum) in your hands, we want you to send some water so the seeds might grow." (14)

Between each of the jokes the pascolas break into a few dance steps to the music of the tampaleo, manipulating their sonasums tentatively. They jump several times each time they stop. The tampaleo taps his drum lightly between the three dances, during the stories. These three dances are called the tampaleota kanariam (28). Finally, the cane is put in the ceiling and salutations begin.

The pascolas shake hands with the tampaleo, talking nonsense to him. A tampaleo (28) said that they might "ask for my family and then ask me or my family to go out where they live. They don't say where they live. Then they shake hands again. Another pascola might say, 'How is your aunt at the ranch?' Then, 'Your aunt is sitting wider,' meaning that she has more property."

The pascolas greet and touch hands with those on their side of the ramada, sometimes saluting one person, but touching hands with another. They greet those on the altar side and people near the entrance. They may

call them by wrong names, fictitious titles, by false godparent terms, or by wrong trades. This is much enjoyed by the crowd, noisier than usual in appreciation. Finally, all face the entrance of the ramada on their own side and call out the Yaqui greeting, "*Dios en chaniabu*" (God aid you), with responses by the crowd.

Soon after the opening ritual the pascolas start their series of dances, which continue throughout the night. They dance singly, and the head pascola always dances first. The first dance is to the music of violin and harp. Mask to one side, the pascola walks back and forth in front of the musicians, accommodating to the rhythm of the music, then starts to dance, facing them. The knees are bent slightly, the torso is quiet and a little forward, the arms hang free, and the eyes of the dancer are on his feet. There is no change of facial expression, nor is the body thrown about with abandon. The dance is a combination of a quick shuffle and a tap, with the feet darting in lightning-quick small movements close to the ground, in as many variations as the dancer has the skill and imagination to execute. He uses the whole foot, or heel, or toes. The thumping of the heels accent the rhythm, or the abrasive scraping of the ball of the foot, or the whole side of the foot, on the ground. He may raise a foot to strike the opposite ankle or leg, or he may slap the leg with his hands. The effect is one of quiet virtuosity. The result is, too—intricate patterns in the dust, in a small arc, as he faces the musicians, dances from side to side or in circles, or makes a slight forward motion by "chugging." A good dancer varies his dance with many special steps which the men in the audience are not slow to applaud.

Soon after this series is completed by each dancer in turn, the tampaleo warms his drum over the bed of hot coals at his side and starts beating on it with slow regular beats. He increases the tempo, syncopates the time, adds the music of the flute. Meanwhile, the pascola walks back and forth in front of him, manipulates his sonasum tentatively, slips his mask over his face, draws up his shoulders, head back, thrusts his torso forward, flexes his arms, elbows out, and starts to dance. His right hand manipulates the sonasum with quick syncopated beats in the air and against the left palm. His head darts from side to side, legs and feet are tense, knees are a little flexed, and his feet make swift jerky movements. The pascola signals to the tampaleo when to stop by holding out his sonasum and shaking it in front of him parallel to the ground.

When the deer singers arrive, they go to the altar in the fiesta ramada "to receive grace and benediction from the Lord" (1 and 2). They touch hands with and greet those on the pascola side of the fiesta ramada. They take up their positions in a row, kneeling or squatting along the wall on a canvas or rug just inside the entrance of the pascola side of the ramada. Their instruments have been arranged in front of them by their manager. With a rasper or half-gourd each makes a cross on the ground in front of

him three times, to dedicate the work of the night to the Lord, and then crosses himself. After the pascolas have started to dance, and in anticipation of the immediate arrival of the deer dancer, the singers may sing a song:

Already we sit with our little flower rasps
And we who [came] from yonder sunrise
Into the smoking flower patio of the deer hunter
Already we sit with our little flower rasps

When the deer dancer enters, accompanied by the manager, he is in full costume. He faces his singers briefly, shakes his gourd rattles, and he may make a sudden dart at the pascolas. Still accompanied by the manager, he goes to the altar, genuflects, crosses himself, and kneels to pray. His antlers, tipped with red ribbon, stand straight and bright against the white cloth above the altar. A deer singer gives the following as an example of what he might say:

Lord, Our Father, keep us safe until dawn. Our Mother, Most Holy Mary, keep us safe until dawn. Our Mother, Most Holy Mary, keep us safe until dawn. God and Most Holy Mary, give us truly grace. Amen. (10)

The singer said that even though the maso ya'ut, the deer leader, was not mentioned in the prayer, it is directed to him as well as to the Lord and Mary.

The manager leads the dancer to the fiesta cross outside, where he prays and sends up a rocket with a prayer that he will pass the night safely. But "if there are no rockets, the prayers are the most important thing anyway" (9).

While the deer dancer is away, the pascolas may trespass on his area. If they do so, he frightens them off, on his return, with a vigorous shake of his rattles or with a toss of his antlers. He dances briefly alone, to the opening song which the singers have continued. The pascolas evince great interest in him, point at him, discuss him, howl like coyotes, and sometimes step gingerly over to touch him.

All during the night the deer dances with each pascola in turn, but only when they are dancing to the music of the flute and drum. The tampaleo and the deer singers accelerate their tempo, the deer rattles his gourds sharply toward the singers, and, as the deep voices of the deer singers begin their song, the deer starts to dance.

He flexes his knees, leans slightly forward, his back taut and straight, points his left foot forward and back, rattles his gourds, holding them down and at arm's length, raises his body slightly, glances to right and left over his shoulders, manipulates his gourds, and starts his footwork. He points

Pascola and Deer Dancer (*Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography*)

the toe, then the heel alternately to the ground very quickly and lightly; alternates the action with one foot, then the other; turns right and left or all the way around; raises and lowers his torso; varies the position of his arms. When the singers stop at his signal, he puts the left foot forward and at once draws it back. He places the gourds down in front of the singers, removes his headdress and places it upside down on the gourds with the nose pointing toward the middle singer, and stands with arms folded in front of his singers.

The subject matter of the songs of the deer singers progresses during the night from those in the early evening having to do largely with flowers to the later ones which concern the animals of the huya. After midnight the themes are bees and other insects and birds. At dawn they sing "toward the sunrise," about streams and lakes, and, finally, about clouds and rain.

At sometime during the evening a full procession (*kaminaroa*) occurs, the purpose of which is to escort the holy figures from the church to the fiesta ramada, to be honored there during the night. The church group stands ready at the entrance of the church, the men and women carrying

the male and female holy figures. An image of Saint Joseph is included for the matachinis. The pascolas and deer dancer stand facing the church group, with the matachinis in formation between them and the church cross. At a quiet signal from the head maestro that all is in readiness, he and the singers start an alabanza. The matachinis, pascolas, and deer dancer begin their procession dance, used to escort holy figures.

The tampaleo removes his hat and plays a spirited tune, not always the same one. The pascolas and deer walk with their procession step (step, tap, on alternate feet) to the entrance of the church where they genuflect slightly with the right knee, then the left, within the rhythm of the music. The girl flag-bearers wave in response. The dancers turn and walk a few steps away from the church and genuflect slightly in the direction of the church cross. The tampaleo and the managers keep pace with them and also genuflect. The pascolas strike their sonasums sharply on their palms in time with the music, and the deer dancer vigorously rotates his gourd rattles. They move back and forth in this manner three times, genuflecting at the church and at the church cross each time.

Simultaneously, the matachin musicians start the music for one of their procession dances, and the head dance leader shakes his gourd rattle sharply as a signal. The matachinis, facing the church, genuflect toward it in the dance, wheel, and march to the church cross, where they also genuflect, wheel, and march back to face the church. Thus they dance back and forth three times. The two groups of dancers do not interweave at this time.

As the pascolas and deer turn away from the church at the completion of their three rounds, the pascolas emit short, coyote-like yelps as a signal to the church group to follow them out. The two groups of dancers, with the same formations and in the same relative position, lead the church group in slow progression toward the encampment table. The matachinis are guided by their manager, who holds a lighted lantern or a candle. After each full figure of the dance, as they face the church and genuflect toward it, the church group pauses and the girl flag-bearers wave toward the dancers, then toward the holy figures. This occurs about three times on the way to the encampment table, where they pause. The dancers move back and forth three times, genuflecting in the dance toward the encampment cross and table. All draw up at the table, and the holy figures are placed upon it.

Meanwhile the deer singers may sing:

And already he who has flower-forked antlers
He who wanted to go out over there
He is coming to us from over there
And our little brother is already coming to us.

The fiesteros stand waiting at the entrance of the fiesta ramada holding the household holy figures and lighted candles. They are led out to the encampment table by the pascolas and deer, all going under the arch of the

fiesta cross. They are greeted by flag-waving. They place their images on the table. The women are given the flags and regalia of the flag girls, and the holy figures are distributed among the fiesteros.

Now the two sets of dancers, using the same dance steps as before, interweave between the encampment table and the altar inside the ramada, to bless it. It does not matter which group enters the ramada first, but the matachinis have been observed to do so most frequently. They genuflect to bless the altar, wheel, and march out to the table and genuflect. All flags are waved in answer. As the matachinis come out of the ramada, the pascolas and deer enter. They bend each knee slightly toward the altar, turn, and go to the table, passing through the lines of the approaching matachinis. Flags are waved again as they approach the table. The two groups of dancers move back and forth three times, passing each other. As the matachinis complete their three rounds, they dance backward, facing the ramada, their lines separate, and they go to the sides of the dance area. Still rotating their gourds, they hold up their wands to form an arch. Under this pass the pascolas and deer, leading the procession to the altar in the ramada. After genuflecting toward the altar, pascolas and deer go to the far side of the ramada and stand facing the altar side. The tampaleo continues to play and the pascolas to manipulate their sonasums. The deer dancer stands in front of his singers, shaking his gourds in time to the song his singers have started at his approach. Flags are waved as the group enters the ramada and again at the altar. Meanwhile, the matachinis, after the group enters the ramada, holding their wands high, march in rhythm and re-form between the fiesta cross and the ramada, which they face.

As the last verses of the alabanza are finished in front of the altar, all music and dancing cease as the maestros kneel in front of the altar for prayers, which may be *O Vos Omnes*, three *Our Fathers*, and *Hail Marys*. All, in the ramada and outside, kneel simultaneously, except for the pascolas and deer. But the pascola masks are pushed aside, and the pascolas make the sign of the cross when the rest do. A general group veneration may follow, or it may take place later.

This ideal form for opening a fiesta has been shortened gradually and has become less formal, owing at least partly to the fact that the men do not get home from work until late in the day. The procession from the church may be omitted, and, when the altar is dressed, the church group then adds its holy figures and Books of the Dead. At some time during the night the fiesteros thank all those who have participated by means of a thank-you circle.

The church group settles down for the night in front of and around the altar, with plenty of blankets if the night is cold. They sing alabanzas off and on all night and often doze, but they are also alert to the antics on the pascola side of the ramada. The women cover their faces with their rebozos when the jokes get too rough.

The matachinis gather on or near their benches. They hang their regalia on the fiesta cross, or put it on a blanket in front of the cross. The little malinchim sit or lie there between dances, their skirts rolled up around their waists, in order to guard the regalia. They dance about once an hour all night.

Sometimes during the night it happens that all groups—maestros, singers, matachinis, pascolas, and deer—burst into operation at the same time, in a happy confusion of color, sound, and movement.

Throughout the night the fiesta ramada is imagined to be reminiscent of the huya ania and its animal inhabitants, the yoawa. The yoania is represented too, especially by the pascolas, who re-enact what has been seen in the visions of the yoania. The cottonwood twigs hanging from the ceiling symbolize the trees of the huya, and the water in which the water drum floats represents its lakes and streams, yo'oba'am. The rasps recall the scraping of antlers on branches. The deer songs form a poetry of forest commentary.

They are in the huya all night long until the alba. They tell stories to entertain, too, but even those are mostly about the huya. Like being a good fisherman or hunter. If there is no deer dancer, the pascolas talk about the huya anyway. (10)

The deer dancer, when he comes out, is supposed to be a little fawn, who grows to full maturity in the night. In the early evening, in the words of the pascolas, and in some of the deer songs, he is called saila. One hears him called yoawa, too, the collective term for all of the animals of the yoania. Later, when he has grown up, he is referred to as maso.

The pascolas, to entertain the public, stalk, catch, and tame the fawn. In doing this they pantomime some of the methods of the actual, old-time deer hunters and also expose themselves to the dangers of the forest and of the yoania. The fawn, in resisting them, imitates the witchcraft power of the actual deer.

If two or more pascolas are present at a fiesta, and if they are in good form, they engage in pantomime in which they go into the yoania and catch the fawn. The older men say that even in their time the play was longer, which suggests an earlier, more formalized dramatization. It is reminiscent of the long event, sometimes done outside of Lent, called "Killing the Deer." As soon as the deer appears, the pascolas are in a flutter of excitement. After his first short dance alone, the pascolas point to him, discuss him, and make sallies trying to touch him. The deer stands with his arms folded over his torso, impassive and apart. He kicks out swiftly at any pascola who approaches and sends him away whimpering, complaining about the hardships of the forest. Finally, in conference, the pascolas decide on a strategy to capture him. Typically, in 1948, the action was as follows. A pascola

walked slowly and warily toward the deer with his arms outstretched. The deer stood in watchful immobility. As the pascola neared him, the deer, with two steps and two more slid neatly under the arms of the pascola, who kept on going and caught a man at the entrance of the ramada. He proudly took him back to the waiting chattering pascolas, who examined him, shook their heads sadly, and released him. After another conference, they rubbed a second pascola with dirt, to erase the human odor, and sent him out with admonitions. This time the head pascola stepped in front of the deer and was caught. Finally, a third pascola, rubbed with dirt and creeping slowly forward on all fours, captured the deer. There are many variations on this. For example, they sometimes add leaves from the twigs in the ceiling to the dirt that they rub on, and sometimes the pascolas clasp hands and form a trap.

They are saying when they rub the dirt on, "We will rub you with this, like a *hitowa*, like a remedy" so he wouldn't detect them . . . and make him just like the deer's odors, so he wouldn't know it was a human being, but just another deer. (58)

When the pascolas rub dirt on themselves, the deer singers sing about the buia sewa, the earth flower that the deer loves to eat.

ikane	buia	sewata	tulekai	enchine	yumalika
this	earth	flower	I love	you	conquer
wayekai	sewa	yoleme			
walking	flower	creature			

Flower creature, walking I will conquer you who love the earth flower.
(10)

After the deer is caught, all touch hands and smoke cigarettes together. This is the only time during the night when the deer actually speaks, or even changes facial expression. The pascolas point out to the deer what a good life he can have with them.

They start talking about adopting [the deer]. They describe the way the people are in the forest. When they say yoawa, they are talking about the living creatures of the forest. They pretend they don't see him. They send one of the pascolas out to find out what there is to be afraid of in the forest. He says, "There is nothing to be afraid of in the forest. I can go in there and nothing will happen to me." He goes into the area of the deer dancer. In fact, they call the deer yoawa here. So when he goes into the area he gets touched, either with the foot or the hand of the deer dancer. That makes him sick, and he comes out lame. This is describing the dangers of the people in the forest. When he fails to find

anything, then the other is sent, till three go in. They decide the forest is dangerous and lovely. The description of the play is the danger of the forest. [What dangers?] That would be the lion, snake, poison insects, and all those things that will hurt a man in the forest are described that way. Then the yoawa, or the deer, in this play, when the pascola goes into the area, by touching him he makes him lame. . . . The deer represents the wild animals of the forest. (55)

It is a play by the pascolas when they *buki'une* (adopt) the deer. He has been told by the pascolas that there is much to eat and a lot of flowers, and then they gesture toward the women. . . . They say that if he stays with them, he wouldn't be in any danger at all. Not like the wilderness. They tell him about the lake of water, the *ba'amanek* (pan of water for the water drum). And they tell him about the *sene'eka benero* (literally, where water comes from the earth), by which they mean the drinking water. And they convince him to remain. They shake hands with him, and the pascola gives him cigarettes, and the deer talks like a man, and that is the only time he does, all night. (9)

[They say] "There are plenty of flowers here as you can see." Then they point to where the women are sitting. They say, "We have a very good spring here," or "We have a very good stream here," by which they mean wine. They also mention the various kinds of food, not cooked, but wild fruits, and they say that they have a very nice home here, meaning the ramada. The deer answers, "*Hewi, tui*" (Yes, truly) and never says more. (55)

The play with the pascolas is all for fun, *yeubu*. The pascolas pretend that they are deer hunters and that they domesticate the young deer, and as it grows up they pretend that they have a domesticated deer at home to play with. When they catch him, they pretend that they are in the huya ania. Then, when they get tangled up together, they pretend that they are in the yoania and are bewitched. They promise the deer a sister or niece or some girl relative if he will set them free. When the deer sprinkles water on the pascolas to set them free, they say it represents some animal that has watered them. (9)

After the fawn is captured, the play with him continues, as the pascolas try to "domesticate" him, and he continues to play tricks on them. They creep up to him slyly to touch him or walk toward him with bravado. He kicks at them or touches them with his gourds or antlers, and they run off whimpering as if in pain, or utter loud, complaining cries. Sometimes a pascola passes the kick on to another, and he to another, until they are all protesting. The deer steps on the foot of a pascola, who cries out, and another pascola comes and substitutes his foot; a third does the same, and

they stand wriggling as if trying to free their feet. Or perhaps they offer the deer a bribe to release them, such as a woman in the crowd. Sometimes a pascola walks toward a deer, gazing upward, talking about the trees and flowers of the forest. He may attempt to pick a leaf from one of the cottonwood twigs and perhaps pretend that his hand becomes stuck. Another tries to help, and he also is caught. One hears the words *yoawa nasontek* (bewitchment of the forest).

When the deer touches any part of the body of the pascola, he is supposed to be bewitched, and so he starts acting as though he was hurt. They pretend they didn't see who did it. The deer is supposed to bewitch them. (55)

The fawn gets more mean as it grows up, so they cannot even pet it without getting kicked. He is supposed to be growing up, and more mean all the time. (9)

Sometimes during the night a pascola suckles the deer, who applies his antlers to the nipple. Sometimes he only touches the nipple briefly, sometimes he remains, and the pascola tries to free himself. Sometimes two or three join in, and all pretend that they cannot get away.

Sometimes the deer pushes the head of a pascola almost to the ground, either with his hand or by his headdress. The pascola squeals and another rushes to the rescue, only to find himself in the same plight; or all three may find themselves in this situation. Sometimes the deer goes off and leaves them that way. He may sprinkle them with water from the bowl of the deer singer. This is explained as follows:

When they remain that way they are tied together, so he sprinkles them with water so they turn loose. . . . When they are bound they are supposed to be in a trance of the *yoawa*, something like hypnotism. In order to get them out of the trance, he sprinkles them with water. [What is the meaning of the water?] The water is supposed to be good, because it comes from the forest and the songs. (9)

Sometimes the deer sprinkles the pascolas with water unexpectedly, and they look and say that there is a bath of some kind on the roof, and they have been sprinkled with it. Occasionally the deer takes a mouthful of water from the bowl and sprays it, not only on the pascolas, but on spectators. This is regarded as a blessing. The pascolas may imitate him.

When the deer steps on the foot of the pascola or pushes him in the back, it is a secret way of talk. (2)

One of the episodes most enjoyed by the audience is when the pascolas "borrow the music" of the deer. When the deer is dancing with a pascola,

the others may dance behind him caricaturing his dance, swinging their hips and shoulders, and pretending to manipulate gourds. They may also howl like coyotes to frighten the deer. He steps aside, and they dance in his area. One of the pascolas may say that he knows a very good deer song. The singer with the water drum taps on it in time to a humorous song by the pascola, a takeoff on a real one. A Pascua man (55) gave the following as an example. The pascola sang: *Sala sakela hawakame* (Little brother who has little forked antlers). This was a takeoff on a real song in which the deer singer sings: *Saila sekala awakame* (Little brother who has transparent little forked antlers).

In this, the pascola makes the following plays on words: He says sala for saila; sakela for sekala; and puts an "h" in front of awakame.

The other pascolas may then offer songs, but finally the deer rushes in and frightens them away with a shake of his rattles, the crashing sound of his rattle belt, or a flourish of his antlers.

When a pascola is dancing with a deer, imitating him, he is especially vulnerable to the tricks of the deer. The head deer dancer in Pascua has such fine body control that he does these tricks within the rhythm of his dance, quickly and neatly, never missing a beat. He leans down as if to tie his ankle rattles; the pascola imitates him, but loses his balance and falls to the ground. The deer leans down and touches his foot, with the same results. He turns continuously and rapidly, and the pascolas become dizzy. He dances to the edge of the entrance of the ramada and makes a quick turn back inside. The pascola following him dances on out into the crowd. The deer leans far backward without losing his balance. The pascola falls sprawling backward. The deer leans down and touches the water in the pan with his antlers. The pascola puts his head down in imitation, and either the deer or another pascola pushes his head into the water. When the deer finishes his dance and puts his foot forward, the pascola imitates him, and the deer puts his foot down firmly on that of the pascola. Often all of the pascolas at once participate in these tricks. They are constantly getting into trouble, being made to look clumsy, inept, and foolish, whimpering, crying out, and running back into their area to recover.

The pascolas also spend the time between dances telling stories and exchanging repartee with the crowd. They must never laugh or smile but are the cause of mirth among the spectators and also among the people on the altar side of the ramada. They follow no routine. They are at their best when one or more spectators at the entrance of the ramada make humorous remarks, which are then used as cues. Fabila (1940: 202–5) gives examples of ribald pascola talk.

Punning and deliberate misuse of words by the pascolas are frequent. In English, for instance, they have been heard to play with "you're welcome," making it into "you work 'em," "you work 'em tomorrow." An

Anglo was heard to call out and ask who was their chief. The pascolas in quick succession turned this into "chief, cheek, Chico (name of one of the pascolas), Chico, California, Los Angeles, los angelitos, lost angelitas." "Yell, yellow" was the start of another series; and in Spanish, "mas, mes" and "ten, tren."

They tell long stories, with many comments and humorous interjections by their audience. These may be based on Yaqui legends and folk tales, may be current stories, often Mexican, or may be extemporized. The younger ones may tell stories, highly embroidered, of travels in this country, the older ones the same, or of places in Mexico. One favorite and well-known story concerns "Mike, the Duck Hunter" (Mikel Sisiwoki) and another is "The Horse and the Watermelon Seed."

One informant (55) mentioned the following typical remarks, made by wits in the audience: Asking for a cigarette, a man might say "*Pahko'ola, buichia mumuke*" (pascola, the worm is dying). There is a play on words here, as buichia means both worm and smoke. Also, if a person has a special liking or a vice for something, he is said to have a worm for it. A request for a cigarette might take another form, such as "*Pahko'ola, chapa'a, karipo ne hibuitevae*" (I want to make smoke in my little house with the peaked roof). The word nose is used for peaked roof. A man asking for a cigarette might say, "I want to go over to the house of twins," referring to the nose. The pascola would reply, "I know where there is a pair of twins, you can go there."

A man asking for a drink of water might say, "*Pahko'ola, banan bicha sika ka notekame neu toha.*" This refers to the river which flows west, and the translation is, "Pascola, it went west and did not return. Bring it to me."

In admiration for the dancing of a pascola one might say, "*Halamachi, pahko'ola, tua e'e sumwachim woket*" (Hooray, pascola, you really have fierce feet).

When the tampaleo has been playing for so long that someone may feel that he is being overworked, he might say this: "*Besa ama buti e amak ane. Abe kia senu enchim kuta wisa ie maya. Kailo i'an kaita una eiyawakai hunu'u.*" (Already you are doing too much with him. Someone may hit you with a wooden spoon. Now, not little, nothing much, he is loved.)

To tease a pascola, a man might say, "*Pahko'ola, tua e'e tu'im bibak. Kia chisti hubachina'it chepti huba.*" (Pascola, you really have good tobacco. It smells like a stepping splash [squashing] on black bugs.) The pascola might reply, "*Hewi, tea buibuichia*" (Yes, but it makes smoke).

The pascolas often imitate other groups. In a ceremony where they are associated with the matachinis, they may imitate the dancing. They have been heard to sing alabanzas in falsetto voice, using words at random or sometimes substituting numbers. They also give humorous sermons, making fun of the maestros. All of their movements are exaggerated at these times,

and they often imitate movements with pantomime, or imitate with their voices each subject of a story.

When people are beginning to get tired and sleepy, the deer singers may sing, "We will wake you up, you sleepy flower people, by rubbing you with flower dirt."

The pascolas are generally given their midnight snack in the fiesta ramada, and sometimes they offer food to spectators whom they want to honor. In Lent the chapayekas bring in pots of hot coffee and great bowls of tortillas. The church group eats on the altar side of the ramada.

The Spanish word alba has a fuller meaning than merely dawn in Pascua. It refers not only to the break of day but also to the dark time before the first cold light lifts above the mountains, through to the first slanting rays of early morning sunlight. It is not only temporal in meaning, it is psychological. With the alba the pervasive fears and tensions of the night lift and fade away, to be replaced by a feeling of gratitude for having passed the night safely and well (aleaka). During the time of the dawn, ceremonies are conducted by all groups, during which the ceremonial labor of the night is offered up to Jesus, Mary, and to God, through the archangel Michael and the angels. At the same time comes the serene and comforting belief that all who have done their duties with good heart have earned the flower (reward) of divine approval. It is all of these factors that give the term alba a rich significance in Pascua.

The dawn ceremonies are in general the same for any fiesta. At, or almost before, the first premonition of dawn, the maestros rise to their knees and their singers are instantly beside them. Together they sing alabanzas to the dawn. The head maestro named them: *Alaben Cristianos, En Una Fresca Mañana, Cantemos Alba, Alabado y Ensalzado*. The first verse of each alabanza, as written in the notebook of the head maestro and translated by a Pascua man (55), appears below, together with the correct Spanish version (if necessary) and the English translation.

Ala Bencristianos	Alaben Cristianos	Praise Christians
Por dios consebida	Por Dios conserbidos	Through God conceived
Y lus de los cielos	Y la luz de los cielos	And the light of the heavens
Conlabe maria	Con el Ave Maria	With a Hail Mary
En una fresca Mañana	On a fresh morning	
Caminaba la Virgen pura	The Virgin pure was walking	
Pues no era tarde mañana	Then it was not late in the morning	
Las horas que caminaba	In the hours when she was walking	
Cantemos alba	Cantemos alba	Let us sing the dawn
llabienel dilla	Hay viene el día	Here comes the day
Daremos gracias	Daremos gracias	Let us give thanks
Ave marilla	Ave Maria	Hail Mary

Alabado yel San Sado	Alabado y ensalzado	Praised and extolled
Sea el divino Sagramento	Sea Divino Sacramento	Be the sacrament divine
Enquen Dios oculto acite	El con Dios coexiste	He who with God coexists
De las Almas desusteto	De las almas de sustento	Of the souls' substenance
Ylimpi Concepcion	Y la limpia Concepción	And the pure conception
Dela Reina Delos Cielos	De la Reina de los Cielos	Of the Queen of Heavens

A prayer called *Santo Dios* follows the alabanzas; then one asking a blessing for everyone, everywhere. The *Santo Dios*, as dictated by the head maestro and translated by the interpreter (55) is given below.

En tus manos encomiendo	Into Thy hands I commend
Mi Espiritu	My spirit
Sea en todo os bendito	May it be blessed in all things
Con dulce canto	With sweet song
Sigan alevantando	Keep on raising up
El Cristo Santo	The Holy Christ
Santus, Santus, Santus	Holy, Holy, Holy
Santus Deus, Santus fortiz	Holy God, Holy strength
Santus Deus, Santus imortalia	Holy God, Holy immortality
Miserere nobis	Have mercy on us

Meanwhile, during the darkness, the managers of the pascolas and deer dancer lead them to the fiesta cross. Sometimes they carry lighted candles, which they thrust into the ground near the cross. The pascola masks are pushed back from the faces, but the deer dancer retains his headdress. Quietly they stand as they pray facing the cross. According to the head deer dancer, they say the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, the Act of Contrition, and the Hail Holy Queen. They thank God that they have come safely and well through the dangers of the night, and the pascolas ask pardon for the "bad things" that they had to say and do in their role of pascola. Each sets off three small rockets as on the night before, as a message that they have complied with their obligations, to dedicate the work of the long night to God, and to bless their regalia for safekeeping. No song is sung by the deer singers at this time.

The rockets in the morning are to get an indulgence. They send their tekia up and everything that we work here. (8)

At the alba they send up all what they have done in the night. The prayers of the maestros, and the dancing, and everything, up to Itom Achai. . . . The matachinis don't do that. The pascolas do it for all. (35)

In the morning the rockets are an announcement that they have finished their night's work and to thank the Lord because they did come out all right on it. (9)

They send up three rockets to give thanks to the Lord and to place all in the hands of Saint Michael Archangel. (14)

When they return to the ramada the pascolas stand in a line facing the entrance. The head pascola, his mask to one side, delivers a brief sermon. The head pascola dictated the following as a summary of what he said in 1945:

Gentlemen, my fathers and mothers. We delivered it, this our holy work, where stands the holy cross, the holy wood of the cross. We put it in the hands of Saint Michael, that holy service that we worked on here for everyone, in the holy church. The maestro father, our singer mothers, and the violinist, harpist, and tampaleo, and every baptized person, all the people who stayed here till dawn, we prayed for you. In the hands of Saint Michael Archangel, he will make it a good indulgence. He will make it an indulgence on our behalf. It remained in the hands of the Lord, it remained in the hands of our Mother. Lord God the Father, God the Son, from the Three Persons truly in One. That is all, fathers. God forgive you strongly. (14)

The matachinis execute their dance for the dawn, called Alabalo, in which they kneel to the ground in the dance, on alternate knees. After the third round they form a prayer circle for prayers and a speech by the manager. After this they may dance on request, as already described.

After the dawn ceremonies the tampaleo plays two songs called the alba or dawn songs. For these the instruments are tuned to normal, and from here on he plays as for the alabanzas.

Now comes the most relaxed time of any fiesta. Everyone is exhausted. The labor of the long night is ended, and it has been offered up to the Lord. There is no (or perhaps there is less) danger from the witch and the devil. The pascolas and deer continue to dance, and they may respond to requests for special dances. However, they welcome others who want to try their skills, which gives them a rest. Anyone is allowed to dance, except in Lent, when the kohtumbre must approve. The dances at this time are dramatic

and very entertaining. At this time, too, the pascolas may chase the deer out of the ramada in a frantic attempt to catch him.

At some time in the morning all gather at the fiesta ramada for the sermon which terminates the fiesta in the ramada. The pascolas and their manager stand in a row in the pascola side of the ramada, facing the entrance. The deer dancer, wearing his headdress, and his manager are in line with them at their left, and the deer singers stand by their instruments, hats off. All have arms crossed over the torso. The head pascola, in the center, is the only one with a mask over his face. The church group gathers at the altar side, and the matachinis, without regalia, and people of the pueblo stand at the entrance. All pay close attention as the head pascola, speaking through his mask, delivers a fervent sermon in Yaqui, about fifteen minutes long. It is similar to the sermons of the maestros, except that it always includes a request for pardon for what the pascolas have said and done during the night, in fulfilling their role as pascolas.

The following, in literal translation, is an example of what the head pascola might say in his sermon, according to a *tampaleo*, and is typical of those delivered during the period of observation. It was notable that, when the elderly man dictated it, he assumed a formal and slightly louder tone than his conversational one. He also drew himself up very erect.

Already the hour has come. You have not come to see me. Gentlemen, I have not invited you. Gentlemen, they who have invited you are those images, those holy figures who sit there. You, invited by the holy figures, knowing thus, you came here. My fathers, mothers, and children, who each from your household properties have made twelve steps facing toward here. As the maestro kneels [literally, stands on his knees], you will recite with him in their purity the one "Our Father" and "Holy Mary" with its "Gloria." Yet, even feeling well, living here, not lying there crying, you will beseech for yourselves to the Lord our Father those good days, those graces. So that even among the many punishments, nothing on your body will hang [nothing will harm your body]. So that we will reach those good, holy years feeling well. So maybe, somewhere in time to come, when the Lord invites you, when your days are cut off, the Lord will receive you well. And even though you, my fathers, you know it well. But already, what shall be done? Maybe somewhere in time the Lord created me like this, with the inheritance, with the inheritance like this, in my mother's womb [for pascola duty]. Well, suffering was given me like this—the seven things that hang on me, beginning with the top of my head [the pascola regalia]. Thus I am supposed to work that request of the pueblo. If I do not receive that request of the pueblo, when my days are cut off, that punishment that seems not bearable will be given to me. If I do not mention these words to you like this, I will have nothing to present to the Lord up yonder.

Even though you know it also, even though you have learned it. Well, gentlemen, my fathers, truly I am bashful before you; but then, already, what truly shall be done. Well, gentlemen, I am truly standing humbly among you. Maybe I have spoken one word not-good [incorrect] among you. You will forgive me for it. You will not keep this false word in your heart. You will just send it off with the wind. I did not say it with all my heart. But by the request of the *fiestero* I was ordered to put the truth like this in your hands. And now therefore, like this, the truth, these two or three words, I put in your hands. And now furthermore it remains in the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ. That is all, fathers, nothing more. Lord God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit, from those three Persons together, one true God. This much truly remains in your hands, gentlemen, my fathers, God aid you. (17)

The *pascola* violinist and harpist play, as a soft accompaniment to the sermon, the morning *Kanariam*, *Saila Kanariam*, for which their instruments are tuned in the normal way. When the sermon is finished, all thank the *pascola*. The *pascolas* utter little cries as they dance back to face the violin and harp, and the *Kanariam* ends as they stop. They turn to the *tampaleo* and dance a few steps to the *Tampaleota Kanariam*. "It is like *gracias* to our God and to all those who stayed at the *fiesta* all night" (28). When they stop, the *tampaleo* makes three crosses in the ground beside him to offer up to the Lord the work of the night. During this last dance the deer dance group also performs its closing ritual.

As the singers are finishing their last song, the deer dancer makes the sign of the cross in the dance. Facing the singers and shaking his gourds as usual, he takes one step to the right, resumes his position; takes one step back, resumes his position; one step to the left, resumes his position; then one step toward the singers as the song ends.

Each of the two deer singers with the raspers makes a cross on the ground where the gourd lay. Using the small rasper, he makes a line toward himself, then a line across this from left to right. He makes a cross over this one with his gourd resonator. Then he places his raspers parallel to the carpet. The singer with the water drum dips some water into his resonator and pours it in the shape of a cross on the ground, first toward himself, then from left to right. This action by the three singers is for *buiata te'ochia*. It is not done at the start of a *fiesta*. Then all rise and touch hands "in thanksgiving, and do prayers silently." Sometimes the crosses are made three times. The whole action, including the cross made in the dance by the deer dancer, is "something like delivering the service to the Lord and as a thanksgiving for going through the night unharmed" (17).

The prayers and the deer songs will stay [in these crosses] all year. Each says a benediction in his heart as he makes the cross. (2)

The deer dance group may dedicate their paraphernalia at the end of a fiesta as "Lord, I thank you very much that I am safe so far until the dawn. The work I have done remains in your hands. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. Amen." (10)

With a final exchange of thanks, the fiesta in the ramada is now officially ended. They dance the holy figures back to the church to complete their obligations.

[The delivery of the regalia] is partially done at the alba prayers before going home. The alba prayer is a short prayer for themselves and to deliver the regalia to the Lord. They pray the "Our Father," the "Ave Maria" with the "Gloria," the "Apostles' Creed," the "Act of Contrition," and the "Salve Regina." And they give thanks to God for passing the night well (aleaka). [The deer too?] The same. (9)

They can drink after the alba, but only after they have taken off their flower and put it on the altar. But not in Lent. (14)

A short drama, called the Rain Act, or in Yaqui *Tebuk Yuku* (summer rain), may occur at big fiestas outside of Lent after the alba. The deer dance group must be present. They may sing a song that is freely translated as "Here I am, standing under the pretty *kuyutai* (a kind of tree) toward the dawn. The rain sprays, dripping down on me" (9, 35, 40).

The pascolas pick up bits of dust and scatter them, to simulate the dust storm before the rain. One of them hits the pascola drum against the rafters of the ramada in lieu of thunder. The pascolas dart their tongues in and out (*be'obe'okte*) and open their eyes wide, as does the legendary Rain (Yuku) when he wants to strike the earth with lightning. One of the pascolas picks up the pan with water used by the deer singers and scatters the water over anyone who is within reach, to imitate rain. This water is blessed from having the deer songs of the night sung over it. Therefore, anyone who receives it is thought to receive the benediction, or flower, accrued to all who have spent the long night in dedicated ceremonial labor. It is emphatically denied that this action is meant to induce rain or fertility.

[It is not done to bring rain or for fertility.] . . . whoever is sprinkled by the play rain is supposed to have received the flower, which is meant that he has received the good or the righteousness. It is a benediction. He also gets as much indulgence as the deer and pascola have gotten. That is, he gets the same as the rest get for the songs and prayers and work, which is the flower. (9)

The water in the Rain Act is thrown for *te'ochia* [and not to make rain or for fertility]. It is good for people. You get an indulgencia. (10)

The pascola takes the pan, sprinkles all over the patio, and whoever is sprinkled with it would have the benediction or flower. [It has nothing to do with fertility.] Then he brings the bowl back and puts more water in it and [the deer singers] start singing again. And anyone who wants to sing is welcome to do so, but he is supposed to wear a broad-brimmed hat. (1, 2)

They don't do [the Rain Act] in Lent, as the thought is supposed to be directed toward God and Mary, not the pascolas. (2)

In the final ceremonies, the return of the holy figures to the church is carried out in reverse order to the night before. Either at the encampment table or, more often, at the church, the head maestro delivers a sermon in which he reviews the events of the night and mentions the part each one has played, saying that they have received the flower. After thanks voiced by all to the maestro father, they disperse.

The elaborate pantomime referred to in English as Killing the Deer and in Yaqui as *maso me'ewame* (hunter kill the deer) is enacted rarely, and then only at big fiestas outside of Lent. It is, for example, considered appropriate for the cumpleaños. A deer dancer and at least two pascolas, preferably four, must take part. The deer songs at this time are sung by the pascolas, as they were in the past, during preparation the night before for an actual hunt. This is a long and exacting dramatization, and, since it has no religious significance, it is considered proper for the actors to be paid by the fiestero, who has requested it. A considerable amount of liquor is the fee. Killing the Deer has not been carried out frequently in Pascua, but, when it does occur, Pascuans and Yaquis from other villages gather to watch it. It is an occasion for the utmost relaxation and merriment. The pascolas keep up a continuous flow of witticisms, and their pantomime is at its most extravagant best.

The basic action is as follows. The managers of the deer dancer and the pascolas arrange fresh green boughs on the posts of the household ramada to simulate the forest home of the deer. A series of animal impersonation dances by the pascolas starts about midnight. Among these are the Badger Dance, in which a pascola, taking the part of a badger, pretends to nibble at tender shoots in the ramada. The other pascolas stalk and "kill" him and "skin" him by covering him with a gunny sack or piece of cloth, and then cutting it away. In the Turtle Dove each pascola in turn pretends to be a turtle dove laying eggs, which they sell. In The Lion a pascola climbs up among the rafters and glares and growls at the other pascolas, who finally after a struggle "kill" and "skin" him.

The pascolas spend a long time discussing ways to kill the deer. Each is given an old hat to wear, a toy bow made of supple wood and string, three toy arrows, each of which has a slice of corn cob on the end, and a flat knife carved of wood with a cutting edge and handle. They "sharpen" these by

drawing them over the forehead. Each is also given a canteen of water, actually a bottle of tequila, which is slung over the shoulder. The pascola manager brings a bowl of smouldering herbs or evergreens, over which each pascola in turn hovers, covered by a blanket. Each is also rubbed with dirt and green leaves, to ensure that the human odor is removed.

After plans have been discussed minutely, the pascolas, one of whom goes on all fours like a dog, dispose themselves in and near the ramada. The manager of the deer and several other men cluster at the fiesta cross, pretending to be trees in a forest. Suddenly the deer in great bounds leaps to the fiesta cross and weaves in and around the men who stand there, as if he were hiding in the forest. The pascolas, including the eager dog, follow him in fast pursuit. Suddenly the deer leaps to the procession cross in the same action. At a third cross, which has been erected for this purpose, the deer takes off his headdress and all talk naturally and drink from their "canteens," which they also offer to the managers and other men who are assisting. During the pursuit to this point amusing byplay has taken place, as, for example, the dog retrieves arrows that have been dropped, and he is rewarded by petting, to which he responds with back-wagging. The pascolas catch the deer on the return to the ramada. He is put on a "burro" (a pascola) and taken into the ramada. Amidst a great deal of humorous byplay the pascolas cover him with cloth and "skin" him. They wet the "skin" in the bowl of water belonging to the deer singers and run about flapping it over spectators. A pascola stands waving his arms as a tree would its branches; the others pretend to chop him down and make a log of him. He crouches down as the "log," and the pascolas dry the "skin" over him and tan it. Then follows a long pantomime of measuring the "skin" and offering it for sale to Mexicans. The actual hunt takes at least two hours, and all are exhausted when it is finished. A much more graphic account of Killing the Deer follows:

The pascolas and deer dance managers put fresh greens around the front of the ramada, and they say that the rain has done very well and that the forest is thick so we can hunt. So they borrow the musical instruments of the deer singers. The oldest pascola is the father, and the other two are his sons. The younger son is sent first to borrow the instruments. He takes some water with him (actually a pint of liquor) from the stream where they are camping. The father says "Tell my friend to taste this water and tell him we are in a choice country for hunting and that it is the best." So the younger son takes the "water" and goes to the home of the deer singers. There he forgets all about borrowing the instruments, because the deer singer has two daughters, and, after seeing them, he forgets the errand. [No one takes the part of the daughters; they are imaginary.] He starts telling these men about

the water and what his father told him. But he asks instead for one of the young girls for a wife. The deer singer talks to him in the way a prospective father-in-law would talk. He asks what kind of work he does, what kind of a house he can provide, etc. He is given a pint of liquor which is said to be water and says he wouldn't let him have his daughter and to let his father know about it. Then he gives him the bottle and tells him to tell his father that he, too, must taste the "water" we have here. He goes back and tells his father that he is accepted as a son-in-law. The father just gets mad about it and gets a whip and whips him. The boy cries loud, as hard as he can. The "water" is tasted.

Then the second boy is sent with about the same results. Only the conversation varies a little. The father gets mad and goes himself. Then both boys want to go, and he takes them. He borrows the instruments, and the boys want to stay, but he whips them and takes them back. They sit down and start the deer songs—three short ones—and then they are ready. They take the instruments back.

They burn dry weeds of any kind in a can, and they get a blanket and cover themselves. The Yaquis say they are cooking themselves so the deer won't smell them.

They get down their bows and their arrows, the points of which are covered with part of a corn cob so they won't hurt anyone. They wear their hats and put their chin straps under their chins. They start out to hunt. The deer manager has become a tree in the forest. He is standing up in the patio, and the deer is hiding behind him. One of the boys becomes the hunting dog, and one is with his father hunting. They chase the deer out in front of the patio cross. A second time they chase him out to the procession cross. . . . A third time they chase him out to the middle of the two crosses, and he hides again behind the manager. Meanwhile the boy has been frightened by the sound of the rattles and has thrown everything down and run away crying. He comes back to his father without his things, and his father whips him and sends him to look for them. Then the deer is chased to the patio cross, where he lies down and they kill him.

During this time the pascolas are doing a lot of funny things. They may shoot a man with an arrow. They say they are very thirsty, and they dig in the ground and pull out a bottle that the fiestero has put there for them.

Then the dog becomes a burro and starts baying behind the ramada. The father sends the boy to get it and load the deer on it. The boy goes and gets him, loads the "burro," and takes him inside. They put a blanket on the deer and start "skinning" it. Another thing that is not always done—the father decides to get a tanning pole to tan the hide on. The crowd then becomes the forest, and he looks around for a good

tree for a pole. He says "I wonder which wood will be the best for the tanning pole." The oldest boy who has become the dog and the burro, now becomes the "tree," and his father chops him down with an ax, and, when the "tree" is falling, he will slap somebody standing near in the face or wherever he reaches. Then the father puts the skin on top of him and tans it with a wooden tanning knife. When he wants to sharpen it, he spits on the boy's forehead and pretends to sharpen it there.

The hide is too hard to get softened, so they soak it in water. The father puts the whole blanket in the deer water, and he runs out with the wet blanket hitting everyone around with it. He brings the "skin" back to the ramada. The tanning pole then becomes a neighbor from a nearby home asking how they came out in the hunt. Then the father shows him the "skin," and then it is supposed to be a very good kind of skin. They dry it out and plan to sell it among the Mexicans. The crowd now has become the Mexicans. Now they start selling the "skin" for a price. First they measure it, and they get a good many square feet out of it. They describe it in minutes or cents or anything. They talk Spanish then. So finally they come to an amount that they all agree on, and they decide to sell it. The father gets another bottle of liquor for it, and they finish the act. When they finish the act, they are taken in and given more liquor if they want it. They are tired out. (55)

Fiesta of Promise

Often given, the fiesta of promise is called in Yaqui *manda pahko* (vow fiesta; Spanish, *fiesta de promesa*). The basis of a fiesta of promise is a pact between an individual or a group of individuals and Jesus or Mary or a saint. The vow, like those made to ceremonial positions, is generally made in time of acute stress, such as illness or anxiety. It may be to ensure the safety of a boy in the service, for instance. A promise may also be made "in faith and hope" to ensure the health and well-being of a member or members of a family, especially, but not always, when there has been a succession of bereavements. Occurrences of all of these have been observed. Supernatural aid is invoked, in return for which a fiesta is promised, almost always for three successive years. The structure is similar to that of a cumpleaños.

