

ANCIENT CEREMONIAL CAVES OF CENTRAL ARIZONA

(Continued)

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In the first installment of this article three caves were described, which represent about one-third of those in our region now known. As many of the caves can be reached only by a long climb a-foot, the writer has not found time between his business duties to revisit them for final measurements. So let us, before describing two more, see what information we can gain from the study of the living Indian, for we find the reed-cigarette in use by many Southwestern tribes.

It seems that the cigarette plays a larger part in the ceremonial life of the Zuni than that of any other people. This may be because of the fuller published reports on that tribe, and, as these are most satisfactory, we will direct our study of the psychology of ceremonial smoking to that pueblo.

The report of Mrs. Stevenson, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, (25th Ann. report) is particularly detailed and was chiefly used in this study.

It is hard to conceive of a people more intricately enmeshed in the ceremony of religion than the Zuni. You will shudder at the weight of its tax on their personal liberty—the amount of corn alone used in their sacred rites must have shortened the general supply and measurably increased danger of starvation. Feathered prayer-sticks (not the cigarette type) were so prodigiously used that their manufacture approached the importance of an industry and one suspects that every yard of their fields has been turned up at one time or another, so frequently were their buried offerings made. Taaiyalane and nearby mountains are infested with the rotting offerings but the faith of the depositors has not been lessened. Undoubtedly a relatively small per cent of the deposits are so situated in regard to shelter as to persist even three centuries which constitutes a prehistoric age for those of that class now discovered, so that the few caves found in Central Arizona might be survivals of a great number of former deposits there.

“Smoking is one of the conspicuous features of Zuni rituals,” quoting Mrs. Stevenson. And this smoking, as we find

it in nearly every ceremony she describes, is conspicuously "smoke-blowing." The saying "The greater the smoke offering the greater the rain-clouds" is virtually a Zuni proverb. Smoke is usually blown to the six directions (above, below and the four cardinal points, known as "Quarter-world Symbolism" which is one of the principal elements of Zuni religion) especially in the ceremony for rain, in which smoke is blown into (or onto) medicine water. Smoke is also puffed over fetishes and other sacred objects. Commonly the cigarette is passed from one participant to another. Seldom more than one person smokes at a time. Often a set number of puffs from the cigarette are taken by each individual, that number having a significance in the ceremony.

Smoking plays a part in the Summer and Winter Solstice ceremonies—two of the most important functions at Zuni. It also figures in the rain and war ceremonies, in the Thanksgiving Festival, and in a good many of the minor functions of the religious fraternities. So, the practice of ceremonial smoking is undoubtedly of ancient origin among the Zuni so firmly is it established in their ritual.

For the Pueblo Indians I think we can say that smoking was synonymous with prayer. That was its general significance among Southwestern Indians. Smoking is directly associated with prayer in many Zuni ceremonies. In some, such as the Hlahewe ceremony for rain, it virtually is the prayer. Here the chief priest clasps hands with a person representing a god (thus both holding the cigarettes) and waves them to the six directions, saying "May my great fathers bring much rain, etc.," whereon smoking ensues. Many of Mrs. Stevenson's descriptions are not precise in regard to the significance of the smoking but the conditions are usually such that we suspect that the smoking amounts to prayer.

In the Zuni ceremonies the reed-cigarette (the Zuni word for which is pone) is the principle article of smoking and though Mrs. Stevenson and others give no illustrations, showing it, it appears to be analogous to the reed-cigarette of Central Arizona. Cornhusk cigarettes are some times used but generally in less important places. It is interesting to note that the reed-cigarette when carried is wrapped in a corn husk. This association shows the preference of the reed over the corn husk.

Telikinawe (a term for stick and feather offerings in general, apparently not including cigarettes) were deposited at regular intervals in diverse localities, but we have no definite statement that the "pone" or reed-cigarette was ever deposited

in caves. We have a statement that for the rabbit-hunt a reed-cigarette was deposited in the river bed. The reed-cigarette, however, was in such extensive use that I think many of them can be found on Taaiyalane mountain where most of the Zuni shrines are.

In the slow development of a primitive people we find that culture, traits, and institutions generally advanced with an evenness of progress that makes it sometimes possible to gauge their age in the people by their present degree of importance and complexity. Occasionally, there is a decline in importance after a certain degree of progress is reached. The nature of the process can be judged by the conduct of other traits in the same people. At Zuni the practice of ceremonial smoking has shown a strong, wholesome progress. The intricate stage at which we find it points to the belief that it is of very ancient origin among the Zuni and very likely a relic of prehistoric age.

Not essentially unlike Zuni religion is the religion of the Hopi. A fair amount of published material on this people is available and is largely the work of J. W. Fewkes. We find the reed-cigarette in common use among the Hopi, from whose language the word "paho," popularly used as a term for prayer stick, is taken. Describing the Tusayan Snake ceremonies in which prayer sticks are used, Dr. Fewkes indulges in a short treatise on their origin:

"Of all the suggestions that have been offered to explain the paho on comparative grounds, none seem to me more worthy of acceptance than that it is a sacrifice by symbolic substitute. The folk tales of the Pueblos are not without reference to human sacrifice and offerings of corn or meal would be natural among an agricultural people like the Hopi. * * * When occasion demanded, the Hopi legend says, they sacrificed a child and their chief, but in these days sacrifice has come to be a symbolic substitute of products of the field—corn, flour or pahos—still retaining, however, the names "male" and "female" and with a human face painted on one end of the prayer stick."

