

GRIZZLY BEAR SPIRITUAL POWER AND SHAMANISM
IN NATIVE CULTURES OF THE PACIFIC SLOPE
OF NORTH AMERICA

by

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Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Bernard G. Comeau, Ottawa, Canada, 1996



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ISBN 0-612-15599-4

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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ABSTRACT

The dissertation is a monograph of grizzly bear spiritual power as it was historically conceptualized and manifest among Native cultures of the Pacific Slope of North America. Focusing specifically upon cultural reports of persons (e.g., shamans) acknowledged to hold grizzly bear spiritual power, descriptive summaries outline the varied behaviours, abilities, and functions associated with these individuals, as well as the more general mythological themes, rituals, and ceremonies which reflected societal attitudes toward grizzly bears and grizzly bear spiritual power. Based on data from these summaries, correlational and factor analyses are employed to discern specific trends in the reported existences of "grizzly bear persons" as they were acknowledged among Pacific Slope cultures. Analyses yield four distinct types of grizzly bear persons. These types, according to their reported behaviours and functions, are named "grizzly bear sorcerer", "grizzly bear shaman-sorcerer", "grizzly bear shaman-healer", and "grizzly bear dancer". Subsequent correlational analyses show that trends in the existences of these types of grizzly bear persons are consistent with the cultural positions of the societies in which they were reported. The developed world-view of each culture was significant in determining both the particular conceptualizations and manifestations of grizzly bear spiritual power and the acknowledged existences, behaviours, and functions of grizzly bear persons. From these results, it is

argued that grizzly bear spiritual power and grizzly bear persons were not unidimensional across Pacific Slope Native cultures. In noting the cultural specificity of the reported existences of grizzly bear shamans, current academic categorizations of shamanism are called into question. A model which highlights the inter-cultural and intra-cultural diversity of shamanism is advocated. Finally, conclusions are drawn with respect to the implications of this study for a more comprehensive understanding of spiritual power as it was expressed and manifest among North American Native cultures.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Animals played a significant role in the social fabric of North American Native cultures. Their meat provided sustenance, their skins provided warmth, and their bones provided tools. In short, the animal world provided life to the human world. It is not without cause, then, that animals figured prominently in the religious lives of these peoples. Animals were, as Hultkrantz (1970:70) has noted, "the ferment of suggestive influence on representations of the supernatural". Representatives of the animal kingdom filled the spiritual and mythological worlds of every North American Native culture. Publicly, animals were revered through culturally sanctioned ceremonies and rituals which expressed the unique bonds humans felt with them. Instances of animal dances, songs, and hunting rituals abound.

Not all animals were regarded equally, however. While strict hierarchies were not often employed, every Native culture deemed some animals to be, for various reasons, more spiritually significant than others. Those which were primary food sources, as was the buffalo among Plains cultures, were commonly afforded special status in the spiritual realm. Similarly, those which had the capacity to attack and kill humans, as did the mountain lion among Southwest cultures, were routinely regarded as spiritually powerful. Classifications

varied from culture to culture, based on environmental, geographical, and social parameters. Across North American Native cultures, however, a number of animals consistently appeared near the top of the ranks of spiritual power. Among such higher-order animals, members of the *Ursus* genus were perhaps most conspicuous.

Several observable physical and behavioural characteristics of bears were seemingly responsible for such universally expressed attitudes of reverence. The most obvious of these are stature and ferocity. Bears, by their bodily presence alone, create an indelible impression. This quality, when coupled with the fact that bears were often the only animals which posed immediate physical danger to Native persons, was undoubtedly fundamental to the development of reverential attitudes. Hibernation also aroused fascination and intrigue, and likewise contributed to the spiritual importance attributed to these animals. The attributes most often cited as evidence of significant spiritual power, however, were the uncanny human-like qualities of bears. The way the animals walked, their use of forepaws, the imprint left by the foot, and their overall anatomy all suggested unique structural resemblances to humans.¹ Indeed, the musculature of

¹ Like humans, the bones of bears' forearms are skeletally separate, giving them the ability to rotate their forearms. As a result, activities such as digging or handling food often approximate the movements of humans. Bears are also plantigrade. That is, they walk on their entire foot, thus leaving tracks which appear quite different from other animals, and much closer to those of humans. Being plantigrade, bears

a skinned bear carcass has an eerily marked resemblance to a human figure. In concert, then, each of these physical and behavioural characteristics, which both intimidated and intrigued, unquestionably contributed to the perception commonly expressed among Native cultures that bears were "a special kind of person" which held substantial spiritual power.²

Socially, these beliefs became manifest in many important observances and customs. There is evidence of bear dances, the development of elaborate and intricate bear hunting rituals, the ceremonial use of specific body parts of bears (e.g., skin, claws, bones, and head), ritual burials of the remains of the animals, the development of Bear Societies and Bear Clans (with concordant instructions for members with respect to bears), as well as the keeping of bear cubs as "pets". Bears were also well-represented in the mythologies and oral traditions of many North American Native cultures. Mythologically, bears often played a considerable role.

Given the high stature of bears among so many North American Native societies, the specific cultural expressions of spiritual power associated with this genus provide an exceptional opportunity to compare and contrast concepts and manifestations of spiritual power as they occurred among

also have the ability to stand erect, and assume postures similar to humans (Tyler 1975:184).

² See, for example, Gifford (1932:241); McClellan (1975:130).

different Native cultures. Bear spiritual power provides an important touchstone from which to examine Native concepts of spiritual power in general (both within and across cultures), as well as the specific ways in which spiritual power was culturally manifest (e.g., as in the social institution of shamanism).

Hallowell (1926) was the first to recognize the general importance of the bear and its symbolism among aboriginal societies. His monumental survey of bear ceremonialism as it occurred among the peoples of the Northern Hemisphere is an excellent summation of the phenomenon. Hallowell's emphasis, however, was almost exclusively upon hunting practices, and the rituals involved in the ceremonial treatment of bears' carcasses. As such, the influence of bear spiritual power was not given specific attention by him.

More recently, Rockwell (1991) has reaffirmed the bear's importance to traditional North American Native cultures. His work, however, accentuated ceremonial and mythological associations with the animal. Like Hallowell, Rockwell afforded only secondary attention to specific concepts of bear spiritual power, and their link to shamanism.

Although a number of other studies have discussed the influence and significance of bears to North American Native cultures,³ there exists no comprehensive monograph of the manifestations of bear spiritual power as it occurred among

³ See, for example, Farmer (1982); Shepard and Sanders (1985).

these cultures. Additionally, no monograph exists for bear shamanism (nor any other "type" of shamanism as expressed among North American Native cultures).

An extensive examination, both of the customs and beliefs associated with bears, and of the diverse expressions of bear spiritual power, has the potential to contribute to a number of issues within the study of Native North American religiosity. Such a monograph would highlight: a) the religious import of animals within Native societies; b) how specific animals inspired conceptualizations of spiritual power; and c) how specific types of spiritual power were manifest by different cultures. Similarly, a focused analysis of bear shamanism would enhance existent general theories of shamanism by underscoring: a) the specific attributes associated with individual types of shamans; b) the techniques employed by individual shamans in the capacity of their profession; and c) the religious and social roles which shamans played within their respective communities, based on the specific types of spiritual power which they held.

Although, in the undertaking of such a study, it is clearly most desirable to explore and analyze the concepts of bear spiritual power existent within every Native culture of North America, a number of methodological factors prompt limiting the study to a specific geographical region, that of

the Pacific Slope.⁴ Relative to other regions of North America, Pacific Slope Native cultures have been more extensively examined by past ethnographers. There exist a number of ethnographic surveys which have systematically plotted the material culture of Pacific Slope Native societies in a manner unheralded among other geographical regions of North America. The most notable of these surveys is the "Culture Element Distributions" series, a succession of articles published by noted anthropologists who sought to systematically delineate all cultural aspects of Native societies in western North America.⁵ The result has become an extensive database of cultural "facts" for Pacific Slope Native societies. Because of the manner in which information was recorded, cultural data for one society can be both easily and reliably compared to cultural data for any other society within this geographical sphere.

More recently, the "Culture Elements Distributions" data has been employed to produce a number of comprehensive summaries of the material culture of Pacific Slope Native societies. Jorgensen (1980), for example, has statistically correlated all of this data, and delineated several distinct cultural trends (based on a wide array of variables) which

⁴ The Pacific Slope, geographically, is defined as that area of North America (particularly Canada and the United States) which lies west of the continental divide.

⁵ See, for example, Driver (1937b); Kroeber (1939b); Chretien (1945). Each researcher, given a common checklist of hundreds of possible cultural traits, noted in which cultures these traits were present, and in which cultures they were absent.

existed among these societies. His results provide an excellent resource for the study of Pacific Slope cultures. Such extensive comparative research simply does not exist for the material culture of Native societies in other geographical regions.

Similarly, the phenomenon of shamanism has been most systematically studied among Pacific Slope Native cultures. Most notably, Park (1938) has produced a comparative survey of the characteristics, behaviours, and functions associated with North American Native shamanism, and the ethnographic material on which he relied was exclusive to Pacific Slope societies. As with material culture in general, no comparable work exists which systematically analyzes the institution of shamanism for other regions of North America.

A substantial methodological advantage can be gained, then, by limiting the dissertation research to the geographical area of the Pacific Slope. Not only has this region been extensively studied in the past, but the information which is available (in addition to being of excellent quality) exists in a systematic and standardized form. It exhibits a high degree of internal validity, such as is not found for Native cultures of other geographical regions. The outstanding methodological opportunity provided by this material prompts concentrating the research on Native cultures which occupied the geographical region of the Pacific Slope.

Researchers have traditionally divided North American Native societies into a number of "culture areas". That is,

Native societies have been classified according to specific cultural traits which they shared in common, such as environmental influences, subsistence patterns, technological developments, and social, political and religious institutions. Although the concept of particular geographical culture areas became crystallized in the early- to mid-twentieth century as a result of the work of researchers such as Mason, Wissler, Kroeber, and Driver,⁶ the abstraction continues to be frequently employed. Divisions based on culture areas provide the backdrop for most modern surveys of North American Native societies. The Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* series, for example, and Macmillan's (1988) informative survey of Canadian Native societies both employ the concept of culture areas in their structure.⁷ Furthermore,

⁶ See, for example, Mason (1896); Wissler (1914); Wissler (1926); Kroeber (1939a); Driver (1961). Wissler and Kroeber, in particular, argued for the classification of Native cultures based on "natural areas", reasoning that the environment in which a culture was grounded played a critical role in the world-view and observed traits of that culture. While the importance of environment cannot be denied, I have opted to employ the more current term, "culture areas", based on evidence that the displayed cultural traits of any given society result not only from underlying environmental influences, but also from factors such as linguistic pattern, socio-political organization, and cosmology beliefs (all of which are not fully determined by environmental influences). It is understood, then, that the "culture area" concept takes into account "natural areas".

⁷ The *Handbook of North American Indians* series is perhaps the most authoritative work on North American Native cultures. Still in publication, it is, as described by the general editor, a "20-volume set planned to give an encyclopedic summary of what is known about the prehistory, history, and

Jorgensen (1980) has provided evidence and support for the continued use of these theoretical boundaries when comparing North American Native cultures. Given the breadth of acceptance of the culture area concept, this idea will likewise be incorporated into the foundation of the present study. Minor variations will be introduced, however, based upon both Jorgensen's correlational research and existent ethnographic information garnered from cultural monographs.

Conventionally, the Pacific Slope region has been divided into six culture areas: Northwest Coast, Plateau, Great Basin, California, Southwest, and Pueblo. These six designations will be retained for the dissertation, but two more culture areas will be added, as a result of further dividing both the California and the Southwest areas. What is commonly considered the California culture area will heretofore be split into two separate regions. The northern and central portions will be retained as California proper, but the remainder will be designated Southern California.⁸ As demonstrated by Jorgensen (1980:89), Southern California societies differed markedly from those of the northern and central parts of the traditional California culture area. Indeed, Southern

cultures of the aboriginal peoples of North America north of the urban civilizations of central Mexico" (Sturtevant 1990:xiii).

⁸ Kroeber (1925:915) has referred to the regions of central and northern California as constituting the "true California culture area". In order to avoid confusion with pronouncements such as this, the appellation "California" is best applied to these regions rather than the southern area.

California societies shared more cultural traits with Native groups of northern Mexico (with whom there was a common linguistic background) than with other California societies. It is appropriate, therefore, to separate what is conventionally regarded as the California culture area into these two distinct regions.