A household fiesta of promise is undertaken by one person or a group of people. They may be husband and wife, godparents, or a whole ceremonial society. The head fiesta host is known as *pahko yo'owe*. Unless a ceremonial society is the host, the whole kinship and godparent group is expected to help as they can, with money, food, and labor. They are known as *pahko yo'ora* or *pahko yo'owem*. One may also refer to them as *pahkome* (they who give the fiesta) or as *pahko achaim* (fiesta fathers), which is less

common. Sometimes the co-godparents assist, but this is not expected. The cooks who prepare the fiesta food are called in Yaqui *pahko malam* (fiesta mothers) or, more frequently, *kosineom* from the Spanish *cocineras*, which is also used. Persons who are part of the group of hosts are relieved of their regular ceremonial duties.

The most frequent kind of household fiestas of promise are those given in Lent; but during the period of observation such fiestas have also honored the days of Saint Ignatius, Saint Francis, and the Virgin of Guadalupe. They may be given on Christmas Eve and New Year's Eve.

The structure of the household fiesta of promise given during Lent is described in detail in Chapter 11. Fiestas given outside of Lent have essentially the same structure. Differences are that figures of the Virgin are present, with their attendant girl flag-bearers. Flowers are in profusion, and, generally, arches are erected. The *matachinis*, not the *kohtumbre*, assist the *fiesteros* in preparations.

Fiestas of promise may also be given in the plaza, with the church and fiesta ramada as the focal points. They have been observed to celebrate the Day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, the day of Saint Ignatius, patron saint of the village, and sometimes the day of Saint Francis. The features do not greatly vary. Sometimes the women's group, the church group, the holy figures, and the *matachinis* remain at the fiesta ramada for the night with no activities at the church. In that event, the *matachin* area is in front of the altar side of the fiesta ramada.

11

The Easter Ceremony, Ash Wednesday to Holy Week

The Easter Ceremony is descended from that unique and independent production of the Roman Catholic Church, the medieval liturgical drama. It flourished in England and on the continent from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.

In Jerusalem, by the end of the fourth century, elaborations had been introduced into the ritual of the Mass in order to make it more dramatic (Young 1933, I: 87). These were especially developed for the Masses of Holy Week, as, for example, the extinction of the lights at the *Tenebrae*. By far the most splendid of these additions was the Palm Sunday procession symbolizing the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. By the seventh century this Oriental custom had spread to Western Europe (Young 1933, I: 90). Brilliant vestments were introduced, and there were elaborate processions in which venerated objects were carried on litters. Between the ninth and the eleventh centuries the Gregorian text was supplemented by new melodies, which were inserted as an integral part of the old antiphons.

During the early development of the liturgical drama, the monasteries of France, England, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria were in close relationship, and literary and liturgical influences passed back and forth freely among them. This interchange also included Catalonia. Whereas most of the rest of Spain was under Arab control, at least until the middle of the eleventh century, the northeastern portion of the peninsula had been reconquered in the days of Charlemagne. From then on, Catalonia was linked ecclesiastically and politically with France, rather than with the rest of Spain. Thus, unlike the rest of Spain, Catalonia was in intimate contact with all of the European movements from about A. D. 800 on and was fully

exposed to those influences which passed back and forth from one monastery to another.

In the early ninth century Latin melodic dialogues, called tropes, were added for dramatic force to some choral parts of the Mass. According to Donovan, trope was originally a musical term, but came to mean both the words and the music that accompanied it (Donovan 1958: 10). Dialogued speech is inherent in antiphonal singing as one part of the chorus answers the other. Trope singing was the immediate predecessor of medieval drama but lacked the quality of impersonation essential to true drama.

Two tropes in the Introit that were widely observed as early as the tenth century were the *Depositio*, symbolizing the burial of Christ, and the *Elevatio*, or the Resurrection (Young 1933, I: 112). For the *Depositio* a cross and the Host, reserved on Holy Thursday for the Good Friday Mass, were carried in procession and deposited in a chest or enclosure of some sort, called *sepulchrum*. Pascua observes this custom in a small procession with the Sacred Heart on the morning of Holy Thursday.

The Adoration of the Cross was observed in Jerusalem at least as early as the fourth century and was transported to the West by the eighth century (Young 1933, I: 117). It became part of the established liturgy and was closely connected with the *Depositio* and the *Elevatio*. A version of this may be seen in Pascua on Good Friday afternoon.

It remained for a small trope, added to the Introit of the Easter Mass, to take the historically significant step of substituting individual for choral singing. The parts of the angel and the three Marys at the tomb of Christ were taken by monks. This first attempt at impersonation lifted the Easter trope to the position of being the most famous one of all—the *Quem Quaeritis*, the beginning of the liturgical drama.

Dialogued chant and mimetic action have come together and the first liturgical drama is, in all its essentials, complete. (Chambers 1903, II: 15)

As the trope was textually expanded, it was moved from the Introit into the more flexible Canonical Office (Young 1933, I: 231). By the latter portion of the tenth century, parts had been added for the apostles and, finally, one for Jesus (Young 1933, I: 239). Thus it evolved into an authentic Easter play, then called the *Visitatio Sepulchri*. It continued on a more ample scale, with literary elaborations, and by A. D. 1000 it had become popular throughout Europe, moving from one monastery to another (Donovan 1958). Different versions proliferated.

In the eleventh century more plays were added to the Easter cycle. In the twelfth century the *Planctus* (Laments) developed, the beginning of the Passion Plays. The *Planctus* were expressions of the sorrow of the Blessed

Virgin and others around the cross and were sometimes sung on Good Friday, or as the Marys approached the tomb, or at other appropriate moments (Chambers 1903, II: 32–36). These were independent literary inventions, extraliturgical.

By the latter part of the twelfth century the plays had outgrown the naves and were moved outside onto the village greens and into the guild halls. The laity, including the confraternities, underwrote them. Gradually the vernacular supplanted the Latin, and comic elements were introduced. By the end of the fifteenth century the whole range of the more highly elaborated themes of the church had been composed, such as the more ambitious versions of the Easter and Epiphany plays, the longer Passion Plays, dramatizations of the Old and New Testaments, and the Miracle Plays. The vernacular had completely supplanted the Latin, and the plays were self-sustained narratives, based on religious themes. The primary purpose was still religious.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Corpus Christi cycle was established. The trade guilds had broken it up into representations of separate episodes, sometimes enacted on movable stages which were placed on wheels (Chambers 1903, II: 95, 133, 136).

As the liturgical plays migrated from the church nave to the marketplace and the guildhalls, they took their place along with the secular, boisterous, disorderly, and exuberant life of the folk. The village festivals were themselves developed from half or wholly forgotten natural religious customs (Chambers 1903, II: 179). Religious processions with torches, lanterns, and hideous masks, eating and drinking in the streets, ram-raising and other contests, drinking bouts, maypole dancing, the revels of the minor clerics, masked dances, the sword dance, minstrels, the secular Christmas revels, the mummers' plays—all took place together.

The coalescence of religious and secular, Christian and pagan, traditions produced in the fifteenth century a vernacular religious drama with a strong infusion of humorous and popular elements. Nevertheless this drama remained fundamentally religious in subject and inspiration. . . . (Cawley 1962: ix)

Many Pascua customs are reminiscent of that period*: the wearing of animal masks, with behavior appropriate to the mask, processions with holy figures, circumambulatory rites, riding an ass for punishment, foods set out for the ancestors, all-night vigils, and the new fire ceremony.

* *Editorial note:* Also important in the origins of Yaqui ceremonial is the extensive use of drama made by Spanish missionaries to Mexico beginning in the sixteenth century. The use of liturgical drama, introduced by Franciscans and Dominicans, flourished and developed under the Jesuits (See Ravicz 1970.)

The Quem Quaeritis was the germ from which developed all of the medieval plays. It is of interest to compare it with the scene in Pascua on Holy Thursday night, as well, indeed, as the whole Easter Ceremony.

IMPORTANCE OF THE CEREMONY IN PASCUA

The Easter Ceremony is by far the most important event in the Pascua yearly calendar. It draws in most of the members of the community. Also, Yaquis working away from home, and others too, crowd in for all or part of Lent, but especially for the events starting with Palm Sunday or Wednesday of Holy Week. All aspects of the culture are brought into play in a collective expression of Yaqui solidarity. It is as important as, or maybe more important than, recollected history, for the reiteration year after year of the Ceremony has at once a recollective and an immediate spiritual impact. It is not only a tribute to and glorification of Jesus; it is a pragmatic way to salvation. It is also the most important link with the larger community, as visitors arrive by the hundreds, especially in Holy Week.

One thing that should be mentioned is the effect on the Yaquis of being allowed freely to observe their native ceremonies, after they fled to this country as refugees from strife in Mexico. In a strange country, with decimated families and ceremonial kin, and with the frustrations of a new and urban environment, the freedom to observe their traditional ceremonies drew them together as a unit and allowed them to reaffirm their identity as Yaquis. For this they and their children have never ceased to be grateful. This gratitude has caused them to welcome visitors at ceremonies which they would prefer to have conducted quietly among themselves.

Lent is known as Waehma, from the Spanish *cuaresma* which is only sparingly used. All of the events of the Lenten and Easter seasons, from Ash Wednesday through The Gloria, as well as the Saturday fiesta and Easter Sunday itself, are considered to be one ceremony in commemoration of the wanderings and sufferings of Jesus. When Lent starts in the early spring, the desert nights are still and cold. It ends in full spring, when at midday the heat is unsparing. No connection is made with the planting season, in Pascua thought.

According to Yaqui belief, the Easter Ceremony was started long years ago "in the very beginning" (batnatakai), by the yo'ora, who in so doing responded to the "command of God and the Holy Mother Church." In sermons one hears that "in the very beginning" Jesus desired to come to earth as a human being; and that He gave to Himself His sufferings, to serve as an example for the people to follow by re-enacting the events in His life, as penance and for a blessing. In this, as in other aspects of Pascua behavior, the acts of the historic eight pueblos on the Yaqui River in Sonora constitute the archetype.

The head maestro expressed himself in the following terms in his sermon at the end of the Easter Ceremony in 1941:

He, coming down here on earth, gave that penance to Himself like this, made it like this, created it an example here on earth. (Painter 1955: 12)

And just likewise . . . those souls departed, those who died somewhere, right there through and throughout the eight pueblos, lying on sacred temple cemetery grounds, in dust scattered, being blown in dusty wind, truly having worked from the very beginning on this wonderful work, the command of the gospel of the Holy Mother Church, have regarded it, have loved it, have kept it up. And those maestro fathers, and equally the sacristan father, and just likewise officials of the church, and just likewise those women singers, altar women, flag-bearers, bearers of the passion, as well as all those who own the service [the Kohtumbre], and the pascolas, all those who departed, died, left us, and left that work to us like this. (Painter 1955: 19–20)

Two aspects of the Ceremony, carried on simultaneously and closely integrated, present themselves. One is the Pasuca interpretation of the Catholic liturgy, carried out with faith and devotion by the maestros and by the church organization. The Catholic calendar of events is followed, and some parts of the missal are used, those which the maestros may perform without ordination. No detailed study of this aspect has been made.

Concurrent with the liturgy is a dramatization of the Passion of Jesus. The church group impersonates Jesus and Mary. The crucifixes and figures of Jesus, and the men and boys who carry and escort them, take the parts of Jesus and His followers, who are often spoken of as His army. The three images of the Virgin—the Three Marys—and the women and girls who carry and accompany them, impersonate Mary and her companions. There is no human representation of Christ, except for an event on Holy Thursday called “The Pursuit of the Old Man,” in which a chapayeka represents Him.

In opposition to the church group the men and boys of the kohtumbre ya’ura personify the evil men who pursued and persecuted Jesus. To a casual observer the caballeros and fariseos, more spectacular in appearance and lively in action than the church group, may seem to be the protagonists. Actually Jesus and, almost as important, Mary are the center of interest for Pascuans. The church, the Way of the Cross, the holy figures, and the church group are the focus in the minds of the people. Everything done by all participants is performed in the names of Jesus and Mary. Even the enemies of Jesus perform in an ambivalent manner when they utter prayers silently to themselves as they enact their roles. It is the power of Jesus and His compassion for man that is the focus for the people. This is evident in the

sermons and speeches and in conversation. Identification with the life of Jesus is urgent and real.

The flower theme unifies the whole Easter Ceremony. The importance of the flower symbolism has been discussed. Especially in mind at this time is the basic legend that the blood of Christ as it fell from the cross mingled with the earth and was, by a miracle of heaven, transformed into flowers, which then filled heaven and earth. In the Easter Ceremony flowers are the symbol of te'ochia and of the victory of the allies of Jesus over His enemies. Flowers, or their varicolored replicas, confetti, are used freely throughout the Ceremony.

The matachinis and the deer dancer, with their strong flower symbolism, do not appear in Lent until the night before Palm Sunday, as the fariseos are in ritual opposition to them. At The Gloria the church group, the matachinis, the deer dancer, and the pascolas unite in "killing" the fariseos with flowers. On Easter Sunday in the last procession flowers symbolize the moment when the fariseos relinquish their power, and the matachinis (flowers) take over until the next Easter season.

The blood of Christ is the flower. All the flowers. That is why we use flowers so much. That is why the pascola and deer wear them on their heads, and the musicians and singers and everyone. That is why the matachinis won't dance in Lent even if a matachini dies. They say, "The flower is closed" (*sewa au eta'i*). They say on the first Friday that the flower is closed, and they can't dance. Then on Palm Sunday they dance because the flower is beginning to open. Before that, when [the head altar woman] throws flowers on the Virgin, the fariseos say, "Oh, those flowers mean nothing to us." Then on Palm Sunday when the matachinis dance, the corporals say to the fariseos, "Don't you see that they are winning?" At the Holy Cross they say, "Now the flower really opens." Beginning with the first Friday, they don't put flowers on the Marys. They are already in mourning. (20 and 16)

Jesus is thought of as wandering from place to place all over the world, including the Yaqui country. He visited towns and villages, passed over deserts and mountains. He painfully made His way through country made almost impenetrable by brambles and thorns. Everywhere He carried a blessing and ministered as a curer. He and His companions rested at night wherever they found themselves. But always His enemies, impersonated now by the fariseos, pursued Him. The Friday afternoon processions around the Way of the Cross and some of the events in Holy Week are reminiscent of that time.

Jesus and Mary are even closer to the people during Lent. Their thoughts are with the sufferings of Jesus and the anxieties of the mother.

The harsh penance of the Easter season, the taboos, the fatigue of long marches and of tedious standing in formation, the sleepless nights of ritual labor and of vigil, the merciless searching sun at noon, the cold of the desert night are only possible because Jesus and Mary sustain them. They are bearing what the Lord decreed they should bear and are following in less degree the suffering that Jesus endured. At the end, all is offered up to Jesus and Mary, all is “placed in their hands.” All is recorded in heaven. Nothing is done in vain.

But truly nothing remained here on earth, nothing turned into wind here on earth, nothing mixed here with dust; truly He the Lord signed it. And the angel of the guard moved about with us here throughout day and night, and truly signed the truth done by all. (Painter 1955: 148–49)

A heavenly reward (flower) is in store for those who carry out faithfully the exigencies of their vows. Those who participate without vow, and even those Christians who only lend their presence, receive blessings too, but only if they have good heart (with “hearts as clear as the one water drop”).

According to the command of Jesus, the Easter Ceremony—its harsh penance, deprivations and sufferings, its prayers and its blessings—is offered for all people everywhere, the living and the dead. The two societies who own the Ceremony, the fariseos and the caballeros, known collectively as the kohtumbre ya’ura, do penance and pray for all people, both those in the pueblo and those all over the world. This is also in accordance with Pascua ideals, which demand that they share as well as receive.

The members of the kohtumbre, especially the masked chapayekas, are always apprehensive lest their ritual actions as the enemies of Jesus be considered blasphemous, when actually they are carrying out the commands of Jesus. The sermons of the maestros in Lent contain passages in which pardon is asked for the “evil they had to do.”

But the Kohtumbre worked on it [the Ceremony] all night through like this, desiring to pray by means of it for all that pueblo, all the baptized people, and all those departed souls. (Painter 1955: 79)

But for that they, the Kohtumbre Ya’ura, ask your forgiveness for themselves and just likewise for that soldier [chapayeka] who, having that suffering like this, went about here among you, having that holy insignia for tongue; truly being dumb, talked with that insignia [chapayeka pantomime with swords and daggers] as he went about here among you. Truly doing many evil things that the enemy [the devil] does, but truly He the Lord, created it like that. Therefore now the soldiers, and just all that Kohtumbre Ya’ura ask forgiveness for themselves for that. (Painter 1955: 157–59)

The abstract theme of good versus evil may be latent in the minds of the people, but it is not consciously expressed. It is, in fact, denied. It may have been in the teachings of the padres and may still be present in the Yaqui country in Sonora, but it is not found in Pascua. The thoughts of the people are with the explicit events of the Passion. They express themselves as follows:

They do not think of [the Easter Ceremony] as a purification. The church and the plaza are holy because they have been blessed by all the ceremonies and by an ordained priest, too. The newspapers talk about the triumph of good over evil, so the public assumes that is the way we think. (58)

When Christ was on earth He had followers, but at times only a few, like relatives or friends. At times He had a big group, but all didn't follow Him. Some just came to make jokes and throw stones and crucify Him. So don't mind if there are just a few in the ceremonies, because that is the way it was when Christ lived. (8 to 58)

[The Easter Ceremony] is in remembrance of the sufferings of Jesucristo, and the whole Ceremony is a lesson to everyone, children and adults. (8)

It is like a birthday for Jesucristo. (70)

We do it because we try to simulate everything that happened to Jesus while He was here. (58)

The Easter Ceremony has deep meanings for those who participate. It is the central core of their thinking at this time. Rewards for the individual are many. They include a more intimate relationship with Jesus and Mary, an awareness of earned spiritual and heavenly blessings, social approval, strengthening of familial, godparent, ceremonial, and friendship ties. Not the least is the positive good of sharing in the collective dynamics of a community enterprise consecrated to a spiritual goal.

In lesser degree the same is true for those who do not have specific vows but who have an opportunity, in a myriad of small ways, to activate their share in the religious life of the pueblo. Innumerable small tasks present themselves by which the *kia pueblo* or *kia polobe* can take part. In doing so he too shares in the blessings.

The Ceremony is integrative to the whole community of Pascua in both the real and the ideal sense. The common goal is to glorify Jesus. And it is a clear and imperative goal, superordinate to everything else. The value to the community, while an imponderable, is clearly significant. Pride in Yaqui-ness is important. Mexicans, Papagos, and Anglos come in hundreds to view

the Ceremony. Inherent in Pascua belief is that they too, by their presence, offer tribute and “share the flower.”

MEETING TO PLAN THE EASTER CEREMONY

The Easter Ceremony is initiated each year at a meeting called by the senior officers of the kohtumbre ya'ura. It is referred to in Spanish as the Cuaresma junta, or, most frequently, as junta. In Yaqui one might use a phrase such as *pweblota aet naununuk* (the people invited for it) or *waehma mau etehobana* (they will talk together about Lent). The English word “meeting” is the choice of informants.

The meeting should be called before Ash Wednesday, but in the absence of leaders of the kohtumbre it has sometimes been delayed. According to the head maestro, even if it is held as late as Holy Week, the Ceremony for the remaining period may take place. Corporals of the kohtumbre go from household to household to notify the village of the date. It is always held in the church. It is attended by members of the ceremonial groups who participate officially in performing the Easter Ceremony and by any others of the villagers who care to come. These latter are referred to as *kia pueblo*.

The men, grouped according to ceremonial connections, sit on benches in front of the church, the women just inside. The altar is not dressed. All men remove their hats as the head maestro, standing in front of the church, delivers the opening sermon, which lasts about twenty-five minutes. He starts with the familiar “*Pwes, hewi, achalim, malam, pweplom*”—“Well, yes, fathers, mothers, people of the pueblo,” or some variation of it. He relates the meaning and history of the Easter Ceremony, speaks of the historic obligation to carry it out, mentions the duties of each office, and reiterates Yaqui doctrine and ideals. He ends with the usual “*Dios en chiokoe ute'esia*” and all reply “*Dios em chiokoe ute'esia, achai*,” thanking the maestro father. The sermon is similar to all sermons in Lent and employs many of the same ideas, words, and phrases that are found in the sermon that ends the Ceremony on Easter Sunday afternoon (Painter 1955).

A fariseo leader describes its meaning in the following words:

[The maestro says] that it is good that they work for the Lord with all faith and with all health until they fulfill with all their harsh penance what they have to do. And carry out the devotion for the Lord until the last Holy Week. That is the grace from the Lord to attain pardon from the Lord, working with all their heart. Then He will pardon them for all the bad that they do. But He will always watch over His sons, and always give health and blessing to those who have faith in Him. The Lord aids them, and they will reach another year with good fortune and the favor of God and work for the Lord the same as always. That is all. (49)

A speech and announcements by a kohtumbre official should follow, but in recent years there has been none who could, or felt that he could, make a public speech. Instead, the head maestro has directed a few words to each ceremonial group, mentioning its duties. Plans are then discussed among each of the groups, separately. If a request is made (for example, if a kohtumbre official asks a pascola to dance at a fiesta), it is done in a formal speech, beginning and ending as in the sermon above. The pascola replies in kind. This is one form of the uhbuani, and, since it is done in the name of Jesus, it is a ritual request which cannot be ignored. This is a formality which is observed throughout the Easter season when asking for service of any kind.

A short speech by the maestro, in which he asks for the support of the whole pueblo in carrying out the Ceremony, ends the meeting, and everyone replies with the usual "Dios em chiokoe ute'esia, achai."

If key leaders are not able to be present, a group of kohtumbre officials calls on them later. Included should be the senior leaders, the flag-bearer, a corporal, and a chapayeka.

ASH WEDNESDAY

Ash Wednesday is most frequently called by the Spanish phrase *Miercoles de Ceniza* or *Miercole de Ceniza*. In Yaqui an old form, rarely used except in sermons, *naposa auwa*, may also be heard. Services have not customarily been held on Ash Wednesday unless the kohtumbre has called the meeting.

The altar is dressed and the candles lighted in the two candelabra which stand on either side. The head maestro and his singers take their places in front of the altar, before the missal stand with the large missal (Bishops' Commission on the Liturgical Apostolate, 1964), from which the maestro reads the portion on the *Cinerum* (ashes; Yaqui, *cenerum*). He then delivers a sermon similar to those given throughout Lent, except that he stresses the meaning of Ash Wednesday. During or after the services each individual receives on his forehead from the sacristan a cross of ashes as he kneels at the altar. After this he venerates the holy figures in the usual way. Burned palm leaves from Palm Sunday of the previous year are utilized for the ashes. The services end with the five standard prayers, described for the termination of the procession on the first Friday of Lent (see below).

THE WAY OF THE CROSS

The ritual of the Stations of the Cross is carried out each Friday afternoon in Lent in a devout ceremony faithful to the traditions connected with the Way of the Cross as practiced in the Roman Catholic church. As is often

the custom in Mexico, the Way of the Cross is established in an area surrounding the church. It is known by the accepted Spanish phrase *Via Crucis*, or by the local version of this, *Bia Kus*. However, in conversation it is almost always called the *vuelta* (Spanish, turn or turning), or by the Yaqui phrase *konti bo'i* (literally, circle or surrounding road), or, simply, *konti*. The stations are known as *estasionim*, and the crosses at the stations are called *konti kusim*. They are stored in the sacristy outside of Lent. The procession takes about two and a half hours. In addition to the traditional Catholic meaning, there is the conception of Jesus wandering in the wilderness, pursued by His enemies.

First Friday Procession

During the day the members of the *kohtumbre ya'ura*, as hosts for the Easter Ceremony, are occupied in carrying out the many preparations necessary to the events of the afternoon. Among other things, they put into place the crosses that mark the Fourteen Stations of the Cross. These are unpeeled mesquite boughs wired together in the shape of a cross. They stand about 3 feet high and are placed at intervals along the road that surrounds the plaza. Three at the eleventh station, the middle one higher than the rest, mark Calvary. They are known as Monte Calvario or Kalbario, or Bahi Itom Achai (Our Three Gods). With a big broom made of mesquite branches bound together the men brush this path around the Way of the Cross and then remove any bits of rubbish that may have accumulated there or in the plaza. They place a bench along the wall of the *kohtumbre waria* (headquarters), which adjoins the church on the north side. The brunt of the hardest labor falls as usual on the *chapayekas*, the common soldiers of the *kohtumbre*. All of this work (*tekil*) is considered to have the same value as ceremonial participation and is mentioned in sermons along with other acknowledgments. Preparations go forward at an even tempo, with quiet little jokes under a grave dignity.

The members of the church group are also busy with preparations. The men sweep and water down the hard dirt floor of the church and lay a large rug in the center, where the *maestros* and women singers sit. They range benches along the walls for the villagers. The altar women, aided by the girl flag-bearers, dress the altar with a fresh white altar cloth and a purple antependium. In general, the men handle the male holy figures, the women the images of Mary. The holy figures owned by the pueblo are kept in the sacristy. Others are the property of various families in the village and are brought to the church either because they are needed ritually, or for the honor and blessing of being on the altar and in the processions. As the afternoon wears on, people are seen slowly approaching the church with these images, each carefully wrapped in a cloth cover and handled rever-

ently. The altar women or the sacristan or a maestro place them on the altar. The head altar woman supervises her group as they tie each of the Three Marys to a litter, and she rearranges the clothing and ornaments until she is satisfied that all is in order.

Typically the altar might have on it the following objects, which were present in 1945. From left to right:

Image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, in a box open at the front, decorated with artificial flowers.

Figure of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Figure of Saint Anthony of Padua.

A new figure of the Miraculous Infant of Prague, brought by a family for the first time for a blessing. (It has since appeared irregularly.)

Two black crucifixes about 10 inches high, one of which is the altar crucifix of the fariseos.

A crucifix with purple sash and purple ribbon bows at the wrists.

In the center, in its usual place, the large crucifix, draped, as it is frequently, with ecru lace and with a purple ribbon sash and bows at the wrists.

Picture of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, patron saint of the pueblo.

Picture of Mary.

Three figures of the Virgin, known as the Three Marys, daintily dressed as always in pale-colored dresses and rebozos, with lace trim, ribbon sashes, tiny brightly colored beads and other ornaments, each figure fastened to a wooden carrying litter, which is covered with cloth or silk.

A large picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe, with crepe-paper flowers bordering the top.

Standing back of the altar, the large gray cross (Way Cross), with a small white crosspiece near the top, which has INRI printed on it in black. (This is carried at the head of most processions.)

The Animam (Books of the Dead), records of those who have died, wrapped in fresh white cloths or silk scarves, are placed at the front of the altar by any families who care to do so. They may be kept in the sacristy in Lent. Small glass or china limosna bowls stand in front of the holy figures. At the north (right) end of the altar, folded in immaculate white cloths, are the head coverings for the girl flag-bearers and the women who carry the litters of the Three Marys; also the red flags and bells of the flag girls. Confetti, symbolic of flowers, may be scattered over the altar by the head altar woman, an act of respect and a blessing.

Some of the objects described may be absent, others may be added, but there must always be on the altar a crucifix and figures of the Blessed Virgin,

which are carried in Processions to represent Jesus and Mary. A fariseo crucifix must always stand there when the kohtumbre is present, and the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe is almost never missing. The altar is not equipped in accordance with the requirements of Catholic liturgy.

The white cotton cloths stretched on the ceiling over the altar and attached to the wall behind it may still bear some of the crepe-paper flowers prepared by the altar women for other ceremonies, as well as some of the decorations from the previous Christmas, such as red crepe-paper bells, pleated or looped garlands, or a few Christmas-tree ornaments.

When she has finished dressing the altar and is satisfied with each detail, the head altar woman sits erect beside the altar, her black lace rebozo around her head and shoulders. The other altar women and the girl flag-bearers also remain near the altar.

The silver-colored lances of the caballero society, crossed by a caballero corporal in front of the altar, with points thrust into the earth, are removed before the services start. During Lent until Friday midnight in Holy Week, they are so placed when the altar is dressed and no religious services are in progress. They are often spoken of as “the gate” and are said by some to be for the purpose of keeping Christ a prisoner.

It is the gate. When it is closed the maestro can't start praying, and if they forget to take them away at the proper time the maestro tells them to come and open the gate.

If the spears are not in front of the altar, or if they are just standing at each side, and there is not a service going on, [the maestro] will come and say, “What's the matter, are you going to let the Old Man [respect term for Jesus] get away? The door is open.” (58)

It is the gate, because when they are crossed, it is supposed to be locked. (31)

When they are pursuing Jesus they lock the gates and the roads to keep Him there. After they have Him prisoner, they do the same thing, and the soldiers stand guard. They are supposed to do it until midnight [Good] Friday. [They say] *amea eta'atune* (with it closed will be.) (8)

An alternate, less common, explanation is that the “gate” is for the protection of Jesus.

It is really the doorway of Christ. When the caballeros do that, it is really supposed to be that Christ closes the door on everyone. It is Christ's door. It is closed when He wants it closed. Here we are trying to do the best we can to imitate the way it was when Christ was on earth. (8)

The caballero lances are the door. They are closed on Christ. When the maestros begin to pray the caballeros remove them, and then the prayers can reach Christ.

[They are] something like a gate, so that nobody can get to the crucifix. They serve as a gate to protect the Lord. And, when they put them straight up, the gate is open, and everyone is allowed to pray. (17)

Two gilded wooden candelabra, each with a horizontal crosspiece equipped to hold five candles, stand in front of the altar at either side. The candelabra were made by villagers and are called in Yaqui *kantileom*, from the Spanish *candela* (candle).

The head maestro must coordinate the activities of all groups. His voice is never raised, his directions are given in a quiet word or a restrained gesture and are salted by his chuckling laugh over the jokes that are the accompaniment of any Pascua gathering. He is aided in his duties by a sacristan and other maestros, or, in later years, by men who have vows for other positions which do not conflict with this duty, and who do it to "help out."

The Yaqui language is used almost exclusively during preparations as well as during the ceremonies, and it is employed for all ritual speeches and sermons. No loud commands or suggestions, no noisy voices or exaggerated gestures, no awkward bustle or haste, are evident. A slow, deliberate, quietly directed animation attends all of the ceremonies.

Gradually in the late afternoon the people of the village assemble, reminded by the ringing of the church bell in the tower. The bell is rung by a sacristan or a maestro, hat in hand. Other men present also remove their hats while the bell is ringing. A corporal hands the fariseo drummer his drum, and he beats it simultaneously with the bell.

The men, most of them just home from their jobs, wear the usual work clothes of the region—work shirts and blue denim or khaki pants. The older women move in slow, erect dignity in full, long, calico skirts, perhaps flowered, striped, checked, or sprigged, and loose overblouses of white or pale colors.* All wear rebozos over head and shoulders, generally black, some gray-blue. The younger women and the girls are in short contemporary dresses and are bareheaded, or wear printed silk scarves, or perhaps a hair ornament.

As they come, singly or in family groups, each turns east to face the church cross embedded in the ground about 50 feet in front of the church. The men remove their hats and make a slight genuflection, generally with

* *Editorial note:* By the late 1960s, women in Pascua were no longer dressed in the way described by Mrs. Painter. Anyone seen wearing such apparel in the 1980s would be assumed to be a visitor from the Río Yaqui.

the right knee, as they make the sign of the cross. The women rarely genuflect. The majority cross themselves twice. Some, especially the younger people, make the sign of the cross once, and a few of the older ones make it three times. Almost all end by touching the thumb to the lips. Many of the older people and some of the younger make a cross with their fingers by putting the thumb over the forefinger as they make the sign of the cross. Often they make a tiny cross on the forehead as they touch it.

Each man goes to the altar, head uncovered, to venerate the holy figures in the formalized Yaqui way called *muhte*. He genuflects slightly before the altar and kneels to pray briefly and to make the sign of the cross. He rises and bows slightly from the waist to each holy figure, going from right to left, crosses himself, and makes a slight genuflection as he does so. Some genuflect both before and after making the sign of the cross in front of a holy figure. Often coins are left in the *limosna* bowls. When each man finishes, he stands facing the altar, genuflects slightly, then leaves. The images are rarely touched, and then only briefly. The women venerate in the same way, except that they almost never genuflect. It is not the custom in *Pascua* to genuflect when passing back and forth in front of the altar, although it is done on visits to Mission San Xavier del Bac.

Each person then joins his own group. The women singers, wearing their black *rebozos*, sit quietly on the carpet in front of the altar, resting their weight on one thigh, knees bent, legs to one side and tucked under their wide skirts. The other women sit on benches, often with babies in their laps or in carriages beside them. The members of the military society, when they were present as a group, gathered near their rough wooden cross planted in the ground to the south of the church for the ceremony.

Parents carefully guide their children through the ritual of veneration, after which they may run off and play in the plaza. They go in and out of the church freely to speak to their mothers and sometimes linger against a comfortable lap. They may be sent on errands, such as to fetch an extra sweater on a cold night. Often they play quietly on the floor, sifting dirt, drawing pictures in it with a finger or a twig. These drawings have been seen to take the form of *chapayeka* masks during Lent, or houses surrounded by trees, bushes, and patio fences. Sometimes they are ingenious geometric designs. All are quickly erased with a brush of the hand and a new one started. Dogs who wander in persistently in search of their masters are as persistently shooed out.

The members of the *kohtumbre* assemble in their barracks adjacent to the church. As they arrive, they hand their ceremonial paraphernalia to the head corporal or to a sergeant, and each touches his hat and genuflects slightly during the exchange. This act of respect to the *santo insinio* is done on all occasions when regalia are accepted or relinquished. Bright against the wall at the back of the barracks stand the furled red flags of the *fariseos*,

each tipped with green ribbon rosettes in the shape of a cross. The slender striped staff of the Pilate is there, too, with its small red skirt at the top and a cluster of narrow pastel ribbons. The swords of the other officers display decorations of painted bands and small intricate designs in black and red, sometimes with yellow and blue added in small amounts, on a white background. After the first week the chapayekas carry their regalia—big masks, colorful blankets or coats, rattle belts and sandals—in gunny sacks and deposit them with their swords and daggers in the enclosed space at the rear of the barracks, where they dress in seclusion. The realistically carved and silvered wooden swords and lances of the caballero officers hang on the wall, and their flag with its green cross leans against the wall under them.

The corporals respond to the cry of “*kabo, kabo*” and go on occasional errands, swords in the left hands swinging free. All or part of the kohtumbre may line up and move off in formation on ceremonial business. Meanwhile they sit on the bench or lounge against the wall. Often they squat and talk and joke quietly. The head maestro, if he has time, may read to them some of the events of Holy Week and explain their meaning. Occasionally parents may be seen presenting a son to the society in a short ritual, in fulfillment of a vow.

The headquarters is reserved for the special affairs of the kohtumbre, and the courteous visitor will not intrude.

As preparations reach completion and the procession is about to start, generally about 5:30 or 6:00 o'clock, the head altar woman recruits twelve women to carry the litters of the Three Marys. They volunteer, or she may make an *uhbuani*, saying something like “Will you bless yourself by carrying Our Mother?” (36).

The girl flag-bearers kneel to receive their regalia from the altar women. The white embroidered head covering is moved in the sign of the cross over the face of the girl, who crosses herself as the altar woman repeats softly a blessing while she places it on the head. The red, ribbon-trimmed, five-pointed crown is put on with the same ritual. The girl's flag, red and green like the fariseo flag, is moved in the sign of the cross in front of her face as she receives it; then the bell is handed to her. She rises to stand with the rest of her group in a row on their rug in their customary position at right angles to the north end of the altar. There are generally three, sometimes two or four, girl flag-bearers. As the twelve women who are to carry the litters of the Three Marys kneel to receive their head coverings and crowns in the same manner, the flag girls touch their heads with the crosses on the tips of the flags “for a blessing.” These women then stand at either end of the altar.

The big gray cross, the Way Cross, is brought from behind the altar by a sacristan or maestro and leaned against the entrance of the church. A white cloth is draped over it for a sling, to lighten the burden of carrying it. A white sling is made ready, too, for the large crucifix that stands in the

center of the altar. A cloth or canvas is laid in front of the altar to receive green leaves, flowers, and confetti, symbolic of flowers, brought by the women. This is called in Yaqui *sewa hipetam*—literally, flower mat. But it will be referred to as flower carpet, since informants prefer that translation. Two small boys carry it at the head of the procession and make the sign of the cross as they lay it in front of the cross at each of the fourteen stations. The bearers of the crucifixes and male holy figures stand on it during the prayers for the Station. The flowers are thought of as a “mark of respect to the holy figures” (20 and 8), “to receive Jesus” (14), or “to do honor to Christ in the Passion; they gave flowers and helped Him” (55). They are also a reminder that the *fariseos* will be “killed” by flowers at The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning and are related in symbolism to all of the flowers used in the ceremonies.

The white cotton canopies (*hekkam*), which are sometimes carried over the Three Marys, do not generally appear until later in Lent. If they have been brought by their owners, they are taken out by a sacristan or a maestro and leaned against a post at the entrance of the church. They are carried by women who volunteer or who are recruited by the head altar woman. These women may or may not wear head coverings like those of the women who carry the litters.

The head maestro incenses the church and the holy figures on the altar.

The men's group prepares to start. The men and boys, volunteers or invited by *uhbuani* by the *kohtumbre* at the request of the head maestro to carry the holy figures, stand in front of the altar on the flower carpet. They rarely make the sign of the cross or genuflect when they receive the figures from a maestro or sacristan, or when they relinquish them. The Way Cross, the large crucifix from the center of the altar, and the *fariseo* altar crucifix are always taken. The boxed figure of the Virgin of Guadalupe is almost always carried and goes with the men's group, because the military society, whose patron saint she is, accompanied this part of the procession when it appeared as a group. The men who take turns carrying the Way Cross do so through their own desire to perform this act of veneration, or by request, which may take this form: “Forgive us, my father, will you accompany us, will you carry the Way Cross?” (55). Occasionally it is carried as a result of a vow. When the head maestro tells the head altar woman that all is ready for the procession, he may say: “*Comadres*, bless yourselves.”

Throughout the events of Lent the concept recurs of Jesus traveling about from place to place, performing healing miracles, resting for the night wherever He happens to be. In the drama of the Passion the men's group represents Jesus on one of these journeys. On the first four Fridays the men start ahead of the women's group, which represents Mary. Following are some of the reasons given for this. The last is the one most frequently encountered.

The Mother was never with Christ and was always seeking Him. (55)

The Son leaves alone, and the Mother doesn't find Him till later, then starts following Him from a distance. (31)

Mary did not know the time when Jesus started on His Passion; so in the first days of Lent they are traveling with men only, no women. (17)

. . . to symbolize that Mary has lost her Son and follows Him with all of her disciples. (8)

The Virgin Mary sends her Son out first so that whoever is looking for Him will catch up with her first and think she has Him concealed on her, and so will not go to where He is. (20)

The head maestro usually accompanies this group. He kneels in front of the flower carpet, crosses himself, and chants in Spanish the two opening prayers in the Catholic Ritual for the Way of the Cross—the Act of Contrition and the Offering. (The prayers for the Way of the Cross are written in Spanish in the books of the maestros.) The girl flag-bearers with seemly modesty wave their flags three times facing the altar and three times in the opposite direction; or, less frequently, three times in each of the four directions. Their bells, carried in their right hands with the flags, ring simultaneously. They step back into place. Each time they wave the flag, the movement represents the sign of the cross, and a blessing under the breath accompanies it. The flags are always waved as a blessing.

As the head maestro rises to his feet and starts to lead the procession from the church, he chants the following, as written in his notebook:

inte Domine esperavit	God, in Thee I put my trust
no me confundant Señor	Don't confound me, Lord
pues contieno [continuo] llanto	Then the tears continue
todo dos [todos] te Rogamos	We all pray to Thee to hear us.
audinos	

As the procession leaves the church, the maestro and singers start the alabanza *Jesús tan Afligido* (Yaqui, *Hesus Tanable*). The first verse, as written in the notebook of the head maestro, is as follows:

Jesús tan afligido	Jesus so afflicted
Jesús atormentado	Jesus so tormented
llorad pues ojos miellos	Cry, then, my eyes
llorad por nuestros Amalo	Cry for our Loved One

As the group leaves the church the order is:

Flower carpet carried by two small boys, who run ahead of the procession and lay the carpet in front of the cross at the first station.

Way Cross carried by a man with a white sling over his shoulders, accompanied by men in varying number who act as reliefs, all without hats.

Men and boys, all without hats, carrying the crucifixes and holy figures.

A maestro, sometimes a sacristan and visiting or apprentice maestro, and one or more women singers who walk behind them, singing the alabanza.

Some of the people of the village following closely, with babies trundled in carriages and children playing along beside them.

As they slowly pass the church cross, each one carrying or accompanying the Way Cross and holy figures genuflects.

At the first station the Way Cross bearers genuflect facing the cross that marks the station, then walk to the left and stand apart. They do not put down the cross, nor do they kneel when the rest do. The men and boys carrying the crucifixes and holy figures genuflect facing the cross, then turn and stand on the flower carpet, backs to the cross. The maestro and singers finish the second verse of the alabanza, then advance and kneel facing the station. The accompanying people kneel behind them. The maestro repeats the appropriate prayers for the first station, then all cross themselves and rise. The maestro and singers start the next verse of the same alabanza, and all move on slowly in the same order, with the little boys running ahead to lay the flower carpet in front of the second station. This behavior is repeated until the eleventh station, Calvary.

Here the Way Cross is laid on the flower carpet, head toward the crosses. The bearers go to the left of the station and stand or kneel when the rest do. All stand while the *O Vos Omnes* is sung in marked rhythm. In Yaqui this is called the *Vovox Omne* or *Si'ime Vos Hiawa* (Everybody Sings). They kneel to recite the *Respici Quaesumus Domine* in Latin. They remain kneeling while they repeat, first intoning, then resolving into speech, the five standard prayers in Yaqui. They are the Padre Nuestro, Ava Maria, Credo, Salve Reina Madre, and Señor Mi Jesucristo (the Confiteor).

The Way Cross is lifted and taken by the bearers to the left of the station, where they stand. The maestro and singers advance and kneel in front of the station for the appropriate prayers for the eleventh station. After they are completed, the group goes on as before.

When the men's group reaches the second station the women with the Three Marys start. The maestro for this group kneels at the altar briefly. The girl flag-bearers advance to the altar and wave their flags three times facing the altar and three times in the opposite direction. Maestro and singers commence to sing in Latin the first verse of the *Stabat Mater*, which follows, as written in the notebook of the head maestro:

Stabat Mater Dolorosa
Juxta Crucem Lacrymosa
Dum Pendebat Filius
Dum Pendebat Filius
Dum Pendebat Filius

From Graduale:
Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lacrimosa
Dum pendebat Filius

English:
At the cross her station keeping
Stood the mournful Mother weeping
While her Son was hanging

As they leave the church the order is as follows:

Girl flag-bearers, who, in general, wave three times as a blessing when they leave the church, at the church cross, at the fiesta cross, and whenever the procession starts and stops. (Manipulation of the flags at the stations will be described below.)

The figures of the Three Marys, each carried on a litter by four women. A small figure of the Virgin, sometimes two, carried either ahead, behind, or at the side of, the Three Marys, by a young girl who may or may not wear a head covering and crown.

Altar women escorting the Three Marys.

Maestro and one or more women singers, singing the Stabat Mater.

People of the village accompanying the group.

On occasions when only one maestro is present he joins the men's group, in which case the women proceed without a maestro. As they pass the church cross the women carrying the Three Marys lift the litters over the cross. No one genuflects here or at the fiesta cross.

At the first station the girl flag-bearers wave their flags three times toward the cross that marks the station as they arrive, walk to the back of it, wave three times toward it, and stand facing it. Each group of bearers of the Three Marys bows its figure three times to the cross, then goes to the back, where all stand in a row behind the flag girls. The bearer of the small figure of Mary, if present, genuflects to the cross and stands near the Three Marys. The altar women take their places near them. The maestro and singers face the front of the cross as they finish the verse of the Stabat Mater, then kneel, as do the villagers. The maestro says three Our Fathers and three Hail Marys.

All rise from their knees as the maestro and singers start to sing the first verse of the Stabat Mater again. The flag girls wave their flags three times where they stand, go to the front of the cross and wave toward it three times, then proceed to the second station, leading the procession as before. The bearers of the Three Marys go to the front of the station, bow the figures toward the cross three times, then follow the flag girls; or, since 1949, they proceed without doing this. After the prayers at the second

station, maestro and singers sing the second verse of the Stabat Mater and thereafter a verse between each station. This procedure occurs at all stations, and they stay two stations behind the men's group all the way.