The word paho apparently includes reed-cigarettes in Fewkes' descriptions. Fewkes states also that among the Hopi the cane cigarettes are almost wholly superseded by cigarettes wrapped in corn husks.

Among the Navajo we find the reed-cigarette also in common use. Here we are dealing with a semi-nomadic people among which we would not expect to find local religious practices firmly established. However, it appears that prayer-stick

offerings, perhaps, play a larger part in Navajo religion than in that of many sedentary peoples. Probably the trait of depositing in caves is not so firmly established by them.

James Stevenson gives a description of the making of reed-cigarettes by the Navajo. A long reed was rubbed with a polishing stone and then cut with a stone knife into four lengths, each about two inches long. Two of the reeds were painted blue and dots were cut to indicate eyes and mouth. Two were painted black and encircled by two lines. The four sticks were placed at set points of the compass during various operations. The reeds were then filled with a ball of down-feathers and a bit of native tobacco and lighted by the heat of sunrays through a crystal. These cigarettes were used in a dance ceremony for the healing of an invalid.

Here we have some additional ideas. The male and female idea is very pronounced. Also we have the idea of a ceremonial process of making the cigarette which incorporates world-quarter symbolism, and again the direct use of the cigarette for healing as we find it among the Pimas.

Unfortunately, accurate information on the Apache, a large tribe with nearly a dozen local subdivisions, is not available. Though much popular literature has been built up around this aggressive people, very little scientific writing on them exists. It appears that the Apache and Navajo at one time were a single race. So widely distributed were the two peoples found in recent years that that time must have been remote indeed.

The Apaches were more nomadic than the Navajos. However, we find references to the use of the reed-cigarettes among several groups. Perhaps there is a fair range of difference between the various Apache groups.

A young Apache lad, now care-taker of the Tonto Cliff-Dwellings, says that his people (San Carlos) tied two cane-cigarettes together like a cross and passed them among the people when a ceremonial dance was to take place. These, he said, were smoked.

Swinging to Southern Arizona we find the reed-cigarette also in use among the Papagos. The literature of this people is fairly extensive but Lumholtz seems to be the only one who describes their ceremonial caves. In his "New Trails in Mexico," he gives an account of his visit to two sacred caves of the Papago in 1909 and 1910.

The first cave is in the Baboquivari Mountains near the base of Baboquivari Peak, southwest of Tucson. It is a spacious

cavern entered through a small crack barely large enough for a man to squeeze through. Lumholtz observed in one corner several hundred arrows upright in a bunch, but does not mention any small articles or cigarette-reeds. As there was no light in the cave he may have overlooked these although he was a keen observer. This cave had been long known among the Papagos.

The second cave located in the Pinecate Mountains in Sonora, Mexico, about ninety miles southwest of Ajo, Arizona, he was shown by an old Papago Medicine-man named Quelele. Sacrificial objects were prepared before the start of the journey, in Papagoland, and it was several days before they reached the place. This was in 1910 and Quelele's previous visit had been more than twenty years before. Since that time a large section of the roof had fallen in and changed the appearance of the entrance but the place was found after about an hour's search of the vicinity. Many hours of singing was the customary preliminary to entrance, which Lumholtz influenced the guide to omit. Lumholtz's account continues:

"They deposited in a crack of the old lava, the ceremonial objects we had brought along. These objects were an arrow, as a mark of respect and for the use of the god; a prayer-stick, colored by red ochre with a small eagle plume tied to its top, to secure luck in hunting; a bunch of yucca fiber tied in a knot, in order that the wind might be favorable to us; some cigarettes for the god's personal use; a piece of blue glass necklace for the god to use as appendages for his ears and for the septum of his nose. On their own account Guadalupe and Clemente each placed a strand of fiber in order that nothing untoward would happen to either of them while on the expedition, asking especially for protection against storms. Then Quelele spoke a prayer inquiring the disposition of the god and asking good luck in hunting and a favorable return journey."

Both of these caves were called Sihuki, meaning "House of Iitoi," a god called Elder Brother. It appears that these caves are thought to be dwellings of the god, himself, and are literally termed houses.

Cave 4.—Sauceda Mountains.

According to the description of Harold Taffe, in the Saucedo Mountains southwest of Gila Bend is a small ceremonial cave. This reporter, however, accompanying his guide (now deceased) did not at that time take particular note of the route and has not been able to relocate the site to date. He states that the contents, containing guano, had been shoveled out and that

reed-cigarettes, some belted, were scattered about the place. The locality is an area of large prominent boulders the cave being rather hard to discover among these.

Cave 5.—Salt River Mountains—(Phoenix Mountain Park)

South of Phoenix is a long narrow mountain range named by Dr. Turney the "Salt River Mountains," as he says, before he learned the Pima Indian name of Mohatuk and the legend of Pima Canyon. This entire range is now the property of the City of Phoenix and constitutes a public park of 14,960 acres, known as the Phoenix Mountain Park. This chain of mountains lying between the Salt and Gila valleys, is a store house of history, Indian legend, and archaeological evidence. Perhaps there are more ancient pictographs in this range of mountains than any other in this area, and its situation between the two great valleys leads us to believe it was frequently visited. We would expect a number of ceremonial sites in these mountains but in its present partially explored and untraversable condition, in only one place so far have they come to light—that is Hieroglyphic Canyon.

The evidence at this place will be described in the continuation of this article in a later issue in which the construction of the reed-cigarette will be studied.