Similarly, Colorado River societies will be detached from the Southwest culture area (where they are commonly placed) to form their own culture area. Colorado River societies displayed many cultural traits peculiar only to themselves (e.g., their idea of a general nation, their subsistence economy, and their use and interpretation of dreams). Based on such clear ethnographic differences, which are substantiated by correlational data provided by Jorgensen (1980:89), these societies seem to be best defined as comprising a separate culture area. Thus, eight culture areas will be engaged throughout the dissertation, in contradistinction to the six that traditionally comprise the Pacific Slope region. The geographical divisions of these eight culture areas are illustrated in Figure 1.

Just as the Pacific Slope is divided into eight culture areas, so each of the eight culture areas will be further divided into a number of "subareas". The specific Native cultures which make up each of the subareas for a given culture area are listed in Table 1. Numbers adjacent to the individual cultures correspond to those shown in Figures 2 through 9, which illustrate the traditional territory occupied by each

culture.⁹ All societies within a given subarea displayed fairly homogeneous cultural traits, and each was somewhat (though not completely) different from societies of adjacent subareas. The Coast Salish Comox of the Northwest Coast culture area, for example, displayed similar cultural traits to the Nanaimo (who are also part of the Coast Salish subarea), but each of these cultures differed somewhat from the Chinook, who are part of the Oregon subarea. Furthermore, the Chinook, who like the Comox and Nanaimo are within the broader classification of the Northwest Coast culture area, shared more in common with the Comox and Nanaimo than with the Kutenai, who are placed within the Plateau culture area.

⁹ In providing names for the various subareas, the attempt was made to remain as consistent as possible with already-established headings for an identical grouping of cultures. The subareas which comprise the Great Basin culture area, for example, correspond almost completely with those subareas identified in the Great Basin volume of the Smithsonian *Handbook of North American Indians* series (see d'Azevedo, 1986). As a result, the same designations have been employed here. Likewise, the subarea comprised by Nez Percé, Umatilla, Klikitat, and Tenino cultures is labelled "Sahaptian", consistent with the categorizations of Jorgensen (1980:63). In instances where there was no such homogeneity of linguistic affiliation, regional locations have been typically employed as identification markers (e.g., North-Central California, Western Pueblo). Where only one culture comprised a subarea, the name of that culture was used to denote the subarea (e.g., Kutenai, Ute). In every case, the attempt was made to be as precise as possible in delineating the groups of cultures which comprised a specific cultural subarea, and to be as consistent as possible with already-existent headings. The result is that some groupings are most precisely identified by their common linguistic affiliation (e.g., Interior Salish, Eastern Keresan), some are best identified by their regional location (e.g., Northwest California), and some are best identified as a socio-cultural unit (e.g., Navajo).

Classifying individual societies in this manner is most beneficial for examining the specific manifestations of bear spiritual power and bear shamanism existent among each Native culture. The structural schema will help make more apparent differences in the manifestations of spiritual power and shamanism which resulted from differences in material culture and world-view.

The list of cultures provided by Table 1, although large, is not exhaustive of all Native cultures existing in the Pacific Slope region. Most notably, a number of Coast Salish and Oregon cultures are absent. The list is instead a summary of those Pacific Slope cultures for which ethnographic information pertaining to bear spiritual power is definitively known. For some societies, such as those in the Baja subarea of Southern California, it is clear that no cultural relationship with bears (and no concept of bear spiritual power) existed. Such information, although negative, is as important as elaborate descriptions of bear spiritual power or bear shamanism, and will benefit subsequent analyses of the distribution of the phenomena. All available ethnographic information, then, has been incorporated, and will be precisely delineated for each of the Native cultures within a given subarea.

It should be noted, however, that although all available ethnographic information will be considered for each culture, this information will not be taken blindly at face value. Consistent with the methodological issues which have been

raised in recent years,¹⁰ the perceived reliability and validity of each ethnographic report will be explored as part of the investigative process. Indeed, such critical re-examination of ethnographic evidence must become a necessary step in any ethno-historical study such as this. All existent ethnographic information cannot be regarded on equal terms. It is widely understood, for example, that the published works of Curtis on Native North American cultures are in many ways suspect, and must be considered with extreme caution (Lyman, 1982; Francis, 1992). Likewise, Barbeau (1917) has raised important methodological questions regarding the work of Boas among the Tsimshian. Each piece of available ethnographic information will accordingly be examined for its reliability and validity before being incorporated into the present study.¹¹

The issue of the "ethnographic present" must also be addressed in a study such as this. The bulk of ethnographic reports vary in temporal placement from the 1880s to the 1930s. Clearly, the information garnered from such reports cannot be purported to systematically delineate the cultural traits of

¹⁰ See, for example, Geertz, 1973; Tedlock, 1983; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Atkinson, 1990; Hammersley, 1992.

¹¹ Other than becoming acquainted with already-published methodological discussions of specific ethnographies and ethnographers, this re-examination process included, among other strategies, consulting primary research material (e.g., fieldnotes) whenever possible, critically comparing researchers who have examined the same culture(s), and in some cases, conducting personal field research (most notably, among the Navajo and Cahuilla) in order to verify published reports.

Native societies at the time of first sustained contact with Europeans.¹² Much less can they be considered completely representative of pre-contact times. Instead, it is perhaps best to understand the ethnographic reports alluded to throughout the dissertation as representing "traditional" rituals and beliefs among Native societies during only the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. While many of the stated practices and beliefs would have been consistent with pre-contact behaviours and epistemologies, it is not the intent of the dissertation to depict Pacific Slope Native cultures in their "pristine" or "uncontaminated" state. Given the complex dynamics of any living culture, this indeed would be a very problematic (and unrealistic) task. Instead, the reports and information presented in the dissertation should be perceived as reflective of the "traditional" culture practiced and manifest among Native societies during the time of ethnographic study. This may be considered analogous to one describing the "traditional" behaviours and epistemologies of Native societies currently at play in the late-twentieth century (e.g., the continued use of sandpaintings among the

¹² The time of first sustained contact with European peoples varies from culture to culture, dependent upon numerous historical and environmental factors. First sustained contact for many Pueblo cultures, for example, occurred in the late-sixteenth century, while coastal California groups experienced substantial contact by the early- to mid-seventeenth century. By contrast, it was not until the late-eighteenth century that most Northwest Coast groups were inundated with the presence of Europeans.

Navajo), in contradistinction to those beliefs and practices which reflect assimilation into another culture.

Although the general term "bear" has been employed exclusively thus far, and has been commonly used by ethnographers when referring to animals of the *Ursus* genus with which Native cultures interacted, Native societies themselves were not always so general in their observations. Wherever more than one species of bear existed, as throughout the Pacific Slope region (where both black bears and grizzly bears subsisted), Native cultures made clear distinctions among the species, and related to each species differently. Among Pacific Slope Native cultures, grizzly bears were consistently regarded as more dangerous than black bears. These beliefs were concomitantly reflected in cultural mythologies. Cultures of the Oregon subarea, for example, typically portrayed Black Bear as benevolent, and often cast the character in the role of a hero (Beckham 1984:61). In contrast, Grizzly Bear was presented as a dangerous, spiteful villain; a "murderous psychotic" (Jacobs 1959:60) whose character was "truly horrifying" (Rockwell 1991:133). Correspondingly, spiritual power associated with grizzly bears was uniformly considered both more potent and more unwieldy than that affiliated with black bears. Among many Coast Salish societies, where both laypersons and religious "specialists" (i.e., shamans) obtained spirit-helpers (and thus spiritual power), only specialists were recognized as capable of obtaining grizzly bear spiritual power. Grizzly bear spiritual power was regarded as simply too

dangerous for laypersons to harness.¹³ Black bear spiritual power was the only *Ursus*-affiliated spiritual power which could be obtained by laypersons. Thus, while black bear spiritual power was typically employed for purposes of good luck (e.g., as for gambling), those who held grizzly bear spiritual power utilized this force to combat life-threatening illnesses. Because Pacific Slope Native cultures oftentimes made such clear distinctions between these two species of bear, and because spiritual power associated with grizzly bears was consistently regarded as the stronger, the present study will concentrate exclusively upon relationships with grizzly bear spiritual power as expressed among Pacific Slope Native cultures.

Methodologically, the dissertation will progress from concrete to theoretical analyses of the existence and manifestations of grizzly bear spiritual power among Pacific Slope Native cultures. A critical re-examination of the ethnographic literature will yield descriptive summaries of grizzly bear spiritual power as exhibited through ritual, ceremonialism, and shamanism among Pacific Slope Native cultures (Chapter Two). From this resultant monograph, correlational and factor analyses will be employed to help provide typologies of grizzly bear spiritual power and grizzly bear shamanism (Chapter Three). These extracted types, and

¹³ This was reportedly the case among the Klahuse, Homalco, Siciatl, Squamish, and Sanetch (Barnett 1939:190).

their representative characteristics, will be further correlated with general cultural traits exhibited by Pacific Slope societies in order to uncover trends between these traits and the displayed forms of spiritual power and shamanism. A detailed discussion will elucidate the results and provide a theoretical model for the existence of grizzly bear spiritual power and grizzly bear shamanism within Pacific Slope cultures. Implications of this model for the general study of both spiritual power and shamanism will be discussed, with an emphasis upon current academic categorizations of shamanism (Chapter Four). Finally, general conclusions will be drawn with respect to what this study contributes to the overall understanding of the religiosity of North American Native cultures (Chapter Five).

2. GRIZZLY BEAR SPIRITUAL POWER AND GRIZZLY BEAR PERSONS: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

Just as the grizzly bear was considered the most formidable of the *Ursus* genus among Pacific Slope Native cultures, so the spiritual power associated with this species was regarded as particularly ardent. Grizzly bear spiritual power was unpredictable, nearly impossible to control, and dangerous. The strong, menacing qualities inherent in this spiritual power elevated it to a level not shared with many others. It was these qualities which also made grizzly bear spiritual power compelling. Grizzly bear spiritual power implicitly demanded recognition, and the widespread respect it elicited was attractive. Individuals who affiliated themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power were guaranteed to evoke awe, respect and fear from other members of their communities. Among many Pacific Slope Native cultures, grizzly bears were the most powerful spirit-helpers one could obtain.

Because of its inherent association with strength and danger, grizzly bear spiritual power was not recommended for anyone. Only those persons who themselves were regarded as sufficiently strong spiritually could endeavour to control such an unwieldy force. Most Tlingit men, for example, avoided any attempt to obtain grizzly bear spiritual power because it was considered too unpredictable (Rockwell 1991:96). Similarly, a

Wind River Shoshoni shaman warned that, "the bear is an animal that gets mad, therefore no good *puha* [spirit-helper] for a family man" (Hultkrantz 1981:153). Thus although widespread, the procurement of grizzly bear spiritual power was by no means considered routine among Pacific Slope Native cultures.¹

Proper acquisition and maintenance of grizzly bear spiritual power necessarily required a degree of obsessive, all-consuming behaviour on the part of the individual. Among the Yuki, persons procuring grizzly bear spiritual power spent months alone in the wilderness, where they cavorted with live grizzly bears in order to strengthen their spiritual associations with the animal (Kroeber 1925:200; Foster 1944:218). If such maintenance behaviours were not enacted, there was always the danger, as expressed among the Nez Percé, that this spiritual power would eventually overwhelm the person, and bring ruin not only to him or her, but also to the entire family or village (Skeels 1969:5). Thus, while grizzly bear spiritual power had the potential to bring success and rewards, it was also typically fraught with extreme danger.

The most striking and best-documented reports of the existence, abilities and functions of persons affiliated with

¹ In comparison, among Plains cultures there is ample evidence of men and women who routinely acquired grizzly bears as spirit-helpers. Such incidences were numerous enough, in fact, as to allow for the formation of bear societies or bear cults (exclusive gatherings of persons with grizzly bears as spirit-helpers) within specific cultures. Rockwell (1991:99-100), for example, has reported the existence of such bear societies among the Assiniboin, Dakota, Lakota, Mandan, Iowa, Omaha, Ponca, Winnebago, Plains Cree, and Arapaho.

grizzly bear spiritual power come from the California culture area. More specifically, the cultures of North-Central California seem to have produced the largest number of "grizzly bear persons".² Because this subarea has produced the best descriptive reports of individuals possessing grizzly bear spiritual power, the study of such persons will begin here.