If the procession starts late and the light becomes dim, some of the people light candles, and a lantern is brought for each maestro. As the two groups move slowly from station to station, a spectator watching from the plaza may follow their progress by the intermittent flickering of light and the faint plaintive sounds of the alabanzas.

When the women's group reaches the fifth station, the members of the kohtumbre line up in front of the barracks. On this first Friday they are not all present, but their number is augmented as Lent wears on and men return to Pascua to fulfill their vows. By the sixth Friday, the formation will be complete. The head corporal or a sergeant of the fariseos hands each fariseo his painted sword, and, as it changes hands, each genuflects slightly with the right knee and tips or touches his hat. Some may not have their swords ready and may carry switches. A caballero corporal distributes the silvered regalia to his group in the same manner. All wear hats, and do so at all times in their role of kohtumbre, even when they go into the church on errands attendant to the ritual. The minor notes of the flute sound three times as a signal, and the drummer beats a response to each.

With the last note of the flute, the fariseo and caballero flag-bearers wave their flags to "bless the road" and start to march with the right foot leading. The rest follow, in formation. The lines circle the church cross, going in opposite directions, circle it again, advancing nearer to the church as they do so, and yet again before drawing up in front of the church. Since 1951 they circle the cross only twice. The flute and drum play for each circling, and the flags are waved as a blessing to the cross on all four sides, each time around. Flags are waved again as the lines stop in front of the church, this time as a tribute to the church and to the holy figures on the altar. The men tip their hats on arriving in front of the church. The march around the cross is commonly said to be for the purpose of blessing the cross with the flag.

As they stand in front of the church, the Pilate rests his staff on his right foot; the lances of the caballeros are held in the same position, as the holy insignia must not touch the ground. Swords are held within the forepart of the left forearm, points up, both during the march and when the men are standing at rest.

Meanwhile a chapayeka, without regalia, accompanied by a fariseo corporal who wears his hat and carries his sword, enters the church. He is the only one to appear on the first Friday of Lent and is chosen by the kohtumbre to represent Judas and to initiate the search for Jesus. He is known as the ke'esam (first) chapayeka. As the corporal lifts the altar cloth

at the south end of the altar, the chapayeka crawls under the altar. The corporal hands him his sword and dagger and a gunny sack containing the rest of his regalia. The mask should traditionally be of the long-eared type, and some say it should represent a bull. The chapayeka repeats the five standard prayers before putting on his regalia and emerging to look for Jesus.

Children watching at the door of the church scatter as the chapayeka, at a signal from the corporal that the kohtumbre is in position at the front of the church, thrusts his head from under the center of the altar. His mask appears alien and menacing in the empty quiet church; the brilliant coloring of his regalia is in sharp outline against the purple antependium in the half-light of the church. He crawls slowly to the entrance, propelling himself by means of his right elbow and left foot. For one of the most experienced of the chapayekas (23), crawling, rather than walking, to the entrance of the church after coming out from under the altar is the real as well as the ideal pattern. He rises, shakes his rattles softly, and looks about him in startled curiosity as he begins the search for Jesus "in memory of the time they were searching for Christ in the monte." A corporal walks in front of him trailing the tip of his sword on the ground so that the chapayeka may more easily find his way. He holds his dagger over his eye and peers about as he moves at a slow trot to the church cross, circles it, shakes his hip rattles with his back toward it, and goes again into the church. He looks preternaturally tall in his high mask. His movements are quick, nervous, tentative, and he walks with short uncertain steps. He appears timid and bewildered on this first Friday, in contrast to his assured and aggressive behavior later in Lent. He peers cautiously about the interior of the church. He stops now and then, body tense, cocks his head, and puts his dagger to his ear in a listening gesture. He pokes his sword under the rug, lifts the antependium and looks under the altar, explores the decorations with his dagger. He picks up on his sword any stray bit of paper or cloth and examines it for evidence of the presence of Jesus. He makes a gesture on the ground with his weapons, to imitate measuring a footprint. He shakes his head, appears confused. Still searching, he goes to the church cross and back twice again, shaking his rattles each time. Each time he gains a little more assurance. When he emerges the third time from the church a senior fariseo officer speaks to him in Yaqui. The chapayeka listens with his back turned, in the chapayeka manner. The officer asks if "That Man" or "The One Whom we are seeking" is inside. In pantomime, pointing with his sword, the chapayeka replies that He was in the church; that He is there no longer; that He has left; and that he himself has found His trail. He beckons the group to follow him to the first station. The officer then gives a command to the kohtumbre, some variation of one described by an acting captain of the fariseos, as follows:

Ready yourselves. Let us go. Let us go around [the Way of the Cross] and see if we find Him there. (49)

It is commonly understood that the first chapayeka represents Judas, that he spies on Jesus, and that he betrays His whereabouts to the kohtumbre. He goes under the altar to indicate that he was originally with Jesus, and he prays while there to ask for a blessing for all for the work of Lent.

[He goes under the altar] because that is the temple of Jesus. He goes to the most sacred place for his clues. (39)

[He goes] to pray before going into the bad work of Lent. He prays for all—the ya'ura (officers) as well as the chapayekas. (8)

He says the Our Father; the Holy Mary; the Holy Mary, Mother of God; the Gloria; the Credo; the Act of Contrition. . . . Then he asks directly of God, the grace of God of going through this work and coming out of it according to God's command. (17)

He represents Judas. . . . He is their leader, so they are all called *Hurasim* (Judases). (31)

. . . he was born right there. That's what they say, just like he was born right there [under the altar]. They make one come out from under there. It is the hardest way to come out. They take you in just like I am now. Then you have to dress and crawl out to the front of the church. And then you get up and run to the church cross, and then you run around and start to hunt for Jesucristo. You shake yourself at the church cross. Then you go back and forth three times. . . . All represent Judas, not just the first. They are all against Jesucristo. They want to catch Jesucristo. (23)

The first one has to be the evil spirit. He goes under the altar where he looks for Jesus. That is where he starts. That chapayeka, that traitor, goes in before the ceremony starts, and he doesn't have to [should not] put on his mask until all the people have left the church. He stays there like a spy. Nobody sees him. So that is how he is going to start everything. So whenever he comes out, he knows everything and that is where he tries to get everybody. (35)

He is looking for signs of Christ when he comes out. . . . He represents Judas Iscariot. He tells the kohtumbre that he knows Him, and that he knows where He is, and they oblige him to follow them. He can get under the altar because he was with Jesus, and out of the good came the one bad one. The old maestros used to say that in sermons. (55)

The first one who comes out is supposed to be the one who knows Him, and he guides them. He is supposed to be Judas. He comes from the

good, and therefore he comes from the altar, and being the fact that he knows Him, he is chosen to guide them. The fact that he comes from the altar represents that he comes from Christ, and then he goes after Christ. (17)

The name of Jesus is never mentioned by the kohtumbre until they approach the cottonwood bower that represents Gethsemane on Holy Thursday night. Until then He is referred to only in such terms as That Man, The One Whom we are seeking.

. . . They judge Him like their enemy, and it is kept a secret about the name. They don't want to divulge the name. The soldiers know, but they want to keep it a secret. (31)

They don't want to mention the name except in prayers because they do not want Him to be identified. They only give descriptions of Him because someone might hear and tell Him that He is being hunted. (8)

The thing is that, in the time of Jesus, the Pilate knew Jesus and the rest of the officers also knew Him, but were forbidden to mention Him by name. They all know who He is, but they do not know that He is God. (17)

They didn't know it was Jesucristo they were after; they thought it was a criminal, and that He was going to overthrow the power. It comes from the Bible, that people killed Him because they did not know Him. All the kohtumbre ya'ura, they represent the soldiers that were sent after Christ. You have seen how things happen when ignorance is between. They didn't know Him, that is why they crucified Him. They only knew Him as Nazareno. It is said that most of them never even heard of Him. This is what the present fariseos want to represent. Why they call Him That Man. Because they didn't know Him, and some knew Him by Nazareno. And in the sermon it concludes that if they knew Jesucristo they wouldn't crucify Him. This comes from very old Yaqui advice. . . . The doctrine that the maestros put in is that way. It is generally understood. [The maestro] says in his sermons that if they knew Him, they would not crucify Him. (55)

When the kohtumbre starts to march around the Way of the Cross at the command of the fariseo officer, the chapayeka either runs along ahead in the rhythmic trot or lope (laplapte) of the chapayeka, or he steps into line sideways, jumps and shakes his hip rattles as a greeting, then faces forward. Flute and drum signal as before, flags wave to bless the road, the chapayeka jumps and shakes his rattles when the formation starts, and the lines of the kohtumbre advance, pass each other in front of the church, and march out

of the plaza. The chapayeka, if he is in the line, jumps and shakes his rattles as he passes in front of the church. Flute and drum continue to play, flags wave in a blessing as the church and fiesta crosses are passed. As the procession stops on either side of the first station, draws up to east and west of it, flags are waved as a blessing to the cross that marks the station, and the chapayeka jumps and shakes his rattles.

The chapayeka seeks again for Jesus with pantomime similar to that at the church. Sometimes he uses his sword as a telescope to scan the landscape. He bends down to measure footprints. Again the fariseo officer asks him if he finds signs of That Man. Again the chapayeka replies in pantomime, back turned, that He has already left, and points to the trail to the second station. The officer gives the order to follow. Flute and drum signal, flags wave as a blessing to the road, the chapayeka jumps and shakes his rattles, and the kohtumbre is off again. This is repeated at each station. If the chapayeka finds a bit of old clothing, or even a piece of cardboard, he picks it up on his sword and calls attention to it in pantomime. "This represents the false testimony made about Christ. They say it is evidence that He is close by" (55).

As the kohtumbre approaches nearer to the church groups, the men linger so as not to overtake them. The chapayeka goes forward cautiously in the waning light to stalk the women's church group. He holds his dagger over his left eye or ear in an effort to see or hear. His body strains forward in concentration, almost horizontal, elongated. He is not very brave on this first Friday, and he runs back, scraping himself to rid himself of contamination with sacred things, and clatters his dagger on his sword to report what is going on ahead.

When the women reach the twelfth or thirteenth station, the chapayeka suddenly runs ahead, rushes past the two church groups, and goes pelting back to the church. Children playing there hide as he approaches. Sometimes he searches in the church first, and around the church cross. Sometimes he flings himself at once to the ground in front of the church and to one side.

The chapayeka goes to the house of Jesus to see whether He is there, and to seize Him. But he does not find Him there. (8)

[He wants to] find out whether he can hear anything about Jesus. To spy. He might hear Him somewhere. . . . They still don't know if He is around there. (9)

He hides himself there, and still he is there. He wants to spy on the holy figures. (31)

. . . it is to pray the same as before, until all the church group goes by into the church; and then he puts on his mask and gets up. (17)

It is the betrayal of the Master. The old maestro used to say that. It is that which explains the kiss he gave Our Lord. (55)

It is because he has lost the clue and now comes back to find it. (39)

It is because he is trying to beat the Virgin Mary to the gates in case she has her Son. He is suspicious and wants to get there first, and see when she comes in, if she has her Son with her. (20)

Meanwhile the other members of the kohtumbre hurry past the two church groups and march with quick steps to the church and line up as before, for the closing services. Flags wave as they pass the first station, the fiesta cross, the church cross, and when they halt. They also tip their hats when they halt.

When they finish the prayers at the fourteenth station, the men's church group returns to the church, which is still lighted dimly by candles. As they leave the station, the maestro and singers start to sing an alabanza called Beloved Jesus (*Hesus Amorosam*, from the Spanish *Jesús Amoroso*, which may also be used). The first verse, as written in the book of the head maestro, is as follows:

Jesus amorozo	Beloved Jesus
dulse padre mío	My sweet Father
pesa me Señor	It grieves me, Lord
dea aberte ofendido	To have offended Thee

The men and boys with the Way Cross and the holy figures turn to genuflect to the cross at the first station on their way back to the church and also to the church cross. All enter the church between the lines of the kohtumbre, whose members touch their hats as the images pass and the kohtumbre flags wave in salutation. The men and boys stand on the flower carpet until a sacristan or maestro takes the images and replaces them on the altar. If there are not enough men to do this quickly, the maestro asks for a corporal to help. The image bearers cross themselves, genuflect, then stand on the left side of the church. The boys who carried the flower carpet, or a sacristan, take it out and scatter the leaves and flowers at the church cross "as they cannot just take them out and dump them like trash. They have been blessed" (31). The maestro and singers stand at the right, facing the altar, and continue to sing the remaining verses of Beloved Jesus.

Close behind the men's group come the women. As they leave the fourteenth station, they begin an alabanza called Hail, Mother, Full of Pain (Spanish, *Salve Madre Pena*). The first verse, taken from the book of the head maestro, is as follows:

Salve Madre Pena	Hail, Mother, full of pain
Salve triste madre	Hail, sorrowful Mother

Salve reina hermosa
llenada de Piedades

Hail, beautiful Queen
Filled with mercy

The girl flag-bearers wave their flags three times at the first station, at the fiesta and church crosses, at the church entrance, and at the altar. They stand in a row on their carpet. The Three Marys are bowed as they pass the first station, and on arrival at the church are carried in backwards and placed on the altar. The members of the kohtumbre touch their hats as each passes between the lines and kohtumbre flag-bearers wave their flags. The maestro and singers finish the verses of their alabanza simultaneously with the head maestro and his singers. The church is vibrant with movement, color, and sound. The altar women remove the crowns of the litter bearers, and the flag girls touch their heads with the crosses on the tips of their flags in a blessing as the white head coverings are lifted off.

Meanwhile, as soon as the church groups enter the church, a fariseo corporal signals to the chapayeka to get up. He goes into line sideways, jumps and shakes his hip rattles, and turns to face the front.

The drum answers the flute during the alabanzas with no set pattern but according to the desire of the flutist. At the end of each verse the chapayeka jumps with his back to the church and shakes his rattles "as a thanksgiving to the singers." He may keep time, too, by tapping his dagger on his sword, and he may "dance" the rhythm a little, keeping time in place with his feet, several beats with one foot, then with the other; but his actions are subdued both in movement and sound on this first Friday. He may advance a few steps with wary prudence to peer into the church, cock his head to listen, with dagger to his ear, but he is not bold.

When the alabanzas are finished, the head maestro leads the rest in the *O Vos Omnes*; then maestro and singers and the men in the church kneel while they recite the *Respici Quaesumus Domine*. The chapayeka keeps sharp time to both with his weapons and "dances" them. The kohtumbre flags wave at the end. All remain kneeling as the maestro closes this part of the services with the five standard prayers in Yaqui.

During this time, the kohtumbre continues to stand in formation, and when those in the church make the sign of the cross, its members touch their hats and flag-bearers wave the flags. In their role as members of the kohtumbre they never make the sign of the cross but only this brief gesture of reverence. The chapayeka turns his back at the same time. Flute and drum are silent during the prayers. At the sound of sacred words, such as the names of Jesus and Mary, the chapayeka shivers and staggers. When he hears *Gloria el Padre* or *Ave María Purísima*, he leans over swaying, shifts his weight from foot to foot, almost overcome. At the end of the prayers, kohtumbre flags are waved, the chapayeka jumps and shakes his rattles, and

all, inside the church and out, thank the maestro father, saying “Dios em chiokoe, *malesto achai*” (or *malehto achai*, maestro father).

After the prayers are finished, the ceremony of public group veneration takes place. The same word, *muhte*, is used for this as for the veneration by an individual. Its purpose is primarily to ask for a blessing, “to pray for oneself (*aubuania*) and to ask for health and strength.” [It is to] “bless themselves and others who can’t be there, so they can’t get sick or they can’t pass anything wrong. Dios itom aniane (God will help us)” (36). Early in Lent it occurs in the short form; but in later weeks it may take the full form, as explained for the fifth Friday of Lent. The routine of the short form is as follows:

The *kohtumbre* flag-bearers remove their hats and leave them outside. A *fariseo* sergeant or corporal and a *caballero* corporal, both of whom wear their hats and carry their weapons, escort them into the church. The escorts leave. The flag-bearers, standing in a row in front of the altar, wave their flags three times vigorously in each of the four directions, three times around. The flag-bearers cross themselves with the furled flag in hand, then kneel at the right of the altar, flags held in the crook of the right arm, field in hand. Waving the flag in front of the altar is considered to be for the purpose of blessing or consecrating the ground. When the ground is thus consecrated it is called *buiata te’ochia* (blessed ground). The ritual is also an invocation against the “enemy” (the devil). The head maestro says it is to “symbolize the benedictions done by Our Lord when He was here. His benedictions to the four corners of the earth. Here it is done in the church.” This action thus combines the ceremonial circuit of the four directions with the Pascua tradition of “doing things three times in the sign of the cross.”

While the two maestros and their singers alternate in singing verses of the appropriate *alabanza* for each group, the participants and, subsequently, the people of the pueblo go to the altar in pairs, one pair at a time. The men leave their hats outside, then enter the church side by side and kneel at the altar. The flag-bearers, men and girls, simultaneously extend their banners and touch the forehead of each person in the sign of the cross with the cross on the tip of the staff. They then draw the flag over the face so that the cross on the field of the flag touches it. This is done to bless the individual who is venerating. Each then rises and bows slightly from the waist over each image on the altar, going from right to left, makes the sign of the cross and a slight genuflection, and, frequently, deposits a coin in one or more of the offering bowls. The venerator then steps back, faces the altar, and, standing side by side with his partner, makes the sign of the cross and genuflects slightly. They walk out together, right hands clasped, pause at the entrance of the church to touch hands and give the Yaqui greetings and thanks, then return to their positions in line.

The feeling in the church is intimate and reverent, a union of devotion reassuring to those who share or even watch this ritual. A comfortable inattention is combined with a sure respect. Children come and go as they wish, or play quietly on the floor. The babies rarely cry, comforted as they are by the mother or an older child.

For this ritual the angels, whose crowns having been removed and who are accompanied by their godmothers, venerate first. Then follows the *kohtumbre*. Each man throws his hat to the ground before he enters the church and thus divests himself of the symbol of the *kohtumbre*. He enters as an individual, not in his ceremonial role. The *caballeros* are the first to enter, one from each line in the order in which they stand in formation. If there is an uneven number, one goes twice. A *caballero* corporal escorts another corporal into the church to relieve their flag-bearer so that he may venerate in his turn. They genuflect slightly as they give and receive the flag. The swords and lances are held under the left arm, points down and thrust back, and thus are at rest. For the angels and *caballeros* the *maestros* lead the singers in the *Popule Meum*. Next go the *fariseos*, in the order of their positions in formation, one from each side, while the *Deus Miserator* and *Cruz Fidelum* are sung in uninterrupted sequence. Their flag-bearer is relieved at the proper time. The Pilate carries his lance under the left arm, point slanting back. The *fariseo* officers hold their swords under the left arm, points back. The drum and flute are carried in the left hand. Before his turn the *chapayeka* goes to the headquarters to remove his mask. He enters the church with sword and dagger in his left hand, point down, and the mask resting on the hilt of the sword, facing backward. He may wear a scarf over his head as a protection after the heat of the close-fitting mask. When he finishes, he puts on his mask again in the privacy of the headquarters and returns to his place. He jumps, shakes his rattles, and turns to the front. Thereafter he may be heard beating time to the *alabanza* with his weapons and jumping and shaking his rattles at the end of each verse.

When the *kohtumbre* finishes, a *kohtumbre* official invites the men of the village to go to the altar. He may say something like "Venerate, my fathers, bless yourselves" (*muhte'em, achalim, emo'em buania*) (58). A less usual invitation was reported by an acting captain, as follows:

Compadres, people of the pueblo, venerate; follow me. Pray for yourselves to the Lord. Beg Him for days [long life]. Ask Him that you may reach the next year in good health. (49)

The *chapayeka* may beckon the men to go in, with importunate gestures. The *Popule Meum* is sung again as the bearers of the Way Cross stand in pairs in front of the church, between the lines of the *kohtumbre*, and enter two by two in turn. The carriers of the male holy figures follow them.

When the military society was functioning as a unit, they went to the altar next. Those few men who have no ceremonial duties then venerate. The women (*malam*) are next invited, either by the kohtumbre official in the same form as the invitation to the men, or by the head maestro, who generally says, "Comadres, bless yourselves" (*komaem emo'em buania*) (36). Traditionally a fariseo corporal should see that the women go to the church cross and enter the church in pairs, but this is not always carried out. A few go in pairs, some singly, some in groups, many with one or more children. The order varies. The crowns and head coverings of the flag girls are removed by the altar women and put on again when they return. The maestros and sacristans are almost always last.

When everyone has finished, the kohtumbre flag-bearers rise, face the altar, and wave three times in each of the four directions, three times around, make the sign of the cross with the furled flag in hand, and return to their places in line, escorted by corporals. They put on their hats and wave. The girl flag-bearers rise, face the altar, and wave in the four directions, then stand behind the head maestro as he faces the entrance of the church to deliver his sermon, which lasts about twenty minutes to a half hour. It is given in Yaqui and resembles all others given in the Lenten season. While he is speaking, the chapayeka quakes and totters at the sound of sacred words, as he did during the prayers. He may also come forward to mock the maestro a little, but he is not aggressive on this first Friday. The maestro finishes with the usual *Dios en chiokoebu*, and all join in saying *Dios em chiokoe ute'esia, achai*. The kohtumbre flags are waved at the same time, and the chapayeka jumps and shakes his rattles.

During the sermon two kohtumbre officials enter the church with their hats on, swords in hand. They collect the money from the offering bowls on the altar, count it, and place it on the carpet near the head maestro. The man who is head of the kohtumbre is the treasurer; with another officer, he stands near the maestro, weapon held as in formation. At the end of the sermon the head officer should make a speech, reporting how much money has been collected. If he feels unable to do this, he informs the maestro of the amount, and the latter makes a formal speech, starting and ending as for a sermon. If the maestro does this, the chapayeka may mock him, but he is quiet if a kohtumbre officer makes the announcement. If a fiesta is to be announced, the head fiesta host stands with the group, and the invitation is made with the same formality.

The girl flag-bearers wave their flags toward the altar, then in the opposite direction, or in the four directions, to terminate the services. They are divested of their regalia by the altar women as they kneel on their rug.

A fariseo corporal enters the church with his hat on and weapon in hand, receives the fariseo limosna crucifix from a sacristan or a maestro, and gives it to the Pilate, who carries it cradled in his arm. The kohtumbre

marches to the headquarters or to the house where their *limosna* crucifix is kept. If they go to the latter, a corporal places the crucifix on a small table covered with a white cloth, which stands in front of the patio cross. The corporals receive the regalia from each in turn and put it away. All disband. Meanwhile the altar women, the sacristan, and the *maestros* dismantle the altar, and the holy figures are either taken home by their owners or placed in the sacristy.

The above routine is standard behavior for all processions around the Way of the Cross on the first six Fridays of Lent, and for many during Holy Week. These details will not be recorded again in descriptions of the ceremonies.

In 1940 the behavior of the first *chapayeka* was especially vivid. A digest of field notes for his activities between stations is as follows:

At first station he looked about on ground, measured with sword and dagger as if looking for something the size of a footprint. Used sword as telescope to survey surroundings. Beckoned *kohtumbre* forward. Jumped and shook rattles when startled. Second station, peered all about, continued to measure. Beckoned. Third station, measured, sharpened sword with dagger. "Rode" to fourth station on sword as hobby horse. Measured, peered about. "Rode" to fifth station more rapidly, with increasing confidence. At sixth station appeared puzzled, shook head, finally seemed to find trail, beckoned to *kohtumbre*. At fence corner at back of *fiesta ramada* he lay down, peeked around corner of fence, timidly at first, then with increasing boldness. Used "telescope" to watch women's group. Imitated their kneeling position. Lay down again, with ear to ground, peeked around fence corner again. Smoked a twig as if it were a cigarette, in imitation of a curer, rose, went back to *kohtumbre*. Held dagger over eye, peered ahead, pointed, peered, indicated in pantomime he had seen something. Pretended to drink from sword. Beckoned *kohtumbre*, urged them on.

Second Friday Procession

The procedure for all groups is the same as on the first Friday except for the *chapayekas*. A second one appears, by ritual request of the *kohtumbre*, but for a term of one year, not three. He should, according to tradition, wear a long-eared mask, but he does not always do so. Instead of emerging from under the altar, as did the first *chapayeka*, both come out, fully clothed in their regalia, from the *chapayeka* enclosure at the back of the headquarters. They jump and shake their hip rattles three times as a greeting, enter the *fariseo* lines sideways, opposite each other, jump and shake their rattles, then face forward. When the formation draws up at the church, the two

chapayekas go through the pantomime of searching for Jesus, as described for the first Friday. They communicate with each other in the pantomimic language of the chapayekas—by tapping their daggers on their swords, gesticulating with them, beckoning, pointing out clues. They gather confidence as they search and are not so timid as the chapayeka on the first Friday. Their behavior at the stations is the same as described for the week before. Between stations they look for clues and talk back and forth in the language of the sticks. When the formations start and stop, when they meet each other in the march around the church cross, and when they pass in front of the church, they shake their rattles. They beat time sharply on their swords during the marches.

Sometimes the head altar woman sprinkles confetti over the holy figures at the stations and often does so on subsequent Fridays. This is an offering symbolic of flowers and is done for a blessing. If a chapayeka is near her, he jumps back, quaking with fear at such close proximity to the dreaded flowers.

After the twelfth or thirteenth station the chapayekas run back to the church and lie down in front of it, one on either side, after searching in the church as described for the previous week. During the closing services they creep cautiously forward, or stagger to the entrance of the church defiantly, peer in impudently, cock their heads and listen, then run back to report. They scrape themselves off on their return, to rid themselves of contamination with holy things. They may wipe their noses or scrape their buttocks with their daggers, then make flinging motions toward the church. When the kohtumbre marches away at the end of the ceremonies, the chapayekas keep time by striking their daggers sharply on their swords.

Third Friday Procession

Child angels may appear today, accompanied by their godmothers, if they have not done so before. They may not yet be wearing the long skirts, embroidered Mexican blouses, ribbon sashes, and flower crowns that constitute their costume, but they will not be without the switches with which it is their duty to protect the altar and the holy figures. Today, as on any subsequent appearance, the chapayekas may molest them as they enter the plaza. They charge out in front of the angels, who whip them on the back with their switches, encouraged by their godmothers. The chapayekas stagger and stumble, start to fall, support themselves with their swords, take steps in a falling manner; then run off, shaking their heads ruefully; scrape themselves off; then perhaps dart back again to make sallies with their swords. The children are timid but must in this way ward off the chapayekas. It is a preview of the actions of the angels at The Gloria on Holy Saturday, when they assist in this manner in the “killing” of the fariseos.

"And the angels whipping the chapayekas whenever they can, it is said they are cutting their heads off" (31).

The girl angels are associated with the group surrounding the figures of the Virgin. In processions their godmothers walk to the right or a little behind them, and they sit with them in the church. In processions the girls march in shy pride back of the girl flag-bearers and stand or kneel back of them at the stations or in the church. They must observe a quiet decorum, with switches held upright. The boys march in front of the bearers of the crucifixes, stand at either end of the flower carpet at the stations, and remain at the south side of the altar during services. The angels' turn in the public veneration varies, but they generally go to the altar soon after the procession enters the church. They kneel first while their godmothers remove their crowns, then go with them to venerate.

On the third Friday there are, or should be, three chapayekas, two of whom search for evidence of Jesus, as described for the first and second Fridays. They become bolder in their pantomime and exhibit free play. When the kohtumbre is following the church groups around the Way of the Cross, the chapayekas may advance ahead of the rest, to lie down near, or creep close to, the women's group to spy on them. They run back with nervous skipping steps to report to the others and to wipe themselves off after being so close to holy things. They search along the way for clues, turn over stones with their swords, examine bits of paper. Expected behavior is that they jump back in alarm at any sudden noise, such as a car or barking dog. They may kick out at it, or put palms together and look to the heavens and shake their heads. If one needs to sneeze or to cough, he must lie down and take off his mask to do so, out of deference to the mask. He removes his mask with his left hand, making the sign of the cross with his right. He generally seeks the shelter of a fence or a bush; but if he lies down within the formation others quickly gather around him to shield him and to divert attention. If the sandal of one becomes untied, or he drops something, he must wait for a corporal to help him. Then he jumps and shakes his rattles three times with his back turned, in the chapayeka form of thanks. If a spectator draws too close or stares at him, or if someone sneezes or coughs near him, he jumps back and scrapes himself off assiduously, for his code demands that he must not have close contact with human beings. Even the corporals who help him must speak to him from behind.

On the third Friday there is a change in the procedure at Calvary, the eleventh station. Here the women's group joins the men as they start their services. They take their usual positions, in the same way, except that the flag girls wave their flags over the four sides of the Way Cross as it lies on the ground, instead of in front of the station, and the Three Marys are bowed over it instead of directly to the cross of the station. The maestro and singers of the women's group join those of the men's group for the

services for this station. When they finish, the men's group departs as usual. This meeting is said to occur so that Mary may see Jesus briefly.

. . . so that Mary can talk to her Son. But it is only for a short time, and then Jesus goes ahead. This is because Jesus used to visit this place in older times. (8)

The Mother talks to the Son. The Three Marys being bowed to the cross represents the conversation she had with the Son. (31)

The three weeks represent Mary traveling after Jesus. She has not had any sight of Him until then. . . . She just sighted Him, she did not see Him long. (17)

When the men's group leaves, the kohtumbre advances and marches three times around the station; then stands during the prayers, one line to the north and one to the south of the station. Previous to 1943, when the route around the Way of the Cross was longer, and there was sufficient room, the chapayekas ran around the station three times. This action of the kohtumbre is interpreted in the following ways:

This is to represent the fariseos getting more and more close to Jesus. (55)

It shows that they have recognized the different groups and they know that Jesus is not with Mary, and they know that Jesus is ahead. (17)

[The fariseos surround the station] to find Jesus while He and His Mother meet; but they do not see Him, as by the time they surround the station the men's group has gone on. (8)

The chapayekas are very curious about this ceremony that they are close to for the first time, and they creep forward to listen and watch. They run back and chatter to each other by hitting their sticks together; but their conversations are interrupted when they must tremble and stagger and scrape themselves at the sound of sacred words. The members of the church group must appear not to notice them, nor should they be diverted by the actions of the chapayekas. When the sign of the cross is made by the worshipers in the church group, the members of the kohtumbre touch their hats briefly, the flags are waved, and the chapayekas turn their backs and shiver.

The kohtumbre flanks the women's group as it goes on to the next station, but soon the chapayekas leave to run ahead to the church, and the rest of the kohtumbre marches after them hurriedly as on previous Fridays.

During the closing services chapayeka behavior is as described for previous weeks, except that it is bolder. When the invitation is given for the public group veneration, they beckon imperiously to the people to enter the

church. As the men pass between the kohtumbre lines on the way to the altar, the chapayekas may kick out at them or pretend to scuff dirt at them. As the angels pass, they turn their backs and totter and tremble, but sometimes they dart at them and draw back quickly. When the women and young girls of the pueblo pass, they chatter excitedly to each other.

Fourth Friday Procession

On this day there is a change in the order of the procession. The men's church group starts as usual. When they arrive at the second station, the kohtumbre lines up, marches three times around the church cross, and takes its position in front of the church. The chapayekas do not search for Jesus as on the previous weeks, but they show great curiosity about what is going on inside the church, peer in, jump back in alarm when they hear the bells of the girl flag-bearers, and scurry back into line when the women's group emerges for the procession. They shiver and turn their backs when the Three Marys pass. Flags are waved and hats are touched as each Mary passes. The kohtumbre flanks the women's group after advancing and crossing in front of the church as usual. The chapayekas hit their daggers stridently on their swords in time to the march. All proceed to the first station where the kohtumbre lines draw up on either side. The chapayekas may creep up and listen to the maestro. At the fourth station the men's group waits for them, and the members of the women's group take their customary places around the station with the usual behavior. The kohtumbre lines march rapidly around the station and draw up again on either side, one on the north and one on the south. The chapayekas run three times around it, with a fariseo corporal trailing each line. The maestro with the women's group joins with the head maestro in the prayers appropriate to the station. After the prayers all continue as one procession, first the men, then the women, with the kohtumbre flanking them on either side. Each group sings its own alabanza. The chapayekas, followed by the corporals, run around the procession between each station until it reaches the south side of the plaza, where there is no room. The ideal pattern is that they should circle the station three times each time, but this has not been possible since the Way of the Cross was shortened to embrace only the plaza.

The double symbolism of the joining of the two church groups is that Mary thus meets her Son and the kohtumbre has now found Jesus.

It is the meeting of Mary and her Son, and she talks to Him face to face, and then they go on together. (8)

It shows that from that day the Marys have joined the group of Jesus and are traveling with them. The fariseos have caught up with Him. The fariseos surround the group . . . for a benediction, like going

around the cross when they first come out. The flag-bearer must bless the group with his flag. And the chapayekas run around the group three times for a blessing. It is not to search. (17)

It is the blessing done by the flag-bearers after they reach the two groups. When the fariseos do it during the prayers [at the stations], it is for a blessing. Then when the chapayekas run around the procession [between stations], it is to keep Christ from running away. They are guarding (*suawa*). (31)

The fariseos are looking for Jesus. The chapayekas run around looking for Jesus. (8)

The chapayekas . . . are supposed to be asking the Virgin where Her Son is. (20)

The fariseos already surround Jesus because they know that He is there. They are catching up to Him. (9)

During the services at the stations the flute and drum play during the alabanzas and are silent during the prayers. The kohtumbre officers touch their hats, flags wave, and the chapayekas turn their backs when the rest make the sign of the cross. At Calvary the girl flag-bearers wave their flags over the Way Cross, and the Three Marys are bowed over it as on the previous week. The chapayekas “dance” the *O Vos Omnes* and the *Respici Quaesumus Domini*, as they do in the closing services. They still appear wary and cautious, but they are bolder than heretofore. At Calvary, and perhaps before, one may creep up to a maestro and approach sideways, close enough to look into his book. He may even touch his garment or stroke his head with his dagger, and clean it off by scraping it on the ground; then crawl back to his place in line to clean himself off and to report in pantomime to the others. If he happens to be near a maestro when a sacred word is said during the prayers, he either collapses, shivering, where he is, or runs back, staggering and stumbling. All of the chapayekas hang their heads and lean their bodies forward at these words, shift from one foot to another, and wipe themselves off.

All go back to the church as one procession, and each group simultaneously finishes its alabanza inside the church as before. During the closing services the chapayekas are more aggressive. They make threatening gestures toward the church, sharpen their swords with their daggers, and incite each other in pantomime to go to the entrance of the church. They may throw bits of dirt on the tips of their swords toward the church, or wipe their buttocks, or their noses, or take wax from their ears with their daggers, and make tossing motions toward the church. They may tap their rattles with their daggers in gestures that call attention to their ammunition.

If the procession is late in starting, the sunset behind the dark, jagged

peaks to the west may fade, and the spectator is aware of sudden darkness, then brightening starlight. A lantern is placed near the maestros so that they may see the words in their notebooks as they kneel facing the cross at each station. Others of the church group, clustered closely around the cross opposite the maestros, may light candles. Thus the bent heads of the maestros and the gentle peaked contours of the rebozos enfolding the women singers are in dark silhouette against the light. But the flames of the candles flicker on and illuminate the fringe of faces, selfless in devotion, about the cross opposite them. They pick out the gay colors of the crowns and blouses of the angels and the tiny jewels of the Three Marys; they reflect on the pale figure of the crucified Christ, and give a glow to the red and green flags of the altar girls.

A digest of notes on chapayeka behavior on the fourth Friday of 1937, recorded by Rosamond B. Spicer (1939: 67–68) follows:

At Calvary one pulled a memorandum book out of pocket, waved it at chapayekas on other side, touched head of maestro with dagger. One sneaked up and lay down by maestro, shook head often, touched ears of maestro, ran away. Each time word "Jesus" was said they scraped buttocks and sometimes scraped down fronts. Increased antics after left Calvary. At twelfth station one dangled toy monkey in front of a maestro. At thirteenth one held a little book and aped maestro, pretending to read. Same one pretended to cut hair from head of maestro and blew it from tip of dagger at one of other chapayekas. He and others scraped heads of maestros with daggers. All, especially old ones, wove in and out among church group. No one paid any attention to them.

The above order of services for the third and fourth Fridays in Lent was followed during the mid-1940s, the period of most intensive observation by the author. Subsequently, variations have occurred, particularly regarding the Friday on which the two groups merge at Calvary.

Fifth Friday Procession

Increased participation and attendance mark the fifth Friday, as well as more free play and intensified ritual behavior by the chapayekas. There are also new elements.

Cottonwood or tamarisk boughs are bound by the kohtumbre to the posts of the church. These are in memory of the monte where Jesus wandered when He was in the Yaqui River country in Sonora.

The branches in the church are for the Lord and to show respect for Him. It represents the shade in the forest, and the shade where He

reposes. On one occasion the Lord was received in the temple with flowers, and the branches represent that, too. (17)

The figure of Jesus wearing a red tunic, called *el Nazareno*, is brought out of the sacristy and placed on a table in front of the altar, or, since 1949, on the left end of the altar. It will be called the Nazarene. It is now carried in processions instead of the crucifixes, as it is said that they cannot go out until after The Gloria, as they are in mourning. If the figure is placed in front of the altar, the lances of the *caballeros* are crossed in front of it, the flower carpet is placed before it, and, as people go into the church, they kneel in front of it, venerate it, then go to the altar as usual. Some think that the Nazarene is not the same as Jesus; others that he took the place of Jesus until the crucifixion; others that he was a man who died instead of Jesus. From now on, Jesus is referred to as the Nazarene, as well as That Man or the other general terms already mentioned.

The captain of the *caballeros* wears a horsehair rope over his left shoulder, which he will place around the figure of the Nazarene when the *kohtumbre* captures it on Holy Thursday night.

The head Pilate and two *chapayekas* walk ahead of the procession after the first station, as described below.

A picture of Saint Lazarus, owned by a family in the village, is on the altar, generally decorated with crepe-paper flowers.

Today for the first time all groups start out as one procession, which forms the pattern for spatial relations for all subsequent processions around the Way of the Cross, unless otherwise noted. This represents a closing in by the *kohtumbre* on the church groups, the guardians of Jesus.

About this time the *chapayekas* start to go around the village, alerting people. At each house they jump three times with their backs to it and beckon the people to come.

Before the procession starts, the opening prayers and the waving of flags take place in front of the Nazarene if the figure is placed before the altar. The head altar woman casts confetti over it as it is carried out of the church and at the stations, as well as over the Way Cross and the Three Marys at Calvary. The *chapayekas*, waiting with the rest of the *kohtumbre* in front of the church, peer in at the preparations and tremble when they hear the bells of the flag girls. When the *alabanza* is started, they beat time to it; when the little boys run out with the flower carpet, they jump back and stagger in fear. As the church groups emerge, they turn their backs and tremble as the holy figures are carried out, then scrape themselves off with their daggers. As the procession leaves the church the elements are:

Boys with the flower carpet, who run ahead as usual.

Man carrying Way Cross, accompanied by men who act as reliefs.

Boy angels and godmothers.

The Nazarene borne on a litter by four men, hats removed, who lift the litter over the church cross without genuflecting.

Men or boys with the boxed Guadalupe and the picture of Saint Lazarus, who walk on either side, in front of, or in back of the Nazarene.

Maestro and singers, singing *Jesus So Afflicted*.

Girl flag-bearers.

Girl angels and godmothers.

The Three Marys, each borne by four women, with a canopy sometimes covering the first one.

One or two small figures of Mary carried behind, or at the side of, the Three Marys.

Altar women escorting the Three Marys.

Maestro and singers, singing the *Stabat Mater*.

People of the village, some with infants in their arms or in carriages, and many children playing along near the procession.

The *kohtumbre* lines flank the procession on each side, with the *chapekas* beating out on their swords briskly the rhythm of the march.

At the first station the men with the Way Cross genuflect and walk to the left, and stand apart as usual. The boy angels genuflect and stand at either side of the station, their godmothers at the right side of them or a little behind. The men carrying the Nazarene genuflect, turn with the figure so that their backs are to the station, and stand on the flower carpet. The men with the other images genuflect and stand at either side of the Nazarene. The girl flag-bearers wave toward the station, walk back of it, wave toward it, and stand. The girl angels stand back of the flag girls. The bearers of the Three Marys in turn bow them three times in front of the station, then stand in a row back of the girl angels. The girls who carry the small figures of Mary stand at either side of the Three Marys, or in front of them. The altar women are near the Three Marys. The maestros and singers remain standing until they finish their *alabanzas*, then advance and kneel in front of the Nazarene for the prayers for the station. The people of the pueblo kneel behind the maestros and singers. The *kohtumbre* lines flank the group.

The head corporal conducts the Pilate to a position to the left of the station and about 15 feet away, then accompanies two *chapekas* to the same place to act as guards for the Pilate. They jump on their swords as if on horses and prance about. If the head corporal does not initiate this action rapidly enough to suit the other *chapekas*, they gesture to him and "ride" their swords to remind him. When the prayers for the station end, the Pilate and *chapeka* guards move on ahead of the rest, circling once, sometimes twice, on their own tracks between stations, and proceed to a comparable

position beyond the second station. The two chapayekas plunge about, "riding" their swords. The guards are changed at intervals, affording interesting pantomime when the old guards demonstrate their duties to the new ones. Sometimes they pantomime falling asleep, then shake their heads and point in warning to the Pilate, indicating that he must be closely guarded.

He is watching Jesucristo; that is why he is out in front. (9)

The Pilate is being very watchful about Christ and His soldiers. The two chapayekas are bodyguards for him. They are escorting him. The circling that he does shows that he is watchful about his group and the Man that he is after. (17)

The Pilate walking in front of the procession with the two chapayekas represents doing guard ahead of the army. He used to mount a horse and take two men. Now the chapayekas mount their "horses" instead. In Mexico the horse wears ankle rattles around its feet and bells like the *pascolas* around its legs. (31)

The chapayekas are supposed to be guarding Pilate, because he is afraid of the pueblo. . . . It is reported that in Mexico the Pilate rides a black horse which has cocoon rattles on his front ankles and is trained in a dancing step. The two chapayekas hold on to his saddle straps. (55)

The procession continues around the Way of the Cross in this formation, with behavior as on the previous Friday. The chapayekas who are not guarding run around each station as on the week before.

During the slow progression around the outside of the plaza, in the waning light the red robe of the Nazarene and the pale garments of the Three Marys are patches of color against the mountains, which are ever-changing in color and in patterns of shadows.

At Calvary all take their accustomed places. The chapayekas are bolder and more aggressive in annoying and distracting the maestros. In addition to behavior described before, they may advance to stroke the garments or comb the hair of the maestros, or sometimes pretend to cut off a piece and take it back to their companions, or to find imaginary lice which they pretend to kill with a sharp tap of the dagger on the sword. With an old comic paper or a copybook they may pretend to read as the maestros are doing, or they may thrust them in front of the maestros as a substitute for their own books. They may dangle toys in front of the faces of the maestros. Yet bold as they are becoming, they stagger in fright, run back and wipe themselves off, when they hear sacred words in the prayers. Their grotesque masks, menacing weapons thrusting and waving in pantomime, their bright blanket coats, the sharp clangor of their hip rattles, the buzzing of their ankle rattles, and their restless, vigorous, dynamic activity are in contrast to the serene piety of the church group.

The following summaries of field notes are examples of chapayeka behavior at Calvary:

In 1940 a chapayeka dropped a toy pistol with which he had been frightening others. After a short delay, a corporal picked it up for him. The chapayeka jumped and shook his rattles three times to thank him.

In 1948, at the tenth station, one of the chapayekas guarding Pilate explored the area, pantomimed surprise when he encountered the fence, beat on his sticks to call the attention of the other guard, pointed to the fence, made horizontal motions with his hands. The other guard motioned to him to jump over it, pretended to do so. The first went close to the fence, pretended to jump over it, made a great show of pretending to jump high.

In 1949 a chapayeka had a toy snake which he dangled on the feet of the others, or made it creep on the ground to frighten them.

In 1950 a chapayeka who had a toy rubber lizard suspended from a thread dangled it in front of the maestro at the stations. When he returned to the line he scraped it off when he scraped himself. He dangled it in front of other chapayekas, or made it move along the ground, sometimes over the feet of an unwary chapayeka, who then jumped quickly back.

The Pilate and chapayeka guards return to their places after the fourteenth station, directed by the head corporal. All go back to the church together as one procession, and this week the chapayekas do not run ahead to spy at the church because "they have caught up with the group . . . they are on the trail" (17).

The litter with the Nazarene is taken into the church backwards. If it is placed on a table in front of the altar, the participants in the public veneration kneel in front of it first, then go to the altar as usual, return to genuflect and make the sign of the cross in front of it, and leave. Often money is left there as well as at the altar. In the sermon Saint Lazarus is mentioned, as an illustration of the power of Jesus as a curer.

On the fifth and sixth Fridays all or part of the men going to the altar for the *muhte* may do so in the full form. For this, each pair clasps right hands at the entrance of the church and kneels. Each moves his head in the sign of the cross by a motion of the head downward, then from left to right. Still clasping hands, they walk about halfway to the altar, kneel, make the sign of the cross with their heads. They repeat this in front of the altar, or before the Nazarene if that figure stands in front of the altar. Each rises and separately venerates the holy figures on the altar. They clasp hands and kneel in front of the altar and make the sign of the cross with their heads. They walk backwards to about the middle of the church, kneel, make the sign of

the cross with their heads, and repeat this at the church entrance. They rise, touch hands, and thank each other as usual. The women venerate somewhat differently. They do not kneel as they approach the altar.

[It is because] the Friday processions are a re-enactment of Good Friday. The three stops are for God the Father, God the Son, and the Holy Spirit. It is done in all churches because Jesus has fallen. Each Friday is a novena for Good Friday. (12)

Sixth Friday Procession

Green boughs again decorate the church, and the procession is the same as on the fifth Friday, with the addition of mourning. The crucifixes on the altar are, or it is thought that they should be, draped with violet, the three Marys have lavender capes over their finery, and the small figures of Mary are covered with lavender or purple cloth. The girl flag-bearers and the women who carry the litters of the Three Marys should traditionally wear lavender crowns trimmed with darker lavender ribbon rosettes and bands over head coverings of white, embroidered with lavender in the usual designs. The flag girls should carry lavender flags.

In the sermon the events of Holy Week are outlined. The chapayekas become even more restive than usual, and, when the maestro talks about The Gloria on Holy Saturday and about flowers, they shake and stagger.

The altar is not dismantled but remains dressed for the Palm Sunday ceremonies, with the caballero lances crossed in front of it. The church group and the kohtumbre are supposed by tradition to remain at the church and the headquarters for the night.

In 1951 a translator made the following digest of the sermon given by the head maestro on the sixth Friday:

This is the sixth Friday of Lent, therefore it is called the Friday of Sorrow, because of the seven spades of pain which thrust into the heart of Our Most Holy Mother Mary. They broke it into four parts, when she met her Beloved Son and seeing Him treated in such a cruel manner, and seeing Him in most pitiful condition, because He was her Son, therefore was her own heart. And now, pueblo fathers, pueblo mothers, and all those who take part in the performance of this holy work. We are truly almost out to the end, to finish. We only have one more week to go. And that starts with the fiesta which will take place tomorrow evening to dawn out, to *Domingo de Ramos* (Palm Sunday); not Ramon, as many have thought it to be. This means the branches that were laid on His path when He was arriving in Jerusalem. This was done by the people who loved Him and knew Him as the King of the Jews. Some

of these people even took off their garments and laid them on the ground, and the Lord passed over them, and they knew His holy blessing.

(Other things were said as usual to all the people and the kohtumbre, to persevere in the work and to avoid taking another road, thereby losing the soul and remaining in the hands of the "enemy.") (55)

By the sixth Friday of Lent the number of chapayekas is increased, and their restless, weaving movements, the sharp tapping of weapon on weapon, and the crashing rhythmic sound of hip rattles, fill the plaza with motion and sound. During the public group veneration at the end of the services, one is aware of sudden quiet when they go together to headquarters to remove their masks in order to take their turns at the altar. When they return again to their places in line, vigorously shaking their hip rattles, the spectator feels anew their menacing, intransigent strength, built up Friday after Friday.

The language of pantomime has become clearly defined, as initiated by the head chapayeka: the bold, defiant, and sometimes obscene gestures directed toward the church group (a boldness ever mitigated by an uneasy insecurity and pervasive fear), and the use of sticks and hip rattles for greetings, farewells, thanks, attention-getting, and conversation among themselves. A gift for imitation has been apparent as the chapayekas perform scraps of matachin, pascola and deer dances, and humorous takeoffs on Anglos. Less easy to identify have been the "smoking" of twigs, in remembrance of the seer, and the rubbing of dirt on a pretended injury, reminiscent of the curer.

Toys have made their appearance, for use in defying the church group and teasing the maestros, and for play among themselves. Chapayekas have been seen to cause toy animals to go through the ritual of scraping off the body and tossing the refuse. An imitation snake dropped on the feet of others and a lizard suspended from a string were startling and diverting.

During periods of waiting in front of the church or when a few chapayekas have been wandering about the plaza, graphic and amusing pantomime, not connected with the ritual, has occurred. Behavior has sometimes been consonant with the type of mask worn, as the actions of a bull, goat, rabbit, butterfly, or an over-officious policeman are portrayed.

Taboos have been in evidence. For example, the back-turned, left-handed approach; the prostration for the removal of masks; the aid required of a corporal in tying a loose ankle rattle or in retrieving a dropped weapon. Less easily recognized is the basic need for constant vigilant activity to ward off the evil ever present in the mask.

Watching the chapayekas one understands more clearly the difficulty of acting two ways—simultaneously performing derisive and insulting acts

toward the church group and keeping the mind and heart dedicated to Jesucristo. Each chapayeka, however, has the comforting assurance afforded by the cross in the mouth and the prayers in the heart.

The chapayeka fear of flowers and of the church bell is well illustrated in the following notes, taken on the sixth Friday in 1950:

Before the procession the head maestro held out a paper bag containing confetti to a chapayeka, so that he could see what was inside. The chapayeka shivered and shook. When the head maestro rang the church bell, he fell to the ground and lay still until it stopped. He slowly got up, shaking his head. Put his dagger to his ear several times and wiped it out; then shook his head hard several times, with that ear pointed toward ground. Got up slowly, leaning on his sword, shuffled his feet as he went to headquarters.

When the head altar woman scattered confetti on the Three Marys when they left the church, several chapayekas were close by. They staggered about and shook violently.

An example of chapayeka behavior with the child angels, in a digest of notes taken on the sixth Friday in 1949, follows:

When the kohtumbre lined up in front of the church, the chapayekas peered in, beckoned the church group to hurry up. One saw two angels coming into the plaza; so he left and marched to meet them, making a great noise, slapping his feet down hard, clacking his sticks. Then all the other five chapayekas went too, several "riding" their swords. One or two were whipped, but the smallest angel was frightened and cried.

During the procession on the sixth Friday in 1949 the following observations were made:

When the chapayeka guard for Pilate was changed the first time, the new pair approached rather diffidently. Old ones turned backs and jumped and shook rattles as greeting. New ones replied in kind. Old ones demonstrated how to "mount" swords, pointed to Way of the Cross, to Pilate, instructed in duties. New ones "mounted" swords. Old ones turned backs shook rattles in farewell.

At each station the chapayekas annoyed the maestros. A few crawled up to them slowly. Those who went erect took little nervous, skipping steps. One who crawled up touched book of maestro with dagger, scraped dagger on ground, crawled back to line, got up, scraped dagger on ground several times. Several touched heads of maestros, then scraped daggers on ground. At twelfth station, head chapayeka danced pascola with exaggerated jumps, scraped foot on ground loudly at in-

tervals, pascola style. Other chapayekas pretended alarm at each jump, ran away or fell back.

COMING OF THE CHAPAYEKAS

Chapayekas arriving at kohtumbre headquarters for the first time in the current year after the first Friday may do so with a special ritual. It only occurs when the kohtumbre is assembled for a ceremony. There is no formal name for this, but "The Coming of the Chapayekas" (*ke'esam weyeka*, first time comes) conforms to the following pattern. The chapayekas secretly carry their regalia in a sack to a remote and secluded spot, where they put it on and substitute their ordinary clothes in the sack. They wander over the desert and approach the plaza in circuitous ways. No one direction has been the real or the ideal pattern. As if in a strange land they look about, explore the terrain, examine hummocks of grass and trash piles, try this path and that, display intense curiosity about what they see. They hold conversations with each other, point out objects, discuss the best way to proceed. They jump back in fear at the bark of a dog, often pretend to shoot at it, and are equally frightened at any sudden noise, as the approach of a car.

As they near the east entrance of the plaza, one or more chapayekas in regalia, who have already served in the current year, go out to find them, accompanied as usual by corporals. They scan the landscape, put their daggers over their eyes in the familiar sighting gesture, use their swords as telescopes. When they see the new chapayekas, they converse in pantomime and encourage each other to meet them. They stalk them with stealthy caution, cast quick darting glances about to see if they are being ambushed. The new ones are wary and have to be pursued but are finally vanquished. The old ones shoot at them with cap pistols, or train their swords on them and simulate firing with either rifles or machine guns. They frequently hide behind buildings or lie in tall grass and shoot from ambush; but they approach with timid bravery and finally overcome the new ones, generally with several thrusts simulating decapitation. When their victims fall to the ground, they pretend to dismember them, cutting and chopping their joints with their swords, but they are quick to jump back at a jerk or sudden move. If one of the old ones wears the mask of a bull or of a goat, he pretends to charge and gore the new ones and to rip them with his horns when they are down. The old ones revive the newcomers, fan them, offer drinks from their swords, stroke them with their daggers, converse with them in pantomime. Cautiously they get them to rise, prodding, prying, pulling them by offering the ends of their swords. The new ones stagger up, groggy, weak, and tottering, to be regaled in pantomime with descriptions of the pleasures—food, drink, and dancing—that await them if they join the kohtumbre. They capitulate at last, jump, and shake their hip rattles to

show that they are willing. All jump up and down in pairs, back to back, steadying themselves by hanging onto each other, each new chapayeka with each old one, in the chapayeka form of shaking hands. At the end they give a final vigorous jump and shake. All head toward the east entrance of the plaza, sometimes marching together. The new ones try to escape but are herded, reluctant, into the plaza, urged by the flat of a sword or the push of horns.

At the kohtumbre headquarters a senior fariseo officer gives a speech which varies but which is composed mostly of queries as to where the chapayekas come from, by what means they have traveled, whether they belong to a *kompania*, and whether they have a leader or are looking for one. He almost always asks whether there is a seer with them who is able to foretell the future and thus help them capture That Man. They are generally warned that there is danger here and that they may "have their heads cut off." Rewards of plenty of food, drinks, and dancing are offered. The new ones listen with their backs turned, stubbornly shake their heads as they answer in pantomime. They may beckon to the mountains to the north and describe their descent; or they have been seen to make a rocking motion with their weapons, which means that they came by boat. They may make pushing gestures with their fists, to show that they are strong. Finally, they jump and shake their hip rattles in capitulation, and, sometimes still reluctant, they enter the headquarters, led or pushed by the old chapayekas.

After the chapayekas have removed their masks in their section at the back of the headquarters, they come out again, or should do so, into the front part of headquarters for a brief ceremony. For this all of the fariseo officers who are present rise, remove their hats, and stand in a row. The chapayekas walk past them three times, touch hands with each, and exchange the Yaqui greetings. Then all stand facing the officers, and the oldest one makes a short speech, offering their services to the fariseos. All say the usual *Dios en chiokoebu ute'esia* at the end. Following are speeches made in 1950 by the two chapayeka leaders of that year:

I, on arriving here feeling well, I desire to work [on] it with you. God forgive you strongly. (9)

Well, yes, my fathers, in this hour we came out to you desiring to work [on] it with you. (31)

The coming of the chapayekas is explained variously:

They come for the purpose of Judas to make more men in the force. Those coming in are frightened of not knowing what his plans are, and some are wounded when they try to get them to come in. The purpose is to make more company. . . . they are supposed to be people just trav-

eling by, and seeing these people approach, and so are forced to join the others. They are supposed to be human beings.

They think of him as a new soldier, one from another outfit who has lost his way and has wandered here from another post. When they see him, they start shooting him and wound him (*ko'okosi ya'ari*). (31)

The chapayekas who come from the field haven't got no company, so they go around looking for a company like the [fariseos]. So the others go around looking, so when they find them they bring them in. (9)

The capture of the chapayekas is a capture done by camp soldiers. The old ones don't kill them, they just capture them. They are soldiers who go astray from the army and are lost. And the camp guards find them and do not recognize them, and capture them by force. (8)

A former fariseo acting-captain gave the following digest of a speech that he made, which contained a joke about a boat, which caused much amusement:

I ask him from where he comes. Then I ask him if he brought a guide or comes alone. Then I tell him that there is much food and money and dancing and wine. Then I say to him that they should not be sad, because there is much pleasure in dancing. Then they will all be very happy. Then I ask him if he is a seer. Then he says to me that, if we seize That Man that we want to seize, they will [help] seize That Man. Then [I say] let us all go very far from here in a boat where we have already thrown This Man. (49)

Following are descriptions of dialogues between the old and new chapayekas by two of the most experienced fariseos:

The captain starts a conversation with him, just as if it were between two people. But the chapayeka tells an imaginary story. The captain asks, after a greeting, where he has been; that he has not seen him for a long time; and is he looking for a job, or is he looking for his old company. Then the chapayeka starts a make-believe story about all the places he has been to, the good times he has had, and the bad ones. Then he might say he wanted a job, or was looking for his old company. The captain would say that he would be glad to have him. "We are in need of someone wise and intelligent and educated like you, because we have a Man Whom we have to bring in. The Man we are after is a mighty and powerful person, and we are afraid of Him, and He has a big army, and we need more men like you." The captain then explains that he will have much pleasure in drinking and dancing and eating, and that he will have money to spend. And after the chapayeka accepts,

he is told to rest and be at ease. . . . The chapayeka talks as he were an old acquaintance, and a year had gone by since he saw him. (17)

The newcomers are supposed to be killed first and then they rise again, and the old ones bring them to the guardhouse. And then the Pilate or whoever is the leader questions the old soldiers, where they picked them up, and whether they had any leader or not . . . and whether they want to join them in their army. He asks several questions, whether they are very wise men, and that is where the seer comes in, whether they can foretell the future. When he refers to the seer he says whether they can foretell an event in the future. In this moment all the [new] soldiers are wearing their masks and not facing him. They turn their backs and talk by signs. The standard tradition is that the Hurasim, when they are wearing their masks, they do not face him. . . . Among the masked soldiers they can face each other, but not anyone else. (31)

A man who is fulfilling his chapayeka vow for the first time is aided by an experienced chapayeka as follows:

A newcomer would be taken in by an old-timer to dress, and he gives him instruction about everything, and especially about the prayers. And how to act and how to greet, and how to act wounded when he is attacked, and how to get up and act as if he is cured. And the old chapayeka sort of deceives him in by telling him how he will have plenty to eat, and drink, and girls, and money to spend. One time they enticed a chapayeka in by pretending to play dice. They would not greet a newcomer like an old friend. They would ask where he comes from, what his business is. They would be afraid that he might be a spy, but they finally decide he is on the level. And then the captain explains about the pleasures and the money and he accepts the offer and comes in. (17)

If there is no time for this ceremony it is omitted, and the new chapayekas merely go to the headquarters, or even join the procession after it has started.

The people of the village enjoy this event and watch from their patios or in the plaza. Small boys gather about, but dart away if the chapayekas come too close to them. Sometimes people put out on the ground paper sacks of food, and one of the chapayekas picks it up off the ground by sitting down and sidling toward it with his back turned. All of the rest show curiosity and interest, and the bag is given to a corporal to carry for them. One or more of the chapayekas entertains for the donor by doing a pascola, deer, or matachin dance, using his sword and dagger for the regalia suitable to the dance. Another chapayeka or two pretend to accompany him, using weapons for musical instruments.

Villagers say that the chapayekas may come from any direction they wish, and there has been variety in this respect in observed behavior. They always enter the plaza through the east entrance, as does any ceremonial group. It is said that these chapayekas are wanderers, human beings who are found by the kohtumbre and forced to join them, once it has been determined that they are friendly.

HOUSEHOLD FIESTAS IN LENT

Household fiestas in Lent, as previously described, take place on Friday or Saturday nights prior to the Palm Sunday weekend. An individual may, in return for the help of Jesus in alleviating a crisis, promise to give a fiesta in His honor during Lent, generally for three successive years. The concept is that the household offers a resting place for the night for the Lord, as a respite from the fatigue and sufferings endured during His wanderings. Since these fiestas occur in the Lenten season, the kohtumbre acts as manager, to aid the fiesteros with their multiple duties. During such a fiesta, kohtumbre members are called Huras pahko achaim.

The long opening ritual of the pascolas does not occur in fiestas in Lent. The underlying reason is that it puts emphasis on the importance and popularity of the pascolas when at this time the attention is more properly directed toward the Lord: "Because this is a big manda for our Jesus" (28). A more pragmatic reason given is that there is not enough time. The pascolas come to the front of the ramada and call out the Yaqui greeting and then start to dance.

Since the whole of Lent is considered to be one ceremony, the Kanariam is played to open only the first fiesta in Lent. At subsequent fiestas the Sailsa Kanariam, ordinarily the second song of the fiesta, is played. Likewise the morning Kanariam, which ends a fiesta outside of Lent, is not played until Easter Sunday morning, during the sermon that ends the fiesta in the fiesta ramada. It is reported that when the Holy Cross fiesta was given, the morning Kanariam was not played until the close of that fiesta.

When a man decides to give a fiesta in Lent, he notifies the leader of the kohtumbre in the presence of other members of that organization that he is "lending his house so that Jesus can rest there for the night." The head maestro is also notified, and he makes a formal announcement of the event at the end of a Lenten Friday procession, with the head fiestero standing beside him. The maestro invites the whole pueblo in the name of the fiesteros. In theory any fiesta at which a pascola performs is open to the public, but it is more courteous for the Anglo visitor not to attend a household fiesta unless invited.

As soon as the kohtumbre is notified it automatically acts as manager of the fiesta, acting in behalf of the fiesta hosts. It takes charge of the num-

berless details involved, and the greatest physical labor falls, as usual, on the chapayekas. The officers invite, generally through the corporals, the needed personnel—maestros, singers, altar women, and pascolas. Flag girls are not included because no figures of the Virgin appear at this time. For ritual reasons, because they are associated with flowers, the matachinis and deer dancer do not appear until the plaza fiesta of the night before Palm Sunday. Exceptions to this are very rare instances when a family has a special obligation that it wants to recognize, and then only with the agreement of the kohtumbre. Such an occasion, in 1937, was recorded by R. B. Spicer (1939: 78–82).

The kohtumbre conducts a limosna. The food and money collected are given to the fiesta hosts with a formal speech.

The ideal pattern for this type of fiesta is as follows. The household fiesta ramada altar is dressed by the women of the household and the altar women. On it are placed one or more figures of Jesus, belonging to the household, and the fariseo altar crucifix. No statues of the Virgin should be present. The pascolas start to dance in the late afternoon. A fariseo officer is appointed to act as manager to the pascolas whenever they appear during Lent.

In the late afternoon or early evening the kohtumbre ya'ura gathers in formation at the church to escort to the fiesta the maestros, singers, and altar women. The maestro carries whatever Books of the Dead have been left at the church during Lent. The fariseo Pilate has the fariseo limosna crucifix cradled in his arm. They proceed to the encampment cross and table, around which the kohtumbre marches three times in a blessing. The chapayekas run about, circling them, their lines going in opposite directions. The Books of the Dead and the fariseo limosna crucifix are put on the table by a fariseo corporal. The kohtumbre marches, then or later, in a konti, as a blessing. They march three times around the encampment cross and table; then three times around the fiesta cross and the house and fiesta ramada; or sometimes only around the cross and the ramada. The kohtumbre flag-bearers wave once at the start and finish and each time they pass a cross.

Then, or later in the evening, inside the ramada, a fariseo corporal gives the male fiesteros the fariseo altar crucifix, the household figures of Jesus, and the household Book of the Dead. To the women fiesteras he gives lighted candles. Flanked by the fariseo formation, the pascolas, not dancing, lead all of the fiesteros, maestros, singers, and altar women, in that order, to the encampment table. A fariseo corporal puts on the table the holy figures and the Books of the Dead. The group from the fiesta ramada kneels in front of the table for prayers, then stands facing the ramada, the pascolas to one side. A fariseo corporal gives all of the holy figures and all of the Books of the Dead, including those from the church, to the male fiesteros. If the fiesta is a three-year vow, the kohtumbre flags are given to the oldest woman

fiestera. If not, and if the kohtumbre wants to “tie up” the fiesteros for three years, they offer the flags anyway. If they refuse, the fiesteros must make a speech explaining why it is impossible.

The pascolas, using their procession step in time to their tampaleo, walk back and forth between the group and the fiesta cross, making their quick, slight genuflection to each. Kohtumbre flags are waved as they approach the table. The pascolas howl like coyotes as they move away from the group for the fourth time, as a signal to them to follow. All go forward in the same order as before. The kohtumbre flanks them, and the chapayekas beat time to the quick notes of the tampaleo. All pause at the fiesta cross while the pascolas walk back and forth three times between the fiesta cross and the altar inside. At the usual signal from the pascolas, all except the kohtumbre move forward into the ramada. The pascola group goes at once to the inside of the ramada and continues to play their instruments and to beat their sonasums until the prayers. The fiesteros wave the kohtumbre flags in front of the altar, then a fariseo corporal puts them and the holy figures and the Books of the Dead on the altar. All except the kohtumbre and the pascolas kneel for prayers offered by the head maestro.

The kohtumbre retrieves its flags for the veneration that follows. The pascola group venerates first, then the fiesteros, the kohtumbre, and the public as before described. After a short speech by a senior officer of the kohtumbre, the kohtumbre marches back to the fiesta cross and has a prayer circle or disbands. Their regalia are put on and around the fiesta cross, which, with their benches and fire, now becomes their headquarters for the night. The fariseo flags are on the altar, and the lances of the caballeros are crossed in front of it until the maestros start services. At some time during the night the kohtumbre has a rosary, using rosaries attached to the tips of the caballero lances, which then stand erect at either side of the altar. The pascolas dance all night, and occasionally the chapayekas imitate them.

Dawn ceremonies, breakfast, and then all prepare for the procession to return the holy figures to the church, the reverse of the action of the night before. The kohtumbre takes back its flags for the veneration in front of the encampment table, after which the head maestro and a senior fariseo officer make short speeches. For the thank-you circle, the fiesteros stand in front of the table, with the church group at their right, pascolas at the left. The kohtumbre also enters the circle. Finished, they march around the circle three times, then escort the church group to the church. The altar is dismantled and all disperse.

This pattern, too, has gradually been changed through the years and made simpler. But the basic plan, of church and household meeting together, and the official duties of the kohtumbre, remain the same.

12

The Easter Ceremony, Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday

All of the ceremonies of the Palm Sunday weekend are in honor of Jesus, symbolized by a small image known as San Ramos. In the homeland on the Yaqui River a hand-carved and -painted figure of Jesus on a burro is said to be used. It represents Jesus entering Jerusalem on an ass and is known as Jesus en Burro, or as San Ramos. Having no such figure, Pascuans dress a small image of the Sacred Heart, formerly in a white robe but, since 1950, in a scarlet tunic and white cord resembling that of the Nazarene. A small piece of palm leaf is placed under its arm, and it is referred to as San Ramos, or sometimes as Ramos. A few call it San Ramon, but the head maestro says that is not correct. A few say that the figure of the Nazarene is the one honored and that San Ramos is a companion of Jesus; but most agree that San Ramos is the important image at this time.

The fiesta and the ceremonies . . . are in honor of Jesus in the person of San Ramos, in memory of the Lord riding on a little burro in the big city. (55)

For the first time in Lent all ceremonial groups unite, to carry out the events of the Palm Sunday weekend. The function of each is clearly defined. In summary, the members of the kohtumbre ya'ura are both hosts and managers of the all-night fiesta on Saturday. Instead of being managers on behalf of the fiesta givers, as described for household fiestas in Lent, they are themselves the fiesta givers. Their wives are the cooks in the community kitchen. The kohtumbre also continues to participate, as before, in the dramatization of the Passion.

The church group prepares the church and the altar side of the fiesta ramada, handles and accompanies the holy figures, conducts religious services, and, in the drama, represents Jesus and Mary as before.

The matachinis, always associated with the church group, dance for the first time in Lent. They make their headquarters at the church and dance there for the Virgin, as her "army."

The pascolas act as ritual hosts for the all-night fiesta in the fiesta ramada, representing the kohtumbre. They not only give out cigarettes and water but also dance and entertain with jokes and stories.

The deer dancer, hitherto unseen during the Lenten period, dances in the ramada with the pascolas and engages with them in pantomimic play. Two members of the kohtumbre are assigned as managers for the pascola and the deer dance groups. Pascola and deer dancers are drawn into the Catholic aspect of the events by venerating at the altar and cross, by the sermons of the pascolas, and by leading the processions with the matachinis.

When the military society was present, it made its headquarters near the church. Their boxed figure of the Virgin stood on the altar, as it continues to do.

This is a time, too, when there is urgent need for help from those people who have no ceremonial obligations to fulfill but who, as *kia pueblo*, volunteer to perform a multitude of small tasks, such as carrying holy figures, helping with the cooking, and other work. It is considered that they, too, no matter how brief the labor, share in the blessing that is the reward to those who work for the Lord.

The all-night fiesta on the night before Palm Sunday is called *Tako Pahko* (Palm Fiesta). Palm Sunday is spoken of as *Tako'owa*, (Receiving Palms), or *Lominko Tako* (Sunday Palm).

PALM SUNDAY EVE

The structure of the two big fiestas in Lent has already been discussed in the section on fiestas. To recapitulate, the two focal points of the Palm Sunday Eve fiesta are the church and the fiesta ramada in the plaza. Late in the evening the male holy figures are carried in a full procession from the church to the altar in the fiesta ramada so that they may be honored there during the night. The men's church group and the boy angels remain all night near the altar in the fiesta ramada. Dancing by the pascolas and deer dancer on their side of the ramada is almost continuous. The kohtumbre *ya'ura* makes its headquarters for the night at the fiesta cross, with benches and fire nearby. After the prayers in the ramada the matachinis lead the women's church group and the Three Marys back to the church, where they remain for the night. The dance area for the matachinis is between the

church and the church cross, and their headquarters are the benches drawn up alongside.

Thus it is that the arrangements are an extension of the male-female dichotomy already carried out in the Friday processions around the Way of the Cross. "The Virgin is making a fiesta at the church and the Lord at the fiesta ramada" (55).

Limosna for the Palm Sunday Eve Fiesta

All limosnas undertaken during Lent are conducted by the kohtumbre ya'ura, no matter what the occasion. Limosnas may occur every week for the purpose of obtaining food and money for people who are in need, or for fiestas. A primary purpose is also to bless the house visited. "Jesucristo comes to every house to bless it" (35 and 9). A collateral result is that a limosna done before any ceremony calls it to the attention of the people. The one carried out on behalf of the all-night fiesta before Palm Sunday is the last one in the Lenten season.

For this limosna members of the kohtumbre gather at headquarters sometime in the morning on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. All do not go, but present must be caballeros, a Pilate, at least one fariseo, flag-bearer, flutist, drummer, several fariseo corporals, and several chapayekas, generally five or six. The Pilate carries in his left arm the little figure of San Ramos, "in memory of Christ traveling before He went to Jerusalem" (8).

In the usual formation they march around the church cross three times to bless it; then out of the plaza to make the rounds of the village households. The chapayekas, accompanied by one or more corporals to help and protect them, leave the lines and engage in free play along the way. Thus they fulfill a secondary purpose of the limosna (by calling attention to the ceremonies to come), since people gather to watch them. This is an excellent occasion to observe the chapayekas in spontaneous and exuberant action. It is a favorite time, too, for householders to put out food for them in paper sacks.

As they approach the first household to be visited, flute and drum play to give notice, flags wave, and the chapayekas turn their backs, jump, and shake their hip rattles three times in the chapayeka manner of greeting. A senior member of the household, a man if present, goes to the gate and receives the image of San Ramos and a small offering bowl. No genuflection occurs. He puts the figure on an improvised altar that has been made ready. It is usually a low table or stool, sometimes a chair, in front of the patio cross or, less often, under a cross hanging on the wall of the house. On it is a fresh cloth, and occasionally flowers. As the kohtumbre advances to each side of the altar, its members greet the household in unison with the familiar

“Dios en chianiabu,” to which the family replies “Dios en chiokoebu.” It is said that formerly the kohtumbre marched around the altar three times and that the flag-bearer waved on each side to bless the ground; then they removed their hats and knelt by the altar. At present the flag-bearer advances, waves in front of the altar, or on the four sides if there is room, then stands to the right of it, with hat on.

The person of the household who carried the image to the altar kneels in front of it, crosses himself, and prays. The flag-bearer touches his forehead with the flag, as described for the public veneration in the church. Each member of the household venerates in turn, and the children are guided through the ritual by adults. Some pick up the image and kiss it; most make a deep bow from the waist. Each time coins are put in the bowl, the kohtumbre says chiokoe. Almost always a woman brings out some item of food, such as a bowl or cup of flour, which is poured into sacks carried by the corporals for that purpose. The flute and drum continue to play. If anyone is too ill to appear, the image is carried to his bedside and he venerates there. “They let the man cross himself before Itom Achai and bless him with the flag” (58).

Meanwhile one of the senior members of the kohtumbre makes a speech to the household, either from his place in line or standing in the center.

He says that Christ is visiting them, so that they can give Him a prayer and ask for better health and for forgiveness. If they have nothing to give, he tells them that it is all right for him not to give, that that is not the only purpose. (58)

A summary of a speech given by a senior fariseo official was repeated by him later as follows:

The Lord has come to you, visiting you. Ask of Him blessing, days [long life], and grace for yourselves to reach the next year feeling well. (17)

When all have finished, the kohtumbre members in unison say the customary words of thanks, to which the householders reply, “Yes, you, too, we thank you very much.” The flag-bearer waves his flag as upon arrival; if there is more than one flag-bearer, the head flag-bearer dismantles the altar by lifting the covering and dropping it again, or by hanging it over the patio cross. Flute and drum sound, the flag waves as they go on, and the chapayekas turn their backs, jump three times, and shake their rattles as a thank you and a farewell. The person who received the figure, takes it to the gate of the next household, where it is received by one of its members. Thus it is passed along until the last household visited, where the Pilate receives it again.

When the members of the limosna group return to the plaza, they stand in front of the church while the image is returned to the altar and the sacks of food are put in the sacristy. Then they circle the cross three times and disband at headquarters.

Chapayeka activity at this time is described in the following digests of field notes taken from the car:

In 1949 they played with pieces of tin and trash that they found in an alley. One found a large tin can that he carried around on the tip of his sword. Another a broken wooden box, with which he made a great noise. Several had a mock battle, clicked daggers on swords like machine guns.

In 1950 one thrust a sword into a carton, ran along shoving it before him. Others pretended excitement and fright. Someone put out a paper sack with food in it. All gathered around gesticulating. One sat down, back to sack, very cautiously ran hand along the ground, touched it several times, finally picked it up. Showed it to others, finally gave it to a corporal. All jumped up and down three times and shook rattles, to say thank you. One did a mock deer dance to show appreciation. He used sword and dagger gourd fashion, dipped down as if to drink in imitation of the deer. Two others imitated deer singer rasps with swords and daggers.

In 1952 there were five chapayekas and two corporals. Chapayekas ran ahead, chasing each other. One at rear held sword parallel to the ground, sighted along it, carefully clicked dagger as if shooting. They saw an outdoor toilet. Two pointed at it and squatted. One went to toilet, peeked in and left. When a chapayeka was seated on the ground ready to pick up a bag of food, another kept pushing it away with his sword. Another showed first chapayeka where the bag was. This was repeated several times. Finally the culprit ran away. A chapayeka sat on the ground, back against a post, played on his sword with his dagger, violin fashion. Very slow tempo. Another put his sword against his shoulder, then manipulated it like a matachin wand. Made exaggerated turns with a graceful, smooth, gliding movement, lifted feet very high and slowly. One playing fell over as if in sleep, woke up and played again. Chapayeka with bull mask chased chapayeka about to pick up another sack of food. One sat on ground and used weapons as rasps for another (who is also a deer dancer), who danced deer. He did the steps, but in a very relaxed way, not precise and tense as when he is really dancing deer. Two did pascola steps, clicking daggers on swords to sound like a sonasum. They cast darting glances from side to side as they danced. Then first one sat on the ground, pretended to play the violin, with several grand strokes at first. Other chapayeka did pascola

Preparing Food in the Community Kitchen (*Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography*)

steps, including scratching ground with feet. After each sequence they jumped and shook their rattles. They rescued a bag of food, jumped and shook rattles three times. Other bits of play were observed. They hit belts, as if to call attention to ammunition; or pockets, as if to display money, always with left hand. One picked up a jacket in a household patio and took it around draped over his sword, showing it off to the other. It was ransomed. One “rode” his sword, while another clicked his dagger to his sword in imitation of the sound of trotting.

Palm Sunday Eve Fiesta

As both the fiesta hosts and managers of the fiesta, the members of the kohtumbre ya'ura have a multitude of duties. Among other things, they hang fresh cottonwood twigs from the ceiling on the pascola side of the fiesta ramada, in remembrance of the huya ania. They fasten palm leaves above the entrance of the church and on the bell towers, on the posts of the fiesta ramada, and on either side of the east entrance to the plaza. The chapayekas brush the plaza with brooms made of mesquite branches and remove stones from the path going from the church to the fiesta ramada, which will be traversed by processions. They take great drums of water to the community kitchen. Wood chopping is almost continuous; wood is piled in the kitchen; trunks and roots are laid in preparation for the all-night fires at the kohtumbre headquarters and near the fiesta ramada. They raise flags over the church—the United States flag and the Pascua fiesta flag. As they stir in uneasy motion, the colors of the flags are gay against the brown mountains to the west.

The cooks, wives of the kohtumbre, are busy all day in the kitchen. They prepare meat and fresh vegetables for the stew, cook frijoles over open fires, make menudo for the next morning, and shape masa for tortillas. All afternoon, around a separate fire, they pat out tortillas, slapping hand on hand until they are paper thin, drop them on a hot iron sheet to toast briefly, turn them deftly, snatch them up, and pile them in tubs or baskets, covered with a fresh white cloth. They cover the long tables with new oilcloth, topped by white tablecloths. Dishes, removed from cupboards, are washed.

Children play about or sleep on blankets along the walls of the kitchen. During the Palm Sunday weekend, and from Wednesday of Holy Week until Easter Sunday morning, the cooks are thus engaged in preparing food for the participants, who take all of their meals in the community kitchen during these periods.

Members of the church group water down the dirt floor of the church and later lay a carpet in the center. The altar remains as it was the day before, with all holy figures still veiled in the purple of mourning. If it has not been brought before, the figure of the Infant Jesus, wrapped in purple cloth trimmed with a white cross and border, is added. The silver-colored lances of the caballeros remain crossed before the altar or the Nazarene, if that image stands in front of the altar.

If there is no sacristan to do it, the altar women and flag girls dress the altar on the church side of the fiesta ramada with a rose silk cloth and antependium and stretch white cloths above and back of it. A sacristan or a maestro places the small figure of San Ramos on it, and the fariseos add their altar crucifix. A carpet is laid for the maestro and singers. The chapayekas water and tamp down the dirt floor of the fiesta ramada.

All of this work, no matter how menial, is considered to be work (*tek-ipanoa*) done for Jesus and Mary, and it is mentioned in sermons along with the ritual labor of carrying out the ceremonies.

Concessionaires, mostly Mexican, are permitted to put up small booths (*puestos*) with food and soft drinks on the north and south sides of the plaza, and later a popcorn wagon may appear.

As it grows dark, the fariseos light lanterns hanging from the ceiling of the church and in the fiesta ramada. The fragrance from the mesquite smoke of the big bonfires hovers in the air. In the church the girl flag-bearers sit on the carpet by the altar, waiting to be dressed in their regalia, and the girl angels, accompanied by their godmothers, take their places behind them. The boy angels and their godmothers gather on their rug on the opposite side of the altar.

The matachin musicians, waiting on their bench by the church, a row of live coals at their feet, play gentle, wandering airs from their dance music. As the matachin dancers arrive, they go first to the altar to venerate, then hang their regalia on the lintel over the entrance of the church. The painted gourd rattles, wands decorated with dyed chicken feathers, and the varicolored crepe-paper streamers of the crowns embroider a brilliant design over the lintel. They are hung there for a blessing and to honor them, as the costumes that the Blessed Virgin designed for her soldiers must be treated with respect. Each man goes to the matachinis who have already arrived to touch hands and exchange the Yaqui greetings. The little boys, the malinchim, who dance in the center line behind the dance leader, enter the church to be dressed by their godmothers. Their long organdy skirts, embroidered Mexican blouses, ribbons and beads, are said to be like the clothing of the Virgin Mary Herself. They remain seated on a rug near the altar.

The matachin manager hangs a lighted lantern on the lintel of the church and puts a lantern and one or more candles at the church cross. This marks off the area between the altar and the church cross as *santo tebat*, lighted by *santo tachiria*, symbolizing the light from heaven. Holy work takes place here, but evil may await outside. There is always anxiety about the dangers of the night from the witch and the devil; the light of dawn is a blessed thing. This area, including the benches at the side, constitutes the matachin area for the night. The ground between the altar in the fiesta ramada and the fiesta cross, and the path and light over the processions, have the same significance.

The mellow sound of dangling bells and the crackle and buzz of cocoon ankle rattles herald the entrance of the pascola dancers when they arrive in the early evening to open the fiesta in the fiesta ramada. An eager crowd gathers at once at the entrance of their side of the ramada. Their manager leads them to the altar, where they kneel, push aside their masks, cross

themselves, and pray. They move their masks over their faces and go with their manager to the fiesta cross outside, where they thrust their masks aside again, genuflect, and recite prayers. The manager gives each man one, sometimes three, small rockets, with mutual genuflections. They set these off as a notice to God, through Saint Michael and the angels as messengers, that the fiesta is about to start and that all are fulfilling their duties. Small alert boys watch the slight, golden parabolas and scramble to pick up the spent rockets. Masks again over their faces, the pascolas are led back to their side of the fiesta ramada, where they face the crowd and greet them.

They start to dance at once, each separately in turn, to the music of harp and violin. Mask to one side for this music, the dancer walks back and forth accommodating to the rhythm, then begins to dance, head down, eyes on the intricate movements of his feet. The men in the audience watch closely and applaud special virtuosity. Soon after this series is completed, the tampaleo beats his drum, adds the music of the flute, and the head pascola starts to dance, manipulating his rattle. Separately, the others follow. In both types of dances the sound of the cocoon ankle rattles and the ringing of the bells on the leather belt, in response to body movements, contribute to the interest of the dance.

Meanwhile the three deer singers arrive and go to the altar in the fiesta ramada, then take up their positions just inside the entrance to the pascola side of the fiesta ramada. Their instruments are in front of them—two sets of gourd resonators with rasps, and a half-gourd drum floating in water in a bowl. In anticipation of the arrival of the deer dancer, they may sing:

Little fawn, little fawn,
Now coming out
Plays in the rain water
From the sunrise coming out
In the patio of the deer hunter
Playing in the rain water
Plays in the water

Shortly after, the deer dancer arrives, accompanied by his manager. After prayers at the altar and the fiesta cross, he starts his first dance. Throughout the fiesta the deer dancer dances, in rhythmic pantomime, with each pascola in turn, as they dance to the music of the tampaleo. As the tampaleo is warming up for each dance, the deer singers move their rasps and tap the water drum slowly. The deer dancer shakes his gourds in front of them sharply as a signal, the rasps move ever more rapidly, the deep thump of the drum accelerates, and the singers start their song.

The fiesta ramada, and especially the dance area of the deer, is imagined to be the huya ania, the forest world of the deer and other wild life. The

Matachinis Relaxing in Front of the Altar (Courtesy of Ray Manley Photography)

water in the bowl of the water drum is reminiscent of the lakes and streams of the huya. The deer dancer has a dual role. He represents not only the wild deer, but, along with his singers, the hunters who, in ancient times, petitioned the maso ya'ut for permission to hunt on the following day. The pascolas, when they come to the fiesta, trail with them memories of the Surem, those little people who preceded the Yaquis and who may still be seen and heard in remote caves and secret places in the mountains and the

desert. In the pantomime throughout the night between the pascolas and deer, one catches glimpses of the ancient and unitary world, in which man and animals could communicate and could come to common understandings.

When the deer dancer arrives at the fiesta, he is thought of as a little fawn, who grows to maturity as the night wears on. Early in the evening the pascolas, imitating some of the behavior of deer hunters, catch the fawn and try to tame him.

When the pascolas and deer start to dance, some of the chapayekas gather outside to mimic them. Sometimes as many as six may dance pascola, in exaggerated motions. They like especially to make a great noise scraping the ground with their feet in the pascola way, and others pretend to be frightened at their racket. Other chapayekas may sit on the ground and imitate the deer singers by scraping their daggers on their swords, while others dance to imitate the deer. They lean well forward, shake their hips, and manipulate their swords and daggers like gourd rattles. Between dances they beckon imperiously to the pascolas, urging them to dance again. Sometimes the pascolas run to the entrance and cough, or shout "Ave María Purísima" to frighten them.

The matachinis do not dance until the pascolas have "opened the fiesta," but soon after that, at a sign from the manager, each man takes down his regalia, steps into his place in the lines, makes the sign of the cross as he puts on his crown, repeats prayers silently, and genuflects slightly with each knee. The dance leader, at the head of the center line, rotates his gourd swiftly as a signal. The music of violins and guitars starts, all shake their gourds to identify with the rhythm, and the dance begins. Each dance lasts for a half hour to an hour, with rests between dances, and they continue through the night. The crash of the gourd rattles sounds sharp and clear; the headdresses and feathered wands make bright patterns in the half-light. Between dances the little malinchim sit or lie near the altar, with their skirts rolled up around their waists. They are the guardians of the altar and of the Virgin Mary, and they must remain near her.

The crowd at the entrance of the fiesta ramada thins out, then surges back, ever lured by the sound of the music preliminary to each dance. After the fawn is captured, pantomime with him continues as the pascolas "domesticate" him. He constantly plays tricks on them and makes them look foolish.

Between dances the pascolas tell tall stories and often toss jokes and puns back and forth with the men gathered in front of their side of the ramada. The pascolas themselves are forbidden by tradition to laugh or to smile, but they give delight to the audience, including the church group, which never joins in the repartee but enjoys it. The women may hide their faces with their rebozos to conceal their amusement. The pascolas are adept

at punning and double talk, and men in the crowd are not slow-witted in response. The pascolas often imitate humorously other groups, and even have license to caricature the songs and sermons of the maestros.

During the evening a full procession takes place, the purpose of which is to escort the male holy figures from the church to the fiesta ramada, to be honored there during the night. The men's church group, with the male images, stands at the front of the church, with the women's group and the Three Marys behind them. Some hold lighted candles.

The kohtumbre marches to the fiesta ramada to the accompaniment of the noisy, rhythmic clacking of the weapons of the chapayekas, in order to bring the pascolas and deer dancer to the church to take part in the procession. They circle the fiesta cross three times to bless it, then line up facing the altar side of the fiesta ramada. The head corporal removes the figure of San Ramos from the altar and gives it to the head Pilate with mutual genuflections. He carries it cradled in his left arm. In the same manner the fariseo altar crucifix is given to another officer. The head corporal escorts the pascolas, the tampaleo, the deer dancer, and the managers of both to the area between the kohtumbre lines. The chapayekas shift about uneasily; some imitate the steps of the dancers; some beckon them forward officiously. All go to the church together, pascolas with their masks pushed aside, walking informally with the fariseo formation.

At the church all face the entrance, and the two holy figures are given to a maestro or a sacristan. The pascolas call out greetings to the church group, then venerate at the altar, then stand in readiness, facing the church between the lines of the kohtumbre. They draw their masks over their faces. Meanwhile the matachinis assume their regalia and stand in formation between the pascola and deer group and the fiesta cross.

At a quiet signal from the head maestro that all is in readiness, the matachinis and deer dancer perform their procession dance, already described, which is used to escort the holy figures. It is also a form of veneration and a blessing to the ground over which the procession passes. As the procession moves slowly to the fiesta ramada, the rise and fall of the delicate, vivid wands of the matachinis, and the flow and swing in exuberant motion of the streamers on their crowns, beckon the procession forward.

Meanwhile, as the holy figures leave the church, the big church bell rings as a signal to heaven that obligations are being fulfilled. The kohtumbre lines pass each other in front of the church, then flank the church group. The chapayekas add a strident accompaniment to the shrill notes of the tampaleo and the crash of the gourd rattles. The more gentle sounds of the violins and guitars and of the alabanzas sung by the maestros and singers are almost inaudible. The night is clamorous with sound and color; but the faces of the people, old and young, illuminated now and again by candle-

light, are grave and selfless, perhaps reflecting the serenity of the holy figures on the litters.

The procession moves in the following order:

Matachin manager with lantern.

Matachinis with musicians at their right side.

Pascolas and deer dancer, *tampaleo* and managers.

Boy angels and godmothers.

Nazarene carried by four men.

Men or boys carrying San Ramos, the fariseo crucifix, and perhaps other holy figures as the Guadalupe, either preceding the Nazarene or walking at either side.

Maestros and singers, singing *Jesus So Afflicted*.

Girl flag-bearers.

Girl angels and godmothers.

The Three Marys.

One or more small figures of the Virgin, carried by girls at the side or in front.

Altar women with lighted candles.

Maestro and singers, singing *Stabat Mater*.

Kohtumbre lines at either side of the church group.