California Culture Area

North-Central subarea

Throughout North-Central California, extraordinary or superhuman abilities were often attributed to persons holding grizzly bear spiritual power. Many informants noted that grizzly bear spiritual power allowed one to travel incredibly long distances almost instantaneously (Driver 1939:364; Voegelin 1942:159). Others remarked that grizzly bear spiritual power imparted invulnerability to its human possessors. They could not be killed; or if killed, immediately returned to life (Kroeber 1907:331; Foster 1944:218). One of the most striking traits commonly associated

² That the relatively high frequency of detailed reports of persons holding grizzly bear spiritual power is in fact due to a higher incidence of the phenomenon among North-Central California cultures has not been unequivocally established. The keen interest of a few ethnographers, coupled with the existence of some excellent informants, has undoubtedly contributed to its superior documentation in this subarea. Nevertheless, the most logical assumption to make, given available ethnographic information, is that the abilities, behaviours and functions of "grizzly bear persons" are best documented for the cultures of North-Central California because of a more profound occurrence of the phenomenon here.

with grizzly bear spiritual power, however, was the ability to become physically transformed into grizzly bears (Aginsky 1943:447; Goldschmidt 1951:354). Once transformed, such persons were often believed to roam about the countryside, indiscriminately mauling innocent victims of their communities. Reports of these persons, in fact, were remarkably similar to popular European Middle Age conceptions of werewolves, or persons purported to have the ability to transform themselves into wolves. Werewolves were likewise regarded as individuals who, once transformed into wolves, capriciously wreaked havoc on livestock and townspeople.³

As with European tales of werewolves, Native reports of persons with grizzly bear spiritual power were often cloaked as much in conjecture and hearsay as reproducible "facts". That grizzly bear persons existed is certain, but reports from informants often represented general knowledge of the phenomenon, with details which inevitably emanated from second-hand sources. Disclaimers such as "I didn't see this, but some of my friends did..." (Foster 1944:218) were common. Consequently, although a considerable amount of information has been published with respect to the abilities and behaviours of persons with grizzly bear spiritual power in North-Central California, it remains difficult to critically ascertain the actual characteristics exhibited by such persons.⁴ Existent

³ See, for example, Otten (1986).

⁴ It is readily apparent that an examination of the ethnographic literature reveals Native societies' *beliefs* about

ethnographic literature, itself a reflection of Native reports, is often inconclusive and contradictory.

Barrett (1917) was the first to publish a detailed study of the existence of grizzly bear persons in North-Central California. More specifically, he concentrated his research on the Pomo. The title of his article, "Pomo Bear Doctors", is itself indicative of the confusion and controversy which surrounded beliefs about persons with grizzly bear spiritual power. Although North-Central California (including Pomo) grizzly bear persons were not usually among the laity of their communities, neither were they always shamans, or "doctors". Persons possessing grizzly bear spiritual power did not consistently exhibit healing powers, nor did they perform the social functions typically associated with the institution of shamanism as found in these societies. But because grizzly bear persons stood out as individuals holding a significant amount of spiritual power, and because a minority of these individuals were indeed shamans, late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century researchers routinely included grizzly bear persons in their general discussions of shamanism. The end result, unfortunately, was that *all* persons holding grizzly bear spiritual power came to be labelled "bear doctors" or "bear shamans". Although grizzly bear persons apparently displayed a number of disparate characteristics, all were

grizzly bear persons as much as details of the personages themselves. Such information, of course, is instructive in-itself, and does much to reveal specific patterns of the belief-systems of various Pacific Slope cultures.

placed under these semantic appellations. "Bear doctor" and "bear shaman" became umbrella terms for all grizzly bear persons, regardless of any display of curing abilities. Kroeber (1907:331), for example, recognized persons possessing grizzly bear spiritual power as collectively constituting "a special class of shamans". But when enumerating their defining characteristics, no mention is made of their capacity to heal illness, or other abilities commonly associated with shamanism.

In reference to Kroeber's assessment, Barrett (1917:444) correctly observed that the typical grizzly bear person which existed among the Pomo "is scarcely a shaman in the strict sense of the word". Indeed, Pomo grizzly bear persons, as described by Barrett, did not readily display any healing powers. Barrett's solution to this misnomer, however, is puzzling. To replace the designation of "bear shaman", Barrett proposed the then more common term "bear doctor", reasoning that "the current term 'doctor' may be conveniently retained as free from the erroneous connotation that 'shaman' would involve" (1917:444). The word "doctor", of course, does nothing to assuage the situation, as it too carries connotations of a healing function, a function not performed among the individuals described by Barrett.

Unfortunately, one of the legacies of Barrett's landmark study was the continued use of the term "bear doctor" to refer to all persons associated with grizzly bear spiritual power, irrespective of an exhibition of healing abilities. Its synonymous designation, "bear shaman", also continued to be

used in this manner as a general descriptive title. Together, in fact, these two terms were employed almost exclusively when referring to persons holding grizzly bear spiritual power. Additionally, in spite of Barrett's attempt to separate the titles, they have also been applied interchangeably. Virtually all persons associated with grizzly bear spiritual power in North-Central California, as elsewhere in the Pacific Slope, became known as "doctors" or "shamans".

This mislabelling persists with contemporary scholars. Grizzly bear persons in North-Central California continue to be collectively recognized as a special class of shamans, and are discussed exclusively with reference to the institution of shamanism. In the California volume of the Smithsonian Institution's *Handbook of North American Indians* series, for example, grizzly bear persons are cited in four separate articles pertaining to North-Central cultures. In each of these articles, "bear doctor" or "bear shaman" is the designation employed.⁵ Moreover, the editors of the California volume chose to index the phenomenon under the heading *shamanism*, even though in none of the individual articles was it explicitly stated that grizzly bear persons exhibited the ability to heal illness, or performed social duties typically associated with shamanism.

Problems of taxonomy such as these are perhaps best understood from the perspective of individual ethnographic

⁵ See Miller (1978:251); Bean and Theodoratus (1978:294-295); McLendon and Lowy (1978:318); Wilson and Towne (1978:396).

descriptions of grizzly bear persons. Foster (1944:218), in his summary of Yuki culture, highlighted the controversy surrounding grizzly bear persons when he began his discussion by declaring, "since *wasit-lamsími* (bear shamans) obviously never existed, they are not included with the real doctors. Fact and fancy combine to make difficult a true conception of this phenomenon". He subsequently noted that "they partook of the nature of shamans, as indicated by their contact with bear spirits... but they resembled the sorcerer in their malevolent tendencies" (Foster 1944:218).

The characteristics of Yuki grizzly bear persons were typical of grizzly bear persons found throughout many North-Central California and Pacific Slope cultures. As described by Foster (1944:218),

Unlike the true shaman, who had to await the call of a spirit, the bear doctor could seek power by going into the woods and associating with live bears. Prospective *wasit-lamsími* dreamed about bears, and then left for the mountains, often remaining away for a year or more, living with and learning from bears. Part of the time the candidate grew hair on his body and actually became a bear.... Being naturally irritable, bear doctors frequently killed people by sneaking up to the unsuspecting person, biting and clawing him, and scattering his remains.... Bear doctors could be killed by a coalition of fighters, but the death was only apparent; the soul returned to the point where the doctor underwent the transformation, and the man reappeared.

With respect to positive social functions executed by grizzly bear persons, Foster (1944:218) reasoned that, "the only compensation for having such a menace in the village was that he might turn his talents against enemy tribes". He ultimately concluded his analysis of Yuki *wasit-lamsími* by skeptically

noting that, "naturally, no one had ever seen a doctor becoming a bear" (Foster 1944:218).

A second, less prominent type of grizzly bear person also existed among the Yuki. Known as *aomol* (literally, "Indian bear"), they exhibited all of the vengeful characteristics of the *wasit-lamsími* described above, but did not possess the ability to become physically transformed into a grizzly bear. Instead, they were individuals who disguised themselves in bearskins, and murdered others "usually with a flint knife to imitate bear teeth" (Foster 1944:218). The disguise, theoretically, was so realistic that most people could not ascertain whether the figure was truly a grizzly bear or merely an "Indian bear". As with the *wasit-lamsími*, however, Foster (1944:218) regarded the entire existence of the *aomol*, and their activities, quite incredulous, noting that, "if such a practice actually were carried out, the man in the disguise would be so handicapped by the weight of the skin that he would be practically harmless".

Kroeber (1925), in a published work which predated Foster's article, also described grizzly bear persons among the Yuki. The grizzly bear persons he identified, however, simultaneously exhibited characteristics of both the *wasit-lamsími* and the *aomol*, even though many of these attributes would seem to be mutually exclusive. This apparent contradiction of inimical traits reported to have existed within one personage did not go unnoticed by Kroeber. His summation of Yuki grizzly bear persons was as follows:

They receive their power from bears, transform themselves into bears, are almost invulnerable, or if killed likely come to life again, and are much dreaded as ferocious avengers or even aggressors. A curious point is that while it is insisted that they have the power of bodily transformation, several accounts speaking of the discomfort of bear fur growing through the skin, the Yuki nevertheless explicitly state that on marauding excursions they were men encased in a hardened bear hide, and that while they pretended to bite their foes with their long teeth, they actually stabbed them with a concealed weapon (Kroeber 1925:200).

Kroeber offered no solution as to why seemingly incongruent characteristics were expressed concurrently. It is clear, however, that one of two conditions must apply. If informants' statements are taken at face value, then it must be assumed that there were indeed such grizzly bear persons, who were capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears, but who opted occasionally to perform their activities while cloaked in bearskins. If this were indeed the case, then the *wasit-lamsími* and *aomol* described above by Foster were one and the same personage. Why individuals capable of physical transformation would occasionally employ more cumbersome and less genuine means of transformation through wearing bearskins, however, is not certain. A second, more plausible solution, when Kroeber's description is considered alongside Foster's accounts, is that Kroeber's informants fused the two personages of *wasit-lamsími* and *aomol*, and collapsed them into one character.

There is agreement among ethnographers that beliefs in grizzly bear persons who physically transformed themselves into grizzly bears were indigenous to the Yuki (e.g., Essene

1942:42; Kroeber 1925:200). On the other hand, beliefs in grizzly bear persons who disguised themselves in bearskins were apparently a relatively recent phenomenon among the Yuki (Foster 1944:218). If this were indeed the case, it would seem that conceptions of grizzly bear persons known as *aomol* at some point diffused from neighbouring cultures to co-exist with the already-acknowledged conceptions of *wasit-lamsími*. Whether the two sets of beliefs eventually became fused, however, is unclear. The majority of ethnographic data suggests that the two personages were considered distinct within Yuki culture.

The task of positively delineating grizzly bear persons among the Yuki is further obscured by the fact that some accounts of *wasit-lamsími* alleged that these grizzly bear persons possessed the ability to cure illness. Kroeber's informants, for example, maintained that this was so, as did one of Foster's informants. Specifically, it was noted that *wasit-lamsími* cured victims of bear attack, and performed other public demonstrations (Kroeber 1925:200; Foster 1944:218). However, the more reliable of Foster's informants (by Foster's own account) disagreed with this assessment, and Foster, by not including the *wasit-lamsími* among his discussion of Yuki shamans, concurred.

Whatever the reasons for these discrepancies in classification, they serve to illustrate the mystery, confusion, and controversy which typically surrounded North-Central grizzly bear persons. Many informants, although capable of providing detailed descriptions of the

characteristics of specific grizzly bear persons, were not always capable of effectively differentiating types.

If Yuki beliefs concerning grizzly bear persons disguised in bearskins indeed diffused from another culture, that culture was undoubtedly the Pomo, their neighbours directly to the south. Among the Pomo, only this form of grizzly bear person, called by them *gauk bûrakal* (literally, "human grizzly bear"), was known to have existed. The presence of only this type of grizzly bear person resulted from the fact that the Pomo had not, to any great extent, cultivated the concept of individual spirit-helpers. Instead, spiritual power (including that associated with shamanism) was obtained entirely from objects and rituals. As explained by Freeland (1923:57),

a striking difference is the subordinate place of the guardian spirit in Pomo practice. The most important class of doctors lacks the feature entirely. Their power resides in a bundle or "outfit", in ritual, in potent objects and processes... with no idea of any individual claim.

Correspondingly, this "most important class of doctors" were known as "outfit doctors". As further explained by Freeland (1923:61),

The chief power of the *q'e'ebakiyá lxale* ["outfit doctor"] was concentrated in the outfit. It was kept when not in use close under the rafters of the house where no shadow of a profane person could fall upon it.

The "outfit" itself, then, was understood as the source of spiritual power. As a sacred object, it was handed down from shaman to apprentice. Thus,

the apprenticeship of the *q'e'ebakiyá lxale* ["outfit doctor"] begins in childhood. When the boy is older

and finally considered capable of practicing himself, the old man gives up his outfit to him (Freeland 1923:58).

Consistent with this cultural ideology, Pomo grizzly bear persons did not procure spiritual power from personal grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Instead, grizzly bear spiritual power was understood to emanate from the bearskin "outfits" themselves. Individuals donned the outfits in order to effectively employ grizzly bear spiritual power. Only while costumed in the outfits, in fact, were grizzly bear persons capable of performing the remarkable deeds reported of them. Kroeber (1925:259) aptly described this relationship between grizzly bear person and outfit by noting that, "the Pomo bear doctor was, in short, the possessor of a fetish that increased his strength and endurance".

The most detailed accounts of outfits worn by Pomo grizzly bear persons come from Barrett (1917). As described by him, the complete disguise, called *gawî*, contained many individual components. An openwork basket, woven of white oak twigs, served as a foundation over which to place the skin of the bear's head. The basket was made exactly to fit the wearer's head, "and remained in place even when he moved violently" (Barrett 1917:455). The skin of the bear's head was placed over this "helmet", and was shaped so as to retain its proper form. The remainder of the bearskin was fitted exactly to the body, arms, and legs, "so as to perfectly hide every part of the body and give the wearer the appearance of a grizzly" (Barrett 1917:455).

Underneath the bearskin, the *gauk būrakal* wore an armour of shell beads, consisting of three six-inch-wide belts. In combination, they completely covered the umbilicus, abdomen, chest, and back. A fourth belt, constructed of large discoidal beads, specifically protected the heart. Additional strings of shell beads were wound closely around the arms, from wrist to shoulder. The legs were similarly covered. As explained by Barrett (1917:456), "all these beads served as a protection against arrows in case the bear doctor was attacked by hunters".

Two small baskets, each about three inches in diameter, were also half-filled with water and encased tightly inside the bearskin, underneath each armpit. As the *gauk būrakal* moved, "the swashing of the water made a sound resembling that of the viscera of a bear" (Barrett 1917:456). To complete the disguise, the *gauk būrakal* wore low shoes, with the soles rounded and shaped in such a way as to leave bear-like tracks.

The violent acts notorious of Pomo *gauk būrakal* were most often executed with elk-horn daggers. Two of these weapons were carried, each measuring six to ten inches long. The mode of attack, as described by one of Barrett's informants, was as follows: "the bear doctor stood unconcernedly, near the path of his victim, and with his back toward him until he was quite near. He then whirled and attacked suddenly" (Barrett 1917:457). This, according to the informant, was also the method by which real grizzly bears attacked. The sole defence recognized for such assaults from *gauk būrakal* was to "seize

his head or shoulders and jerk off his helmet" (Barrett 1917:458). By thus stripping the outfit from the *gauk būrakal*, the spiritual power commanded by him or her was nullified.

Given the perceived sacred nature of the outfit, it is not surprising to find that a number of elaborate rituals and observances were enacted on its behalf. Before wearing the outfit for the first time (and after being properly trained by other *gauk būrakal*), the individual, while reciting ritualistic songs and prayers, performed four sets of 170 intricate dance movements around the paraphernalia; each set of movements represented one of the four cardinal directions. Similar, but shorter rituals were performed each time the outfit was subsequently worn (Barrett 1917:458-461).

Despite detailed information provided by Barrett, and the inclusion of a photograph of a model outfit displayed at the Peabody Museum at Harvard, doubt and controversy also surrounded this Pomo grizzly bear person. Kroeber (1925:259), for example, in his analysis of the phenomenon, noted that,

Pomo descriptions of the apparatus used are so detailed that they must have some foundation in fact, which is confirmed by at least one model in a museum. At the same time it is impossible for a man to travel considerable distances on all fours with any speed; to fight as well while cumbered with heavy wrappings and a bulky false head; or to gain an advantage through being armed only with a dagger.

Kroeber (1925:259) surmised that, "now and then the repute of the dreaded human bears might have paralysed a hunter and made him fall a terrified victim; but more often the bear man himself would have succumbed". He also argued that when data

for Pomo grizzly bear persons is examined critically, very little information can be retained as undisputable fact. Thus,

it can only be concluded that there were bear doctors; that they believed in their powers; that they possessed actual disguises and found pleasure in donning these and acting the animal in privacy or in the company of like-minded associates (Kroeber 1925:259-260).

Ultimately, Kroeber (1925:260) concluded that, "their feats of slaughter existed chiefly if not wholly in the imagination of themselves and their public".

Other ethnographers were even less accomodating in their analyses of *gauk būrakal*. Loeb, based on his informants' recollections, questioned the validity not only of the reported behaviours of these grizzly bear persons, but also of the outfits themselves. Loeb specifically targeted Barrett's descriptions, going so far as to suggest that Barrett's informant "sought to perpetrate a fraud" (Loeb 1926:337).⁶ Even with this one, relatively uni-dimensional grizzly bear personage, then, consensus was not satisfactorily reached, either among informants or ethnographers.

To confound matters, other grizzly bear persons similar in form to *gauk būrakal* were also reported to have existed among the Pomo. These grizzly bear persons (called by some, "bear-

⁶ The testimony of Loeb's primary informant, William Benson, is itself questionable, as evidenced by a subsequent published article which included a photograph of a black bear outfit hand-crafted by Benson (Cody 1940:133). This outfit, said to be a model of those worn by grizzly bear persons, differed markedly from all other ethnographic accounts of Pomo grizzly bear outfits, and cannot be readily accepted as representative of the Pomo phenomenon.

initiates"⁷) performed at public ceremonies and festivals as dancers. Among all Pomo societies, for example, "bear-initiates" performed at the annual "Pole Ceremony", an adjunct of the larger Kuksu Cult ceremonial cycle. The costumes worn by these grizzly bear persons very much resembled the outfits donned by *gauk būrakal*. As described by Loeb (1926:376),

the performer wore a complete bearskin, the head on a basketry frame with a mouth that could be opened and shut. Bladders half full of water set in the axillae or sometimes in the head were said to give a sound like that of a bear walking. Two stuffed raccoons with the tails removed were tied on either side under the forelegs to represent cubs.

Despite similarities in costume, it can be assumed that these grizzly bear persons were not *gauk būrakal*. Because of their violent and malevolent activities, *gauk būrakal* were commonly killed on sight by members of their communities (Barrett 1917:454; Cody 1940:134). They therefore would not have performed in public. Additionally, there are ample differences in costume detail (most notably, the stuffed raccoons tied to the forelegs of the bear-initiates) which suggest that these were not one and the same grizzly bear person.

In their capacity as public performers, bear-initiates emerged twice during Pomo Pole Ceremonies to enact their culturally prescribed dances. At appointed times in the ceremony,

⁷ The Pomo expression for these persons was simply *būrakal*, "bear". Loeb (1926:376-378), however, referred to them as "bear-initiates", and although imprecise, this term will likewise be employed here so as not to confuse *būrakal* with *gauk būrakal*.

the bear advanced from the woods grunting and performed certain manoeuvres in front of the dance house while a common dance was being performed.... Then he went in, circled the bush house four times in a counter-clockwise direction, and stopped before the center pole. *Bûrakal* climbed it, turned and came down head first, turning head over heels four times on the way. Then he circled the pole four times and made his exit (Loeb 1926:376-377).

Since the Pole Ceremony was part of the larger Kuksu Cult ceremonial cycle, it may be that these grizzly bear persons were in fact initiates of the Kuksu Cult, and therefore members of this secret society.⁸ While such an hypothesis is in agreement with the estimations of some ethnographers (e.g., Cody 1940:135), such positive connections between bear-initiates and the Kuksu Cult have not been unequivocally established.⁹ Clearly, however, these grizzly bear persons were of a decidedly different character than others thus far described. Most notably, no references exist to bear-initiates' alliances with grizzly bear spiritual power (either through grizzly bear spirit-helpers or bearskin outfits), and it is questionable whether such relationships were fostered. It is possible, then, that they may have been recognized among the Pomo simply as public performers or dancers, imbued with special characteristics and performance abilities, but not capable of accomplishing the remarkable deeds commonly ascribed to persons affiliated with grizzly bear spiritual power.

⁸ If so, the term "initiate" may indeed be an accurate designation, although "bear-initiate" does not fully capture the associations of these persons with the Kuksu Cult.

⁹ For a full discussion of the Kuksu Cult as it existed among Pomo and other California societies, see Kroeber (1925); Loeb (1932); Loeb (1933).

While the Yuki and Pomo have furnished some of the most detailed accounts of grizzly bear persons for North-Central California, they were by no means the only cultures in this subarea for which such individuals were known. Grizzly bear persons also existed among neighbouring Penutian cultures (i.e., Nomlaki, Nisenan, Maidu, and Patwin). Each of these societies, applying their own distinct cultural ideologies, produced grizzly bear persons which displayed minor variations of those thus far described.

Like the Yuki, both the Nomlaki and Nisenan reported the existence of "transformational" grizzly bear persons, who possessed the ability to become physically transformed into grizzly bears. Among the Nisenan, Beals (1933:390) noted that "with the old people living [born ca. 1860] there still exists the belief that shamans actually turned into bears and in this form killed people. Nearly all had seen them in their youth in human form". Additionally, it was observed that "the belief in these bear-men is very strong, for it survives vividly in the minds of old people from whose memory many other things have faded" (Beals 1933:391). None of the Nisenan informants reported a bearskin costume or outfit associated with these grizzly bear persons. Furthermore, although the term "bear shaman" was employed, most informants were in agreement that these grizzly bear persons were not doctors or shamans in the healing sense of these terms. Thus, as described by Beals (1933:391), "a doctor may have the power to become a bear, but a person with that power need not be a doctor". The Nisenan

did, however, regard these grizzly bear persons as having acquired grizzly bear spiritual power. Unlike the Yuki, this acquired spiritual power was not the means by which physical transformation was enacted. Instead, it was believed that grizzly bear persons rubbed themselves with a specific herb that grew in the water: "almost immediately, the individual grew hair and took on the shape, appearance, and characteristics of a bear" (Beals 1933:391). To reverse the transformation, they leapt into a pool of water, or rubbed a second herb over themselves.

Contrary to grizzly bear persons in other North-Central cultures, Nisenan grizzly bear persons were believed to have travelled in groups, collectively attacking those whom they came upon (Kroeber 1929:275). Additionally, women were often regarded as stronger, more adept grizzly bear persons than men, a fact consistent with the general existence of Nisenan spiritual persons (e.g., shamans or sorcerers).¹⁰

The Nomlaki also reported characteristics of grizzly bear persons which were particular only to their societies. Although Nomlaki grizzly bear persons, while transformed, were acknowledged to have occasionally killed others, Goldschmidt (1951:354) observed that the Nomlaki "more frequently paint these characters as devilish pranksters bent on mischief rather than as fearful beings doing harm. The attitude of fear was not noted". While such a lack of expressed horror and

¹⁰ See, for example, Kroeber (1929: 273-274).

antipathy may have resulted from temporal distance from the phenomenon, or modern rationalizations of past tales of grizzly bear persons, the statements of Nomlaki informants themselves preclude such hypotheses and further substantiate Goldschmidt's observation. As recalled by one Nomlaki,

Notwita was a human just as we are, but my grandfather always told us that he could turn into a bear any time he wanted to. He had thick black hair two inches long all over his body. His fingers were as big around as my wrist. He was a nice man, always full of fun. My uncle is a man who is a clown and doesn't believe in such things, so this fellow turned into a bear and chased him. That was in broad daylight. When he had worn my uncle out, he got up as a human and laughed (Goldschmidt 1951:354).

While other North-Central cultures emphasized exclusively the malicious nature of grizzly bear persons, this Nomlaki informant reported a grizzly bear person who "was a nice man, always full of fun".

Not all Nomlaki grizzly bear persons were recalled with complete fondness, however. Some of these individuals, as noted, were reported to have displayed violent tendencies. Another Nomlaki informant, for example, noted that "there was a man around Strongford who turned into a bear and caught and killed people" (Goldschmidt 1951:354). Elsewhere, it was reported that "there was a woman who used to hide in the brush by the river during blackberry-picking time. She would destroy her enemies. She could turn into a bear" (Goldschmidt 1951:354).

As with other North-Central accounts, Nomlaki grizzly bear persons were not typically reported to be shamans, or "doctors"

who healed specific illnesses. Instead, these grizzly bear persons employed grizzly bear spiritual power entirely as a consequence of personal motivation and desire. Additionally, the Nomlaki, like the Nisenan, often considered women to be more formidable grizzly bear persons than men (Goldschmidt 1951:354).