The procession stops short of the fiesta cross. The matachinis, pascolas, and deer dance back and forth three times between the fiesta cross and the altar, interweaving, passing each other facing in opposite directions. The yellows and oranges of the regalia respond in brilliance to the warm light of lanterns and candles. In anticipation of the return of the deer dancer the singers in the fiesta ramada may sing:

It seems to be our deer
And he is coming to us from up yonder
Taking the flower from the patio of the Elder
Where three crosses stand
He will sprinkle it upon us
It seems to be our deer
And he is coming to us from up yonder

As the men's group enters the ramada they place the Nazarene and other male figures on the altar. The boy angels stand in an arc at the right side of the altar, their godparents with them. Maestros and singers, in front of the altar, finish their *alabanzas*. The women's group remains outside. The flag girls enter the ramada and wave toward the altar, then away from it, return

to take their places in front of the Three Marys. The kohtumbre moves up to the entrance of the ramada, and flags wave as they stop. The matachinis, holding their wands high, march and re-form between the fiesta cross and the women's group, which they face. They continue to dance. Sudden silence as the last verses of the alabanzas are sung—and all dancing ceases as the maestros kneel for prayers. The pascolas push aside their masks and make the sign of the cross when the others do, but their group does not kneel. Members of the kohtumbre only touch their hats at the sign of the cross. The matachinis kneel, and their headdresses and upright wands present a brilliant mass of color.

When the maestros finish the prayers, the matachinis start a returning dance, which is not always the same one. They dance back and forth three times to bless the ground between the women's group and the fiesta cross. The chapayekas beat a lively accompaniment and some imitate the dancing. After the three rounds the matachinis lead the women's group and the Three Marys back toward the church. The maestro and his group sing Hail, Mother, Full of Pain. At the church cross the matachinis dance in one-man formation toward it to bless it, dance back to the procession, and then lead it forward. They dance past the church cross and turn to face it. The procession pauses while they dance three times back and forth between the church cross and the altar in the church to bless the cross and the altar. The crash of their gourd rattles sharpens each time they enter the church. On the fourth approach to the church they march backward, facing the church group, separate, and stand in two lines at either side of the entrance. They hold up their wands to form an arch; then, as the procession enters the church, they march back in rhythm, wands held high, re-form facing the church, and continue to dance until the maestro kneels to pray. They kneel in place and cross themselves, still wearing their crowns. The church bell rings as the holy figures enter the church, a notice to God that obligations have been fulfilled. As the flag girls reach the altar they wave in the four directions, then kneel on their rug with the girl angels behind them.

When the prayers are finished, the matachinis rise and thank the maestro father, then perform their public group veneration. They again thank the maestro father. The flag girls wave in front of the altar, either in the four directions or toward it and away from it, to conclude the ceremony. The dancers make the sign of the cross and genuflect slightly as they remove their crowns, then hang their regalia on the lintel at the entrance of the church.

They are free to relax until the next dance, but none must wander alone outside their dance area between the church cross and entrance to the church.

Meanwhile the kohtumbre lines cross in front of the fiesta ramada and draw up at each side of the fiesta cross. Two corporals accept the regalia of

Fariseo Paraphernalia and Chapayeka Masks Around the Fiesta Cross

each of the officers with mutual genuflections. They place it on or around the back of the fiesta cross, which, with benches drawn up close, and a big fire, are the headquarters of the kohtumbre. As the church bell sounds when the Three Marys enter the church, the chapayekas fall to the ground trembling in fear or lean over shaking as if to fall. They remove their masks lying down and hang them on their swords which they thrust into the ground around the fiesta cross. The masks make grotesque designs in the half-light. The caballeros cross their lances in front of the altar. From time to time several chapayekas in regalia go to the entrance of the ramada to tease and mimic the dancers. Others, masks removed, bring hot coals on shovels and make neat little piles or rows of them to warm the people in the ramada.

In the church, in front of the altar, the maestro and singers drowse between alabanzas. The boy malinchim, skirts rolled up around their waists,

Palm Sunday Eve: The Nazarene on the Altar in the Fiesta Ramada (*Courtesy of Arizona State Museum*)

sleep in front of the altar when the matachinis are not dancing. The girl angels, fully clothed except for shoes, spend the night under blankets spread on their carpet. A godmother or two stays with them. The flag girls traditionally sleep on blankets under the altar. A few women of the pueblo remain all night, shapeless heaps under their blankets or quilts. At least one of the altar women cares for the candles. All are warmed by rows of live coals, brought in on shovels. Outside, between dances, the matachinis sit talking or resting on their benches, while the musicians often pass the time by playing softly. At intervals of an hour or so the matachinis dance, their formation lively against the background of candles and perhaps a lantern.

In the quiet and serene altar side of the fiesta ramada, maestros and singers half-sleep between alabanzas or enjoy the antics of pascolas and deer. The black rebozos of the singers are dark peaks against the background of the white sheets in back of the altar. Candles are renewed by an altar woman, and the red robes of the Nazarene and San Ramos glow in their light. The little boy angels, skirts rolled up, shoes removed, lie asleep by the altar, their regalia only partly hidden by blankets.

On the pascola side of the fiesta ramada, all is movement and color, as

the dancing and repartee continue. Shadows cast by the headdress of the deer are quick and fleeting on the brown adobe wall. The ground vibrates with the thump of dancing feet. Between dances the violinist and harpist improvise quietly. Cigarette making is continuous, and the pascolas offer them to eager men at the entrance. The wide hats of the deer singers tip forward as they bend in song over their instruments. The chapayekas move in and out bringing shovels of live coals. Outside, dark figures are outlined against the kohtumbre fire, replenished by the chapayekas. The kohtumbre officers move about, concentrated on the innumerable errands attendant on the fiesta; but no loud orders are given, no person raises his voice in authority.

Throughout the night many visitors from outside of the village arrive—Mexicans, Anglos, and a few Papagos. Some of the Mexican men join in the hilarious banter with the pascolas. Most Anglos cannot understand what is going on but are content to enjoy the vibrant sights and sounds of the dancing, both at the church and at the fiesta ramada.

PALM SUNDAY

The dawn ceremonies at the fiesta ramada are the same as for any fiesta, except that on Palm Sunday the maestro recites the Litany of the Saints. At the first premonition of dawn a caballero corporal removes the lances crossed in front of the altar. As the maestro rouses, almost instantly his singers kneel beside him. Together they sing the dawn hymns of praise, followed by prayers. At the church the matachinis are expected by tradition to stand in formation in front of the church while the maestro there carries out the same celebration of the dawn.

Simultaneously, the pascolas and deer dancer go to the fiesta cross to send up rockets as a notice to God that all have fulfilled the work of the fiesta and to give thanks for safety during the long night. While they go to the fiesta cross, the deer singers may sing the following song:

We come out into the sunrise
My little father
Into the murmuring sound of the huya ania
My little father

On their return the head pascola gives a short sermon, as already described.

While the maestro in the fiesta ramada is reciting the Litany of the Saints, the fariseos line up on either side of the fiesta cross. Corporals distribute their regalia with the usual formality. They advance to the front of the ramada, and, as they stop, flags are waved and the chapayekas jump and shake their rattles. Pushing their feet hard to the ground, they embark

on a march known as the *Marsha Letania* (Spanish, *Marcha de la Letanía*, which is also used). The caballeros do not join them, as they are traditionally supposed to be mounted and so do not participate in special march steps.

This action is spoken of as the “three marches” because they march away three times and each time return to the ramada. The first time they go around the fiesta cross, the second time halfway to the church cross, and the third time they circle the church cross. Flags are waved at each start and finish, at each cross, and when the lines pass each other. The special steps described below for The Gloria are used, and some say that the purpose is to practice them. However, it is also referred to as a blessing, and the head maestro says it is “a farewell to the fiesta ramada and to the church” (8).

Whatever its purpose, the effect of the marching in the dark before the dawn is to convey to the spectator the implacable purpose, the menacing strength of the fariseos in their united and single-minded aim, the pursuit of Jesus.

When they return after the third march the fariseos are joined by the caballeros for prayer services in a circle around the fiesta cross. The senior officer then gives a short sermon. A former acting captain offered the following as an example of what he might say:

Work well. Do not give up. Work on it with all heart. Then God aids you. Then God gives you many years. Then nothing [evil] will ever happen to you, because God gives you health. Then when you are working for God in order to receive health from God, God never forgets us. We are working on it for ourselves with devotion and harsh penance. Then the Lord will receive [from] us our work and heavy and painful sufferings and our devotion. (49)

In the fiesta ramada the piles of ashes have long since cooled. Some of the participants may be asleep at their posts—a short respite from the weariness of the long night. The earth floor of the dance area is dry and pulverized, covered with countless patterns pressed in by bare dancing feet. At least one pascola is entertaining the crowd gathered around the entrance of the ramada. His steps cause little swirls of dust. Some of the chapayekas may volunteer or be called on to dance for a few minutes to relieve the pascolas and deer. They receive plaudits, even though they are inept. Unlike the custom in the fiestas outside of Lent, men in the crowd may not dance unless requested to by the kohtumbre, and no one is invited who has been drinking.

In the church the head maestro and his helpers hang brown burlap curtains at the sides of the entrance of the church, ready to be drawn later. The colors of the matachin paraphernalia on the lintel are dazzling in the

early morning sunlight. The matachin musicians sit sleepily plucking an air now and then—or stretch out for a brief nap near their benches.

The chapayekas brush the path from the church to the fiesta ramada with a broom made of branches, and they border it with fresh cottonwood twigs. These have ritual significance, as they represent flowers:

... to honor Our Mother and the Lord on the road. They are [flowers] too, the same as on the insinio, and they have the same value as the Saturday Gloria flowers. (9)

The area between the twigs is *santo tebat* because the processions pass over it. As such it should not be crossed by spectators. Today it is called *tako bo'o* (palm road) or *avas bo'o* (cottonwood road). About 5 feet to the east of the east entrance to the plaza is a table to receive the palm leaves that have been blessed at the parish church.

Confirmations into the matachin dance society often take place before the ceremonies of the day.

About 10:30 all prepare for a procession, the purpose of which is to “honor the holy palms” and to escort them to the church. It also serves as a mechanism to return the male holy figures to the church and to re-establish the kohtumbre in its permanent headquarters next to the church. A special procession for the latter purposes would otherwise be in order.

Members of the kohtumbre line up near the fiesta cross, advance to the fiesta ramada, and stand facing it. Inside, a maestro or a sacristan gives the holy figures to men and boys. A canopy is usually held over them by four men, hats removed. All stand ready to emerge in the following order:

Boy angels and godmothers.
San Ramos and bearer.
The Nazarene and bearers.
Other holy figures and bearers.
Four men with the canopy.
Maestro and singers.

The head corporal escorts the pascolas, tampaleo, deer dancer, and their managers to the fiesta cross between the lines of the kohtumbre. The chapayekas flourish their swords as they come out, point, tap on their swords with their daggers. Some may offer the dancers drinks from their swords; other imitate their dances.

At a quiet signal from the church group that they too are ready, the tampaleo starts to play, the pascolas put their masks over their faces and manipulate their sonasums, the deer dancer rotates his gourds. Using the procession step, the dancers start the procession dance, first going back and forth three times between the front of the fiesta ramada and the fiesta cross.

The chapayekas beat time smartly with their sticks, signal to them, urge them on. As the pascolas yelp, the ramada group follows them forward. The chapayekas, so bold before, turn their backs and tremble as the holy figures pass them. The kohtumbre lines advance, cross in front of the fiesta ramada, and return to flank the church group as the chapayekas beat march time. All pause near the fiesta cross, facing north, or away from the fiesta ramada.

Simultaneously with this action, the matachinis start their procession dance, passing three times between the front of the church and the church cross. As the big church bell sounds out, the matachinis lead the women's group along the path toward the fiesta ramada, turning back and forth in the dance, as before described. The elements of the group are:

Matachin manager.

Matachinis.

Three acolytes abreast, with the processional cross and two processional candlesticks.

Acolyte swinging a censer.

Girl flag-bearers.

Girl angels and godmothers.

One or more figures of Mary carried by little girls.

The Three Marys, with a canopy carried by four men or boys.

Altar women walking near the Three Marys.

Maestros and singers chanting in Latin from the missal the *Pueri Hebraeorum pontante ramos*.

As the matachinis approach the east entrance of the plaza, the two groups merge. The pascolas and deer dancer fall in behind the matachinis and genuflect to the Three Marys. The men and women of the church group take their usual relative positions. The left line of the kohtumbre crosses over and flanks the procession on the left side, and the right line proceeds on the right side. Thus, in the usual order, all advance toward the table with the palms. The shadows of the dancers are sharp, black and short on the sandy ground, pale in the blazing sun. Color follows color, sound follows sound, as they approach the table. All pause while the matachinis, pascolas, and deer dance back and forth three times between the procession and the table, interweaving as before an altar. At the conclusion the pascolas cry out as they advance and circle the table. The center line of the matachinis and the pascola group go around the table to the right; the outer lines of matachinis go straight forward and circle it, passing each other at the back. The dancers return to the front of the table, facing it, in their usual positions. All flags are waved, all holy figures are bowed, as the whole church group also passes to the back of the table, and, keeping its form, stands behind the

dancers, facing the church. The kohtumbre lines also pass each other back of the table and draw up at either side of the church group, facing the church. The acolytes reverse their direction where they stand. The table is picked up by four men of the pueblo. A "going back" tune is played by the matachin musicians as the matachinis and pascolas dance back and forth in front of the table, then lead the procession forward toward the church, dancing back and forth in their procession dance. All pause behind the church cross while the dancers dance back and forth three times between the church cross and the altar inside. The matachinis make an arch for the figures to pass under; then, raising their wands high and shaking their gourds, they re-form in front of the church cross and dance until the prayers start. The church bell rings out as the pascolas and deer lead the church group into the church. The native dancers genuflect at the altar and stand at the north side of the church. The tampaleo continues to play, and the pascolas and deer dancer manipulate their sonasums and gourd rattles until the prayers commence. Often the pascolas utter little cries at this time. When the maestro starts to pray, the pascolas push their masks to one side and all stand quietly along the north wall and cross themselves when the rest do.

The head maestro, at the missal stand in front of the altar, conducts the Catholic ritual for the day as far as he is able. The kohtumbre and the matachinis remain in formation in front of the church. The chapayekas are in constant activity. Some run to the front of the church to listen and report. Some stamp, or push the points of their swords angrily into the ground. If angels, or even adults, pass between the lines, they follow them and kick out after them. They constantly tease each other in the usual ways. They chase any dog who ventures between the lines.

The sacristan distributes palm leaves to representatives of the different groups. The head altar woman receives some for her assistants, and they put small pieces of leaves on the holy figures on the altar. Kohtumbre corporals offer palm leaves to spectators. The Yaquis quickly shred them and make small crosses, which are kept in their houses for a blessing. With great difficulty the fariseo corporals put strips of leaves under the belts at the backs of the unwilling chapayekas. Fearing contact with holy things and the church, they are intransigent in rebellion. They run away, push at the corporals with their swords, jump, and plunge about. The bull and the goat may pretend to attack the corporals. When the palm leaves are finally secure under their belts, they wriggle their backs, scrape with their weapons, or even lie on their backs and roll in an effort to get rid of the leaves.

As soon as the services are over a second procession (*tako konti*, palm procession) takes place, which is symbolic of the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem. The elements of the procession are the same as for the first one, except for the absence of the table with the palm branches. However, the route is around the inside of the plaza. A short pause is made near the fiesta

ramada, which is said to be for the purpose of changing the matachin dance from the procession dance to a “going back” dance. As the front of the procession reaches the church cross, all stop.

The brown curtains cover the entrance to the church. Details of procedure vary in the following action, which represents Jesus knocking at the gates of Jerusalem, but the essential features are the same. The head maestro and a sacristan, with the wooden cross that belongs with the figure of the Nazarene, and the head Pilate, advance to the church. A woman singer at the same time goes behind the curtain and crosses herself. The maestro or the sacristan makes the sign of the cross three times with the wooden cross and pushes it three times against the curtain. The head Pilate taps the ground three times with the lower end of his lance. The maestro sings the first verse of the *Gloria Laus* from the services for Palm Sunday. The woman inside responds. Thus they sing each of the verses. Meanwhile two chapayekas creep up to watch and to listen. Putting the tips of their swords to the ground, they beat loudly when the woman singer responds but are silent for the maestro. They jump and shake their rattles at the end of each verse, and those in line do likewise. Pascuans speak of this event as follows:

It is all from the book except the part about Pilate knocking, but it is the custom. The sacristan knocks at the door because Jesus did. The ones inside open the door. (8)

When Pilate taps three times . . . it is to ask permission to enter. (31)

The maestro singing the *Gloria Laus* is asking permission to enter the church, and the same when the Pilate knocks. And the multitude of people coming with him are represented by the people and the holy figures. (17)

The Pilate already knows that Christ is in the altar and just wants to make sure. He wants to mark the place so he can find it again. . . . [The entrance to Jerusalem] is when all go in after the Pilate knocks. The Pilate is supposed to know that He is going in there, and he doesn't want to forget the place where Christ went in. After that, all go in. (20)

The curtains are thrown back. The matachinis, pascolas, and deer dancer dance three times between the church cross and the altar. The matachinis make an arch with their wands for the procession to go under, then dance back, re-form, and continue to dance in front of the church cross until the prayers. As the church bell rings, the pascolas and deer lead the procession into the church, then stand at the north wall and continue to mark noisy time until all are inside, when they go to the altar to venerate, then leave. When the church bell rings, the chapayekas cover their ears, lean over trembling and staggering, or fall shaking to the ground. When the prayers

start, the matachinis stop dancing, kneel, and make the sign of the cross. The kohtumbre marches to headquarters and disbands after a short speech by the captain.

After the services the matachinis venerate as a group as on the night before. The altar girls wave in front of the altar, then stand in a row back of the maestro while he gives a sermon for the matachinis, who cross themselves and put on their crowns as he starts. The matachin manager stands near the maestro for this; if he is able to give a sermon instead of the maestro, he does so. At the end all give thanks in unison for the sermon. The flag girls wave in the four directions and their regalia are removed. All disperse.

A matachin leader gave the following summary of a sermon that might be given at this time.

Thus speaks the maestro. Well, my brothers. We have ended our work and our devotion, on Sunday, the day of hearing Mass and alabanzas. God has blessed each one of us. Thus it is, brothers. God will pay us for all this sacrifice that we have made for our penances that our mothers gave to each one of us. Our mothers have made these promises that we are now paying to Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, because our mothers wanted to see us grow, to keep us from sicknesses. Now we are happy, and we must fulfill our obligation. Thus it is, brothers. Have faith in our religion and work for Our Lady under her command, because thus we must do it with all our hearts. Do not think bad thoughts meanwhile, while you are here in your own blessed place right where the church cross stands. Right here we had to remain all the holy night until another day, when the hosts of the fiesta gave us freedom and thanks. At this point ends our devotion. That is all. Thank you all, beginning with the violinist, the guitarist, the manager, the dance leader and all the disciples [the dancers], and the flag-bearers and the maestros and the singers, all the group. That is all. God forgive you strongly, every one. (39)

TENEBRAE

Wednesday in Holy Week finds the kohtumbre and the church group in busy preparation for the ceremonies to come. Flags again fly over the church. Flares, loaned by the Highway Department, line the path from the church to the east entrance of the plaza. The altar is dressed as it was for Palm Sunday, except for such holy figures as the people of the village may have wished to add. All of the crucifixes and images are still veiled in the purple of mourning. The lances of the caballeros, crossed in front of the altar, "close the gate" until the services start. In front of the altar stands the

Tenebrae candelabrum, about 5 feet high, made in Pascua for use on this occasion. It is newly silvered, and its large triangular top bears fifteen candles. The two candelabra for five candles each are in their usual places at either side of the front of the altar. Candles also are ready on or near the missal stand, which is on the south side of the church. A small hand bell hangs from a nail on the left front of the missal stand.

Fresh green boughs fastened to the inside posts of the church are commonly understood to be reminiscent of the wooded country with impenetrable low growth that the Yaquis call the monte. "Jesus wandered there for those days when He was in hiding, and they want to make [the church] look like a forest" (8). The following legend is in the minds of the people:

The Lord, on being pursued by the chapayekas at sundown, He got tired and took a branch and threw it down on the ground toward the soldiers. And with this He created a thick forest, with the animals like the owl and wolf and coyote that we hear during the Tenebrae. (8)

About 8:00 in the evening the sacristan lights the candles, a caballero corporal removes the lances to "open the gate," and the maestros, sacristan, and women singers take their places near the missal stand to conduct the traditional Catholic evening service of the Tenebrae. It is spoken of in Yaqui as the *Tinieplam*, or sometimes *Tiniebla* (from the Spanish *tinieblas*, darkness, and the ecclesiastical word Tenebrae). The people of the village almost fill the church, and others stand in groups outside. If it is a cold night, many of the men gather around the big mesquite fire near the kohtumbre headquarters adjacent to the church. Crowds of spectators come from town, and their cars surround the plaza and overflow into the open fields.

The head maestro uses a Latin missal from which he sings the psalms, with responses by the singers. At the proper intervals a sacristan or maestro rings the small hand bell, then extinguishes a candle. The lower left candle is put out first, then the lower one on the right side, and so on. Fourteen of the candles "represent the psalms," and the fifteenth, "Christ, the Light of the world" (8).

The kohtumbre lines up at headquarters and marches toward the east entrance of the plaza at about the time when the fourth candle is extinguished. The fariseos put down their feet in a firm tread, and the chapayekas beat time sharply with their weapons. At the east entrance they turn, march a short distance toward the church, turn, march back and forth, and stop after the third round. They face the church in such a position that the rear ends of the lines are near the east entrance to the plaza. Each time a candle is put out they advance quickly three steps toward the church. Flag-bearers, flute, drum, and chapayeka rattles mark all starts and stops.

In 1950 and 1951 the caballeros marched in one line instead of two, on

the left flank of the fariseos. On the first advance toward the church they continued to march and stood in line at the entrance of the church. In 1951 when the hand bell rang in the church, the caballero flag was waved; then they knelt, removed their hats, pointed their weapons down, and made the sign of the cross. When the bell stopped, they resumed standing positions, with their weapons held points up. This is said by the caballero captain to be traditional behavior, and he asked that it be so recorded here.

Soon after the kohtumbre marches out, the head corporal and another, usually the second corporal, lead the first pair of chapayekas into the church, sometimes trailing their swords behind them to guide the chapayekas. They go in as spies to search for Jesus. The chapayekas jump and shake their rattles when they start and again at the entrance of the church. Sometimes they, and succeeding pairs, show fear and reluctance. They may drag their feet, shake their heads, shiver, and in other ways show apprehension. They lie down at the entrance of the church facing each other, extend their swords so that they cross, and each beats hard on his own sword with his dagger. This is done in unison. There are generally three, sometimes two, loud, sustained beats with a short interval between; then a succession of quick, short rebounding beats, six or more, in diminishing volume. This is done three times. The chapayekas outside respond with the same sounds, jump, and shake their rattles. Still facing each other, each of the two chapayekas, very close to the ground and on his side, crawls toward the altar, propelling himself with bent forearm and thigh, assisted by the extended hand and foot of the opposite side. Each is guided by his corporal, who, with his own sword, keeps that of the chapayeka pointed in the right direction. The corporals do not remove their hats, since they enter the church in their roles of fariseos.

In this manner the chapayekas crawl back of the Tenebrae candelabrum, pass each other in front of the altar, and crawl out of the church. Five times or more they signal with their weapons, as they did in front of the church. Those outside answer, then jump and shake their rattles. If the hand bell is rung while they are at the entrance of the church, they wait, shivering and shaking, until it is quiet again. If this happens while they are inside, they stop their advance, tremble and cower, and sometimes lift a leg slightly and cause it to shiver. After the last signal, at the entrance of the church, they rise, jump and shake their rattles, and return to the waiting fariseos. They shake their heads as they go, clean themselves off with their daggers to rid themselves of holy things. Some go back slowly, pantomiming lameness and fatigue, others pelt back as if fleeing from grave danger.

Each chapayeka then reports to an officer in the line from which he came, to a Pilate or captain, or a substitute for them. He approaches sideways or backwards as a chapayeka must, jumps and shakes his rattles in greeting, gesticulates in pantomime in answer to questions from the officer

Chapayekas on the Church Floor During the Tenebrae Ceremony

as to what he found in the monte. He jumps and shakes his rattles to excuse himself, takes his place in line sideways or backwards, turns forward and jumps and shakes his rattles in greeting to the rest, who reply in kind. He then often pantomimes a description of what he has seen, shakes his head, scrapes himself off, gesticulates toward the church, points to the candles, shivers.

The chapayekas continue to go into the church in pairs in this manner until there are three candles left burning. Often some chapayekas have to repeat, as there are not enough to fill the time.

This episode which dramatizes spying on Jesus in the rough terrain of the monte is considered to be one of the most arduous tasks for the chapayekas. "They get so hot that their faces are covered with sweat and they can't see . . . They get sweaty under their coats, too. It is very hard" (58).

The following quotations summarize how the people interpret this event. The reference to the chapayekas having their heads cut off has to do with the ritualistic "killing" of the chapayekas at The Gloria on Holy Saturday when they throw their masks on the Judas pyre and thus lose their "heads."

The chapayekas are trying to get in to see Christ, but they can't, as the woods are so dense. The branches represent the woods. . . . They are not supposed to get really inside. They do not actually see Christ. When they send the message out by rapping on their swords, they are saying that they are still trying and are going on further. And the ones outside answer that they are still there waiting. When they come out, each goes back to his own line. [The officers] ask the chapayekas, "Well, how is it down there where you went?" They answer in pantomime that everything is pretty thick, and they have to sweat to get under. Then the captain and Pilate ask, "Do you think that He (they will not say His name) is in there?" Then the chapayeka replies that he is certain that He is in there, but he hasn't really seen Him. (58)

They go in trying to get to where Christ is, and then they signal each other to see how much light there is. . . . They signal that they are still going in. And the ones outside say to try to penetrate way in. They also ask how it is in there, and how much light there is in there. (20)

The following are excerpts from field notes:

In 1949 it was reported that one dialogue with the Pilate was as follows: When the chapayeka returned from the church, [the Pilate] said something like this: "Did you see any track of The Man you are looking for?" The chapayeka pantomimed an affirmative answer. "Are you sure they are the footprints of The Man you are looking for?" The chapayeka showed by his pantomime that he was very sure. "Well, you had better be careful and stay very alert, because if you don't, He will cut off your heads, including our own. You can rest now. Thank you." (58)

In the same year it was reported that a dialogue in the other line was as follows: The sergeant said, "How does it look in that place (*haisa machi hu'u ania*)?" The chapayeka would then show by pantomime that he had to fight to get in and that it required all the rest of the soldiers to go in and help. Then the sergeant said, "Is That Man in there (*haisa ama ane hu'u o'ou*)?" The chapayeka would nod his head.

In 1951 a dialogue in one line was reported as follows: The Pilate: "How is that place where you went?" The chapayeka showed by pantomime that conditions were rough. The Pilate: "Is He there?" The chapayeka nodded. "Is it possible to get to Him?" The chapayeka nodded. "If it is so, then we will go in. Is the fort penetrable?" The chapayeka nodded. "If it is so, we will go, but if we fail, you know it is our heads. You can rest now."

In the same year a dialogue in the other line was as follows: Captain: "Did you go up to see that place? Is He there? Does He have many soldiers?" The chapayeka replied yes to these questions, in pantomime.

Captain: "Is it possible to go through the soldiers?" The chapayeka pushed his fists forward to show that they were very strong, then motioned to show that they could get through. Captain: "We will go and see if we can get through. So be tough. Because if we fail, He will cut off our heads." (55)

From the east entrance of the plaza the outline of the church is dim. The candles are brilliant, flickering in the triangular candelabrum. The dark outlines of the fariseo officers are still, except for their slow, determined advance.

The chapayekas are in constant motion. The colors in their regalia are keyed down in the strong moonlight so as to be almost indistinguishable, but the white paint on their masks shines out. Their silhouettes are restless and uneasy; their fluid movements create the illusion of a dance, which is repeated sharply on the pale ground by their darting, thrusting shadows. To anyone watching from inside the church, the big masks appear more grotesque than ever against the luminous sky.

The chapayekas peer ahead to see what is going on in the monte, and they chatter with their swords and daggers in comment. One may run up to the entrance to look in boldly and to listen. If the hand bell rings while he is near the church, he staggers back, trembling. He runs back to his place in line to clatter out a report to the others. As the lines approach near enough to the church to hear the chanting, they keep time to it, shake and half fall at the sound of the bell, and, as they come closer, at the sound of holy words. If one lies down to remove his mask in order to cough, several others gather around him to protect him from sight, until, making the sign of the cross, he puts his mask on again and rises. They become increasingly noisy and threatening as they approach the church. In addition to this formalized behavior, they play tricks on each other.

When only three or four candles are left, the flutist, without the usual replies from the drummer, imitates the hoots of an owl, "thus keeping up the likeness to the forest."

At about the time when the thirteenth candle is extinguished, two chapayekas, accompanied by a fariseo corporal, walk into the church upright, after jumping and shaking their hip rattles at the entrance. The chapayekas crawl under the altar at the south end, and, while the corporal waits, they push up their masks and howl three times like coyotes or wolves or owls. Answering coyote howls come from a chapayeka lying at the base of the church cross. The chapayekas adjust their masks and rise to leave the church as they came in, jump and shake their rattles at the entrance, and go back to their places, scraping themselves off carefully as they go. This episode is reminiscent of "the animals in the monte becoming frightened in the increasing darkness." Going under the altar "symbolizes that the two chapayekas

have penetrated the forest and have come close to Christ.” It is also a signal to the rest that they must sharpen their swords and be ready to enter the monte. The wild creatures most often imitated are the coyote, wolf, and owl. The fox is also spoken of, and the crow. The mule is considered important as “the soldiers used pack mules,” but it is said that there is no longer anyone able to imitate a mule.

When everything went pitch black, the animals started making noises. The mules were with the men as pack mules, and they started braying. The wolf woke up, as he had never heard a mule. The coyote too. . . . The birds woke up too. After the world all went pitch black, they all started to make a noise. [The two under the altar] represent the animals who were farthest in, like the coyote and the wolf. (8)

[They] represent the coyotes and wild animals that were in the forest. They start howling because they are afraid of the darkness, because the lights are going off. (20)

It comes from the dark night that the desert had. Also the effect of the death of Christ in the way that they mourned it that way, to show that the desert was also disturbed. (55)

The pair who go under the altar should imitate the mule and the wolf. The coyote is supposed to answer from the church cross. If they can’t do the wolf and the mule, they do the easiest ones—the owl and the coyote. . . . The representation is that the day when Jesus was in His agony, the sun had eclipsed and it became very dark, so that the animals were frightened. All kinds of animals were moved by the darkness. The heavenly lights went out. [They go under the altar] because in the darkness the evil has access to move in to the altar. [One cries at the church cross] because, with the howling inside, the others are moved also with the cause of darkness. (31)

It comes from the fact that the chapayekas have been searching in the church. The two under the altar show that they are already right among the people who are with Christ, that they are right with Christ. (17)

The ones under the altar have to signal to the one outside, and he has to signal to the rest outside. Then they get ready, and the chapayekas start to sharpen up their swords. (9)

The chapayekas make menacing gestures. They sharpen their swords and from time to time beat rhythmically and in unison with their weapons.

The fariseo corporals ask visitors to leave the church to make room for the ritual whipping, called in Yaqui *bemucha’ane*. There is tension in the church, and mothers draw their apprehensive children back as the sacristan puts out the candles in the small candelabra. He carries the fifteenth candle,

still lighted, into the sacristy and closes the door. The inside of the church is dark in contrast to the white light of the Easter moon that illumines the entrance.

As the maestros and singers sing *The Miserere*, the chapayekas beat on their sticks with short, sharp blows as fariseo lines enter the church with a rush. The officers kneel in front of the Tenebrae candelabrum. They keep their hats on and do not cross themselves or utter any prayers as they kneel. The chapayekas lie in diagonal rows behind the officers, heads toward the walls. They push up their masks and turn them backwards as the ritual whipping starts. Some make animal and bird cries. The caballeros advance as far into the church on the left side as they are able and kneel.

The fariseo corporals, hats on, and carrying small whips or cords, in turn make the sign of the cross on the back of each chapayeka three times, then whip him three times. Then they go on to the officers. They do this three times around, making the sign of the cross the first time only. Until 1951 the fariseo corporals whipped the caballeros, although it was known that this was not according to tradition. In 1951 and 1952 the ideal pattern was carried out, when the captain of the caballeros gave a whip to the first corporal of the caballeros, who made the sign of the cross on the back of each kneeling caballero and whipped him three times. He handed the whip to the next man in line, who did likewise, and so on.

Group and family whipping then follow for "those who want the blessing." This is by ritual request in the name of Jesus or Mary. The Yaqui word is *hiokoe*, which means to forgive, with a secondary meaning to bless. Members of ceremonial groups may whip each other, and younger people may go to parents, older relatives, or godparents and may ask to be whipped, sometimes in memory of someone who is dead or not present. Brothers and sisters or friends of about the same age may whip each other in forgiveness of the misunderstandings of the year. Husbands and wives never observe this ritual. The request is made for three lashes, or six, or nine. The person to be whipped kneels, and the other makes the sign of the cross on his back three times with the whip and then gives him the requested number of light lashes. Hand touching (*teboktuane*) and thanks follow. Chapayekas who request this leave their masks on top of their heads. Voices are never raised, but there is a confusion of quiet movement, with slight thudding noises from the small whips. The church is very dark except for an occasional ray of moonlight that rests on the tips of the masks or on the red-skirted lance heads of the Pilates.

In many discussions about the meaning of the whipping, it has been interpreted by no Pascuan as being a generalized purification of the pueblo. It is commonly understood to be in memory of the lashes received by Jesus and is done primarily to bless themselves and also to forgive each other.

[The whipping is done] because, before they captured Christ, He wanted to give them an example of what was going to happen to Him. In another day He would be seen being whipped. We have to suffer that before Christ. It is an example. (8)

The whipping represents the five thousand lashes on the sacred back of Jesus Christ. To commemorate that, and in penance for our sins, too. And when two together whip each other, it is to forgive each other for what they have done in the past to one another. If they fought one time, the night of the Tinieblas you can say, "I want you to forgive me for what I have done." You take off your coat and kneel in front of the church cross, and the other would make a cross on your back and say, "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit" once. And you would ask for as many whippings as you want. It always goes in threes—three, six, nine, or twelve. And then you would turn and do the same thing. Then you would shake hands and say "Dios em chania" and "Dios em chiokoe." . . . When the older whips the younger you don't shake hands. . . . The father whips the son for penitence of sin. Brothers whip each other for forgiveness in the past. Sisters too. . . . The people used to go in pairs to the church cross to whip each other, but not many go now. (55)

[When they whip each other by request it means] asking forgiveness in memory of his parents, and asking forgiveness direct to God. . . . One may ask for three or six or nine . . . and he would not be thinking about the sins of the village, or of others, but only of his own. (17)

If I have a fight with a relative or a godparent, then as an apology I ask for three or six or nine lashes. And without saying it in so many words, he understands that I am apologizing by asking him, and by whipping me he shows that he forgives me. If he refuses, I know that he is not willing to forgive me, but very few refuse. In case somebody's mother dies when he was just a kid, and later on he finds a godmother, he goes to her every year and asks for three lashes in the name of his mother. Her spirit will know that he has someone to obey and respect. He can also ask even if she is living, to show that he has someone to love and respect. It eases your conscience, like, say, if you talk back to your mother. It is like an apology. It is for a blessing from Jesus and Mary. The purpose is not to drive evil away. We all know that we are sinners, and we try to cleanse ourselves with prayers, not [only] by whipping during Lent. (58)

. . . it might be because in homes they have crosses and there, when anyone wants to bless himself, he goes to the cross and gets a whipping by his mother or his godmother or anyone older. It might be for any-

thing; whatever wrong he has done. This can be done at any hour or at any time of the year, but if it is done on Wednesday of Holy Week it must be done at night. (35)

At the Tenebrae the whipping is for forgiveness and for washing your sins away for a blessing. For forgiveness between mother and son, but not for punishment, [as] if, say, he had talked back to his mother, but for forgiveness. And to wash away your sins in general. And as a blessing from your God. It is not for the whole village, the whole village does not feel better for it. If you really broke the heart of your mother, you will feel that she has forgiven you and washed away your sins. Your general sins, too. It is an individual thing; it is washing away your sins. The parents whip the children every year. Like if you disobeyed your mother, she whips three times. If she whips you then, she can't whip you during the year. If she does, she commits a sin and would be a *culpa yoeme* (sinful person). (52)

A quite different account of the origin of the whipping is often given, based on an episode that is said to be enacted on the Yaqui River. According to the older men, it has never been acted out in Arizona. Since it is cognate to the meaning of the whipping and is so frequently mentioned, it is given here in the words of various Pascuans:

[The caballeros] are together with the fariseos until they start to separate from them on Wednesday night in Holy Week, when there is a fight between the captain of the caballeros and the Pilate. It occurs after the chapayekas have crawled in, in pairs. But it is not done here. . . . They say that in Mexico the caballero captain gets out in front a little, just to the front of the left line, with an assistant at either side. The Pilate goes forward too. The caballero captain tells the Pilate that he should send men in to get Christ, because they all know that He is there. That the caballeros can't go in because they are mounted, but that they, the infantry, can. The Pilate refuses. The captain asks him a second time. He refuses. So they fight and that is how the whipping starts. . . . It has nothing to do with the lashes given to Christ. It has grown into [forgiveness of each other]. (58)

. . . that is a very old story. . . . The church represents el monte. It is very hard going and dark, and the caballeros would never be able to ride their horses into it. So the caballero captain tells the Pilate to send his men in further. The Pilate replies that they are very tired and he will not send them. He does not want to. So they have a fight, and all the fariseos and caballeros hit each other. That was the beginning of the whipping, but it is, too, in honor of the five thousand lashes that Christ suffered. (8)

... the chapayekas try to find Jesus in the monte, but they can't get in. The captain of the caballeros says to the Pilate, "Go into the monte." The Pilate does not want to. So they got angry and fought. That is the start of the whipping. That is why the chapayekas make noises like birds and animals. This is the first time they come close to Jesus. They take Him in the orchard the next night. (14)

... the Jews were after Jesus, and He got in some kind of forest ... with a lot of trees. So they were trying to get in there to catch Him. So they couldn't get in. So they got angry, so they fight each other and whip each other. The maestros say it is memory of the lashes of Christ. (9)

One man said that in some sermons he had heard the following:

According to the sermons of the Tinieblas He [Jesus] was being pursued in the monte. In the evening when He was pursued He was traveling with His disciples and some followers. So then He was tired and His company was tired, and He wanted them to rest that night. His company and all of His soldiers. Those pursuing were also tired. So then Jesus formed a pocho'oria, an inaccessible forest that was all thistles and thorns and all kinds of obstacles, and was impenetrable. So the captain of the army was forcing the soldiers to go through the forest, and they refused to go, especially the cavalry. And they got into a fight together, and that is the meaning of the Tenebrae. They whipped each other and fought each other. And then Jesus rested all night and His soldiers, too, because they could not get through the forest. The monte is the same as the pocho'oria, thick, with plenty of thorns and all kinds of obstacles that the men could not penetrate. (55)

The maestros and singers chant the *Respici Quaesumos Domine*. The chapayekas who have risen to be whipped lie down to put on their masks. As the fifteenth candle is brought from the sacristy, still lighted, and the candles are lighted in the small candelabra, the chapayekas rise and clatter their weapons as the lines of the kohtumbre move backward out of the church. The flag-bearers wave their flags toward the altar before they leave, and again when they regain their usual positions outside.

As the maestros conduct the closing services, as described for the Friday processions, the chapayekas creep up and listen, make derisive and abusive gestures, and flourish their swords with more confidence than before; but the mention of holy names causes them to shiver and tremble in fear. The maestro ends the ceremony with a sermon in which he explains the meaning of the ceremony just consummated and announces the events for the rest of Holy Week.

The altar remains dressed for the rest of the week. Caballero lances are crossed in front of it, "closing the gate" to keep Jesus a prisoner until the services of the following day.

From Wednesday night through Saturday night the church group spends the nights in the church, and the kohtumbre spends the nights in its headquarters. It is customary for some of the people of the village to join them. This is called *velar*, from the Spanish *velar*, one meaning of which is to keep vigil. It is explained as follows:

... people who go to church are required to stay all night, from the evening until all night, which is called *velar*. Like Christ told His disciples to be wakeful, because the time was dangerous, when He went to pray in the Mount of Olives. So the people are required to spend the night. Thursday and Friday nights are nights of penitence, because Christ told the disciples when He was going to the mountain to pray that the spirit was in danger. He told them if they couldn't stay awake, for one hour; when He came back and found them asleep. So He told them to *velar* again. (55)

As on Palm Sunday Eve the members of the church group wrap themselves in blankets, anonymous bundles, identifiable only because they remain sleeping at their usual posts. The members of the kohtumbre sleep in their headquarters, or around the big mesquite fire nearby. Chapayekas and corporals distribute hot coals on shovels which do not entirely mitigate the cold of the night, especially when Easter is early.

HOLY THURSDAY

Before the first thin light blanches the eastern sky the maestros and singers rouse themselves to conduct morning prayers, as for Palm Sunday except that the Litany of Saints is omitted. The kohtumbre forms a prayer circle around the church cross.

Thursday, and Friday until midnight, are known as *hiowane* (abstinence). No unnecessary work is done in households, no meat is eaten. The wives of the kohtumbre busy themselves in the community kitchen, preparing and serving food to participants in the Ceremony.

Procession with the Repository

Late in the morning a procession occurs which corresponds to the procession with the Reserved Host, the Repository in Catholic ritual. A special box, about a foot high and painted white, is used. It is called by the Spanish word *Depósito*, and it will be referred to by the English equivalent,

Repository. It is kept in the sacristy and is taken to the home of the head altar woman at such times as the puffs of thin white material, which frame the front, need renewing. Until 1950 a red heart, with links as of a chain across it and with a cross above it, was painted on the middle front of the box. Twenty-two painted yellow rays sprang from the sides of the heart. In 1950 the head altar woman redecorated the box. She covered it with fresh white cloth and in the center fastened a flat red silk heart with green links painted across it. The rays were of silver foil, and a red cross was painted above the heart. On Holy Thursday morning the head altar woman, working in the sacristy, puts in the Repository a crucifix, a bottle of holy water, a candle, and either flowers or their substitute, confetti. The sacristan or a maestro places on the center of the altar, as a base for the Repository, a slightly larger white box, covered with white cloth and decorated by the altar women with fresh green leaves or crepe-paper flowers, or both. A figure of Jesus as a child is put on top of the Repository.

The Repository is considered to contain the Heart of Jesus. The emblem on the outside represents the Heart of Jesus, with a crown of thorns about it.

It is like when a person dies and his heart goes up. Jesus is going to be a prisoner tomorrow and this is for a start. (71)

The Heart of Jesus is a prisoner in the box. (12)

. . . the Heart of Jesus appeared on a cloth, then they knew that Christ was going to die. A long time ago on that cloth the Heart appeared. This is when they have already captured Jesus, and they are making a procession with the Heart of Jesus. . . . they know He is going to die because the Heart appears on the cloth. They call the heart *hiapsi*. The yellow rays are sparkling around the outside, and what is across the Heart is the thorns like the crown of Jesus. (20)

They put the Niño on the box so that people will know whose heart it is. They just have the Baby Jesus as a sign. They are trying to do it as if it was real. (16)

Later in the morning all prepare in the usual ways for the procession with the Repository. The sacristan or a maestro incenses the altar, and the flag girls wave in front of it. The *kohtumbre* marches out to stand in front of the church as preparations are completed. They flank the procession as it leaves the church. The elements are as follows:

Three acolytes, the center one carrying the processional cross, the others the processional candlesticks.

An acolyte swinging a censer.

Girl flag-bearers with lavender crowns and flags.

The Repository, carried by boy angels wearing crowns of green leaves,

with a canopy generally held over it by four men without hats, and the head altar woman casting confetti over it as it leaves the church. Altar women walking beside the Repository.

Girl angels, wearing crowns of green leaves, accompanied by their god-mothers.

Maestros and singers chanting the six verses of the *Pange Lingua*.

The first verse of the *Pange Lingua*, as written in the book of the head maestro, is as follows:

(Yaqui)	(Latin)	(English)
Pange Lingua	Pange,	Sing, my tongue,
Glorioso	lingua,	the savior's
	gloriosi	glory
Cooporis	Corporis	Of his flesh the
mirihum	mysterium	mystery sing
Sanguini	Sanguinisque	Of his blood, all
cuepreciosi	pretiosi,	price
		exceeding
Cue in mundi	Quem in	Shed by our
crestihum	mundi	immortal king,
	pretium	
Fructus	Fructus	Destined for the
Bentris	ventris	world's
Generosi	generosi	redemption,
Resefundis	Rex effudit	From a noble
Gensihum	gentium.	womb to
		spring.

The procession turns right as it leaves the church and follows the route around the inside of the plaza. The chapayekas beat sharply on their swords in time. When the procession returns to the church, the head altar woman showers the Repository with confetti as it is placed again on its pedestal. After the usual closing sequence of prayers, public group veneration in the full form may take place.

The following example of chapayeka behavior is taken from field notes:

In 1947 a chapayeka pointed his dagger to the sky, wriggled it downward suggesting rain, shook his head sadly. One with a small, well-worn teddy bear put it on the ground, with great pains manipulated it with his weapons until he made it sit up, and turned facing the church. He pretended to tell it to watch and listen. He carefully wiped its nose with his dagger and then made tossing motions toward the church. After the procession, three chapayekas wandered around outside the plaza. Put two toy animals on the ground, stalked them, and shot at

them with toy pistols. Their bodies were in constant motion, their gait a slow lope.

Blessing of the Crosses

As in Roman Catholic churches, the big church bell is silent from Thursday morning until The Gloria is sung on Holy Saturday. A wooden clapper, which is called *kuta kampani*, is substituted in Pascua. Kuta is the Yaqui word for wood, and kampani is derived from *campana*, the Spanish word for bell. It is made of a flat piece of wood, with heavy wire so arranged that, when the hand is thrust into a hole in the top and the wrist moved rapidly from side to side, the wire makes a clattering noise against the wood.

Either immediately after the procession with the Repository or early in the afternoon, the head maestro rattles the clapper urgently at the entrance of the church. The chapayekas come out of headquarters with the usual jump and shake of hip rattles. All except one trot off to positions at the entrance of the plaza and at each station of the cross. The one who remains, who is the head chapayeka or one of the most experienced ones, sidles up to the maestro and, with his back turned, jumps and shakes his rattles in greeting. Then he receives the clapper in his left hand. He jumps and shakes his rattles three times, then runs back and forth to the church cross three times, shaking the clapper vigorously as he goes. He runs to the chapayeka at the east entrance to the plaza, where the two greet each other, back to back, by jumping and shaking their rattles. The clapper is exchanged in the back to back, left-handed manner of the chapayekas. They jump and shake their rattles, the first chapayeka pantomimes instructions, and the second one runs to give the clapper to the chapayeka at the first station. This is repeated at all stations. The first chapayeka receives the clapper again at the east entrance. He returns it to the maestro in the chapayeka way. This event is described as being a benediction to the crosses. A secondary function is that it calls attention to the ceremonies of the day.

Frequently confirmations into the kohtumbre ya'ura take place following this. The chapayekas often frolic in the plaza at this time.

They call it *kuta kampani kontine* (will go around the Way of the Cross with the bell; they run with it) because that is the last time they are going to use the bell. They have to take it out, so the chapayekas are the first ones who have to use it. So they go three times to the cross, then around the vuelta [for a] benediction for every cross. To bless the crosses and then to use it. (9)

The reason why the chapayekas take the *kuta kampani* around that way is that they have to call the people together. And they have to relay it before they can use it as a bell. (31)

It is like a *llamamiento*, a call to the people. (17)

The following are notes on chapayeka behavior after the Blessing of the Crosses:

In 1949, all of the chapayekas sat on one of the bleachers. One climbed slowly and carefully to the top row and peered all about. He sat down slowly, dropped his hands, and continued to look around. The head chapayeka pried them all up and shoved or pushed them into headquarters, kicking his feet out after them.

In 1950, one had a whip which he drew along the ground to make it look like a snake. He pulled it across the foot of another chapayeka, who jumped, startled. The rest, watching, jumped back.

In 1951, the chapayeka who brought the clapper back ran in very fast, with the head chapayeka tearing in after him. He held his coat wide open as if he were flying. He held his hand to his chest, pretended to give a series of short, exaggerated pants, fanned himself, tottered, staggered.

Sometime in the afternoon the chapayekas construct the cottonwood bower which represents the Garden of Gethsemane and which is called *huerto* (garden). They insert the lower ends of large cottonwood branches into the ground in a circle about 15 feet wide, draw the tops together, and weave them with smaller branches. This is between the entrance of the plaza and the first station.

Pursuit of the Old Man

In the afternoon, at no set time, the chapayekas jump and shake their rattles as they emerge from headquarters. One of them has been chosen to take the part of the Old Man. If there is a chapayeka who wears the mask of an old man (and there usually is), he takes the part; otherwise one of the most experienced chapayekas is drafted. There is no doubt that in Pascua this event is intended to be a preview of the sufferings of Christ on the Way of the Cross. Some of the older men say that many years ago it constituted the first part of the Betrayal, now depicted in the evening. The term Old Man (Yaqui, o'ola; Spanish, *viejito*) is frequently used when speaking of Christ and is intended as a term of respect. In Mexico a living old man takes the part. He is generally an *apostolo*, a term which, in this connection, means a man grown old in the service of the church, who, in case of need, is supported by the pueblo and who still performs such services for the church as he is able. A woman in the same situation is called a *serafina*. Former maestros and sacristans are especially eligible for such a designa-

tion. In Mexico the apostolo taking the part of the Old Man wears nothing except a loincloth and sandals. Because of the designation apostolo, confusion has arisen in the minds of a few of those least versed in Yaqui tradition as to whether the Old Man in Pascua represents Christ or an apostle of Christ; but it is well-known by most that he is taking the part of Jesus. It is said that in this country no one would take the part, nor would it be appropriate here, so that a chapayeka with the mask of an old man has been substituted. Thus a function of the church has been taken over by an opposing group.

In Yaqui this event is spoken of by using a combination of o'ola (old man) and a form of *hahaua* (to catch or pursue) or *buisse* (to catch or chase). In Spanish one may hear *prender* (to seize or catch) and, more frequently, *agarrar* (to grasp or seize).

The chapayeka taking the part of Old Man goes reluctantly to the church cross, cajoled, pushed, or lassoed and pulled by the others. He is made to sit down with his back to the cross, facing away from the church. If he totters, the rest pull him upright again. All cluster around, touching him with their swords and jumping back, conversing about him in the language of the sticks. They slip a horsehair rope over his shoulders, pull off his hat, pretend to comb out his long white hair with their daggers, and push on his head, or pretend to hammer on, a crown of cottonwood leaves. They take away his chapayeka weapons and substitute a cottonwood switch. When they have finished, all jump and shake their rattles. The Old Man rises and trots to the first station of the cross, trailing his rope behind him. One or several chapayekas look about the church cross for traces of him, much as the chapayekas did in the church in the early Fridays of Lent, in their quest for Jesus. They pretend to make measurements of footprints, point and gesticulate, and all soon follow to the first station, accompanied by several fariseo corporals. Meanwhile one chapayeka goes ahead and lies down by the first station in a crouching position. The other chapayekas find the Old Man sitting on him when they arrive. On a few occasions they have been seen to enter the Garden on the way to the first station, and occasionally the chapayekas look for him there first.

The chapayekas lie down in two parallel rows near the station and are quiet except for an occasional whispering with their sticks. After an interval of about a minute, the Old Man rises and whips each one in turn lightly with his switch. Each jerks his head as he feels the touch of the whip. He trots on to the next station, trailing his rope, and this action is repeated at each station. Sometimes he bounces gently up and down as he sits, or shakes his head. Between stations the others sometimes carry his rope on their swords.

As they return to the first station, the Old Man, showing signs of fatigue, is carried on the backs of several chapayekas in turn. He is deposited

A Chapayeka as the Old Man on Holy Thursday Afternoon

in front of the church cross, where he sits as at the start. He appears to be very weary. His head wobbles from side to side, his body sways, his hands fall limp in his lap. The others gather around him in mock solicitude. They stroke him with their daggers, massage his legs and feet, wipe off his face, fan him with their hats, examine his eyes, pretend to take wax from his ears, rub dirt on his legs and feet in the manner of a curer, offer him something to drink from a hat or an old container. Finally they urge him to his feet, holding him upright as he sways and totters. They put a bowl or a hat in his left hand and lead him around, asking for contributions. The Old Man sidles up to people and holds the container out with his back turned. When a coin is dropped in, all of the chapayekas jump and shake their rattles in the chapayeka form of thanks. They go, too, to the church entrance, where the church group has been openly enjoying the pantomime, in contrast to their studied disregard of the antics of the chapayekas during other ceremonies. The older women hide their smiles behind their rebozos when the Old Man holds out his hat to them. The chapayekas lead the Old Man back into the headquarters, and all jump and shake their rattles when they enter.

Most villagers are unable to explain fully why the Old Man whips the others, but one man (58) says that the chapayekas lie down as sinners in the hope of a blessing and forgiveness in the form of whipping. This then carries the same meaning as whipping for forgiveness for breaking a taboo, which wards off more serious divine punishment.

He is an apostolo whom they chase around the crosses. That apostolo represents Christ. They don't have an apostolo here, they have a chapayeka, but both represent Christ. (20)

This is done to teach the children about the Via Crucis, to show them what Christ went through. He has to switch to defend Himself. (39)

The chapayekas look in the Garden to find Him. He whips the rest because it is the custom. (49)

Everyone knows that this event represents the capture of Christ. (55)

In Mexico they have an apostolo to represent the Viejito, but here they have a chapayeka, because we don't live here and couldn't have an old man with nothing but sandals. He whips the others because he is a prisoner. (71)

[Thursday afternoon] is the time when Christ is captured according to the way of doing things in Sonora. . . . They do not use an apostolo here because there is no apostolo here who wants to do it. He represents Christ. In the afternoon at three they apprehend the Viejito in the Garden, and that represents the Betrayal. (17)

The Yaqui name for the event is *o'ola buise* (catch or chase the Old Man) . . . he represents Christ. . . . Anyone who is being chased would whip the chasers. The apostolo [in Mexico] would truly use a better whip and hit them harder. The true Old Man would step on their legs as he walks over them. He sits down on the chapayekas to rest. He recites the Our Father; Hail, Mary, Mother of God; and the Gloria. He starts whipping them at The Gloria. The action of the chapayeka who lies down at the cross to be sat on is to ask for a blessing, so one does it one time, another, another [time]. The real Old Man starts not from the church cross, but from the Garden. That is the Betrayal, and He starts to run when the Garden is torn down. The chapayekas pick up the rope on their swords. In the Río, the chapayekas sometimes step on the rope. It would be hard here to get an old man to do it. (31)

[The Yaqui name is] *o'olata hawaua* (run after the Old Man). He represents Jesus and the Way of the Cross. In the Río they use an old man with a breechcloth and no shoes. The chapayeka here represents the same, but they don't do it in the same way. In the Río, he walks on top of the chapayekas and whips them. The Old Man has a long string on

him, and they step on it, and that knocks him down, and he gets up and they knock him down again. No one would want to do it here. [It is a] three-year vow. (9)

. . . this represents Christ. Many years ago . . . they used a real old man with a loincloth. This was in 1912, in Tierra Floja (early Yaqui settlement near Tucson). He represented Jesu Nazareno. About 1919 they began to look in books, and so the ceremonies changed. The man was an apostolo. It used to be about 4:00 in the afternoon. They had branches for him as they do now, into which he went. (55)

It is not strange that a chapayeka takes the part of the Viejito. Inside it is all right. In Mexico they pull the rope and make him trip. When he sits on the chapayeka he whips him. Then he gets up and whips each one lying down. They lie down because they are sinners. They can't even kneel before Christ. He whips them to forgive them—auhiokoe. This is the same thing as whipping to save a person who breaks a taboo. (58)

Procession to Take the Nazarene to the Garden

The figure of the Nazarene is taken to the Garden some time in the late afternoon or early evening, in a procession in which all take part, in the usual order. The Repository is carried by a man who follows the four men with the Nazarene.

The procession goes around the Way of the Cross without stopping, but all flags are waved at each station as they pass. When at the end they arrive at the Garden, the Three Marys are bowed three times as the Nazarene is placed on a table inside.

Capture of the Nazarene in the Garden

At about 8:30 or 9:00 all prepare for a ceremony which enacts the betrayal and capture of Jesus. The focal point is the figure of the Nazarene in the cottonwood bower which represents the Garden. In speaking of this event the Yaquis use the word for capture. For instance, one might say Nazareno huertopo buihna (they will capture the Nazarene in the Garden).

Candles are lighted in the church, and the rays from a lantern fall on the scarlet robe of the Nazarene in the Garden, so that it glows through the branches.

The church group proceeds alone to take up a vigil behind the Garden. Boy angels with their godmothers lead the way, followed by the girl flag-bearers, girl angels and their godmothers, altar women, maestros, singers, and a few people of the village, some of whom push baby carriages. The

angels wear crowns made of green leaves. Most of the adults carry lighted candles. The flag girls wave in the usual places and salute the Garden as they pass it. All dispose themselves behind the Garden, with the angels and flag girls in the front, the altar women at either side, and the maestros and singers behind them. The lantern light in the Garden makes an uneasy background. While they wait, the maestros and singers sing the many verses of *Jesus Amoroso*; then *Benid Pecadores*, the first verse of which appears below, as written in the maestro's notebook:

Benid Pecadorez	Come sinners
Venid co sue Cruz	Come with your cross
Adorar la sagre	To adore the blood
de dulce Jesus	Of sweet Jesus

A sacristan enters the Garden, a part said to have been taken in former times by the Old Man. Meanwhile the kohtumbre mobilizes. As they march from headquarters to the church entrance, they push their heels hard to the ground. The chapayeka swords, raised to a vertical position, beat a harsh accompaniment. Two chapayekas, accompanied by fariseo corporals, enter the church to search for the Nazarene in the same manner as described for the first two Lenten processions. They look under the altar, peer about the church, examine the rug, measure footprints. Three times they go back and forth between the altar and the church cross, searching as they go. They report in pantomime to an officer of the fariseos. This speech is not formalized, but its purport is always the same. A former captain dictated an example of what he might have said, as follows:

I ask them if He is there. If He is inside, The Man Whom we seek and Whom we want to seize. He says (in pantomime) that surely He is there, but that He has left for outside, and that He has gone, but He has with Him many people. [Then I say] then we shall surely seize Him, because I have many good soldiers. Then let us follow Him, and let us seize Him in the Garden. Then let us make Him a prisoner in order to give Him punishment. Then let us catch Him. And now let us go. (49)

The kohtumbre marches with firm, thudding steps to the east entrance of the plaza. The beating of daggers on upturned swords is sharp and menacing. The formation stops at the entrance of the plaza, facing the Garden. A fariseo corporal accompanies a chapayeka to the head Pilate, who instructs him to go to the Garden to spy. The chapayeka makes a great show of mounting his sword, as though it were a horse, prances about, and gallops to the Garden. He dismounts, advances bravely, boldly circles the Garden, peers inside and all about, mounts his horse again with a flourish, and

plunges back to report. According to the captain quoted above, the following dialogue may take place:

I tell them to go and look and see if He is there, The Man. Then [when he comes back] he tells me that He is really there, inside, Him whom we have been pursuing. (49)

Flags are waved, and the chapayekas beat their swords as the kohtumbre marches a few steps closer to the Garden. A second spy is sent in the same manner. Again they move forward in determined march. A third is sent. All represent Judas. This time the messenger returns with a twig from the Garden as proof that he has been there. The captain says:

Then that is good. (Then I say to them that we should go over there and get Him.) (49)

The Pilate . . . tells [the chapayeka] to go down there and see if that Person he is looking for is there. "And be sure to get there to the Garden and see if He is there. And be sure to come straight back and not go by any other road." When the chapayeka comes back, he reports that He is not there. Then they move three steps forward. The second chapayeka is sent off in the same way. He reports that He is there. The Pilate asks him how big a troop that Person they are hunting for has. The chapayeka says there are a lot of people with Him. The Pilate says, "Do you think we can get in there and get Him?" And the chapayeka thinks they can. Then they advance a longer way. The third chapayeka is sent out in the same way. He brings back a twig from the Garden and says that he is positive that He is there and that it will be easy to capture Him. (58)

In 1951 a villager reported the following dialogue between the Pilate and the third spy, as he came back with the twig.

Pilate: What did you see over there where you were sent?

(The chapayeka nods and points.)

Pilate: Did you see Him?

(The chapayeka nods.)

Pilate: Are you sure?

(The chapayeka nods.)

Pilate: Do you think we can overtake Him?

(The chapayeka nods.)

Pilate: Well, all right, then, be tough (*namakasia*), for if we fail He will cut our heads off (*itom koba chuktane*). Are you sure that you are not deceiving me? If you tell me a lie you will be punished. (71)

The kohtumbre marches closer. The chapayekas brandish their swords and make cutting and slashing motions.

The head Pilate steps forward to the entrance of the Garden and strikes the ground three times with his lance. He and the sacristan inside speak together in a dialogue of which there are many versions. The following is the one given by the head maestro:

Sacristan: A quien buscais? (Whom do ye seek?)

Pilate: A Jesu Nazareno.

Sacristan: Yo soy (I am He).

The Pilate returns to his place in line, and at once the formation of the kohtumbre advances, the lines pass each other, turn sharp left and back and march a short way, to return a little closer to the Garden. The Pilate steps forward again and strikes the ground three times with his lance.

Sacristan: A quien buscais?

Pilate: A Jesu Nazareno.

Sacristan: Yo soy.

Again the kohtumbre marches, with firm steps and to the harsh clacking of the chapayeka weapons. Again they draw up in front of the Garden.

Sacristan: A quien buscais?

Pilate: A Jesu Nazareno.

Sacristan: Os dicho que yo soy. Si me buscais a mi, dejad ir a estos, para se cumplan. (I have told you that I am He. If ye seek me, let them go, so that it will be fulfilled.)

As the kohtumbre lines advance, circle the Garden in opposite directions, and stand on either side of it facing the church, the chapayekas throw themselves down in a circle around the Garden and cry out like animals and birds. They rise and tear down the Garden.

The captain of the caballeros picks his way through the fallen branches and puts around the Nazarene the horsehair rope that he has carried over his shoulder since the sixth Friday of Lent. He gives the end of the rope to a waiting chapayeka, and, as this is done, fariseo flags wave, drum and flute sound, and the church group sings *The Miserere*.

Some difference of opinion exists as to the meaning of the action of the caballero captain in delivering the rope to the chapayekas. It does not appear to fit in with either the concept of the caballeros as a neutral guard or the fact that on the night before they had begun to separate themselves from the fariseos. Divergent comments follow:

He is supposed to say something like, "I put everything into your hands." [This man thinks that originally the sergeant of the fariseos put the rope around the Nazarene.] (58)

He is not supposed to do it. He is supposed to hand the rope to the sergeant of the fariseos in the headquarters before they start to the Garden and say to him that he is through with this, that they can go ahead and capture Him, but that he will have nothing to do with it. This is the beginning of the separation. (8)

In the old days, when they still chased a living old man, the captain of the caballeros just handed the rope to the [fariseo] corporal, who put it around the Old Man. (31)

The caballeros . . . don't want to capture Him themselves, so they give the string to the chapayekas. (9)

Four chapayekas, preferably those with humanlike masks, lift the litter of the Nazarene, and the chapayeka with the rope stands in front of them. The church group comes forward through the branches, and, as the flag girls gain a position in front of the Nazarene, they wave their flags toward the figure, then turn toward the church and wave. A procession forms at once to accompany the figure back to the church. The boy angels lead, followed by the flag girls, the girl angels, the figure of the Nazarene borne by the chapayekas, the altar women at one side of the figure, fariseo corporals carrying the table on which it stood, the maestros and singers, and people of the pueblo. The kohtumbre lines flank them, and the chapayekas beat on their swords. The maestros and singers sing an alabanza (*Lloren Pecadores*), the first verse of which, as written in the book of the head maestro, is as follows:

Yoren peccadores	Weep sinners
Con mucho dolor	With much sorrow
la pacion y muerte	For the passion and death
de nustro Señor	Of our Lord

As the procession enters the church, the flag girls wave toward the altar, turn, and wave with their backs toward it. The triumphant chapayekas put the figure of the Nazarene on its table in front of the altar, and the chapayeka holding the rope stands guard over it. The maestros conduct the usual closing prayers.

Meanwhile the chapayeka guard, holding the rope in his left hand along with his dagger, keeps time with his weapons to the last verses of the alabanza, sung inside the church. He "dances" the Vovox Omne as usual, but in a subdued way, in contrast to the lively performance of the chapayekas

A Chapayeka Guarding the Nazarene

outside. He jumps and shakes his rattles at the end of each verse, but slowly and quietly. He is curious about his surroundings, which he is seeing at close range for the first time. He peers about with an air of bravado, yet he is nervous and jumps back at any sudden sound or movement. He shifts his feet uneasily in a slight shuffle, does not stand still. He examines the garments of the Nazarene, the cloth on the table, the candelabra, touching them or the figure itself with quick darts of the dagger. Subdued, yet jaunty, too, he may chatter out a message to those outside, who answer him. He may become bold enough to kick out at anyone who passes near him, or to peer over at the flag girls; but if anyone comes close, he shrinks away and scrapes himself off. When his gaze rests upon the angels, he shivers. He jumps back and cleans himself off when anyone coughs. His observations are abruptly interrupted from time to time, when he hears holy names uttered in prayers. Then he trembles, cowers, or leans far forward, head hanging down, and sways and shivers. He may wipe himself off and make throwing motions at the maestros.

The guard changes every half hour or so. When the second chapayeka comes in, they jump and shake their rattles in subdued greeting. The first guard points out objects in the church, gives instruction in duties. He shows

the new one how to hold the rope, warns him in pantomime to watch the Nazarene carefully, not to drink (sword to mouth, head shaken), and not to fall asleep (head on arm); for if he is not careful he will have his head cut off (decapitation gesture). The head maestro may give the same warning, and they may relay this to the others outside. Finally the second guard accepts the rope, back to back, left hand to left hand, faces averted. They jump and shake their rattles in farewell. The above instructions may be repeated at the church entrance. The guard is changed in this manner until the kohtumbre rosary starts. When the kohtumbre marches away, the chapayeka on guard may click his weapons in time to their march and lean forward forlornly to watch them leave.

After closing prayers, a procession around the Way of the Cross occurs, which represents Mary searching for Christ, the Prisoner. Saint John is mentioned in the alabanza that is sung. Since they have no image of Saint John, one of Saint Joseph is substituted. The sacristan and maestros distribute candles to the altar women and people of the pueblo, which are lighted before they start. As they leave the church the elements of the procession are:

Way Cross and bearers.
 Boy angels and godmothers.
 Saint Joseph carried by a man of the pueblo.
 Maestro and singers.

Girl flag-bearers.
 Girl angels and godmothers.
 The Three Marys.
 Altar women.
 Maestro and singers.
 People of the pueblo.

The maestros and singers sing an alabanza (*Ya Salió la Virgen santa*), the first verse of which, as written in the book of the head maestro, is as follows:

Lla salio la virgen Sancto	Now went out the Blessed Virgin
El Jueves Sancto medionochis	The Holy Thursday midnight
En buscando Nazarenos	Looking for the Nazarene
San Juan en Jesús compañía	Saint John is her companion

No stops are made at stations, but all flags salute them. The Way Cross is bowed at each station, and the men with it genuflect. The Three Marys are not bowed. On return, the closing services are conducted, after which the kohtumbre marches to headquarters and the caballero lances are crossed in front of the Nazarene.

Kohtumbre Rosary

About midnight, or soon thereafter, a fariseo corporal puts a rosary on the tip of each of the caballero lances, and the kohtumbre rosary starts. A fariseo corporal escorts the kohtumbre to the church in pairs, beginning with the caballeros. In front of the Nazarene each puts his hat on the ground, kneels before the figure, makes the sign of the cross, rises, puts on his hat, and says the rosary. Instead of making the sign of the cross at the appropriate times, he tips his hat. When he has finished, he removes his hat, kneels in front of the figure, makes the sign of the cross, puts on his hat, and leaves, accompanied by a corporal. When it is the turn of the chapayekas, they enter with their masks off. The accompanying corporal holds the mask while the man kneels before the figure; then it is put on top of the head, facing backwards, during the rosary. The chapayekas make the sign of the cross in the usual way. It is said that formerly the chapayeka guard lasted during the rosary and that the Pilates, flutist, and drummer were present all the time.

Notes taken during this night follow:

By about 12:15 the church group had all made themselves comfortable on the carpets where they perform their duties. Everyone covered himself up, face and all, and no one was identifiable except by his position in the church. The flag girls, in high spirits, went to bed under the altar, to give the girl angels room on the flag girls' carpet. They did a great deal of giggling, kept peeking out from under the altar cloth. The flag girls' carpet was pulled back against the wall, and the five girl angels curled up on that, each under a blanket. Like everyone else, they remained fully clothed, except that they put their shoes near their heads. After much giggling, twisting, turning, and chattering in Yaqui, they fell asleep. At the last, one of them said in English, perhaps for my benefit, that they must go to sleep, as it was already too late to get their eight hours. One of the godmothers slept beside them. The boy angels were on their carpet across the church, with . . . the godmother of one of them asleep beside them. . . . The boys were asleep long before the girls and did not have as much fun as they did, giggling and chattering.

The head altar woman sat in her chair by the altar till a little after midnight, then went home. Her assistant fell asleep near the altar, got up later shivering and went home for a blanket. An elderly woman between me and the girl angels burrowed among several quilts and finally was quiet. The second maestro did not stay that night, but the head maestro and his two women singers rolled up in their blankets and slept on the . . . carpet.

By 12:30 all were asleep except the second altar woman, who got up to change the candles. All slept soundly except one of the singers, who

had several bad spells of coughing. Several of the women went quietly out to the toilet during the night. One of the boy angels sat up sleepily twice. . . . The head maestro hardly stirred all night. The hot coals, brought in by one of the corporals, cooled all too quickly, and they were not renewed until morning.

About 12:45 all the dogs in the village, it seemed, barked at once, waking the roosters, who then crowed intermittently all night. There was a continuous murmur all night of voices in the kohtumbre headquarters. Always a few were talking together. And then there were snoring and coughing and spitting, and the clank of the metal walls of the headquarters as perhaps someone moved against them.

I went outside for a few minutes. In the pearly light diffused from the moon behind clouds I saw, surrounding the kohtumbre fire, men lying wrapped in their blankets. Some were relaxed on the bench. Pascua was very silent, except for the dogs, with a light here and there in the houses.

About 3:00 there was a sharp scattering of hail on the tin roof. There was a stir in the headquarters, but no one moved in. A wind came up and whipped the flags smartly, and later, about 4:00, it rained. Some of the fariseos came inside the church and relaxed in sleep again instantly, with only blanket and hat distinguishable. They were all perfectly still except for the foot of one who lay on the bench. It tapped the bench as it twitched from time to time. A corporal brought in the chapayeka masks and put them in the sacristy. Someone renewed the kohtumbre fire until it crackled. About 4:00 the second altar woman got up, miserably cold, her teeth chattering, and got a corporal to bring some hot coals to her side. About 5:10 there was a stirring among the kohtumbre, then quiet again.

I must mention the impact on me of the kohtumbre rosary, as pair after pair of men, sagging with fatigue, came silently in to perform their devotions. This continuity of effort, through the bitterly cold night, brought home to me as nothing else has, the exacting demands of their vows. Two in the church were awakened by the corporal for their turn. Each got up without a word, and instantly, and went to the lances. The last man did not finish until about 5:00. From where I lay on the floor the figures of the Blessed Virgin loomed up very tall and austere, draped in dark purple. The votive candles flickered very low, some went out. The red robe of the Nazarene gathered up the light. And the figures of the kohtumbre, especially those of the chapayekas, loomed up preternaturally tall above me.

About 5:20 the head maestro, in one movement, sat up with his blanket over his shoulders and began to sing an alabanza, having to pause several times to clear his throat and spit. A woman singer responded at once and sang with him. A caballero came and took the

lances away. After two alabanzas, the head maestro knelt, still with the blanket around him, and said a formal prayer. Then he added a long prayer of his own, mentioning the events of Holy Week, ritual labor, the pueblo, the participants; and he prayed, as he likes to do, for “*los caminantes y los navegantes*” (those traveling by land and sea). He prayed with his special fervor and concentration, and, watching him, one could have no doubt as to the immediacy and reality of his relationship with el Señor (the Lord). He finished at 6:10, grunted, got up, stretched, yawned—in the quick transition he can make. He cast an eye humorously at me, watched the angels in their slow awakening. He laughed when I said the flag girls were like burrowing rabbits. The hair of the girl angels was tangled, their dresses creased, their white shoes dusty. The little boys were tardier, and their long skirts were twisted about them. The old lady near me trundled off with her bundle of quilts.

The pungent smell of fresh mesquite fire came over from the kitchen. The fariseos were bringing in the boughs from the Garden to the fiesta ramada when I left at 7:15.

GOOD FRIDAY

In addition to their usual morning duties, after the dawn ceremonies the chapayekas hang a brown burlap curtain about 6 feet in front of the altar in the church. The figure of the Nazarene on its table is in front of this, the caballero lances are crossed before it. The sacristan or a maestro places on the figure the cross and crown of thorns that were removed from it before it was carried in the procession of the fifth Friday in Lent.

About noon the sacristan or a maestro rattles the wooden clapper to summon people to church. The fariseo drummer beats his drum immediately afterward. The chapayekas may play with the clapper, running back and forth between the church cross and the church, rattling it to attract the attention of the pueblo to the ceremonies; or they may go around the village with it, clattering it noisily and beckoning people to the church. They appear authoritative and imperious. As the angels and their godmothers arrive, some of the chapayekas make sallies at them, turn their backs to receive a switching, rush off staggering and wiping themselves off, and then return for more.

The midday hours at Easter time are generally very hot. The harsh sun beats down pitilessly from the hard blue sky and appears to flatten the little adobe houses to almost one dimension. The almost vertical shadows are black against the dry earth. Most living green things droop. Often, tiny twisters of dust chase each other, and intermittent gusty winds draw a curtain of dust against the mountains, temporarily obscuring them or tinging them with a lavender hue. The village seems more than ever a separate

entity, within itself, isolated in spirit, yet within sight and sound of motor traffic, planes, and trains.

Procession Symbolizing the Crucifixion

As the women gather at the church, one sees that they are wearing dark clothes, with no ornaments or jewelry. Many, especially the older ones, have let down their hair. The angels wear crowns of fresh cottonwood leaves. The fariseos are, or it is thought suitable that they should be, dressed in black shirts and, except for the Pilates, wear Yaqui sandals. The Pilates do not wear them, as they are traditionally supposed to be mounted. There is no change in the costume of the caballeros. The figures of the Blessed Virgin are draped with black cloth. As the church group prepares for the procession, the flower carpet is placed in front of the Nazarene. The kohtumbre marches to the front of the church and stops. The chapayekas are explosive with movement. They sharpen their swords, peer into the church, and beckon and chatter to those inside to hurry. The head corporal accompanies five chapayekas into the church, four to carry the Nazarene in the procession and one to precede it with the rope. As they step on or near the flower carpet, they jump back. They may stamp at the flowers or pretend to throw refuse at them. They peer at the altar and the holy figures behind the curtain, turn their attention to the flag girls, jump back shivering if an angel approaches. They are in constant, nervous movement, uneasy and disturbed, yet eager; curious about their surroundings, yet poised to jump back quickly at any sudden noise or movement. Those outside beckon to them, run to peer into the church, boldly approach the entrance to watch the preparations. But when the boys bring out the flower carpet at the start of the procession, they jump back, shaking and quivering.

As the procession leaves the church, it is in the same form as that on the fifth Friday, except that the chapayekas have possession of the Nazarene. A canopy may be carried over the Three Marys. The chapayekas clack sharply with their weapons.

At the first station the usual procedure is followed. One or two chapayekas may approach the maestros, may stroke their hair with their daggers, dangle toys over them, pretend to read the book, or may even creep up to touch the Nazarene. When the prayers are completed, the procession divides into two parts. The men's group with the Nazarene goes around the Way of the Cross, preceded by the boys with the flower carpet. The women's group, with the Three Marys, goes to the fourteenth station and proceeds toward Calvary. The right lines of the kohtumbre move on with the men's group, and the corporals divide them so that there are some on each side. The left lines go with the women and are similarly divided. The reason given for this

Procession with the Virgin to Calvary

is that Mary is “supposed to have arrived at the time of the crucifixion and to have taken her Son back with her” (31).

As the maestro with the men’s group reads the prayers for the stations, the chapayekas sometimes edge up to listen to him. They may try to distract his attention by touching him with their weapons, stroking his hair, pretending to find fleas, or pretending to remove a hair and to balance it on the sword to display it to others.

As the women’s group waits at the fourteenth station, the maestro sings alabanzas. The drum answers the flute, heard from a distance. The black coverings of the Three Marys loom very sharp against the brown mountains. The chapayekas indulge in free play at this time. Often people come out of their houses to watch them.

As the men’s group approaches the eleventh station, the women’s group moves slowly toward it, so that they arrive at the same time. At Calvary all take their places. As the Way Cross is lowered in front of the station, the head altar woman showers it with confetti.

While the first part of the prayers for this station are read, the symbolic crucifixion takes place. The details may differ, but the basic action is as

Procession with the Nazarene to Perform the Crucifixion

follows. The flag girls wave their flags over the four parts of the Way Cross three times around, counterclockwise. The kohtumbre flag bearers, with the caballeros in the lead, the hats of all removed, make the sign of the cross with the tip of the flag, genuflect slightly, and wave the flag over each of the four sides, three times around. The ideal pattern, and that always followed when the caballero flag-bearer is present, is to wave counterclockwise the first and third times and clockwise the second. They genuflect slightly at the foot of the cross and withdraw to their places, put on their hats, and wave their flags. The head Pilate follows them and makes a cross three times, followed by three taps with his lance on the foot of the cross, the left arm, and the right arm. A chapayeka, accompanied by a fariseo corporal, takes his place. The officer points with his sword to the places touched by the Pilate, and the chapayeka pretends to hammer a wooden nail onto each spot with a small wooden hammer. He does this with his left hand, hammering three times each time. Thus he symbolizes the crucifixion. As he finishes, kohtumbre flags wave, and the chapayekas jump and shake their rattles and raise their swords in triumph. The Way Cross is lifted to the side of the station for the final prayers, and four men of the pueblo relieve the chapay-

yekas of the Nazarene. The rope is taken from the figure and given back to the caballero captain. The crown and cross are placed on the litter beside the Nazarene. After the prayers are concluded, the procession moves on to the next stations as usual, and then back to the church for the customary closing prayers.

The sacristan, or a man of the pueblo acting in that capacity, imbeds a post in the ground in front of the brown curtain in the church. He fastens the Way Cross to it with a light rope so that it faces the entrance of the church. Working reverently, he removes the figure of Christ from the large crucifix and fastens it to the Way Cross with black ribbons. This now represents the Crucified Christ and is the focus of ceremonies later in the afternoon. The caballero lances are not crossed in front of it as "Jesus being dead, nobody has to watch Him" (58).

In 1949, the following notes were taken from a distance for about seven minutes before the procession started:

Kohtumbre marches three times around the church cross, lines up in front of church. All chapayekas peer eagerly into church, some going between lines to do so. Head corporal escorts five chapayekas into church to carry Nazarene. Chapayeka leaves place to peer into church. Another same, in a short stiff trot. Several beckon those inside to come out. Two go forward to peer into church. One touches another on back with sword. Latter jumps aside. One goes to outside of lines to look into church. Girl angel and godmother go through center of formation on way into church. Chapayekas gesture at her with swords, threaten her, kick feet out after her. Brandish swords to provoke those inside to come out. Activity and excitement in gestures increasing. One leans way over to scan church. One goes outside of formation to north to peer in. Several turn attention to something on ground near right line. Touch it with tips of swords, jump back quickly, bold at first, then scared. One dances pascola steps in place. One beckons another to leave and look into church. One hops over to see what object is on ground, jumps back. He tears out to meet incoming girl angel, kicks feet after her. Another runs to her and is whipped on back. One goes from right line to hit something on ground, then gestures those inside to come out. One touches another, who jumps away. Boys bring out flower carpet, followed by Way Cross. All jump back, nervous, excited, gesticulating. At first station one in mask of buzzard does buzzard dance of pascola. Little play in men's group as far as northeast end of plaza. No annoying of maestros. Near one station played with some rubbish, found cover of old comic book, passed it around on swords.

From notes taken at the fourteenth station in 1948, while the women's group waited:

The chapayekas played left-handed baseball, using their swords as bats and a torn baseball that they had found. Some played with an old fur neckpiece that one had been carrying with him. They put it on the ground, pretended to stalk and kill it. People came from their houses to watch them.

In 1941 the following notes were taken from a distance while the women's group was waiting at the twelfth station:

One [chapayeka] with mask of sheriff does matachin steps, lifting legs very high and light and using weapons as gourd and wand. One with mask of Old Man listens, ear to ground, looks ahead to west expectantly, waiting for men's group to appear. Chapayeka back of sheriff pushes him. Latter jumps. Sheriff loses hat, chapayeka behind rushes to pick it up on sword, sheriff takes it in left hand, back turned, puts it on. Old Man looks all around, peering with dagger to eye. Sheriff goes to middle of lines, looks around importantly, as if inspecting. Quick motions of head as looks around, decisive movements of body. Goes back to position. Old Man gestures wildly with arms. Hits sword with dagger several times, flourishes dagger in all directions. Seems to be "talking." "Drinks" from sword. Makes cutting motions with sword. Mimics carrying off Nazarene by putting sword over shoulder, leaning over as if under heavy weight, walking with slow steps. Points forward with dagger to show what he is doing. Sheriff leans over, pushes Old Man, they run in arc. Sheriff puts dagger to ears, pretends to throw wax toward eleventh station. Old Man hits dagger on sword several times. Sheriff looks toward direction from which men's group will come. Old Man uses sword for telescope, looking ahead. Sheriff peers ahead, dagger over eye. Both jump as flute with men's group is played and drum with women's group answers. Both still for a moment. Make listening motions as if hearing approach of men's group. Sheriff looks back, inspects importantly again. Sways a little as he taps feet in rhythm. Looks back, all around, definitely inspecting. Old Man standing still looking forward. Goes to wall of kitchen, sits down with back to wall. Upward motions of dagger. Hits dagger on sword as if to attract attention. Fans self. Hits dagger on sword in conversation. Peers up to sky. Listens to noises in kitchen, dagger to ear. Leans over sideways, almost lies down. Dagger to nose, wipes it, throws dagger forward. Hits sword with dagger.

Sheriff looks all around. Old Man puts dagger into dirt. Sheriff takes point of Old Man's sword and tries to pull him up, with left hand. Old Man not trying to get up. Sheriff pulls hard, shakes head. Another

chapayeka puts sword under Old Man and tries to pry him up. Hits him on buttocks with sword. Uses sword as lever. Finally, Old Man gets up with great effort, leans over and goes stumbling across to other line. All talk together with weapons, look forward. Men's group comes into sight around corner of plaza. All motion each other to look, jump, and shake rattles. Old Man dancing from one foot to other. Peers about. Chatters dagger on sword. Sheriff looking around, looking back. Old Man wipes sword on buttocks and throws forward. Sheriff puts point of sword in ground, leans on it, body bent forward, head down. Old Man uses sword as telescope. Waves arms at men's group. Telescope again. Makes upward motions with left hand. Horizontal motions with dagger. Both peer about. Old Man keeps time with dagger on sword. Sheriff pulls beard, throws out hand as if throwing lice. Repeats several times. Several chapayekas together, looking ahead to men's group. Several sharpen swords. At eleventh and fourteenth stations, chapayeka touches head of maestro with dagger. At fourteenth station one pretends to get louse from head of another, puts it on sword, hits it hard with dagger. Another with beard pulls his beard and throws out hand as if getting rid of lice. One touches badge of sheriff.

Razing the Crosses

After the closing prayers the kohtumbre marches to headquarters and disbands. At once the chapayekas, accompanied by several corporals, rush to the crosses in the plaza and to the stations of the cross to raze them. They approach them sideways, head averted in the chapayeka way, and pull them up with the left hand. The corporals cover the crosses with green branches. This is said to be done because Christ is crucified, and the crosses must be taken down and covered with flowers. The Spanish word *tumbar* (to knock down) is most frequently heard for this act. Less often a Yaqui word is employed, with the same meaning, as for example *kusimta tabuame* (to knock down the crosses) or *kusim tatabe* (to lay down the crosses). It is thought that they are only "resting" or "sleeping" until dawn on Holy Saturday morning. The chapayekas come running back to the plaza, perhaps riding their swords as hobby horses, swaggering and looking triumphant. The older people of the village take down the patio crosses and cover them with leaves and drape the household holy figures in mourning.

[They] lay the crosses down to sleep. (31)

The fariseos, after they have captured Jesus, they say they have the power to put the crosses down. And the Christians are supposed to have the crosses covered to hide them. (17)

Kohtumbre Calls for the Bier of Christ

The kohtumbre soon goes for the bier of Christ to the home of the head altar woman, where it has been prepared. Boy angels and their godmothers march at the head of the kohtumbre formation. The chapayekas beat time to the quick march. The bier, dainty with lace, flowers, and ribbons, is ready on a table to the east of the house, and the head altar woman stands near it. A kohtumbre officer greets her. After greetings, the kohtumbre flagbearers remove their hats, advance, and make the sign of the cross toward the bier, then wave three times toward the front of the bier, toward each of the sides counterclockwise, cross themselves with their furled flags in their hands, and return to their places. Corporals remove the bier from the table, and four chapayekas relieve them of it. Two corporals steady it, one on either side, as it is escorted to the first station of the cross. The angels walk in front of it, and the head altar woman beside it. As they start, she sprinkles confetti over it. Two fariseo corporals carry the table.

At the first station the whole church group meets them. The flag girls wave facing the bier, and again with their backs to it, then lead the way slowly to the church. The girl angels follow them, then the group with the bier, then the maestros and singers. The head altar woman throws confetti over the bier as they start and again as it is placed on its table in front of the Way Cross. The five prayers in Yaqui may be said at this time. Before the next event, the bier is moved to the north side of the church. It is said that it is "blessed with flags as the body of the Lord is going to be put in it" (17).

The following excerpt is taken from field notes for 1950:

As the kohtumbre was standing in front of the church, ready to go for the bier, a scarf belonging to a woman spectator was blown to the ground near the chapayekas. They picked it up on their swords, passed it around, took it with them when they marched away. Later a small ransom was paid for it.

Lancing of Jesus

The maestros and singers move to the north side of the church, facing south, for the next event, the symbolic lancing of the body of Christ by the head Pilate.

The fariseos march to the east entrance of the plaza with quick, decisive steps, advance toward the church, circle back, advance farther, and the third time march around the church cross and draw up in front of the church. The faces of the fariseos are hidden under black scarves, worn either over or under their hats. The Pilates wear long black capes. Black cloth covers the drum. The caballeros are with them, but they do not push their feet to

Chapayekas Carrying the Bier to Receive the Body of Christ

the ground aggressively, nor do they wear black. The chapayekas sharpen their swords and gesture toward the church.

The head Pilate, accompanied by another fariseo officer, advances into the church three times, each time drawing closer to the Way Cross. He stands in front of it, moves his lance three times in the sign of the cross toward the Christ figure, then taps on the ground three times with the lower end of his lance. He goes behind the brown curtain, passes quickly in front of the altar, and rejoins the fariseos. Meanwhile the maestro and singers start to sing the *Alabanzas of Jesus God* (*Alabanzas de Cristo Dios*), the first verse of which is written in the book of the head maestro as follows:

Christo en Cruz Cruzificado
Que pormistas desa suertes
(Spanish for above line:
Que per mistar de eso
suerte)

Asqueme valgas en la muerte
La sangre que es deramada

Christ on the Cross crucified
May it be through telling of that mis-
fortune

That I value in death
The blood that is spilled

When the Pilate rejoins them, the fariseos at once advance, the lines pass each other in front of the church, and they go swiftly around the Way of the Cross. When they return, the heads of the Pilates' lances are covered with black skirts. Meanwhile the caballeros remain in place and turn their weapons with points down, an act which marks their complete separation from the fariseos. "They turn good for Jesus then," and are no longer associated with the evil designs of the fariseos.

It is commonly understood by the people of Pascua that when the Pilate stands in front of the Way Cross his action constitutes the actual killing as well as lancing of Christ. They say "It is the custom." The Spanish word *pica* (*picar*, to pierce) is the term most frequently heard for this, but the Yaqui words *tatabek*, *tatapne*, and *wechuco* (to knock down) are also used.

When I crucify Christ—that is the way I think of it—when I go behind the curtain, I knock three times just as outside, because there is another Jesus on the altar. (75)

Most villagers cannot explain why the Pilate passes in front of the altar, but several say that it is to notify Mary of what he has done. Explanations of the flight [going around the Way of the Cross] of the fariseos are about as follows:

. . . they go around and around to get away from what they have done, and keep going until they don't know where to get away, and they come back to Jesus. (9)

When Christ died the sun and moon went into mourning, and there was rain and lightning and earthquakes. And the lightning started following the fariseos, and that is why the chapayekas [fariseos] have to run away. (8)

Veneration

The church is now full for the ceremony of veneration, and many will arrive late from work. Except for The Gloria itself, this event has the largest attendance of any in Holy Week. An ambience of tender reverence and melancholy is over all, as they identify with the suffering and death of Jesus. Tears are in the eyes of some of the women. They offer up their ritual labor in union with the Passion of Christ. It is the most sacred time of Holy Week.