The Maidu and Patwin (two other Penutian-speaking North-Central cultures) did not commonly attribute transformational abilities to the grizzly bear persons they acknowledged. Similar to the Pomo, these two cultures instead reported that grizzly bear persons disguised themselves in bearskins before enacting their nefarious activities. Among the River Patwin, the composite image of grizzly bear persons extracted from informants' statements very much corresponded to the Pomo *gauk būrakal*. Most notably, River Patwin grizzly bear persons (known as *napa*) disguised themselves in grizzly bear hides which closed in front "like a jacket" (Kroeber 1932:286). In these costumes, they were reported to have commonly murdered people of their own villages, stabbing them with concealed knives. As among the Pomo, "generic malice" was regarded as the prime motive for their actions (Kroeber 1932:287). Superhuman abilities were also attributed to these grizzly bear persons, including the capacity to "travel farther at night than ordinary people" (Loeb 1933:220).

The Hill Patwin, apparently influenced by neighbouring Yuki societies as well as the Pomo, reported the existence not only of grizzly bear persons who wore bearskins, but also of

those who could physically transform themselves into grizzly bears (Kroeber 1932:292). Unfortunately, no further ethnographic information than the Hill Patwin name (*molo silai*, "condor grizzly") has been provided for these transformational grizzly bear persons. Consequently, it is unclear the extent to which beliefs in such persons infiltrated Hill Patwin consciousness. The most likely conclusion, given available evidence, is that ideas concerning transformational grizzly bear persons were not indigenous to the Hill Patwin, but diffused from the Yuki (perhaps through the Nomlaki) well after beliefs in bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons had become entrenched in the collective consciousness of Hill Patwin culture. This seems to have resulted in transformational grizzly bear persons being acknowledged (and reported) much more sporadically than bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons. Indeed, those grizzly bear persons who wore bearskins appear to have been relatively prevalent among Hill Patwin societies, displaying essentially identical characteristics to those reported by the River Patwin (Kroeber 1932:292), and by extension, the Pomo.

Maidu reports of grizzly bear persons, more detailed than Patwin accounts, also closely resembled those of the Pomo. Among the Maidu,

grizzly bear shamans were called *maidŭ-m-pano*, person-bear. They put on a bearskin. They went out to kill people, hooking out their eyes. They wore many beads as armor. Sometimes when they met a man, they paid him heavily not to reveal their identity. Some could be killed and would revive (Kroeber 1932:391).

Additionally, Loeb (1933:181-182) has noted that,

certain men and women were thought to have dressed in bear hides. The doctor did not turn into a bear but, wearing a bearskin, went around killing his village mates.... The bear men frequently had helpers and kept their costumes in some safe retreat in the open. The victims were caught in ambush and were killed by being ripped open with a manzanita stick.

Where Maidu grizzly bear persons differed from Pomo (and also Patwin) grizzly bear persons was in the perceived source of their spiritual power. While the Pomo (and to a lesser extent, the Patwin) emphasized that the grizzly bear "outfit" was the object from which spiritual power emanated, the Maidu recognized that grizzly bear persons held power external to the outfit. Maidu grizzly bear persons "owned a grizzly bear spirit" (Loeb 1933:200).

In procuring personal relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers, Maidu grizzly bear persons often exhibited extraordinary abilities over and above those associated with their murderous behaviours. In many Maidu communities, though not all, these grizzly bear persons were considered true shamans, having acquired the ability to cure.¹¹ Predominantly men, they "wore bear skin, hair, teeth, and claws and simulated the bear's actions in treating patients" (Schulz 1954:171-172). Maidu grizzly bear shamans were called upon primarily to minister to persons who had been attacked by bears, from whom

¹¹ Grizzly bear persons were recognized as playing the role of both murderer and curer among Northeastern, Valley, and Mountain Maidu societies (Loeb 1933:200; Schulz 1954:171-172). The only societies which did not recognize curing abilities with these grizzly bear persons were the Yuba River Maidu (Loeb 1933:181-182).

"they sucked out bear blood and teeth" (Schulz 1954:172). Unlike the Pomo, then, Maidu grizzly bear persons served constructive as well as destructive functions within their communities. In this regard, they were not dissimilar to shamans recognized throughout North American Native cultures. Oftentimes, clear distinctions were not made between the positive and negative aspects of spiritual power. The absolute strength associated with spiritual power meant that it could be employed to kill as well as to cure. Many North American Native communities acknowledged that shamans (those who cured disease) were also primarily responsible for causing disease within individuals.¹² Among these communities, shamans were often suspected of secretly being "witches", and were routinely feared for this reason. The Maidu, then, were not uncommon in their cultural recognition that grizzly bear shamans employed grizzly bear spiritual power to destroy as well as to nourish.

Throughout North-Central California, wherever the Kuksu Cult existed, grizzly bear persons played a significant role in one or more of the attendant ceremonies.¹³ As described among the Pomo, these grizzly bear persons were markedly distinct from other types of grizzly bear persons which may have existed in North-Central communities. Grizzly bear persons associated

¹² See, for example, Kroeber (1925:67); Bean (1972:115).

¹³ The Kuksu Cult is known to have existed among the Pomo, Yuki, Patwin, Valley Nisenan, and Maidu (Bean and Vane 1978:665).

with the Kuksu Cult functioned exclusively as public performers, or dancers. Dixon (1905:295-296) has reported the performances of such Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons among the Maidu:

one dancer has a bear-hide, and, going off into the woods, he puts this on, and early in the morning comes to the dance-house, and cries out from a distance. The clown answers the call of the bear, and bids him enter the dance-house. The bear then enters and all the men present have to pay him what they can. The payment having been made, the dancer removes his bear-hide, and the women are now allowed to come in. The men now dance... and then the women dance... and then the men dance, and so forth for some time. Toward midnight the man who personated the bear dresses again, and dances once more.

Among the Patwin, such grizzly bear persons seem to have played a more central role to the Kuksu Cult, as evidenced by their participation in initiation rites. As part of a three-day ceremony known as *sika-yapai*, a grizzly bear person,

dressed in a bearskin, came in at least once a day. He went around the fire, growling and acting his character, and then departed. Women were not allowed in during this ceremony. Boys were taken in to be initiated. The initiations were into the general society and not into any special societies of bear doctors (Loeb 1933:213).

As noted among the Pomo, grizzly bear persons associated with the Kuksu Cult did not demonstrate a capacity for extraordinary abilities, such as invulnerability, or rapid travel. Indeed, it is doubtful that they procured a relationship with grizzly bear spiritual power to the same extent as shamans or the vengeful type of grizzly bear persons previously described. Thus, although Loeb, in the quotation above, indirectly referred to these grizzly bear persons as

"bear doctors", it is evident from all accounts that they did not exhibit healing (or other shamanic) abilities. They performed simply as public dancers, and as such, were quite distinct from other grizzly bear persons reported among North-Central cultures.

Kroeber (1925:428) relied upon accounts of these Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons to raise questions concerning the validity of reports of the murderous bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons so commonly acknowledged throughout North-Central California. With respect to this latter type of grizzly bear person, he reasoned that,

the very nature of all accounts renders them almost incredible. Perhaps it is possible to compromise on the interpretation that there were men controlled by an emotion that made them find satisfaction in reproducing the animal as closely as possible in their persons, and hoping or imagining a power over their foes. But that they actually exercised their murderous inclinations while in the disguise passes comprehension. Another interpretation is that the bear shamans as here described have been fused in native imagination with grizzly bear impersonators in the Kuksu Cult, or that white reporters have failed to distinguish them.

Similar theories have been voiced elsewhere in the ethnographic literature (e.g., Foster 1944:218). A re-evaluation of the cultural data, however, makes it clear that the two grizzly bear personages were often characterized as distinct within Native societies themselves. Oftentimes, separate designations were applied to each of the types of grizzly bear persons (e.g., Pomo societies reported *būrakal* and *gauk būrakal*). Additionally, among the Yuki and Nisenan the murderous type of grizzly bear persons were acknowledged not to have worn

bearskins at all, but were instead capable of physical transformation. That the means for becoming grizzly bears were separated by these cultures according to function (i.e., murderous grizzly bear persons transformed themselves, Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons dressed in bearskins) is counter-intuitive to theories suggesting confusion (or more precisely, fusion) of concepts. Finally, it must be noted that grizzly bear persons associated with the Kuksu Cult were exclusively male, an occurrence incongruent with accounts which emphasized the adeptness of females among the murderous type of grizzly bear persons (e.g., as among the Nomlaki and Nisenan). It therefore seems appropriate to conclude that grizzly bear persons associated with the Kuksu Cult were indeed distinct from both the murderous and the shamanic types of grizzly bear persons commonly described among North-Central cultures.

Northeast subarea

The existence of grizzly bear persons in Northeast California was much more sporadic than in the North-Central subarea. None of the Northeast societies, for example, had incorporated the Kuksu Cult into their cultural belief systems. As a result, the type of grizzly bear person associated with Kuksu Cult ceremonies in North-Central California was nonexistent among Northeast cultures. Indeed, consistent with the generally less ornate character of Northeast cultures, many had not developed any concept whatsoever of the existence of

grizzly bear persons. DuBois (1935:88), for example, noted that the structure of Wintu societies was,

so simple that there was never any need for great elaboration. There was none of the specialization of shamans found in adjacent areas. The social pattern demanded no rattlesnake shamans, no weather shamans, no bear shamans, no outfit doctors, no exclusive poisoners.

A similar situation held among the Yana and Chimariko. Neither incorporated grizzly bear persons into the fabric of their respective cultures (Gifford and Klimek 1939:85; Schulz 1954:171; Driver 1939:364).

Where grizzly bear persons were reported to have existed in the Northeast subarea (among only Shastan-speaking cultures), they were of a decidedly different quality than the North-Central varieties. Shasta, Achomawi, and Atsugewi spiritual worlds were imbued with "pains", a concept assimilated from neighbouring Northwest California cultures. "Pains" were regarded as animate material objects, described as looking like tiny icicles (Kroeber 1925:302), which embodied spiritual power. Persons of considerable spiritual strength, such as shamans, received their power through the acquisition of specific "pains". Similarly, evil-doers who acquired "pains" were reported to have the ability to "shoot" them into other persons, thereby causing illness (Kroeber 1925:314).

Shastan cultures, however, exhibited not only these characteristic Northwest California features, but also, in the words of Kroeber (1925:5), "some elements of culture that are clearly due to the example of other exterior peoples". This

was clearly the case concerning their conceptions of spiritual power. A collision of concepts existed within Shastan societies. Dixon (1908:218-219), for example, noted that among both the Achomawi and Atsugewi "the concept of guardian spirit appears to have been more developed than in the northwest [of California]". Unlike Northwest California cultures, Shastan-speaking societies incorporated both "pains" and spirit-helpers into their respective world-views. While elsewhere, beliefs in the existence of "pains" necessarily excluded conceptualizations of animal spirits or spirit-helpers,¹⁴ the two concepts existed side-by-side within Shastan cultures.

In recognizing a pantheon of spirit-helpers (which included grizzly bear spirit-helpers), the Shasta, Achomawi, and Atsugewi also acknowledged and reported the existence of grizzly bear persons among them. For each of these Shastan cultures, however, grizzly bear persons were not described as the overly murderous individuals so common among North-Central societies. Instead, they were regarded first and foremost as shamans. Grizzly bear shamans, in fact, constituted a distinct class of shamans among Shastan societies. Garth (1953:190), for example, noted that among the Achomawi and Atsugewi, "three types of shamans can be differentiated. These are the sucking shaman, the singing doctor, and the bear doctor". Likewise, among the Shasta it was reported that "those who have the grizzly bear as their *axè'ki* [spirit-helper] appear to follow

¹⁴ See the discussion of Northwest California cultures below, pp. 83-86.

somewhat different lines than the majority of shamans" (Dixon 1907:484). Most notably, the concept of "pains" was altogether lacking in reports of grizzly bear shamans. Instead, relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers were acknowledged as paramount.

As elsewhere, Shastan grizzly bear shamans exhibited propensities to heal large, open wounds, particularly as may have resulted from bear attacks. Upon enacting cures,

the shaman wears the skin of the animal whose spirit appeared to him in his dream at puberty. If he saw the bear, he wears a bear-claw necklace... The shaman also acts like the animal so far as he can, pawing at the ground or digging as a bear will for roots (Dixon 1908:219).