Candles, either plain ones or decorated church candles, are embedded in the earth beneath the Way Cross and vases of flowers brought by the people are placed around it. Four men of the pueblo emerge from the sacristy in fresh white cotton robes and black sashes and hoods. They represent Joseph of Arimathea and are called Nicodemuses or *santos varones* (holy

men). In Yaqui they are spoken of as *Senyorta bahta* (they who take down the Lord). It is understood that, if there were enough *caballeros*, four of them would take the part. As it is, men of the pueblo who often assist the maestro do this. They are comparable to the men appointed by the priest in a Roman Catholic church for a similar task. The sacristan gives them a white silk coverlet from the bier, and each grasps a corner of it as they stand in front of the Way Cross. One of them unbinds the figure of Christ from the Way Cross and gently places it on the coverlet. The head altar woman casts confetti over it for a blessing. The sacristan drapes a long, narrow white cloth over the Way Cross. The flag girls, who have removed their shoes, wave toward the cross, then away from it, and proceed to the entrance of the church, where they wave, then advance to the church cross. They are followed by the angels (also without shoes) and their godmothers, the Nicodemuses carrying the coverlet with the figure of Christ on it, and the altar women. As they go, the maestros and singers sing the first verse of the *Pange Lingua*. Women at the entrance of the church, both Yaqui and Mexican, may lay their *rebozos* on the ground to receive the blessing and to honor Jesus as the figure is carried over them. "Like Jerusalem, to honor Him." At the church cross the flag girls wave toward it, then turn and wave in the opposite direction. The figure is lowered slightly three times at the cross and is blessed with confetti. All return to the church in the same order.

Meanwhile the assistant altar women place a fresh white sheet on the ground in front of the Way Cross and on it a small lace-trimmed and embroidered pillow from the bier. The flag girls wave as they enter the church, then stand in a row at the right side of the sheet. The angels, with their godmothers behind them, stand either in front of the Way Cross or at either side and hold lighted candles. The Nicodemuses lower the coverlet with the figure so that it rests on the sheet, and they reverently and tenderly arrange its head on the pillow. A coverlet from the bier is placed over it, and an offering bowl is put at its feet. The head altar woman showers confetti in profusion over the figure. The Nicodemuses stand at the left of the sheet. It is said that in earlier times fresh flowers were used.

Then follows the ceremony of public group veneration in the full form, as described for the fifth Friday in Lent. The *kohtumbre* flag-bearers remove their hats and wave over the figure in the four directions, three times around. The ideal circuit is counterclockwise for the first and third time, and clockwise for the second. The flag girls do likewise, but their circuit is unpredictable. All of the flag-bearers kneel in a row at the right of the sheet, as in the Friday afternoon ceremonies, and, as people come to venerate, each touches the forehead of the individual with the cross on the top of the flag and draws the flag over the face. The maestro group sings the appropriate *alabanza* for each. The men come in pairs, right hands clasped, and kneel three times on the way, making the sign of the cross with the head. The last time, they

kneel at the foot of the sheet and bend almost prostrate over the figure as they make the sign of the cross with the head. They leave offerings of candles, coins, and sometimes flowers. All have removed their shoes, hats, belts, and glasses. No regalia are carried. The Pilates remove their capes. The chapayekas go to their headquarters to remove their regalia before venerating. During their veneration a marked silence prevails. After they have resumed their regalia and are once more in formation in front of the church, this silence is broken by the usual chatter of daggers against swords, clatter of rattle belts, and rustle of ankle cocoons. A fariseo corporal stands at the head of each line of the kohtumbre to direct the flow. The angels and their godmothers venerate first, then the Nicodemuses, and the order for the rest is the same as on the Fridays. Men with kohtumbre vows, even if they have long been assigned to other duties, venerate with that organization. The people of the pueblo wait their turn back of the kohtumbre formation and, when invited by a kohtumbre officer, walk between the lines as they go to the church entrance. Occasionally a pair, usually some of the older men, may be seen to venerate three times in succession. A few couples go under the raised arms of the pair ahead as they come out.

Two chapayekas, stationed at the head of each line, are self-important and bossy as they remind people to venerate and block those who do not walk between the kohtumbre lines. They motion people to remove hats, ornaments, and rebozos, if they have forgotten, and a thrust of the dagger at an earring or pin is a reminder that is not disregarded.

The rest of the chapayekas amuse themselves with toys, tease each other, and have been seen slyly to mix up the pile of shoes left by those who are venerating. They are in constant colorful motion, in contrast to the quiet melancholy inside the church. The setting sun reddens the mountains to the north, and blue, smoky shadows deepen on those to the west. In this light the blues and oranges dominate the color in the regalia.

When all have finished venerating, the flag-bearers rise and wave again in the four directions three times around. The Nicodemuses lift the figure of Christ into the bier, put the pillow under the head and coverlet over it, and place in the bier the gifts of candles. The flowers are returned to the altar, and the money is counted in full sight of all. The sheet is taken into the sacristy.

The adoration in the afternoon on Friday is like when a person dies, they do him honor, only with Jesucristo they adore Him. For that same reason they have to take off all ornaments, shoes, belts, even their glasses. There cannot be anything for ornament. (31)

The following legend interprets the crucifixion of Jesus, explains the red used on the masks of the chapayekas, the flight of the fariseos after the

action of Pilate in piercing the body of Christ, and gives a reason why the chapayekas are left-handed.

Jesus and Peter and Paul were together on a journey, and, as they were talking, a Hudio (Jew) met them, and so Peter did not like him and took out his saber and cut off an ear. So Jesus told him not to do it any more. And so Jesus put his ear back on him and healed him and sent him away. So they kept on walking and walking until they came to Monte Calvario. They were resting there, and this Jew came and asked Him if He had seen Nazareno. He said He was the one, and so he did not believe Him. He came back another day, and He said He was the one. The third time He was captured, and they took Him away. And brought Him down to the church cross. And Friday as they nailed Him up and put Him on the church cross, that is when Pilate crucified el Señor. So each time they stab Him with his lance, they were all on their knees. The blood of Jesus when He was dead spread down on all the Jews, and so they all had a spot of blood on their faces [on the masks of the chapayekas]. They happened to get the same road again, and it brought them back to Jesus again. Also after they crucified Him they tried to run away, and they happened to get the same road again, and it brought them back to Jesus again. And so they have to take off all their clothes and bless themselves for what they have done. [Why are the chapayekas left-handed?] It may be that when they went to crucify Him the Jews came in from the left direction, not from the right, but to the left. So that is why they made the mistake by doing it the wrong way. (9)

The following excerpts are from observations made during the veneration:

In 1947, some chapayekas were busy with a toy insect with springs for legs. Others had toy animals.

In 1949, the head chapayeka, returning from headquarters, "rode" his sword, made a great show of dismounting, then stroked his "horse" with his dagger.

In 1951, pairs of shoes, left by people going to venerate, were very tempting, and many found their shoes were not where they had left them. The bull was very active in attempting to toss others, and they in turn tried to ride him or lasso him. One chapayeka found a big piece of paper, balanced it on his sword, and held it out to the bull like a cape. A paper cup passed back and forth innumerable times on the tips of daggers and swords.

When all have venerated, preparations are made at once for a procession around the Way of the Cross, which represents Christ being taken to the tomb. As they leave the church, they proceed in the following order:

Way Cross and men accompanying it.
 Boy angels and godmothers.
 Bier of Christ carried by the four Nicodemuses.
 Maestro and singers.
 Girl flag-bearers.
 Girl angels and godmothers.
 The Three Marys.
 Maestro and singers.
 People of the pueblo.

The kohtumbre are on either side of the procession. The fariseos wear their black scarves around their necks. The weapons of the caballeros are carried with points turned down.

No stops are made at the stations, but the Way Cross is bowed to each of the razed crosses and its escorts genuflect as they pass. The bier is turned so that it faces each station and is bowed three times; all bearers wave their flags.

When the procession returns to the church, the bier is placed in the center, in front of the Way Cross, behind which the brown curtain still hangs. The Nicodemuses straighten the coverlet in the bier and make sure that all is in order. Their duties are now completed. After the closing prayers the kohtumbre marches off to headquarters, leaving one chapayeka to guard the bier.

Vigil

During the evening the maestros and singers and the altar group keep vigil over the bier. The maestros take turns singing alabanzas according to the choice of each. The chapayeka guard changes from time to time, with pantomime similar to that described for Thursday evening. Many visitors from town come to venerate, or only to watch for awhile, and often leave offerings of candles and coins in the bier.

At some time during the evening a procession occurs like the one on Thursday evening, which again symbolizes Mary looking for her Son. It is also said by the head altar woman to be "to bless the places where Christ has been."

In 1949 the last guard at the bier was the head chapayeka. Among other things, he touched the head of the head maestro and pretended to find lice. He flourished his sword at a dog who came in and barked at him. He peeked into the bier from time to time and very slowly and carefully put his hand inside and squeaked a rubber doll that had already been substituted for the figure of Jesus; then jumped back in alarm. When the head altar woman passed, he shivered and shook. He went through the usual motions of wip-

ing off the bier with his dagger, peering about, keeping time to the alabanzas.

Resurrection

About midnight a procession takes place that most Pascuans interpret as symbolizing the Resurrection. It is also frequently referred to as *el encuentro* (encounter, meeting), or, in Yaqui, *emonankiwame* (they will meet themselves). It is so called because the men's and women's groups separate at the first station of the cross and move on in opposite directions, to meet back of the church. For this procession and through Easter Sunday the image of the Infant Jesus is the focal holy figure, traditionally and in reality, and it is reported that this is also true in the villages on the Río Yaqui. The explanation is that Jesus was born again in the same form in which God sent Him into this world, a little baby. The altar women sometimes say in getting ready for the procession, "Let us go and meet the Infant."

Shortly before midnight, when a corporal notifies the church group that the procession is about to take place, the head altar woman and her assistants remove the mourning from all of the figures of the Blessed Virgin and replace the lavender crowns and flags of the girl flag-bearers with red ones. The sacristan removes the Repository from the altar and takes the mourning from the figure of the Infant Jesus. He, or a helper, removes the Way Cross to the front of the church and takes up the post to which it has been fastened. A man of the pueblo, either a volunteer or acting on request, takes the Infant Jesus in his arms and stands at the church entrance. Four men of the pueblo make ready a white canopy to be held over it. Sixteen women are crowned, twelve to carry the Three Marys and four to carry a canopy over them. A chapayeka guard is left at the bier. As the church group starts out, the elements of the procession are as follows:

Way Cross and men carrying and accompanying it.

Boy angels and godmothers.

Infant Jesus under a canopy.

Maestro and singers singing the Miserere.

Girl flag-bearers.

Girl angels and godmothers.

The Three Marys.

Maestro and singers singing *Jueves Santo Medianoche* (Holy Thursday Midnight).

The kohtumbre marches at either side, and the chapayekas beat the rhythm smartly with their weapons. The caballero weapons are pointed down. At the first station the procession separates. The men's group pro-

ceeds around the Way of the Cross in the correct direction, and the women's group turns right and goes around in the opposite way. The right line of the kohtumbre accompanies the men's group and the left line the women's, and they dispose themselves on both sides as in the manner for the procession of the Crucifixion. No stops are made at stations, but all flags wave and the Way Cross is bowed quickly to each.

As the two groups approach the station back of the church, the chapayekas from each group rush ahead and pretend to fight. They shoot off cap pistols, flourish their swords in menacing gestures, pretend to snipe at each other. As the two groups stop on either side of the station, the men carrying the Way Cross step aside. The flag girls advance to the Infant Jesus, wave toward it, turn and wave in the opposite direction. The Three Marys are brought forward, and each in turn is bowed three times to the Infant Jesus, which is bowed to them simultaneously. The head altar woman casts confetti in a blessing over the Infant. The two groups "interweave," as Pascuans say, pass each other and go on as before. At their confluence at the first station a mock fight takes place again. All join as one procession and return to the church for the usual closing prayers. A sacristan places the figure of the Infant on the pedestal formerly occupied by the Repository.

While the others are gone from the church the sacristan removes the figure of Christ from the bier, unknown to the chapayeka guard, and ties it to the large crucifix, from which it had been removed on Good Friday. He places in the bier, hidden under the coverlet, a toy or a stuffed animal, or even an old fur piece, which had been used for play by the chapayekas, in order to conceal from them that the bier has been rifled. The sacristan removes the mourning from the small crucifixes.

As illustrated in the following quotations, most of the people think that the moment of the Resurrection is when the Three Marys and the Infant Jesus make mutual bows back of the church; also that the fighting between the two groups of chapayekas represents the quarreling and confusion among the soldiers guarding the tomb. Fewer think that the Resurrection occurs when the figure of the Infant is placed on the altar by the sacristan. Some say that the chapayekas quarrel because they do not want Mary to find and help Her Son.

Twelve is the moment of the Resurrection. When Christ came out of the sepulcher, a light came out of the sky and Christ rose. The soldiers there were frightened, and they started to fight, so as not to let Him get away. That is why the chapayekas fight when the two groups meet. They should have a figure of Saint John to go with them. . . . The moment of the Resurrection is when the figures are bowed to each other in the procession. (8)

When they go to the “Meeting,” they have heard that Jesus is alive and the Marys are looking for Him. The Resurrection is at the [station behind the church] and represents the time when the lightning hits the tomb. The fariseos become angry and fight with each other because their plans are failing. . . .

The chapayekas fight because there are chapayekas on both sides, and they meet, and it is just like letting each other know that they have met each other. No other reason. The meeting of the Virgin and the Infant is when they dip the Virgin in front of the Infant. It is like meeting a person and shaking hands and greeting each other. It is because they are happy that Jesus is alive. They take the [Infant Jesus] because they cannot take Christ out at that time. The Resurrection takes place behind the church, while they are meeting Christ. All in all, that is the Resurrection. The first station is the same thing. They really should take Saint John and Saint Joseph because they were companions of Jesus. (20)

The “Meeting” is the light of the Resurrection. (14)

[The Resurrection] is at midnight when the altar is changed and the figure is put on the crucifix. (35)

So there are two chapayekas guarding the bier, and Jesucristo is still in there. So they go out in a procession and they (the two) have to stay in the church. The one (sacristan) is also left and [he] has to rise up Jesucristo from the bier and put Him back on the altar. The chapayekas who are there act like they didn’t know when this is done. When they come back from the procession, they ask if He is there and they start looking for Him. So, after they come, the chapayekas are still on guard, and they don’t know He is gone. . . . The procession should be at eleven. They take Itom Ae and Itom Achai, and they separate at the first station. So when they get back of the church they fight, because the other chapayekas do not want Our Mother to meet Our Father, because Our Mother is trying to get in there to help Him rise up. She is on her way trying to help Our Father. The Resurrection is at twelve. This is at eleven. Saint John and Saint Joseph should both be with Our Father, because they were with Him before they captured Him. They are supposed to go with Our Mother in the procession, because Saint John baptized Jesus and Saint Joseph was His father, and they are trying to help. They take the Infant Jesus. . . . He is the one that is in Nochebuena (Christmas Eve), and they say that the Infant Jesus was born again. So they always have to have Him there in place of Our Father. They can’t take el Nazareno because He is crucified, so they take the Infant. (9)

[The chapayekas fight] because they don't want Christ to go to the Virgin. (49)

It was very thick woods, so when [the chapayekas] meet, they fight. They are angry at each other. The Resurrection is then. (60)

Each has an army, Our Lady and the Lord, and they don't recognize each other, so they start shooting. . . . [They bow] because they recognize each other, and thereby salute each other. (31)

[The fighting] is a confusion between the chapayekas. They are lost, and they don't know each other, and they fight, and they are already beaten by Christ. Therefore they are in confusion, and they do not know each other and start fighting. And the separation of the figures (in the procession) is a trick to confuse them. So therefore when they meet, they don't know each other. (17)

This is traditional, and Christ comes back in the state that He was sent by His Father and becomes a baby again. (55)

In the evening the maestro removes Christ from His bier when the chapayekas don't know it. They find it out [later] and accuse one of the sentinels. They pretend to tie him up for the firing squad. (8)

The sacristan is supposed to put [the toy] in to confound the chapayekas. (14)

The chapayeka guarding pretends not to see. Before he goes in the procession, the maestro tells the chapayeka guard to be very careful and not let anything happen, or he will lose his head, and not only he, but all. (31)

Chapayeka Fiesta

Sometime later in the night the fariseos march out from headquarters. Two corporals take the bier from the church and give it to four chapayekas, who carry it on their shoulders between the lines of the fariseos as they march with quick steps out of the plaza. At the first station they turn right and go around the Way of the Cross in the wrong direction. No stops are made, but flag-bearers wave as they pass the stations. To set the pace, one of the chapayekas beats hard on a fariseo drum. The sound of the daggers of the chapayekas is sharp on their swords. Others of the chapayekas have musical instruments, generally a small accordion, a violin, and one or two guitars, and they, too, play in the rhythm of the step as they imitate pascola and matachin tunes. They play simultaneously but independently of each other. The chapayekas step out jauntily, and they are full of self approval and bravado. The bier, a dainty wraith in the pervasive tranquil white moonlight, looks incongruous shaken about high and unsteady on careless

shoulders. When the fariseos arrive at the church again, they place the bier on its table, but this time in front of the church. The fariseos disband, but the chapayekas return at once to the front of the church.

It is known that formerly, within the memory of the fathers of the men who are now chapayekas, the musical instruments were held in the right hand and played with the left.

It is true that the chapayekas were formerly supposed to play their musical instruments with their left hands and make up their own tunes and just make noises. It was not for the purpose of entertaining in a human way, but they have an inhuman way of doing things. . . . Here they play with their right hands and use standard pieces. When they play instruments they can drop their swords and daggers. (17)

The kohtumbre gathers near the big bonfire, and they and most of the church group linger to watch the chapayeka fiesta which follows.

One chapayeka is stationed near the bier as a guard. He peers into it from time to time. The chapayekas with the musical instruments are led to a bench in front of the church. They pretend to have great difficulty in getting seated. They offer each other drinks, using their instruments as mock bottles, and when they start to play they pretend to be drunk already. When they play pascola music, one or more chapayekas dance pascola, exaggerating the movements. When they change to matachin airs, some or all of the chapayekas perform matachin steps, lifting their feet high in the air, flinging themselves about, and using their swords and daggers as gourds and wands. One or several may try to do the matachin kneeling step, with total collapse as a result. When modern dance music is played, the chapayekas dance in pairs, or sometimes with their swords, and all of their steps are in fine mimicry of Anglo dancing. All pretend to drink from whatever is handy—swords, daggers, their musical instruments, even stones. They are generous in sharing drinks. The accordion player may get up and sound his instrument into the ears of others, who jump back hastily. The drummer sits on the ground, swaying, and beats his drum crazily. Some set off cap pistols.

The guard is changed from time to time, with pantomimed instructions. The others go sometimes to look into the bier. The musicians stumble around, arm in arm. They fall down and help each other up. One may do a swooping dance with his violin or guitar as a partner. They look into the bier with increasing anxiety. Gradually they drift off to headquarters, shaking their heads sadly. The bier is left alone in the moonlight.

It is said that the chapayeka fiesta used to last until six in the morning, with many variations in dancing and play. It is also known that it was the custom to accuse the first guard of being responsible for the loss of the

figure of Jesus and that he was punished. This is not done in Pascua, although the first guard is often the target of teasing remarks about how it is his fault that they will have “their heads cut off” at The Gloria.

They accused one of the sentinels and pretended to tie him up for the firing squad. (8)

So all the chapayekas and the officers take out the bier and take it around. And after they come back they put it outside on a bench. Pretty soon they have a big fiesta and dances and begin to get drunk. And pretty soon they try to find out if He is in there, and there is still the teddy bear or something. Some try to look in and see if He is in there, but the guard wouldn't give them a chance to look. So another comes around and takes a peek and finds He is not there, and he tries to tell everybody. And he says, “Well, I think He got away from us when we were having a big fiesta, and the guard didn't catch Him. So when they all find out, they get mad at each other and accuse each other. “Because YOU didn't guard, and YOU OTHER, we have to lose our heads.” They don't punish a chapayeka any more, but they used to. (9)

In 1948 and 1949, the chapayekas carried the bier around the Way of the Cross in the proper circuit, not the wrong way around as is the custom. It was explained that an aging sergeant had directed them to do this, and they could do nothing but follow his directions.

Meanwhile the altar women and flag girls are busy behind the brown curtain, dressing the Three Marys in new finery that was lovingly and painstakingly made at home. The white sheets over and behind the altar are made bright with crepe-paper flowers and garlands, also the work of their hands. Generally artificial flowers, pinned in the shape of a cross, form the central motif back of the altar, with sprays or single flowers on either side of it. The head maestro rarely lets himself go to sleep but watches them in appreciation, making a quiet joking remark now and then. The pink silk antependium is placed on the altar. Finally, when all is pleasing to the head altar woman and they fall asleep, it is almost dawn.

The rest have wrapped themselves up in blankets at their posts. Some members of the kohtumbre are still gathered around their fire. The candles burn low in the candelabra and near where the Way Cross stood. The hot coals have long since become piles of white ashes. The bier stands dainty and serene in the still white moonlight.

Following are excerpts from 1947 field notes:

Meanwhile the altar women and flag girls had been re-decorating the altar. The figures of the Virgin were dressed in their new finery. The head altar woman carefully supervised everything, diving into bundles

and baskets for things that she had prepared. The clothing was removed from the Dolorosa, a fresh cover placed on the litter. The new blue petticoat was put on, the wide blue net skirt with pink and blue ribbon rosettes. A wide pink satin ribbon was tied around the neck with a big bow, the flowing ends covering the front. The beads were replaced, and a blue lace rebozo, very dainty, was carefully put over her head and secured around the neck with a narrow ribbon. It covered the front of her dress, but the rosettes showed in the back. Puffs of blue net were made around the base and a red rose placed at her breast, two at her feet.

María Purísima Concepción was dressed in a pink undergarment, with over it a full robe of white net with gold dots. It covered her head and was held in at the throat with narrow pink ribbon. She had a blue ribbon bow at the right side of her breast, a pink one at the left, with ends hanging. At her waist were three flat artificial flowers, white, pale pink, and blue. A red rose and bud were placed at her feet.

The third Mary was dressed in the sacristy by the second altar woman and two of the girls. I did not see the full details of her dressing, but she appeared in a white silk robe with pleated light pink ribbon on the edges. The robe covered her head and the sides of the front and was held in place around the neck by a narrow lavender ribbon. A dress, or part of a dress, showed in front. It was made of pale yellow silk, with a wide lace border. A blue ribbon rosette was placed at each shoulder. There were two light pink flowers on the front of her dress above the hem, and a deep red rose was placed at her feet.

Two of the flag girls went home and came back wearing blue jeans. With much giggling they pinned the crepe-paper flowers to the sheets over the altar and above it, under the direction of the head altar woman. An irregular cross was made at the back, of large pink crepe-paper roses with green leaves, and a large spray of red roses was placed to the right. Above were single flowers of red, purple, white, and pink, dotted about with no design. The girls had fun doing this, and the head altar woman laughed with them. The pink silk antependium was put on the altar last of all.

The boy angels fell asleep right after the chapayeka fiesta, but the girl angels were awake and giggling for some time. . . .

SATURDAY OF GLORY

The Gloria

The moon shines pale gold as it descends toward the western mountains, and the light in the east brightens. The head maestro rouses himself,

and as soon as he starts a dawn alabanza his singers join him. As they sing and the morning prayers are repeated, a corporal brings hot coals on a shovel and deposits them on the ground, to warm all those in the church. The rest of the church group wakens slowly to start the activities of the day.

Meanwhile the fariseos, unaccompanied by the caballeros, march three times around the church cross, then make the circuit of the Way of the Cross. Their plain march step is in fast time, and they press their feet firmly to the ground. The chapayekas beat the rhythm with short sharp blows on their swords. At each station flags are waved, and all pause long enough to stamp five or six times vigorously on alternate feet. The chapayekas jump and shake their rattles as they finish. This is done to "wake up the crosses" (*kusim busane*), which are thought to have been sleeping since they were knocked down by the chapayekas after the crucifixion on Good Friday. As the fariseos re-enter the plaza, the caballeros join them, march around the church cross, and stand west of it, facing east, for the dawn prayers of the kohtumbre. Then they return to headquarters.

The rosy light of dawn has now turned to the gold of early morning sunlight. It slants into the church and brightens the altar with a shimmer of color, a promise of The Gloria to come. Preparations begin at once for the events of The Gloria (Saturday of Glory; Yaqui *sabala loria*), the most important day of all. The church floor is cleaned of trash, the rugs are taken out and shaken, the dirt floor swept and watered down. The bier is put inside along the north wall. Fresh candles are supplied. Brown curtains are hung across the entrance of the church, closing it entirely from view.

The chapayekas carry the always necessary wood and water. They erect the church cross again; but for today and tomorrow it stands just inside the east entrance of the plaza, opposite to the church. They put up a post about 20 feet to the rear of it, for the Judas pyre. They brush smooth the path from the church to the fiesta ramada and line it with fresh cottonwood twigs. It is known today as *loria bo'o* (glory road). They sprinkle a line of ashes about 50 feet east of the church, to mark the santo tebat. This ash line may be called *napohta go'otipo* (spilled ash) or *naposa wikteki* (ash string laid out).

The managers of the pascolas and deer dancer prepare the floor in the fiesta ramada for the dancers, sweep it clean, searching for pebbles that could bruise bare dancing feet, sprinkle it with water. They hang cottonwood twigs from the ceiling on the pascola side. The flag girls, under the supervision of the sacristan or a maestro, place the pink silk antependium on the little altar on the church side of the ramada and decorate the white cloths above and behind it with crepe-paper flowers and garlands similar to those in the church, but in less profusion. When all is in readiness, the people go home to freshen up and to put on their finest clothes.

About 10:30 the chapayekas bring from headquarters the figure of Ju-

Chapayekas Escorting the Effigy of Judas on a Burro

das which they have constructed, life size or larger. A framework of wood is used, with sticks, twigs, and rags for stuffing. Judas is dressed like a chapayeka in an old pair of pants, faded shirt, a torn coat or blanket, ragged sandals, and, generally, an old hat. He wears one of the masks saved from the previous year; or, if none is left, a crude one with long ears is made. He carries a sword and dagger, also from the previous year, and on him are pinned some of the toys with which the chapayekas have been playing and perhaps other old toys or ornaments. If a burro is available (1940, 1947), Judas is fastened astride; otherwise he is carried by two chapayekas. A chapayeka swings under his nose a mock censer, a tin can filled with evil-smelling, smoldering dung and rags. The chapayeka musicians of the night before play gay and careless tunes, independently of each other, and all parade with jaunty steps, swaggering along in disorganized fashion, to the east entrance. They go up the path to the church, turn back at the ash line, go around the Way of the Cross in the wrong direction, back to the ash line, then to the pyre. A crowd of small boys, persistently clustering about them, scatters temporarily at the slightest suggestion of a raised sword. Corporals who accompany them transfer Judas to two relief chapayekas at the eleventh station. They fasten Judas to the pyre, and corporals bring fireworks to stuff

A Chapayeka Carrying the Judas to the Funeral Pyre

inside him. They also hang on him gunny sacks containing remnants of paint and material that were used to make chapayeka masks in the current year.

In an amusing frolic the chapayekas swing the censer under the nose of Judas, kiss, and embrace him. To the erratic music of their orchestra they dance. Sometimes they mimic pascola and matachin dance steps, exaggerating the movements; sometimes they dance in pairs Anglo style, stepping high and wide. When the angels enter the plaza, they dart after them and run off, scraping, after being whipped.

This procession with Judas, known in Yaqui as *basohuras kontitua* (grass Judas procession), is said by a few villagers to occur as a punishment to Judas because he was wicked or because he sold Christ. The majority, however, say that chapayekas are paying tribute to him in their own way as their leader.

They are honoring him as their chief. (58)

They are paying tribute to the deed he has done, as their hero. They do it in an opposite way. (55)

They are really doing it to honor him in their own way. He is their chief. (20)

Judas Tied to the Funeral Pyre

The procession is to honor him. They consider him their holy figure. (31)

The chapayekas honor Judas because he is their god. (23)

The chapayekas talk to Judas in the language of the sticks. If there is a doll, they embrace it, too, and converse with it. They scrape off any animals that hang there. Finally they bid Judas farewell, to the accompaniment of *Adios* played on the accordion. Each one pauses in front of Judas, touches his garments, then turns his back and jumps and shakes his rattles three times in farewell. They turn back several times to wave at him. To the strains of "Home, Sweet Home" they return to headquarters.

As hundreds of visitors gather along the path to the church, the people return from their homes clad in their finest. The older women are erect and dignified in freshly starched, long, full skirts, often flounced. Most are made of cotton, flowered or sprigged, but a few brilliant rayon ones are seen. Their overblouses of white or pale colors are almost hidden by their large black silk or lace rebozos. The younger women are in pretty, contemporary dresses and generally wear only a ribbon or a flower in the hair, although occasionally a small rebozo or a flowered scarf covers the head. The men wear white or, sometimes, bright shirts, with perhaps a scarf knotted around the neck. Almost all of the women bring paper bags of leaves, flowers, or

confetti, some of which they sprinkle on the flower carpet on the ground at the right of the church entrance. These are the sewam, the "ammunition" to be thrown by the pascolas, that will today "kill" the fariseos.

The slow deliberation of preparations, noted earlier in Lent, is slightly accelerated today; but still there is no flurry, no bustling about, no raised voices. Yet over all is a new air of excitement and tense expectancy, and a colorful, shining quality in contrast to the mourning of Good Friday. Typically, the weather is clement, bright and clear, until perhaps toward noon a spring wind plays with the ever restless dust.

During the morning a small ceremony occurs which symbolizes the Lighting of the New Fire. Emerging from the church are acolytes, sacristan, and maestros, carrying the processional cross and candles, holy water, censer, triple candlestick, and missal. They proceed to the church cross, kneel for prayers, and return, stopping to kneel halfway back. One candle in the triple candlestick is lighted on the way. At the altar prayers are said, asperg done, and the church candles are lighted from the triple candlestick.

Proud that their godfathers as well as their godmothers are with them today, the angels in newly pressed skirts or dresses walk shyly up the path to the church. They stand in a row in front of the flag girls before the altar, switches ready to defend it against the fariseos. Occasionally a bright flower crown may be glimpsed as an angel peeks between the brown curtains. The altar women and those who have carried the Three Marys in procession remain inside the church, all with bags of flowers to help repel the fariseos.

As the matachinis gather, each goes into the church to venerate at the altar, then adds his bright regalia, tied in a scarf, to the brilliant fringe already hanging on the lintel. As preparations progress, they untie the scarves and hang the crowns with their varicolored paper streamers, the painted gourds, and feathered wands on the lintel. Later they stand, holding them, ready to dance, on the holy ground in front of the church. The matachin musicians go to their bench on the north side of the path, inside the ash line if there is room. As they wait, violins and guitars blend in soft improvisations or airs from their dance tunes.

The managers of the pascolas and deer dancer place the bench for the pascola violinist and harpist in front of the church at the north side, and the tampaleo sits near them. In a row on the ground nearby, on a piece of canvas or carpet, lie ready the water drum and two sets of rasps for the deer singers. The sound of melodious bells dangling from belts and the crepitations of cocoon ankle rattles herald the approach of the pascolas. Their masks hang at the side or back of their heads, and the topknot of hair gathered in a red string on top of the head of each is crowned today with a pink or red crepe-paper rose. Their manager and musicians have matching ones in their hats. As they arrive all go first to the altar to venerate. The pascola manager presides over the flower carpet. From time to time he leans

over to mix together the growing pile of leaves, flowers, and confetti. The deer dancer, wearing his white cloth head covering, stands with arms folded across his torso, his deer headdress behind him next to the raspers. His manager and singers have red or pink crepe-paper roses in their hats. If the military society is present in formation, they stand in a row on the south side of the path, inside the ash line.

Some of the godparents of the fariseos may go back to the kohtumbre headquarters to tie scarves on the arms of their godsons so that they may readily identify them later on.

A white cloth canopy with white cotton fringe and a white cross embroidered on the top is put up on the south side near the church entrance. Care is taken that the foot of the cross faces forward. The maestro, who has started to read the Prophecies inside the church, moves out. With him are the missal stand and his large Missale Romanum. The sacristan and women singers stand with him as he continues to read.

All is now in readiness for the climax of the Easter Ceremony, The Gloria (named after the Mass for Holy Saturday). It is the day sometimes referred to as *loriata chachawaika* (shout glory). It is the day when the church and the holy ground in front of it are identified with heaven itself. "Gloria means heaven, and Saturday is the day of heaven" (20). It is the day when the fariseos dash to the church three times, *bahi tenni loria* (three glory runs), still seeking Jesus. They are turned back each time by the switches of the angels and are "killed" by flowers—the flowers thrown by the church group and the pascolas—and by the dancing of those who are identified with the flower symbol, the matachinis and the deer. It is the logical climax for the flower theme, when the blood of Christ, transformed into flowers, vanquishes the enemies of Christ.

The deer in that time dances on the side of the church and in that time is also a soldier of the church. And the matachinis are the army of the Virgin. (9)

At The Gloria the matachinis dance because Christ has come back. They don't dance on Palm Sunday because they are sad because Jesus has gone away, and they thought that He would not come back. They dance on Holy Saturday. (52)

About noon the fariseos line up in front of headquarters, ready for their "last stand." They wear black shirts and hats and Yaqui sandals, except the Pilates, who wear long black capes. Black skirts cover the red ones on their lance heads. Black cloth hides the drum. Black scarves cover all their faces. The fariseos use a plain march step, called *bo'o hoo* (doing road), or *kia wikti marcha* (just plain march), or *bo'o wakti* (road step). They push their

feet hard and firm to the ground, and the beat of the weapons of the chapayekas as they keep time is harsh and strong. They march to the east entrance of the plaza, turn at the church cross, and march up the path. Somewhat short of the ash line each column turns sharp left and to the rear, and they go back to pass the church cross again and return up the path. Thus they march back and forth for three or four more rounds before stopping, facing the church, about halfway between the ash line and the church cross. As they make each turn, flags wave, flute and drum sound, and the chapayekas shake their rattle belts. As they stop, the usual signals are made by the flag-bearers, flute, drum, and the chapayekas. The parching noonday sun bears down on the marchers.

The caballeros march out with the fariseos but do not push their feet aggressively to the ground. On the first advance to the church they march on alone and take a position to the south in a single line within the ash line. Thus they make a final separation from the fariseos and take a neutral position for The Gloria. Their weapons are pointed up.

As the fariseos stand, a maestro takes a piece of paper to the head Pilate or a captain, who gives it to the head corporal. This is called in Yaqui *koreom* and in Spanish *avisos* (notices). The corporal tears off a piece for each chapayeka, who receives it with his left hand, back half turned. This represents a warning to the fariseos from the church group and says something like, "It would be better for you to give up, or you will have your heads cut off." The head maestro may jibe at them, too, telling them that they are about to lose the battle, that no one can save them, and that they had better stop and go away. Or he may say that they acted so brave in the beginning and now they are losing the battle. The chapayekas hold up the notices and pretend to read them, then express uncontrolled rage. Some throw the papers to the ground and stamp on them or grind them into the earth and hit them with their swords. Some blow their noses on them, or rub their buttocks with them, and throw them toward the church. They chatter angrily with each other with their weapons, or, by the same method, beat out defiance to the pascolas and the church group. Some may shoot at the pascolas with their toy pistols, or call attention to their swords by holding them up and hitting them with their daggers, casting aggressive looks at the pascolas. Some hit their rattle belts with their daggers and thus remind the pascolas of their "ammunition." Underneath this braggadocio is uneasy fear, as is shown, for example, by one who may push another to the front of the line facing the pascolas and then run pelting back to safety. The pascolas reply by pointing to, or stooping over and pretending to scoop up, the flowers on the flower carpet. Or they may draw their hands across their necks in a gesture suggesting decapitation.

The fariseos march again, back and forth as before, with no set number of times, between the ash line and the church cross. As the chapayekas shake

Fariseos Marching on the Church During The Gloria

their hip rattles on the turn at the ash line, they may wave their swords in threatening gestures at the pascolas. They stop marching nearer to the ash line than before, facing the church. The maestro sends them a second warning. Again the chapayekas become angry and make aggressive gestures. One may run forward boldly, shoot his toy pistol at the pascolas, then wilt at the sight of the flowers and scamper back into place. Some go to the middle of the formation and shake their rattles in defiance. One may step forward into the center, put the tip of his sword into the ground, lean on the handle, and gaze in searching concentration at the pascolas. From time to time godparents go out to tie scarves on the arms of their godsons.

They march again, back and forth. On the turns the pascolas threaten the chapayekas, call out insults to them. The chapayekas brandish their swords at them with confident gestures, push their fists down hard in a motion denoting strength, dart forward toward them, then run back in fright. They stop nearer to the ash line and receive a third and final warning from the maestro. They pantomime anger and defiance as before. Again they march, with no set pattern of rounds, stopping now and then. When the maestro starts to read the Litany he holds up a small white flag with a blue cross, and they change to a new march step called the *Letanía marcha* in Spanish, or the *letanía mayorta yi'ine* (dancing the Litany) in Yuki. It is

Waiting for the Attack on the Church at The Gloria

Fariseos at The Gloria

thought of as a dance and the rhythm and foot movements are as follows:

R RRR R L LLL L.

The chapayekas beat out the new rhythm sharply on their swords. The pascolas continue to threaten them by pretending to scoop up flowers and beckoning them forward. They may even urge them to change their marching steps by imitating them. A chapayeka pretends to take "ammunition" from his rattle belt and load his sword with it. Another sharpens his sword and shakes it at the pascolas on the turn. The very small fariseos have to run every few steps to keep up with the rest.

The maestro holds up a pink, white, and blue flag with a blue cross in the center, to show that he is starting to sing the *Kyrie Eleison*. The fariseos change to a plain march step, but in double time, and they drag the heels of their sandals, making a scuffing sound. This is called the *loria marsha*. A red flag with a green cross in the center is held up when the maestro is about to sing the *Gloria*. The officers have been watching closely, so as not to be caught marching away from the church when the Gloria is sung; for if they are, they will first have to continue in formation to the church cross, then turn and run to the ash line, instead of going forward at once.

Inside the church the angels, tense and more than a little frightened, fearing capture, stand in front of the altar, their switches ready for the attack. The flag girls stand behind them, shoes removed. The women of the church group are poised near the entrance of the church. This is a moment of tension and excitement. The deer dancer puts on his headdress. The matachinis cross themselves and put on their crowns and move to the side. Their musicians have instruments ready.

As the maestros start to sing the *Ke'esam loria* (First Gloria) and the hand bell at the missal stand rings, the church bell peals out for the first time since Thursday. Rockets soar. The fariseos, brandishing their swords, dash in formation to the ash line. Simultaneously an explosion of movement and sound and color at the church repels them. The pascolas scoop up flowers and throw them fiercely at the fariseos. The matachinis dance the Bataya. The deer dancer dances and dips his antlers into the flowers and tosses them. The curtains of the church fly apart, and the women throw flowers. The angels, urged on by their godparents, rush out and hit the backs of the chapayekas with their switches. The flag girls wave three times at the altar. Some Yaqui onlookers throw flowers. If the military society is present, their flag is waved and the drum beaten furiously. The caballeros cross themselves and kneel immobile, flag furled and weapons pointed. The daunted fariseos wheel at the ash line and return to position. The pascolas slip their masks over their faces and dance wildly, facing the tampaleo. As the path is again clear, the matachinis, in formation again in the center, dance the Bataya, then kneel, cross themselves and rise. The caballeros resume standing position and hold their weapons with points up.

Little Boy Angels Preparing to Do Battle with the Fariseos

The deer singers may sing one of the following songs during the assaults:

In the thinly falling flowers of the gum tree
I stand appearing thus
I stand appearing with yellow streaks

Here now from the sunrise, in the flower patio of the hunter
I stand appearing thus
I stand with yellow streaks appearing thus

Not even being a San Miguelito flower
Scattered flowers fall, fall
Not even being a Vara Prieta flower
Scattered flowers fall, fall

The Gloria (Saturday of Glory)

Back again near the Judas pyre some of the fariseos take off ankle or belt rattles and give them to their godparents, who now stand near them. They march again back and forth, generally using the double-time plain march, the loria marsha. The pascolas ridicule the chapayekas and threaten them with throat-cutting motions. They taunt them, saying something like, "We have already beaten them. They look like old roosters dragging their wings." Or they may say, "There is nothing else he can sharpen. He has lost his sword. Next time we will be sure to get them" (55). The chapayekas sharpen their swords and brandish them as before, but here and there one shakes his head sadly, and their pantomime is more suggestive of braggadocio than of courage.

Again the officers watch warily for the flag. They may stop marching, exhausted. Again the bells, again the fariseos dash toward the church, and this time they go a little beyond the ash line. The air is alive with flowers as they are again repulsed by the church group and the dancers. They wheel and return to the far end of the path. Now many godparents go to take rattles and sandals from their godchildren.

The fariseos march again, and the chapayekas, still intransigent, swaggering, threaten the pascolas with their swords. When they stop, they pretend to take long drinks from their swords. The pascola pantomime is fiercer, and they cry out threats and taunts. As they make the turns, the

chapayekas who have given up their hip rattles pantomime surprise as they shake their hips and there is no sound.

The Gloria is sung for the third time. The caballeros dash to the altar in the church, kneel, cross themselves and rush back to their position, with the points of their weapons permanently turned down. The fariseos run full speed to the very door of the church, and, covered with flowers, run pelting back to the church cross. A streak of black (the officers), a streak of color (the chapayekas), then a streak of black, they run leaning forward almost horizontally, pressing on. They throw down their remaining regalia at the Judas pyre and kneel to cross themselves. Some hit the ground violently with their swords. Their godparents throw the chapayekas' coats or blankets over their heads and rush with them to the church altar. Women throw flowers over them as they enter for the ceremony of rededication, which will make them ritually clean again. Small boys are half carried by the men.

Hidden fireworks soar and pop as the Judas pyre flames high. With it burn the regalia of the fariseos, save two masks and swords, kept for possible use during the coming year. Men of the village, designated by the kohtumbre, push swords and mask further into the fire. This event is called *Hurasta ya'awa* (the burning of Judas).

Crowds surround the dancers as they continue to dance in front of the church.

[The fariseos go] to find Jesucristo; then they are killed by all. (20)

They are going to stand up against the good until the last. They are not going to give up. They are soldiers. And the angels and the matachinis and the pascolas are all fighters who will kill them. . . .

The first time it means that the fariseos have been dealt a severe blow. They are not killed. The second time it deals just a little harder blow than the first one. The third and last it beheads them. (31)

They want to attack the angels because they are on the side of Jesus. (14)

. . . they are fighting to survive, but they know they will not. (20)

The attack is the fight of evil till they surrender. They fight until they are beaten, and surrendered, and then they crawl into the church to the altar. They fight to the end . . . they are desperately fighting, and they know they are already beaten, but they fight. It represents the last stand. . . .

It is a surrender. The first two times they are stubborn enough to keep on fighting; they are not giving up. . . . They are fighting being good. As soon as they shed off all their paraphernalia they become their own figures again. Their godmothers are trying to help them do this . . . they

The Burning of Judas

don't give up till the third time. It is the promise that God made them. (55)

They chase the fariseos away from the church because the people represented by the fariseos were sinners. [Then the fariseos] change their minds at the last, and go in to God. The fariseos get rid of their sins, because they represent those that did not believe, but this is what they had to do in their parts. When they shed their masks, they get rid of all the sins that they have represented and come to the church as they are. The fariseos have felt closer than the rest to Jesus—they have felt closer than at anytime during the year. (58)

The Gloria runs are the last effort they do against the good and the fear that they will lose their heads. (48)

[The fireworks are] for the purpose of shooting the fariseos, just like all the other ammunition. (71)

The fariseos get killed by the pascolas, and whoever throws flowers on the pile is supposed to be killing the evil ones. In earlier time they made confetti in all colors, especially white and red. White is for purity, and the red is from the flowers. The confetti represents the flowers and is used as ammunition against the enemy. In case there is no confetti they would use only cottonwood leaves. They use confetti like bullets. When the chapayekas have to stand where there is confetti, they can't stand still. They stamp. And when the flowers hit them in the face, they stagger just as they do when they hear holy words. The flowers [at The Gloria] represented the bows and arrows, the weapon of the church. And the angels whipping the chapayekas whenever they can, it is said that they are cutting their heads off. (9)

[Flowers are] the Lord's weapon by which he fought with the fariseos to conquer them. (17)

The leaves and flowers are something like the resplendor, the light that blinded the guards at the place of the tomb. They are a weapon against evil. Every race feels the same about flowers. (55)

[Flowers kill the fariseos, not only those thrown], the others help, too. The matachinis represent the flowers of all the year around, and the deer dancer, too, and the flower on the pascola's head. A pascola should in any fiesta have not necessarily a flower, but a ribbon, or even if it is a string it is a flower. When the time comes [at The Gloria], all those things unite together to do away with the evil which has fallen. So the matachinis and the pascola and deer dancer, all those, stay as guards for good the year around, against evil. (31 and 58)

[The confetti should not be picked up off the ground] because of the purpose for which it has been used. (17)

[They should not be picked up during the Ceremony] as the Ceremony is still going over the sewam. (23)

Every little sewa that you get in your hat, that is your sewa from He-sukristo. (8)

[The rockets are] an answer to the prayers of the maestro, as in any vespers, *loria vihpa*. (17)

Exhausted fariseos, in triumphant submission, fill the church with their godparents, who carry their coats and blankets, rattle belts and ankle rat-

tles. As each fariseo goes to the altar, his godfather holds his right arm, his godmother the left arm. As they kneel, the godparents push his head under the antependium three times. His godfather moves a new rosary in the sign of the cross three times in front of his face and slips it over his head. His godmother goes to his right side for the same ritual. Each takes his place again, and together they lift the fariseo altar crucifix from the altar and move it in the sign of the cross three times in front of his face. Again they take his arms and all rise and go the length of the altar, venerating the holy figures in the usual way. As they lead him outside, he often wears a scarf over his head, to protect him after the heat of the exhausting marches and attacks. They take him to the east end of the plaza, where all the fariseos sit in line and rest until the next event. When the fariseos have finished, the godparents of the angels take them to the altar for the same ritual. The switches are stored in the sacristy.