A detailed account of a Shasta curing ceremony has been provided by Dixon (1907:486):

if a man be bitten by a grizzly bear, the grizzly *axè'ki* must be called on to cure him... All the people present at the ceremonial must be in plain sight, else the shaman will jump at them, and bite and scratch them as if he were a grizzly. The shaman, in dancing, growls like a bear, and acts in every way like one. He wears a collar of grizzly-claws about his neck, and has a single broad red stripe painted from the forehead, over the crown of his head, to his neck. This represents the streak on the head of the bear. He also wears a collar of feathers similar to that worn by the rattlesnake shaman. The dance of the grizzly shaman consists chiefly in five sinistral circuits of the fire, made on all-fours, in the course of which he rolls over, and turns up the stones about the fireplace, as a bear turns over logs, etc., for ants and grubs. After this, he rushes suddenly at the patient, and, pouncing on him, seizes in his hands, and extracts, what is supposed to be the tongue of the bear that bit him. This is at once put into a basket of warm water, and later is thrown into the river.

Although shamans were predominantly female among the Shasta, grizzly bear shamans were overwhelmingly male (Dixon 1907:471, 486; Kroeber 1925:303).

With their acquired spiritual power, it was recognized that grizzly bear shamans also possessed the ability to transform themselves into bears. Apparently, however, this was not done often, nor with the intent to do harm. Instead, transformation was effected simply to aid grizzly bear shamans in their pursuits. Transformation might be employed, for example, in order to travel from one place to another quickly, or to "dig into a ground squirrel's burrow" (Garth 1953:191). One such instance of transformation was reported by an Atsugewi informant. Thus,

a Dixie Valley doctor was coming back from Hat Creek in the evening. He was tired and wanted to get home quickly, so he put his quiver down and it became a cub. He changed himself into a bear and came back to the village. He arrived at camp just before sunset, changed himself back into a man, and put his quiver back (Garth 1953:191).

The same informant noted that when this grizzly bear shaman sang at night in the sweat-house he became a bear, "and dug down with his paws to make a big hole to sing out of" (Garth 1953:191). Upon resuming human form, "one could see a heavy growth of hair about his face if the transformation was not quite completed" (Garth 1953:191).

Shastan grizzly bear shamans were reportedly capable of transforming more than simply themselves into grizzly bears, however. They were also acknowledged as possessing the capacity to transform objects, such as logs, into grizzly

bears. This, in fact, was the means by which these grizzly bear persons sought to harm their enemies when such occasions were warranted. They did not physically kill others themselves, nor did they "shoot pains" into their victims, as was done by other Shastan shamans (Garth 1953:191). Instead, the objects which they transformed into grizzly bears acted on their behalf.

Such behaviours and abilities clearly differentiated Shastan grizzly bear shamans not only from other Shastan shamans, but also from grizzly bear shamans reported among other societies in the California culture area. Although distinct in many ways, however, Shastan grizzly bear shamans were no less impressive to their communities than their North-Central counterparts. Each elicited intrigue, respect, and fear from all those whom they encountered.

Athapascan subarea

Because the northernmost Athapascan California cultures (Chilula, Whilkut, Nongatl, and Mattole) were heavily influenced by neighbouring Northwest California societies, the concept of "pains" also predominated their respective spiritual worlds. Unlike Shastan cultures, however, the competing concept of spirit-helpers was not developed here. Consequently, these Athapascan societies did not recognize the possibility of associations with grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Similarly, because "pains" prevailed here, grizzly bear persons (i.e., individuals who associated themselves with grizzly bear

spiritual power) were also necessarily nonexistent (Loeb 1932:84; Elsasser 1978:198).

The more southerly Athapascan California cultures (Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki, and Kato), however, were more influenced by, and incorporated, cultural concepts characteristic of adjacent societies to the south (e.g, Yuki and Pomo). Kroeber (1925:5), in fact, has noted that as one moves south through Athapascan societies, "the diminution of the northwestern [California] cultural forces can be traced step by step through the Sinkyone and Lassik until the last diluted remnants are encountered among the Wailaki". The southernmost Athapascan culture, the Kato, mirrored almost completely the material culture of neighbouring North-Central California societies (Kroeber 1925:5).

That one more closely approached North-Central California material culture as one moved south through Athapascan societies was borne out with the phenomenon of grizzly bear persons. While the northerly Athapascans reported no incidence of grizzly bear persons among them, two distinct types of grizzly bear persons existed among the southerly Athapascans. Each type reflected elements of North-Central cultures which were assimilated by these Athapascan societies.

The Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki, and Kato all reported grizzly bear persons similar in character to those described among the Pomo (Driver 1939:364; Elsasser 1978:198; Loeb 1932:40, 82). That is, each Athapascan culture acknowledged grizzly bear persons who disguised themselves in bearskins, and

attempted to murder other individuals. One significant difference among the Athapascans, however, was that in each case grizzly bear persons were said to have killed only enemies of their communities (Curtis 1922, 14:7; Loeb 1932:41). As a result, these grizzly bear persons were not despised and condemned as anti-social marauders, but instead were held in high repute by others (Loeb 1932:41). The influence of North-Central (particularly Pomo) material culture is evident, though, in the acknowledged manner in which grizzly bear spiritual power was procured. Thus, although Athapascan cultures did not recognize the existence of "outfit doctors" among them, grizzly bear persons were reported to have received their spiritual power from the bearskin costumes which they wore rather than grizzly bear spirit-helpers. As among the Pomo, the costumes themselves were recognized as the ultimate sources of grizzly bear spiritual power (Loeb 1932:41). Abilities reportedly imparted by the costumes included both invulnerability and the capacity for rapid travel (Loeb 1932:40).

Bearskin costumes typical of Kato grizzly bear persons (the Athapascan culture where influence from North-Central California was strongest, and where such grizzly bear persons were most evident) have been described by Loeb (1932:40-41). Thus,

a yew stick was used for the backbone, and the ribs were fashioned from wild plum berry sticks. The skin was sewed up at the belly. The tongue of the bear was made of abalone shell. A string was attached to the tongue in order to make it movable. One nostril was

kept clear, and one filled with pitch. When the bear doctor became angry he made a grunting sound through the open nostril. The feet of the bear were made of sticks woven together so that their imprint left bear tracks.

Because personal relationships with spirit-helpers were not procured by these grizzly bear persons, acquisition and instruction as to the proper uses of the bearskin costumes (and concomitantly, grizzly bear spiritual power) was handed down from elder grizzly bear persons (Loeb 1932:40).

When not in use, the costumes were typically concealed from others of the community (e.g., hung in a tree outside the village). So potent was the spiritual power inherent in the costumes, however, that the costumes did occasionally become visible to others. One Kato informant, for example, noted that "while the skin was hanging on the tree it kept making noises, sometimes imitating the cry of a baby, and again the hoot of an owl" (Loeb 1932:41). In recognition of the power commanded by the costumes, Kato grizzly bear persons (like the Pomo) enacted a number of preparatory rituals, such as rubbing themselves with pepperwood and bay leaves, before donning the paraphernalia.

The killing of enemies commonly reported of these grizzly bear persons was most often carried out in connection with warfare. Although the southern Athapascans were not particularly warlike cultures, such activities were not unknown to them (Essene 1942:68; Elsasser 1978:198). Prior to embarking on war expeditions, ceremonial dances ("dances of incitement") were held by each society (Elsasser 1978:198).

These dances, attended by all members of the community, typically featured performances by grizzly bear persons. Among the Kato,

one or two doctors first pranced around in their bearskins. They waved their legs in the air, and grunted like bears. Then one of the pair rushed out [of the brush dance house] and obtained a huge log which he brought back under one of his arms. He allowed this to fall upon the floor of the dance house, where he pounced upon it as if it were an enemy. Finally, the "bears" went outside, deposited their skins, and came back to join the general dance (Loeb 1932:41).

War parties (consisting of "six or seven warriors") which subsequently set out were led by the two performing grizzly bear persons.¹⁵ Typical war expeditions among the Kato were reported to have lasted up to two to three months (Loeb 1932:41).

The means by which Kato grizzly bear persons killed their opponents has been recorded by Loeb (1932:41). As described by him,

they had sharp pieces of flint sticking out both sides from their elbows and noses. When they forced a man down they kept him pinned with their forefeet and ground him to pieces, grunting the while.

Similar grizzly bear persons were reported among the Wailaki, Lassik, and Sinkyone (Loeb 1932:84; Elsasser 1978:198). Among the Wailaki, for example, Loeb (1932:84) noted that,

the uncle of my informant was reputed to have gone on the warpath attired in a bear skin. He kept his disguise in a special building; when he wished to

¹⁵ Kato grizzly bear persons were acknowledged to have frequently worked in pairs (Loeb 1932: 41).

kill some of the enemy he went to this building, put on the skin, and sullied forth. Hidden outside the skin was a long knife [usually obsidian¹⁶]. My informant's uncle often boasted about the number of men he had killed from ambush. The Wailaki called him a *keneste.sus*, man bear.

Although these grizzly bear persons were often referred to as "bear doctors", they do not appear to have functioned as shamans among Athapascan societies (Elsasser 1978:198). Healing abilities, for example, were not exhibited. Their sole public capacity, in fact, seems to have been the display of their powers in connection with warfare, and other war-related activities.

The Lassik and Wailaki, however, reported the existence of additional grizzly bear persons among them who were indeed recognized as shamans (Elsasser 1978:198). Undoubtedly assimilated from the Yuki (with whom both cultures shared a territorial boundary), these shamanic grizzly bear persons were reported to have received their power from grizzly bear spirit-helpers, and were capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears. As explained by Loeb (1932:85), "the second type of bear doctor really upheld the name of 'doctor', for certain sucking doctors received their visions from grizzly bears, and were capable of turning into bears". Among the Wailaki, it was noted,

the aunt of Mary Major was a bear sucking doctor. She owned no bearskin, but when possessed by her guardian spirit she turned into a grizzly bear. In this form she could not refrain from wandering about biting people.... Once all the people were seated

¹⁶ See Essene (1942:42).

around the fire. Suddenly the aunt became possessed by the bear spirit. She put her hands into the fire, grunted like a bear, and threw the coals around. Then she ran off into the woods where she doctored herself and finally came back cured and singing (Loeb 1932:85).

The fact that "she could not refrain from biting people" is indicative that such grizzly bear persons were met with apprehension by other members of the community. Inherent maliciousness, however, was not an acknowledged attribute of Lassik and Wailaki grizzly bear shamans. Intent to do physical harm was not reported. Instead, it appears that the intrinsically violent nature of grizzly bears (and grizzly bear spiritual power) was the accepted source of these individuals' behaviours. Grizzly bear spiritual power simply overwhelmed the transformed grizzly bear shamans, and precipitated the enraged attacks.

Lassik and Wailaki societies were the only ones in the California culture area to infer that physical transformation resulted from suddenly being "possessed" by a grizzly bear spirit-helper. Elsewhere, it was acknowledged that the intent and will of the grizzly bear person played a significant role in the transformation experience. Loeb (1932:85) has asserted that this seemingly involuntary transformation into a grizzly bear among the Lassik and Wailaki constituted "true inspirational shamanism" of the possessional type. Comparing Lassik and Wailaki reports to the Kwakiutl, where secret society initiates underwent transformation through possession by the wolf spirit, Loeb ultimately concluded that "bear

shamanism in California must be regarded as a trait diffused from the Pacific Northwest Coast" (Loeb 1932:85). More recently, this position was re-stated by Elsasser (1978:198). But that the Lassik and Wailaki were the only Athapascan societies to have retained such cultural ties to Northwest Coast societies cannot be substantiated, and is highly unlikely. Even more improbable is that the Lassik and Wailaki were the harbingers of grizzly bear shamans in the California culture area. A more moderate and probable hypothesis is that incorporation of a Yuki concept into the Athapascan linguistic structural mold produced the resultant possession-like behaviour acknowledged among Lassik and Wailaki grizzly bear shamans. Concepts of transformational grizzly bear persons most presumably diffused from the Yuki, where they were assimilated by Lassik and Wailaki societies in such a manner as to give rise to grizzly bear shamans whose existences were consistent with the developed world-views of these Athapascan cultures.

The Kato were the only Athapascan culture to incorporate the Kuksu Cult among them (Bean and Vane 1978:665). Although their particular ceremonial cycle has never been completely delineated, it would seem appropriate to assume (given previous information pertaining both to the general existence of Kato grizzly bear persons, and to the Kuksu Cult ceremonial cycle as expressed among other California cultures) that the Kato Kuksu Cult also exhibited a distinct grizzly bear person who, dressed

in a bearskin costume, performed as a dancer at specific Kuku Cult ceremonies.