Some Pascuans use the word for baptize (*bato'oa*) for this ritual, and most speak of it in English as rebaptism. The ones versed in Catholic ritual know, however, that it is not possible to be baptized twice. The word *muhte* (veneration at the altar and also confirmation into a ceremonial society) is often employed and comes closer to the meaning. The English word rededication is used here, after consultation with knowledgeable villagers.

It is said that in the twenties fariseos were taken by force to the church by their godparents, who "caught them at the church cross and dragged them in after their masks were off. [It would not be proper to touch them before.] They would get confused and frightened, and so the godparents grabbed them and took them in" (31). However, others say that they want to go in but "need help because they are so tired." The godparents speak of their godsons as *chapayeka asoak*, which carries the meaning of conceiving a *chapayeka*.

There is an intimation that the caballeros should preside at the burning of Judas and take care of the two masks and swords that are saved. This has never been seen in Pascua by the older men. The men of the pueblo who police the crowds set fire to the pyre after first removing two masks and swords. The fariseo captain is said to tell a corporal to decide which to save and to tie them with string so that they may be identified. One person says that the masks that are saved should be those used on the first and second Fridays, others that they should be any of the long-eared type. The latter has been observed to be the practice. It is said that the masks must be made of good skins which have not been used very long and so are not "too tired." They are used for burial purposes during the year, or perhaps a latecomer at the next Gloria may wear one, or one may be put on Judas. The two masks and swords are put under the altar in the fiesta ramada, to receive the blessing of the prayers and songs of the night.

Those masks are supposed to disappear entirely until Sunday morning, when they appear on the heads of the men that made them. On top of the heads and backwards. They would not be displayed to the view of the people until then. The caballeros are supposed to pick them up and put them under the altar in the fiesta ramada. They are subject to the good now. They have submitted to the good. (55)

The prayers at the altar should go over them. (31)

The purpose is that the prayers should be done for them and over them. A benediction for the mask and the owner and the entire kohtumbre. And after the Ceremony they are put in some home where not many people will be. (17)

[They are] put under the altar for a blessing, because the Infant is there, and the ceremonies will be done over them. They are dead and there is a velaroa for them. (9)

Because the Infant has triumphed over them, so He keeps them there in His own custody. (31)

Ritual capture is practiced at The Gloria. It is said that at any time in Lent an angel may be captured by a fariseo and then ransomed by his godparents. At The Gloria a fariseo may capture an angel only if he is outside the ash line, and an angel may capture a fariseo only if he is inside the line. Each must be ransomed by his own group, or his captors will decide what vow he must take.

[If a chapayeka steals an angel] the godmother is supposed to pay three dollars. . . . And if she has not got a way of paying it, then the chapayekas will decide what the child will be when he grows up. What vow he will have. The child is not supposed to hang on after he crosses the white line, nor is the child supposed to struggle or hold back, because it is considered another blessing. [They try not to get caught], but if they are caught it is considered good. The altar women try to watch the fariseos, too. They have gotten [certain people] that way. The chapayekas paid for them. If they had not, they would have had to be sacristans. This is a very serious thing, just like a regular vow. The godmother will say, "You shall use this my son in any way that you see fit." They will tell the maestro, and he tells it to the pueblo in his sermon, so they will all have their say and will all know. (58)

They can grab an angel, or even a holy figure, but they are most likely to grab an angel. Then they take it to Judas and hold it until everything is arranged. The godmother and the maestro pay a fine to get him out. (55)

It is a long time since anyone has been kidnapped. In case of an angel being caught, the godmother should turn him loose as soon as they go over the ash line. . . . The godparent ransoms the angel for anything from five dollars down. It is the same when a fariseo is captured. . . . A fariseo was captured once, and at the same time a fariseo captured an angel, so they exchanged the two. In case of a girl, she would be told that she had to be promised as a flag girl after she finished as an angel. The boy would probably have to become a fariseo. (31)

The angel's godmother has to pay three dollars. If she can't, then the child has to serve them. If it is a girl, then she will have to make a vow for work in the church. If he is a boy, they decide what he shall be. If an angel captures a fariseo, he has to serve in the church. (20)

When angels are kidnapped by the fariseos, they are always ransomed and vice versa. They are not supposed to fight, not the godmother either. The godmother goes, too, with the child that is captured. The fariseos cannot be captured on their own side of the ash line, and, if the angels cross the ash line, they can be captured and not otherwise. (55)

In discussions about the status of the fariseos between the time they divest themselves of their regalia and their rededication at the altar, no informant has believed that they are then in a state of special vulnerability to danger. They are eager to get away from, and in fact are still afraid of, the regalia that they have thrown on the ground. This dramatizes the ambivalence endured during all of Lent, when they have had to act two ways, albeit always under the aegis of Jesus. They have felt closer than ever to Him, because they were absorbed in carrying out a dangerous mission for Him, and now they are eager to leave behind the trappings of their role and the evil they had to do. They want to rush to the altar to receive the flower (reward) for the long weeks of painful and rigorous ceremonial service and are anxious to resume their normal behavior. They can now reject the dichotomy of being ritually unclean and at the same time serving for the glorification of Jesus. And even in the brief time when they are running to the altar, they are under the protection of Jesus.

They go to get the *bendición*. It is only that they might want to get there to get the *bendición* and get some rest. The older people in earlier times did this. The quicker they can get there, the quicker they can rest. They are tired from marching, and hot. (8)

They are not afraid of Judas, the only thing is that they want to submit themselves to the Lord. It is not because they are afraid. When they leave everything at the cross, they run toward the church and seek the Lord's protection. That is the way their intention is, to defend them-

selves under the Lord's protection. They run toward Him and put themselves under the Lord's protection. (9)

The reason is because when they pull off the mask, the wind hits them suddenly, and they are afraid they might faint or collapse. So they try to hurry to the church and wrap their heads. That is the main reason . . . they are not afraid of any enemy of any kind. They want to get to the church. If one falls down, or faints. . . . A person might get a little bit stunned momentarily, because the air hits him suddenly, and that makes him run. (31)

They have to get down to the altar to receive the "flower." . . . the evil spirit has left them, that they have left on Judas. They go fast to get there in time to catch their glory and the benediction. They hurry because Judas is up there and their mask that they took off and leave to Judas. (35)

They have to hurry because they have to get down to the altar and save themselves from Judas, and to get down to the glory, and get the "flower." And so they are no more evil spirits. They are no more evil spirits because Judas takes it all with him—the bad things they used to do, and the things they used to wear. They are scared of it, and they are trying to get away. And so they [the godparents] give him the benediction, and there will be no more chapayekas. They are no more evil spirits, and they are the same as clean from what they used to do for Jesus. So the godmothers have to take care of them till they get the bendición. (9)

When the Gloria is shouted, and people throw flowers, they are afraid of the flowers. And a long time ago, when the coyote [military] society members stood on either side, they had long switches, and they would hit them on the legs. So they ran. And they were [also] afraid they were going to have their heads cut off. (58)

A long time ago there were some men put in at intervals to whip the farisoës . . . on the first two rounds. It represents that they were surrounded by their enemies, the pueblo. All were whipped, chapayekas and officers. . . . the last time was in 1927. (31)

After they lose their heads, they are just people. (8)

As before discussed, it is commonly thought that if a chapayeka does not fulfill his obligations properly, if he defies rules such as not talking while wearing the mask, and especially if he does not carry out his vow with good heart, he may not be able to remove his mask at the Judas pyre. This possibility, of course, adds to the tension before The Gloria. One instance is cited as occurring during the period of observation. The godparents subdued the chapayeka's terror.

[A chapayeka might have to be dragged to the altar] because of some sin committed during the service, some who had not been working, and had not been working with right heart. It is possible that it can happen now to a person who has sinned, and because he becomes temporarily unconscious and does not know what he is doing. It is a punishment, a castigo, from God. [How is it different from fainting?] That is commonly known, and just mere weakness, but is not a punishment from God. That is different. A man who has sinned may become temporarily insane, and wants to fight with his godparents, and not go into the church. The man's godfather takes care of him. (17)

One man (60) considers the Resurrection to take place at The Gloria. This concept is also apparent in the pascola legend above. Commenting on this legend, another man stated the following:

[. . . to him] The Gloria is the effect of the happiness on the people who loved Christ so. When Christ represented Himself to them must be The Gloria. Friday night might be the Resurrection, but The Gloria to him represented when Christ appeared to His disciples. (55)

Procession with the Infant Jesus to the Fiesta Ramada

As soon as the fariseos have finished in the church, a procession takes place, the purpose of which is to escort the figure of the Infant Jesus to the fiesta ramada, so that the fiesta there may be done in honor of the Infant. This fiesta is called *loria pahko* (Glory Fiesta). The form of the procession is the same as that for Palm Sunday Eve, when the figure of the Nazarene is taken to the fiesta ramada for the same purpose. The dramatic masks and weapons of the fariseos are missing, but the Three Marys are in radiant color. As the procession leaves the church, the elements are as follows:

Matachin manager.

Matachin dancers and musicians.

Pascolas, deer dancer, their managers, and the tampaleo.

Boy angels and godparents.

Infant Jesus carried by men of the pueblo, a canopy carried by four men of the pueblo covering it.

Other holy figures, such as the Guadalupe, the Holy Infant of Atocha, and the Miraculous Infant of Prague, if present.

Maestro and singers.

Girl angels and godparents.

Girl flag-bearers.

The Three Marys.
Maestro and singers.

The maestro and singers of the men's group sing the following song during the procession:

Santo, santo, santo	Holy, holy, holy
Lo dichoso Domine	The happy Teacher
Angel, Serafina	Angel, Seraph
Dicen santo, santo, santo	Say holy, holy, holy (13)

The kohtumbre flanks the procession as usual, but the only flag left is that of the caballeros. The godfathers of the fariseos walk on their right and the godmothers on their left, still carrying the regalia for their godsons. The procession dances of the matachinis, pascolas, and deer are executed as before described.

After short prayers at the ramada, the matachinis escort the women's group and the Three Marys back to the church. After closing prayers, the matachinis thank the maestro father and hang their regalia on the lintel of the church.

The kohtumbre marches to the front of the fiesta ramada, circles the fiesta cross and lines up beside it. The corporals receive the regalia and place them on or near the cross. The caballero flag, swords, and lances are unharmed. The bamboo staffs of the fariseo flags and the staffs of the Pilates (either without the heads, or with them detached and fastened to the staffs) are leaned against the cross. The coats and blankets, sandals and rattle belts of the chapayekas lie beneath. The kohtumbre disbands.

The pascolas and deer dancer venerate at the altar and start their long task of dancing. At this time the deer singers may sing:

I, loving this sage flower huya ania
I went out in the huya ania
Out in the middle of the huya
I, loving this flower huya ania
I went out in the flower huya ania

Easter Eve Fiesta

The fiesta continues throughout the afternoon and all night, as described for the Palm Sunday Eve fiesta. People may go home to rest for awhile and to freshen up, but they do not stay long. The booths do a big business. Visitors come and go and may spend the night. The ground in front of the church is almost covered with confetti and leaves, mingling with the sandy dust. Sudden breezes may lift confetti and dust together, causing them to scud along in little colorful rifts.

Late in the afternoon, sometimes in the early evening, the matachinis do their Maypole Dance, already described. The manager moves the church cross to its usual place in front of the church and sets the maypole next to it. On top is a crown similar to those worn by the matachinis, the crown of the Blessed Virgin, with sometimes a dove added. The dance is executed between the church cross and the church, and people gather in a wide circle to watch it. At the end of the winding, the maypole is lashed to the church cross and remains there for the night, so that it may be honored by the ceremonies in much the same way as are the holy figures.

The maypole has to stay all night, and they have to make the ceremonies all night on it. (35)

That is why the tying is done in the evening, so that the ceremonies will be all night on the maypole. (9)

EASTER SUNDAY

As the stars dim, a little angel, asleep under blankets in the church, may stir and rub her eyes. A rooster crows. A dog barks; others answer. It is the alba, the time of the dawn. It is Easter Sunday, which Pascuans call *Aleluya*. The maestros and singers rouse themselves wearily for morning prayers and alabanzas. The pascola and deer go to the fiesta cross for prayers and rockets. The darkness in the sky lifts slowly above the widening band of pale light over the eastern rim of mountains. The mountains to the north reveal their skeletal structure and thus give to the eye an orientation in space absent during the night. The pale band of light becomes faintly orange, then rosy. With the first gleam of sunlight the irregular peaks to the west glow briefly, then gradually relax to their accustomed brown. The horizontal rays of the rising sun rest on the shining antependium on the altar in the church and touch the ribbons and flowers and beads of the Marys and the red flags lying on the altar.

To the usual morning duties of the kohtumbre is added the task of bordering with fresh cottonwood twigs the path from the church to the fiesta ramada. Today this is called *aleluyapo bo'o* (Alleluia road). The twigs, as on previous occasions, represent flowers.

The matachinis most often start their dances to unwind the maypole in the dark pre-dawn. The rays of the sun suddenly illumine the dove at the top of the maypole, then the ribbons. Soon they cause elongated shadows of the dancers on the ground, and, if one looks closely, one can see shadows of the wands on the backs of the light shirts of the dancers. As the shadows on the ground shorten and they finish the last dance, there is a visible feeling of achievement, for the steps are complicated. The altar women and girls wind the ribbons carefully and put them away in a box with the dove.

After the Maypole Dance the matachinis gather around the church cross for a prayer circle and a brief speech by the manager. He may say something like the following:

He says that they didn't have no trouble all night. Nothing happened to us, and we came out all right, so we thank the Lord and the Virgin Mary that we made the night without anything happening to us. After that, everything is delivered above. (35)

Weary as they are, the pascolas and deer continue to dance, sometimes relieved by members of the kohtumbre, or men or boys invited by them. About midmorning the head pascola delivers a sermon, to end the fiesta in the fiesta ramada. Since all of Lent is considered to be one Ceremony in reverence to the Lord, a final sermon is not given at any of the Lenten fiestas. All groups gather to hear it. The members of the kohtumbre, still in black shirts, stand in rows in back of the pascolas, their hats in their hands and their right hands over their hearts. The deer dancer stands in his dance area. Matachinis and the church group crowd around. The following is an example of this sermon, in literal translation, as remembered by one Pascuan:

Well, yes, gentlemen, my fathers and mothers together. And also likewise those children who know the truth. Already the hour has come when last night's holy fiesta will be finished. So truly already this request has been placed in my hands by the kohtumbre ya'ura and by the maestro. Now then I will say it to you even though you know it, but you will forgive me for it. Sometimes I will not even say it correctly. Sometimes I will even say it with my words turned in another form. But already also, if I have not said it to you, God will pursue me about it because that request will remain unfilled. We all know this Lent fiesta, because that kohtumbre ya'ura made it known to us, to each of our homes, this good work they said they were doing. Knowing this, sometime yesterday we stepped out, each from his home, facing this way. And now here in the plaza those who moved about as far as the holy light reaches, who heard that holy mystery, and the holy prayers, and the holy alabanzas, truly also have earned an indulgence together with the kohtumbre ya'ura and the maestro. Because He, Our Leader Lord God Jesus Christ, truly values this, and, because He in time long ago made it a command here on earth this way, and went, and left it this way as a truth. For that reason, those our forefathers whom death reclaimed, who lay beneath the earth, gave it to us as our inheritance this way. And likewise now we should teach these our children, our offspring, like this, so that they will follow that good road. Because He, Our Leader God Jesus Christ, told it this way and commanded it this

way. Truly He ordered that here on earth a person should truly pray for himself, even when he is yet feeling well. He ordered that truly he should work for his soul, even while yet he has his full five senses and sees the world clearly. Because here on the earth of weeping, the earth of suffering, truly there are many things that will hurt our body of dust. So there is no end of ways by which we lose our soul. He, our “enemy,” works thus on us. For this reason Our Leader Lord God Jesus Christ said this: “He that here on this earth does not save his soul, truly will never in any day see God. Because he went not with my command. The home of my father is truly beautiful. Over there truly there is no despairing, truly no sorrowing and weeping. For that reason it is called heaven. In the home of our ‘enemy’ all is there—the despairing, the sorrowing, the weeping, the darkness and fire with no end. For that reason it is called hell.” Knowing it thus, we should question ourselves about it. So truly now already I will ask you our common forgiveness about what I spoke to you last night. Because I respect you, these my fathers, and these my brothers, and these my compadres. And now moreover there, this much remains in your hands, and in the hands of Our Mother Most Blessed Mary. And remains in the hands of God the Father, God His Son, God the Holy Spirit, these three Persons together, truly one God, the Holy Trinity. God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit. [Repeat twice more.] So truly already, God aid you, my fathers. [Pueblo replies] God forgive you, pascola. (55)

The violin and harp accompany the sermon softly with the morning *Kanariam*. At the end, the pascolas dance briefly to their music and then to that of the *tampaleo*. The deer also dances a few measures, finishing in the form of a cross in front of the singers. The last deer song of the fiesta may be as follows:

Our little flower rasps we lay side by side to the flower
 We will finish to the flower
 From the sunrise now in the flower patio of the hunter
 We lay our little flower rasps side by side to the flower
 We will finish to the flower.

The last song of the *tampaleo* is the *Tampaleota Sonim* or *Tampaleo Kanariam*. He then makes three crosses on the ground with his drumstick. The deer singers with their rasps make a cross on the ground in front of them and the singer with the water drum scoops water with his half-gourd and pours a cross in front of him. They touch hands, and in silent prayer they dedicate to the Lord the work of the night and their paraphernalia. The dancers have now completed their tasks and have received the flower.

However, they move out to the north side of the path to the church and

dance for the entertainment of the public. These dances of the pascolas are called Loria Sonim. They can dance whatever they choose. It is customary at this time for the pascolas to take a collection, using their masks as containers. When the next event is to take place, they stop dancing. The deer singer who operates the water drum, or his manager, throws the water from the pan in the form of a cross onto the path in front of the altar. The water is considered to be sacred because it has been blessed through being in the ceremonies of the night, so that it cannot be thrown "just anywhere."

It is sacred water because it has all the alabanzas of the deer. (1)

It is of the same value as the church holy water. . . . And the songs that are sung on it and the gourd that is placed on it have the prayer songs. And all those songs have the same value as the Latin prayers of the priest when he blesses holy water. It is te'ochari. (9)

Sometime after the pascola sermon, generally about eleven o'clock, fariseo corporals carry the altar from the fiesta ramada out to the path near the entrance to the plaza and place it between the two lines of cottonwood twigs, facing the church. On it are the holy figures of the night, with the Infant Jesus in the center. The men who are to carry the images stand near the altar and four men hold a canopy over it. Boy angels and their godmothers stand at either end of the altar, and the maestro and singers for this group gather behind it. All face the church. The kohtumbre lines and the fariseo godparents draw up on either side. The caballeros carry their weapons points down. The two chapayekas whose masks were saved at The Gloria wear them on top of their heads facing backwards, and they stand behind the officers. The fariseos wear around their necks the bright scarves given to them by their godparents the day before. The fariseo flag-bearers carry their staffs without banners, the Pilates their headless lances, points turned down. The black cover of the drum has disappeared. The godparents of the chapayekas are burdened with their rolled up coats or blankets, with sandals and rattle belts attached. The rustle of a rattle belt now and then is faintly reminiscent of their former stridence. The fariseos have fresh cottonwood sprigs in their hats. They carry cottonwood switches with the leaves still on them. These represent flowers and are explained as follows:

On Easter, the switches are in place of the swords and are flowers. The swords become flowers. (9)

They represent the things they have worked with when they were chapayekas. So on Sunday they receive the cottonwood leaves, and they represent flowers; and their swords are turned into flowers, and they are happy. It is the end of Lent. They have received the flower. (8)

The twigs in the hats of the fariseos are to say good-by to all that they have done. (23)

Altar Girl Preparing for the Aleluya

[They are for] flowers. Those that have been evil have received the flower of the good. What it represents is that both symbolize that the evildoers have become Christianized; that they have submitted to the good. (9)

The twigs represent that they have received the flower, which is the good. In case of the switches, they have armed themselves like human beings. (31)

It means that they have already submitted to the good. That they are conquered by the good and by the same leaves their heads were cut off. (55)

[The cottonwood twig in the hat] is the last flower of the season, because the flower that they wore—the mask—they don't have it any more; they use the twig the last time in place of the mask. (17)

Aleluya

From the church come four acolytes, the three in front with the processional cross and two candlesticks, the one following with the censer. They turn as they approach the altar and stand in front of the angels, facing the church. Two girl flag-bearers appear at the entrance of the church, comely

in their best dresses, fresh white head coverings and red crowns, abashed at being the focus of attention. One carries her red flag, the other the small figure of the Virgin that today represents Mary Magdalene. They wear no shoes. The flag girls at the altar wave each time the girls leave the church and when they return to the church. The girls run about a third of the way to the altar, wave the flag three times, and an altar woman accompanying them throws confetti over the Magdalene. They turn and run back to the church and wave their flag. A second time they run farther, with the same ritual, and on the third run they arrive at the altar. The girl with the flag waves it three times in front of the Infant Jesus, and the other moves the Magdalene three times in the sign of the cross in front of the Infant. Either the altar woman or the girl with the Magdalene pins a red or pink rose on the Infant. The altar woman showers Him with confetti. The girls run rapidly back to the church, and the church bell rings as they enter with flag waving. As they run back, the pascolas mischievously shout after them, making jokes and sometimes betting on them as on a horse race. This event is symbolic of the discovery and reporting of the Resurrection. The rose is said to be a message from the Virgin to Her Son.

They have a meeting called the Aleluya. The Virgin Magdalene goes out as if to tell the Infant Jesus that He can go to the church, and they take a flower to Him on the last round so that He will know that everything is ready for Him to go in. (20)

. . . from the church they carry Our Mother Magdalene, and the girls come out three times and wave their flags and go back. When they get down the third time they give the Infant a flower because He came back to life. They give Him a flower and confetti because He came back to life. (9)

[The rose] is considered a message from the holy figures in the church. It symbolizes a message from the Mother to the Son. And this flower represents the message, and like a proof that the Mother is coming to see the Son. . . . A message is sent by the Blessed Virgin to her son, and this . . . is the Infant Jesus, being the Son of Mary, in the state of childhood. [Why is a figure of a child used?] Christ was not a child when He revived again. He went to heaven. Who knows. Maybe they did not even crucify Him. But that was His way of ascending to heaven. It is established all over the Río Yaqui, the same pattern. They have always used the Infant, no other figure. (17)

Final Procession

Meanwhile the matachinis line up in front of the church, and the church group, with the Three Marys, prepares for a procession. A young girl wearing a crown and headdress carries the Mary Magdalene.

The matachinis execute the procession dance as they lead the women's group along the path to meet the other group. Simultaneously, the pascolas and deer dancer, to the music of the tampaleo, and accompanied by their managers, execute their procession dance in front of the altar at the other end of the path, and each time they approach the altar they genuflect to the figure of the Infant Jesus. They then lead the men's group toward the approaching women's group. As the men's group with the Infant Jesus starts, the maestro and singers accompanying it, as well as the women's group, sing the Alleluia. The tampaleo plays the Aleluya Sonim, which is the same as the Niño Diosta Alabanza, with the name changed for the Easter procession.

When the two groups meet, about halfway between the church and the altar, the flag girls wave and all pause while the dancers interweave between the two groups, genuflecting toward each as they approach it. When they finish this the matachinis, holding their wands high, step in rhythm to the rear of the men's group and continue to dance. The pascolas and deer dance back also and take a position behind the matachinis. The flag girls approach and wave three times to the Infant Jesus. Each of the Three Marys is bowed three times to the Infant, and simultaneously the Infant is bowed to them. As the figures exchange mutual bows, the church bell rings and the altar women shower the Infant with confetti. As the salutation of each Mary is completed, the bearers move back to the rear of the men's group and turn to face the church. The meaning of this encounter is that at this moment Mary finds Her Son again and escorts Him back to the church. Also it is understood by most that, at the moment of meeting, the kohtumbre surrenders its authority to the matachinis for the coming year, and that this is a "second little Gloria." It is called in Yaqui *emonankiwame*.

All now face the church, and the dancers pass around the two church groups and go forward to lead the procession to the church in the usual order: matachinis, pascolas and deer, acolytes, men's group, women's group. Confetti is cast on the Infant Jesus as the procession moves along.

The kohtumbre flanks the procession, with the fariseo godparents beside them carrying regalia. As the procession starts back to the church, the caballeros go quickly to kneel and cross themselves at the altar and then resume their positions. The fariseos also advance rapidly in a fast march to the ash line, their lines pass each other, and they return to pass each other again back of the procession. They repeat this, going farther toward the church entrance. On the third advance, they run inside to cross themselves at the altar, then return to place. As they pass each other for the third time back of the procession, they throw their switches and cottonwood sprigs to the ground; also the two chapayeka masks. A corporal rescues the masks.

The dancers interweave in and out of the church three times, passing each other as they do so. Then the Infant is escorted to the altar, bowed

three times, showered with confetti, and taken out again. The procession continues around the inside of the plaza in the same form as described for the second procession on Palm Sunday. As they approach the church again all pause while the matachinis dance in and out of the church. The singers, as they approach the church, sing *Salve Guadalupe* (Hail Guadalupe):

Salve Guadalupe	Hail Guadalupe
Reina de los cielos	Queen of the skies
A la de los flores	To her of the flowers
Al Indio Juan Diego	To the Indian Juan Diego (15)

As the church bell rings the Infant Jesus and the Three Marys are carried inside and placed on the altar.

The fariseos are escorted by their godparents into the church for a ceremony of rededication like the one after The Gloria on the day before. The same rosaries are used. The pascolas and deer dancer stand at the north side of the church, manipulating their instruments until the prayers start, when they go to the altar to venerate and then leave, their duties ended. After the caballeros venerate at the altar, they go to the area in front of the church cross at the east entrance of the plaza, where they sit at rest in position. As the fariseos finish, they and their godparents do the same. Soft drinks, bought for them by their godparents at the booths nearby, are quickly consumed by the exhausted fariseos.

After they have knelt for brief prayers in their area in front of the church, the matachinis put their regalia on the lintel of the church until the fariseos have finished. Then they resume their regalia and stand in formation for the matachin group veneration. When they have finished, the maestro or a dance leader may give a short sermon, with the flag girls standing behind him in front of the altar. After the usual thanks the flag girls wave in termination.

The Mother has found the Son and sets out to meet Him. [The meeting] is for the matachinis to receive the obligation for the year. (17)

The matachinis come from the church, which symbolizes that they are going to take over for the year. And at that point, where [the two chapayekas] shed their masks, that is when they shed their insignia for the rest of the year. (31)

In the moment that the two figures come together, a little Gloria is done again. They throw away the cottonwood twigs and switches and all are scattered. (9)

They get rid of [the twigs and switches] at the church cross when they go in to be rebaptized. Laying down the weapons in that way is the final surrender. They surrender to the cross. The two masks are also

thrown to the ground, and that represents the same thing. It is said that they run in a pattern like The Gloria—a second Gloria. When they start to run, they [church women] are throwing flowers like The Gloria. At the moment they meet, the group from the church and the Infant Jesus, flowers are thrown, and this is both for the Infant and the fariseos. They circle once around the procession, then run in and circle once past the altar and out. Then they circle again, and again. (31)

Farewell Sermon

As, typically, the brazen noonday sun pours down in a fullness of light and heat, spirals of dust may come swirling in, driven by the fitful spring wind. A gust may agitate the flags on the church, the flowing ornaments on the crowns of the matachinis, and even disarrange the head scarves of the women. All groups gather for the event that ends the Easter Ceremony, the farewell thank-you circle. This may be called in Yaqui *Aleluyapo emo te-botua wa'aop* (shaking hands with each other on Easter).

The table altar is still in place at the east end of the plaza, but the holy figures and cloth have been removed by the altar women. The girl flag-bearers wave at the entrance of the church as they lead the church group to the table and wave again as they stand in front of it, facing the church. The angels stand in front of them, the singers to their right and the altar women to their left. The two lines of the fariseos stretch beyond them, with the matachinis opposite, completing the circle. The caballeros form a line outside, but close to the circle, to the left of the table. The formation is not invariably the same. The members of the kohtumbre wear their hats, their godparents guard their regalia on the ground beside them, and the caballeros still carry their flag and weapons. The matachinis wear their crowns and hold their gourd rattles and wands in the respect position. The pascola-deer group, divested of all regalia, does not stand in the circle but may join it for the final farewell. They have already received their benediction during the sermon in the fiesta ramada.

The maestros, the head of the kohtumbre, and the matachin manager stand in the middle of the circle facing the table. The flag girls wave and men remove their hats as the head maestro begins the last eloquent sermon of the Easter Ceremony. He always begins with the usual opening lines. The sermon as a whole is not always exactly the same, but in general it follows the one recorded in 1941 (Painter 1955). It lasts almost half an hour. "The fariseos are still not released until the maestro explains every detail of the Lord's benediction to them. He explains the fear of the Lord very much."

At the end he announces the completion of old vows and new ones that have been started during the year. Children who are included, and their godparents, enter the circle for this. The maestro draws each child with

Farewell Sermon and Thank-You Circle (*Courtesy of Western Ways*)

affectionate tenderness in front of him for a brief mention of name, position, and term of the vow. Thus again, for a short moment, a child under vow is the focus of approving attention. The flag girls wave and all thank the maestro father for the sermon. The head of the kohtumbre should then give a speech, announcing the amount of money taken in from all sources and the disbursements. He may include some sermon-like elements. If he is unable to speak in public, the maestro does it for him. Money left over may then be given in small sums by the kohtumbre to other participants, or it may be kept for future fiestas.

The following was dictated by the then fariseo captain, as a summary of what he said in 1948:

Gentlemen, ladies, my brothers and sisters, I want to talk with you two or three words about my truth, so you will not forget it, the Lord's truth that I want to say to you. Because the Lord and Our Mother will always hear us; we will always talk to Him in behalf of ourselves. We question ourselves on it, on this our one truth to Him, toward the Lord. We, all God's children, should not forget Him, Our Father, and Our Mother. We should talk to Them in behalf of ourselves. This is our one, only truth. He, Our Father the Lord, and Our Mother will forgive us for

begging Them for days [long life] for ourselves. She, Our Mother, will forgive us. That which we ask from her, I have stated it, my fathers. This much remains in your hands. After that, it remained in the Lord's hands, in the hands of Our Mother. (49)

Thank-You Circle

For the final ritual, the flag girls wave, and the lines of the kohtumbre merge into one, with the caballeros leading. They go around the circle three times counterclockwise, starting with the altar women. The caballero flag-bearer waves his flag three times as he approaches each time. Each kohtumbre member touches hands with each person in the circle, saying "Dios em chania," to which they reply "Dios em chiokoe." After the third round the flag girls wave and lead the church group back to the church. The matachinis also return to the church. The caballeros and fariseos have a similar thank-you circle among their own members. Small circles of family and godparent groups are seen. The altar in the church is dismantled, the matachinis tie their regalia into their bright scarves, knots of people gather everywhere. There is an air of relaxation and quiet exuberance in the knowledge that once more the great obligation, inherited from the ancient ones, has been fulfilled.

13

The Holy Cross

In accordance with regional custom, Pascuans observe the Feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross on May 3. It is always celebrated with vespers the night before, and traditionally a fiesta should be given; but this has not occurred since 1947. The day is called *Kusim Taewa* (Day of the Crosses).

The Easter season, among Yaquis, is not officially ended until May 3, and the kohtumbre has its final duties at that time. The matachinis take charge after Easter, manage all fiestas and carry out all limosnas until the following Ash Wednesday; but the kohtumbre is expected to be present at the Holy Cross ceremonies and to march in formation. They also have the obligation to help with the work of preparing for the fiesta, if given. This tradition was observed in 1947.

It is often said that the flowers of The Gloria appear again for the day of the Holy Cross. The flowers actually referred to are the flowers and ribbons that decorate the figure of the Holy Cross and the regalia of the matachinis that are associated with flowers. However, there is also a deeper meaning, which connects the flowers of the Holy Cross with the legend that the blood of Jesus turned into flowers as it fell from the cross and thus links these flowers with the flower theme of the Easter Ceremony.

The Holy Cross, while it is called *Itom Ae Santisima Cruz* (Our Mother Most Holy Cross), is not regarded as female by most Pascuans. Nor is the cross thought to be female at any other time. The head maestro says that it is not dressed like Mary, that skirts are often put on male holy figures, and that the beads are in respect to Mary. He also said that the flowers used in decoration represent the old legend of the blood of Jesus turning into flowers and that the beads are like rosaries. Another man said that all of the crosses

are male, and that the reason that the Holy Cross is dressed as it is, is “because when Jesus rose, the cross brightened, and it is in memory of that” (39).

[A very old man said that] all the flowers that are strewn on the Saturday Gloria are seen at the Holy Cross in a different form—the ribbons of Our Mother. So that is where the fariseos are required to be at the Holy Cross fiesta, as many as possible. The fariseos have no authority at the fiesta, but they join the matachinis in the work. (9)

The flowers of The Gloria are the same as the ribbons of the Holy Cross. . . . [What is meant is] that they are all the same thing, as they belong to Our Mother, not that the flowers actually turn into the ribbons of the Holy Cross. (35)

The maestro says that a long time ago, when they crucified Our God Jesus Christ on the cross and put a lance below his ribs, the blood poured out from that body and fell on the cross, and all over the rocks. When Jesus Christ rose up and went to heaven, all those little drops of blood, when the Resurrection came, they turned into flowers. All flowers. That is what represents the blood of Our God when He was crucified. He is talking now about the Holy Cross. He says that is why we adore this Resurrection in this manner with these alabanzas. Who do his part with all his heart, he might cure all his sins for his own self, for his own good. But he got to believe in it. That is just what the maestro says in his speech. He says all that just on the vespers of Holy Cross. (39)

People say that the gates of glory are open from the time of The Gloria on Holy Saturday morning until the Holy Cross, when they close again. So anyone can get into heaven, no matter what he has done. (16)

The cross used for the Holy Cross observances is owned by the pueblo. It is a plain wooden cross, 20 inches high and 21 inches across. With the wooden pedestal it stands 32 inches high. A wire loop is securely fastened to the outer ends of the arms, the top and the bottom, making a large oval frame that serves as a holder for the decorations. A cotton skirt, usually white but occasionally in a pale color, with two lace-trimmed petticoats underneath, is fastened to the cross just below the arms. Three pastel-colored ribbons are tied about the waist, with bows and long streamers in the back. A mass of artificial flowers covers the whole area within the wire loop, front and back. The flowers are always fresh, though not necessarily new, some having been used to decorate the bier of Christ on previous Good Fridays. Beads hang across the front, fastened to the arms, and various bits of decoration are added, such as inexpensive jeweled pins and a few small

The Holy Cross on the Altar (*Courtesy of Arizona State Museum*)

Christmas tree balls. The cross is kept in the sacristy during the year and taken to the home of the head altar woman to be decorated. Three smaller crosses are owned in the community but are rarely used.

The Holy Cross is supposed to have three sets of godparents, who donate the ribbon sashes and hold them when the Cross is elevated at the vespers. They also help with a fiesta, if one is given, but do not initiate it. They serve for three years each and appoint the following ones. The original godparents of the Holy Cross in Pascua have long since left the village.

About eight o'clock on the evening of May 2, the village is alight with bonfires as people take down and burn the old crosses that have hung for a year on the outer walls of the houses. Some light red flares also, to make it more colorful. The crosses from the facade of the church and the fiesta ramada are put on a big fire to the south of the church. Sometimes holy figures that are worn out, or the crosses made of palm leaves on Palm Sunday, are burned with them. None of these objects is ever thrown out carelessly. New crosses, made of willow from the river bottom, are made and are decorated with crepe-paper flowers and bows in bright colors. The patio crosses and the crosses in front of the church and the fiesta ramada are wound with crepe paper and decorated with flowers, either in flowerlike shapes, or cut in flat designs, several colors on top of each other. Sometimes

crepe-paper streamers are added. All of these flowers have the same meanings as those used in the Easter Ceremony.

From 1945 until 1948 the altar for the Holy Cross was placed southeast of the plaza, at the highest point in the village, where three crosses marked Calvary during Lent. In 1948 the altar was erected there but was moved to the plaza because it was said that there were not enough people to carry the images out to it. Another reason given was that it was too much work for the matachinis to go so far. Since that time, with one exception when it was in the church, it has been erected at the east end of the plaza just inside the entrance.

A cross of unpeeled mesquite branches is embedded just inside the east entrance of the plaza. It is wound with crepe paper and decorated with flowers. The wooden table used for various purposes during Lent is placed directly in front of it to the west. Two boxes covered with white cloth are placed on top of the table and two in front of it in such a way as to form five steps. A white cloth is hung over the front. A lantern is put to one side, and tall church candles are thrust into the ground at either side of the front. The Holy Cross is placed on the top step. This work is done by the head maestro, with the help of one or two men of the village. Neither the kohtumbre nor the matachin society has been seen to assume any responsibility for these preparations.

Inside the church the altar women and girls prepare the altar. Typically it has on it one or several figures of the Virgin, the boxed Guadalupe, one or more small crucifixes, a small figure of Saint Anthony, and perhaps a Book of the Dead, wrapped in a scarf. Candles are lighted in the two candelabra (with three candles each) that stand in front of the altar on either side. As the time approaches, the flag girls and the bearers of the Three Marys are dressed in their red crowns and white head coverings. As the matachinis arrive, each removes his hat and venerates at the Holy Cross altar; then, at the church, he hangs his regalia on a peg on the lintel and greets the rest, who are gathered on or near the bench at the south side of the church entrance. The men and boys who are to carry the holy figures go to the altar and receive the figures from the maestro or the sacristan, if one is present.

When all is in readiness the flag girls wave their flags in front of the altar, either toward it, then away from it, or in the four directions. They then advance to the front of the church, where they wave their flags. They walk slowly toward the Holy Cross altar, followed by the men and boys with the holy figures, the Three Marys, women or girls with one or more figures of the Virgin in their arms, the maestro, singers, and a few women and children, sometimes carrying lighted candles. The matachinis, not dancing, may hold up their wands to make an arch for them to pass under. Then the matachinis advance, the lines pass each other in front of the church, and

they flank the church group. The flag girls wave at the church cross as they pass it. At the Holy Cross altar they wave toward the altar, turn and wave in the opposite direction, then stand in a line at the right of the altar, as they do inside the church. When the vespers start, they kneel on a carpet. The holy figures are placed on the altar. The altar women remove the regalia from the women who carried the figures of Mary, and all stand back of the altar. The maestro and singers stop, facing the altar. The matachin lines cross each other back of the altar, then they take their positions in formation behind the maestro and singers, facing the altar. The matachin musicians sit on their bench, which has been brought from the church and placed to the south of their formation. They wear no hats for the vespers.

The ritual for the Holy Cross vespers is the same as for any vespers throughout the year. It is sung in Latin by the maestro and singers, in the polyphonic chant instead of Gregorian, so that the service is longer than it is currently in Catholic churches. The book used by the head maestro during the period of observation was *The Vespurnal Office for Vespers and Compline with Parallel English Translations*, published by Kennedy and Sons.

The women singers perform the heroic feat of singing from memory. First the five antiphons and psalms are sung. The Gloria is sung after each psalm. Each time the Gloria is started, the maestro rings a small hand bell. Simultaneously the Holy Cross is elevated by the altar women, then placed on the next step down; the flag girls rise and wave their flags in front of the altar and kneel again; the matachins dance the bataya; and firecrackers are set off by men near the altar. The antiphon is repeated, during which the matachins kneel, make the sign of the cross, and remain kneeling while the maestro repeats certain prayers. The matachins make the sign of the cross as they rise from their knees. They do not remove their crowns.

The same behavior takes place during each of the five antiphons and psalms. The chapter is then read, and all kneel, including the dancers, while the hymn is sung. The first stanza of the hymn is repeated as a chorus after each verse of the hymn. The verse and response are next, then the antiphon for the *Magnificat*, during which the matachins dance the bataya. The rest remain kneeling during the oration, and the matachins change to a livelier dance. They dance back of the altar and return to position.

Groups of people stand around informally in the plaza or come and go. Children play about, finding remnants of spent rockets or bits of candle grease. The light from the candles catches the colors of the Holy Cross and the finery of the figures of Mary.

At the end, the matachins dance three times back and forth in front of the Holy Cross group, then lead them toward the church. All pause while the matachins dance back and forth three times between the church cross and the altar in the church, then lead the procession to the church door. The lines part, and they hold up their wands to form an arch. The church bell

rings as the people enter, a signal to God that the duties of the evening have been fulfilled. The matachinis dance in formation while the holy figures are being placed on the altar, the Holy Cross taking the place of honor in the center. All kneel for the traditional closing prayers.

The matachinis perform their veneration, and at the end thank the maestro father. The flag girls wave toward the altar, then in the opposite direction, and stand back of the maestro. The matachinis stand in formation, crowns in their hands, for the sermon, which has largely to do with the Holy Cross. When he has finished, all thank the maestro, the flag girls wave in the four directions, then are divested of their regalia. The altar is dismantled.

They put the Holy Cross on the altar, and it descends, because that is the way the cross appeared. They dress it the way they do for the Marys. It is a mark of respect. (20)

When the maestro gives the sermon at the end of the Holy Cross vespers, he says that this is the end of Lent, and he mentions all the participants as he does in Lent. (58)

The fiesta to honor the Holy Cross, when given, takes the same form in general as that described for a big plaza fiesta outside of Lent. In a full procession the Holy Cross is escorted to the fiesta ramada, which is headquarters for the night for all groups. The main difference is the presence of the kohtumbre. Its members are supposed to be present at the fiesta in formation and in the same regalia that they wore on Easter Sunday, including fresh cottonwood branches instead of swords. They march in the processions to escort the Holy Cross and join the general public group veneration; their regalia, when not in use, are placed in back of the fiesta cross. Their headquarters are a fire and benches near the fiesta cross. The matachin dance area is between the fiesta cross and the ramada. Their regalia are placed in front of the fiesta cross. The church group and the pascola and deer dancers perform their usual functions. At the limosna preceding the fiesta the matachinis carry a small Holy Cross.

The fiesta is generally given by two or more people to fulfill a three-year vow. In 1944 the head maestro and the head altar woman undertook such a vow, not as the result of an immediate crisis but to ensure their health and well-being. They carried it out again in 1945 and 1947, not having been able to do so in 1946 because of the diphtheria quarantine. None has been undertaken since then. (Such a fiesta at that time cost about \$100.00.)

It is said that, when it is known that there is to be a Holy Cross fiesta, the rituals to end the fiesta in the fiesta ramada on Easter morning are not observed but are performed at the end of the Holy Cross fiesta. Confusion exists as to whether the long opening ritual of the pascolas, when they open

Willow Cross with Flowers on House Wall (Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, Helga Teiwes, photographer)

a fiesta outside of Lent, should be performed at the Holy Cross fiesta. Both types of opening ritual have been observed.

And so the Yaqui Easter season ends with the Holy Cross fiesta. It is a time of exacting ritual labor in the fulfillment of individual vows, of consecrated community ceremonies in memory of Jesus. It is a time of continuity with the past in remembrance of the *yo'ora*, the ancient ones, revered ancestors, who, at the command of Jesus, fulfilled the same obligations in the same way in the historic eight pueblos in the homeland on the Yaqui River in Mexico. It is a time of re-assertion of Yaqui discipline, Yaqui moral

and religious codes, and of Yaqui mythology, now passed on once again to the young and renewed in the minds of the old.

It is a time of re-affirmation of Christian doctrine, when Jesus and Mary seem very close to the people. It is a time when, through the sermons and prayers of the maestros, Pascuans are united with "Christian people everywhere throughout the four corners of the world."

The ceremonial seasons have changed. The kohtumbre ya'ura, with its rigid military disciplines and its noisy importunate chapayekas, retires until the following Ash Wednesday. The more relaxed time of the matachinis is at hand. But the devotion of heart, mind, and hand to Jesus and Mary is continuous through the year, and the gifts of the yoania are available to those attuned to it.

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