South-Central subarea

Grizzly bear persons reported among South-Central California cultures displayed many of the same general characteristics as those of North-Central societies. The Miwok, for example, held beliefs very similar to those described among North-Central California cultures. Miwok societies acknowledged the existence of both grizzly bear persons who wore bearskin costumes and those capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears (Barrett 1917:464). As with the pattern displayed particularly by Penutian cultures of the North-Central subarea, the Miwok (who were themselves of Penutian linguistic stock) reported that both of these types of grizzly bear persons obtained their spiritual power directly from grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Of note, then, is the fact that Miwok grizzly bear persons who wore bearskin costumes did not procure spiritual power from the costumes themselves. Grizzly bear "outfit doctors", as reported among Pomo and southern Athapascan societies were unknown to the Miwok. Functionally, however, Miwok bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons were identical to their Pomo counterparts. Not recognized as shamans, these grizzly bear persons, while disguised in their costumes, were reported to have indiscriminately murdered anyone whom they encountered, including members of their own communities. Most typically,

knives or daggers were used against their victims in such ways as to simulate bear attacks. Extraordinary powers, such as invulnerability and rapid travel, were also attributed to these grizzly bear persons (Callaghan 1978:269).

Although information is sporadic regarding Miwok reports of grizzly bear persons capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears, it is clear that such individuals were considered shamans among the Miwok. Barrett (1917:464), for example, has noted that "except for his power of transformation and the character of the guardian, the Miwok bear doctor does not essentially differ from an ordinary shaman". Most notably, Miwok grizzly bear shamans cured persons with large open wounds, such as victims of bear attacks. Upon summoning their grizzly bear spirit-helpers, and transforming themselves into grizzly bears, these shamans located "disease objects" (e.g., bear tongues, bear teeth) within the bodies of their patients, and removed them through sucking (Levy 1978b:412).

Yokuts grizzly bear persons were more ambiguous in function than their Miwok counterparts. Although recognized as capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears, Yokuts grizzly bear persons were not considered shamans. But neither were they regarded as vindictive, marauding individuals, as was commonly reported for non-shaman (and non-Kuksu Cult) grizzly bear persons. The specific social functions served by Yokuts grizzly bear persons, in fact, seem to have been nonexistent other than, as described by Kroeber (1925:516), "exhibitors of their acquired powers". Most frequently, Yokuts grizzly bear

persons were reported simply to have showcased their unique abilities (e.g., transformation) during ceremonial dances and other public gatherings. Such demonstrations of spiritual power, however, appear not to have been associated with any particular society or cultural function. Instead, they seem merely to have been performed as demonstrations in-themselves, for the personal enjoyment of the grizzly bear persons and their audiences.

Examples of such performing grizzly bear persons exist throughout Yokuts societies. Gayton (1948a:36) noted that the Tachi Yokuts "possessed one class of shamans, the Bear doctors, who were merely dancers and transformers". A Dumma Yokuts informant reported that "bear shamans were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and to intimidate others" (Gayton 1948b:157). Similarly, the Kechayi Yokuts reported a man "who liked to make spectacular use of the power he got from Bear as a helper" (Applegate 1978:69).

Anecdotes of Yokuts grizzly bear persons substantiate these descriptions. The Dumma informant, for example, noted that his brother, Te'wus, was one such grizzly bear person, who "danced any time for show and to get money". The two men "would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when we reached a big log, Te'wus would turn himself into a bear" and mischievously frighten the informant (Gayton 1948b:157).

Of the grizzly bear person reported among the Kechayi it was reported,

once he had been drinking quite a bit and thought it would be funny to scare some families who were camping by the river. He ran up and danced like a bear. He ran from camp to camp, jumping into the fire at each one. He grabbed handfuls of coals and scattered them about. Fire spouted from his mouth. The people all broke camp and ran away (Applegate 1978:69).

Curiously, fire-handling was a common theme among Yokuts grizzly bear persons. The Dumma informant cited above also noted this ability, stating that "at the display dances which Te'wus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned" (Gayton 1948b:157).

Rapport with live grizzly bears was an additional attribute commonly reported of Yokuts grizzly bear persons. Among the Chukchansi Yokuts, for example, it was noted that "there were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears" (Gayton 1948b:209). Similarly, Tachi informants recalled a grizzly bear person named Piwa'sa (a name which referred to his "bear character") who,

had bear's hair on his chest. When the blackberries were ripe he would turn into a bear and go to play with real bears. He would say, "I am going out to be Bear". When he was a little boy he dreamed of Bear. Bear became his dream helper (Gayton 1948a:36).

Likewise, when the Dumma grizzly bear person Te'wus performed, it was acknowledged that "sometimes one or two bears appeared with him" (Gayton 1948b:157).

Such amity with grizzly bears reached its pinnacle among the Chukchansi, where grizzly bears were reportedly summoned in order to injure other individuals. Thus,

there was a man who would call a bear to come and visit him, and sometimes he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman

whom he disliked. People knew it was his bear (Gayton 1948b:209).

This, however, was the only acknowledged instance among the Yokuts where grizzly bear persons were linked to violent or extreme anti-social behaviour. Most Yokuts grizzly bear persons, though mischievous, appear to have functioned within the accepted social confines of their communities, and were not condemned for their behaviours.

Although healing capabilities were not part of Yokuts grizzly bear persons' repertoires, the grizzly bears with whom they cavorted are reported to have displayed curative powers. The Dumma informant of above noted that,

once when Te'wus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and cure him. Te'wus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well because of those bears (Gayton 1948b:157).

Similarly, when a Kechayi grizzly bear person prepared for a dance display, it was said,

Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night (Gayton 1948b:172).

A detailed description of a typical public dance performed by these grizzly bear persons has been furnished by the Kechayi. In this example, two grizzly bear persons performed,¹⁷ where each,

¹⁷ Although working in pairs was not uncommon, these grizzly bear persons more frequently seem to have performed individually.

wore bear paws on their chests. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip to look like Bear, and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance", with a short jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they danced into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced (Gayton 1948b:173).

It may be noted that this dance was similar in form to another "bear dance" recognized among the Yokuts, performed in connection with the annual harvesting of acorns by these societies.¹⁸ It is clear, however, that the grizzly bear persons described above were of a decidedly different character than those who performed at annual ceremonial dances in association with acorn harvests.¹⁹ A number of Yokuts informants have noted that the two types of performers were indeed distinct personages (Gayton 1948b:157, 172, 248), and observation of the characteristics displayed by each of the

¹⁸ Throughout Yokuts culture (as well as the California culture area in general) acorns constituted the bulk of the people's diets (Baumhoff 1978:16). Acorns were the most important food resource to these societies.

¹⁹ It is not entirely evident, in fact, whether the dancers associated with acorn harvests represented grizzly bears or black bears. Ethnographic references to these persons designated them only as "bear dancers", and their performances as "the Bear Dance" (e.g., Gayton 1948b:248). That some Yokuts informants intimated an affiliation between the annual "Bear Dance" and the existences of "Bear lineages" among the Yokuts (e.g., Gayton 1948a:120-121), however, makes it probable that the dancers represented black bears. Such a conclusion, though, has not yet been unequivocally established. As such, the behaviours and functions of "bear dancers" associated with the annual acorn harvest will be briefly described here.

bear persons substantiates their statements.²⁰ Unlike the grizzly bear persons described above, those dancers who performed at annual acorn harvests were not endowed with supernatural abilities (e.g., invulnerability, rapid travel), nor were they capable of physical transformation into bears (Kroeber 1925:516; Gayton 1948b:172). They danced only in representation of bears, and only during the annual acorn festivals.

Bordering Yokuts societies to the east were the Monache, a culture which shared many traits in common with the Yokuts (Spier 1978:427). Reports of the existence of grizzly bear persons were no exception. Monache grizzly bear persons exhibited many of the same characteristics acknowledged by Yokuts societies. Monache grizzly bear persons received their power from grizzly bear spirit-helpers; they were capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears; they maintained relationships with live grizzly bears; and they displayed their powers in a mischievous manner. Monache grizzly bear persons,

²⁰ The annual dance (held in Autumn) was performed by three male dancers. The underlying purpose of the ceremony was to petition bears not to attack people of the village when they set out to harvest the acorn crop. Although the specific costumes worn by the dancers varied from society to society, all dressed in representation of bears. Among other paraphernalia, they most typically wore bearskins draped over their shoulders, bear claw necklaces, and bear paws over their hands. The dance itself was short in duration. The dancers stood in line facing the audience, and jumped forward three times, then backward to their original positions. These movements were repeated three times, accompanied by the dancers growling in imitation of bears. Upon completion of the dance, the community paid the dancers, and a feast followed (Gayton 1948a:120-121).

however, were more feared and dangerous than their Yokuts counterparts. Although not the marauding, vengeful individuals typical of North-Central cultures, they definitely displayed more brutality than Yokuts grizzly bear persons, and were not tolerated by their communities to the same degree (Gayton 1948b:284; Spier 1978:434). In this regard, Monache grizzly bear persons were most analogous to those reported by the Chukchansi Yokuts (a society with whom the Monache shared a territorial boundary). As among the Chukchansi, Monache grizzly bear persons reportedly did not kill other individuals themselves, but instead sent grizzly bears to accomplish their deeds for them.²¹

Similar to the general pattern noted for Yokuts grizzly bear persons, Monache grizzly bear persons most often enacted transformation or cavorted with live grizzly bears for no reason other than personal indulgence. One Monache informant, for example, noted that grizzly bear persons transformed themselves into grizzly bears "just because Bear was their *mapuk* [spirit-helper]" (Gayton 1948b:284). The following anecdote further illustrates the extent of such behaviours. A noted grizzly bear person,

was going on a trip and the [two] wives wanted to go with him. They all went along together. Then the man told the women to go more slowly as he was going ahead. His wives agreed and sat down on a rock to rest. In the meantime the man went on ahead and

²¹ Similar to Northeast California Shastan cultures, Monache societies reported that grizzly bear persons commonly changed logs into grizzly bears, and subsequently dispatched these beings to harm their enemies (Gayton 1948b:284).

turned himself into a bear. He dug a large hole beside the trail and got into it. The women soon came along the trail. They looked at the bear's hole awhile and then went on. The bear then got out and transformed himself into a man. he ran on and caught up with his wives. They told him about the bear they had seen (Gayton and Newman 1940:38).

Frequently, transformation into grizzly bears served no observable purpose other than sheer mischievous pleasure.

Unlike Yokuts grizzly bear persons, however, Monache grizzly bear persons did occasionally serve consequential functions within their communities. Although not recognized as full-fledged shamans, they were acknowledged as having acquired minor curing abilities, which were typically practiced only within the family circle. As explained by one Monache individual, grizzly bear persons "could cure if a man was just sick in the body but not from intrusion". Clearly, these grizzly bear persons were not the powerful healing specialists noted among other California cultures. Instead, they provided preliminary care for general malaise; they attempted elementary cures before accomplished shamans were summoned (Gayton 1948b:277). With respect to their healing procedures, it was noted,

when he [the grizzly bear person] wanted to help somebody, he had a soaproot brush. When he was dreaming of Bear he got this as a talisman. Then he would lie down beside the sick person and talk to Bear. Then he scratched the patient's back with long strokes of the brush (Gayton 1948b:277).

By all accounts, however, curing illness was not a highly developed practice among Monache grizzly bear persons.

The Tübatulabal (linguistic relatives of the Monache, and territorial neighbours to the south) expressed similar beliefs regarding grizzly bear persons, although the general concept of grizzly bear spiritual power was only weakly developed among this culture. As among the Monache, Tübatulabal grizzly bear persons were considered minor family curers, who "never sucked out disease" (Voegelin 1938:65). Unlike the Monache, however, these activities appear to have been the extent of public behaviours exhibited by Tübatulabal grizzly bear persons. Voegelin (1938:65), for example, noted that "all informants agreed persons who obtained power from bear never dressed like bears nor changed into bears". Instead, these individuals were known primarily by the songs and talismans they acquired as a result of procuring relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Thus, one Tübatulabal informant reported that "if man took jimsonweed he might obtain bear as guardian animal, receive song, amulet, such as bear claw, from bear" (Voegelin, 1938:65). Another informant recalled a grizzly bear person who "took jimsonweed, obtained bear song, which he sang at night in sweat house" (Voegelin 1938:65). Over and above minor curing, this was the sole noted activity of Tübatulabal grizzly bear persons. They were clearly not as flamboyant in either function or behaviour as grizzly bear persons reported by other California cultures. Grizzly bear spiritual power, in fact, appears to have been regarded as a minor presence by the Tübatulabal, and grizzly bear persons themselves were simply not influential characters.

Secret societies associated with the Kuksu Cult existed sporadically throughout the South-Central subarea. More specifically, the Kuksu Cult was assimilated into the cultural world-views of Coast, Lake, and Plains Miwok, as well as the northernmost Yokuts societies (Bean and Vane 1978:665; Kroeber 1925:450), although in none of these groups was the Kuksu Cult as complex or as elaborate as among the more northerly subareas. As elsewhere in the California culture area, however, each of these South-Central societies acknowledged ceremonies associated with grizzly bears among their respective Kuksu Cult ceremonial cycles. In every case, the performers of such ceremonies were dancers who impersonated grizzly bears. As elsewhere, these grizzly bear persons were clearly distinct in both form and function from the curing, marauding, and transformation types of grizzly bear persons which also existed among these societies. Information regarding South-Central Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons, however, is scant beyond mere acknowledgement of their existences. Kroeber (1925:450), for example, has simply noted that among the Miwok Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons "imitated the animal in dancing", and "carried curved pieces of obsidian attached to his fingers in place of the bear's claws". Additional information is entirely lacking, and no detailed facts are known for the Yokuts other than these grizzly bear persons' existences (Kroeber 1925:450). Indeed, the general pattern of the presence of the Kuksu Cult among these cultures is sketchy at best (Wallace 1978:468). As such, the specific traits, behaviours, and ceremonial functions

of these South-Central grizzly bear persons can only be inferred from Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons and ceremonial cycles of other California cultures.²²

Central Coast subarea

Knowledge of aboriginal Costanoan, Esselen, and Salinan material culture is scant as a result of the eighteenth century missionization of these peoples. Information concerning grizzly bear persons is likewise meagre. It is known, however, that grizzly bear persons existed among these cultures (Harrington 1942:39; Mason 1912:84), and in each case, they seem to have been the vengeful, marauding type of individuals commonly described among other California cultures. Among the Costanoan, for example, it was reported that,

witchcraft was largely the province of grizzly bear doctors. Rumsen grizzly bear doctors wore bear skins and had bear teeth and claws filled with poison with which they killed their victims. The Chochenyo believed that bear doctors killed their own mothers, fathers, siblings. They were rarely pardoned when discovered and were killed by shooting arrows (Levy 1978a:489-490).

That North-Central societies (most notably, Hill Patwin) influenced the Costanoan is an accepted circumstance among ethnographers (e.g., Kroeber 1925:462). It is from these societies, then, that further information may be sought to help

²² Patwin societies are the most likely candidates for models of both Miwok and Yokuts Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons, since the Patwin shared both linguistic and territorial affiliations with the groups in question. Of equal importance, Patwin societies were the most culturally analogous north-central societies with respect to the expressed material culture of both the Miwok and northernmost Yokuts (Jorgensen 1980:89).

augment the known characteristics of Costanoan grizzly bear persons. For example, as described among the Hill Patwin, bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons, over and above displaying unbridled maliciousness, were said to have had the capacities of both superhuman strength and rapid travel. Such abilities would presumably have also been attributed to Costanoan grizzly bear persons.

Further south, the Salinan were influenced more by neighbouring Yokuts societies (Hester 1978:500). With respect to grizzly bear persons, this cultural fact manifest itself in beliefs that grizzly bear persons did not wear bearskins, but instead had the capacity to transform themselves into grizzly bears before embarking on their marauding expeditions (Harrington 1942:39).

Neither the Costanoan nor the Salinan considered their grizzly bear persons to be shamans. Each of these cultures, however, did acknowledge that grizzly bear persons received power from grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Correspondingly, the grizzly bear persons for each of these cultures were reportedly endowed with extraordinary abilities which gave them the capacity, among other traits, to be invulnerable to attack (Harrington 1942:39).

Although no definitive information exists for the Esselen (who resided geographically and culturally between the Costanoan and Salinan), it seems appropriate to assume that they too recognized the existence of grizzly bear persons among them. Because the Esselen shared more cultural traits with the

Costanoan than the Salinan (Hester 1978:497), it is also logical to assume that Esselen grizzly bear persons more closely resembled those of the Costanoan. It is probable, then, that Esselen grizzly bear persons, among other attributes, received spiritual power from grizzly bear spirit-helpers, dressed in bearskin costumes, and frequently displayed anti-social or violent behaviours toward others in their communities.

Southern California Culture Area

Coast subarea

In many respects, the general characteristics of Coast Southern California grizzly bear persons were analogous to those previously described for California societies. Both the Chumash and Gabrielino, however, recognized specific traits within their reported grizzly bear persons which were peculiar only to themselves.

Among the Chumash, grizzly bear persons were clearly of two distinct types, differentiated by the mode in which they became grizzly bears. Chumash societies recognized the presence of both those capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears and those who wore bearskins. Not surprisingly, grizzly bear persons capable of physical transformation exhibited many of the same characteristics as those reported among the Yokuts, with whom the Chumash shared a territorial boundary and interacted frequently (Kroeber 1925:561; Grant 1978a:517; Grant 1978b:532). Most notably, transformational

grizzly bear persons appear to have performed no discernible function within their communities. They were not, for example, recognized as shamans, and although they occasionally performed public dances, these exhibitions apparently served no purpose over and above the displays themselves (Blackburn 1975:262).²³ Although they were also said to have frequently frightened or intimidated others while transformed, it was commonly accepted that they never physically harmed others (Blackburn 1975:260, 265). They were not considered violent, nor were they the vengeful, marauding grizzly bear persons common to other cultures. Instead, the power they received from grizzly bear spirit-helpers appears to have been employed solely for purposes of personal satisfaction and accomplishment. Beyond the capacity to transform themselves into grizzly bears, a number of extraordinary abilities were attributed to Chumash grizzly bear persons. Most typical among these were rapid travel and fire-handling skills (Harrington 1942:39; Blackburn 1975:262). That fire-handling was a reported ability of Chumash grizzly bear persons further highlights the

²³ Like the Yokuts, Chumash societies were reported to have held annual "Bear Dances" among them (Hudson and Underhay 1978:14). Although detailed descriptions of the ceremonies have not been recorded, information provided by Hudson and Blackburn (1981:143) suggests that the dances were similar in purpose and content to those reported among southern Yokuts societies. If this was indeed the case, the dancers associated with Chumash Bear Dances would not have been the same grizzly bear persons who publicly displayed transformation abilities. Neither would they have been the bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons known among Chumash societies. Instead, they were most assuredly dancers who performed only at these public gatherings, and represented black bears rather than grizzly bears.

similarities of these individuals with those acknowledged among the Yokuts. Clearly, the development of virtually identical grizzly bear persons in each culture (who displayed individual traits which were disparate from grizzly bear persons of other cultures) resulted from the profound interaction of these two cultures.²⁴

One reported characteristic of Chumash grizzly bear persons which was exceptional to these societies, however, involved a unique interpretation of invulnerability. While many Pacific Slope cultures noted that grizzly bear persons were impervious to attack, this characteristic was uniquely extrapolated upon by the Chumash. They considered these grizzly bear persons not only to be invulnerable, but also to be immortal (Blackburn 1975:260-261). In old age, grizzly bear persons did not die, but instead became permanently transformed into grizzly bears. As recounted by one Chumash informant,

Wiyaxamsu told his wife, "I'm going to go now. I can remain here no longer. But I'm not going to die. Take care. They can bury me now, and tomorrow they will see my tracks". It was true. He died and they buried him, and the next day his wife and another woman went to the grave and found huge bear tracks on top of it. Now when Wiyaxamsu was a man he burned his feet badly,

²⁴ Whether concepts regarding these grizzly bear persons diffused from one culture to another, however, is uncertain. If North-Central California societies are accepted as the progenitors of grizzly bear persons as known in these regions (an as yet unproven hypothesis), then original diffusion probably occurred from the Yokuts to the Chumash. However, given the strength of cultural expression among both the Yokuts and Chumash, it is more likely that an exchange of ideas ultimately occurred here. That is, it is more probable that similar grizzly bear persons became acknowledged by the two cultures as a result of an amalgamation of concepts introduced by each culture.

leaving only claws -- and the tracks on the grave showed only claws (Blackburn 1975:264).

Similarly, another informant reported,

Silinaxuwit was an *?al?latiswinic* [grizzly bear person] but he was harmless. Now Silinaxuwit was a great talker and prankster. But he suddenly became very quiet and sad, and everyone wondered what was the matter with him. José Ignacio finally asked him, "What's wrong?" Whereupon Silinaxuwit answered, "The time has come for me to go to the bears". They saw him climb the hill and disappear into the mountains. In a little while they followed him, and his tracks became the tracks of a bear. "Then it is true that he is now a bear", they said. He never returned. He was staying with his kinsmen (Blackburn 1975:265).

Distinct in quality from transformational grizzly bear persons were those who disguised themselves in bearskins. As a rule, they were more violent, and also more inclined to intentionally intimidate others than the transformational grizzly bear persons (Voegelin 1938:65; Blackburn 1975:261, 264). They were not considered shamans, but neither did they entertain the public with demonstrations of their spiritual powers. As a result of being genuinely more anti-social (and violent), grizzly bear persons who disguised themselves in bearskins were more commonly met with suspicion among the Chumash.

Although the genre of bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons was certainly not exclusive to the Chumash, these particular individuals possessed a feature not acknowledged among other cultures. More than one Chumash informant reported that these grizzly bear persons encased themselves not simply in bearskin outfits, but more appropriately, in bearskin "machines". As noted by one informant,

if a man wants to be a bear shaman he kills a bear and pulls the skin off over the head in one piece, cutting the paws and the skin from the head carefully, and fills it with grass to dry to preserve its shape. Then they make a fine-meshed net of amole fiber and make a kind of shirt to protect the wearer of the bearskin in case of attack by arrows. There were three cords inside the skin with loops for each of three fingers. The index finger makes the bear walk, the middle finger makes it run, and the ring finger makes it turn. The index and middle fingers together cause the bear to go very swiftly. The three cords are managed with the left hand and the right hand is then free for dealing blows (Blackburn 1975:258).

The invocation of supernatural forces allowed these grizzly bear persons to travel rapidly in the outfits, and otherwise handle them effectively. Such powers, however, were not procured directly from grizzly bear spirit-helpers, nor did they emanate from the costumes themselves, as among the Pomo. Instead, the extraordinary powers displayed by these grizzly bear persons were said to have resulted from special substances which they employed. One Chumash informant, for example, noted that certain herbs were used, although he was unsure of the particular variety (Blackburn 1975:258). A Tübatulabal informant, however, reported that,

to make machine run, Chumash used white powder (*ayi·p*) which they obtained in Tübatulabal territory... They came over here [to Tübatulabal territory] and got white stuff that looks like flour, from a place ten miles above Bull Run creek. An old man put the white powder in his mouth and sprayed it out over the bear, talking to the bear all the time. That bear hide was standing up, like a real bear... They always came up for that *ayi·p*, that white stuff to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; ten of them (Voegelin 1938:65).

Although not explicitly stated by the informant, Voegelin (1938:65) hypothesized that the white powder was alum.

All informants were in agreement that without the ability to skillfully employ special substances (and powers) associated with the grizzly bear outfits, the machines could not be properly handled. Thus, "if you don't know how to use them you are likely to go over a precipice" (Blackburn 1975:259). An anecdote supplied by Voegelin's informant substantiates this:

one old man took his grandson, who was about 17 years old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear, and was telling the boy how to handle the reins... The boy got inside the bear and sat down; that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened (Voegelin 1938:65).

Another informant reported that, "Ustaquio found one of these bearskins on top of sisa mountain, and before he knew it he went to Nordhoff and to the ridge by Kaspatqaxwa where he bumped against the hill and stopped" (Blackburn 1975:259).

Grizzly bear persons themselves, who were capable of efficiently handling the machines, most often employed them to assault others, or to travel quickly from one location to another. As Voegelin's informant explained,

somebody would go over and tell the man who had the bearskin to tell the bear to kill a certain person. Then the owner of the bearskin would talk to it; the bear had sharp black obsidian knives at his elbows and would grab a man, slash him and kill him (Voegelin 1938:65).

Frightening women who were away from their villages gathering seeds was reportedly another common activity of these individuals (Blackburn 1975:261). If thwarted, however, the

grizzly bear persons were well-prepared, as illustrated by the following tale:

once at Mistayit an old woman and two girls were out gathering barburis. The old woman was a sorceress. A bear (who was really a man) jumped out of some bushes. She spoke to the bear and said, "What do you want? Get out of here!". The bear tried to get at the girls. The old woman took her walking stick and pointed it at the sun. Then she thrust it into the bear and burst his skin, and there was a man inside. He had a lot of abalorio inside of the skin. Such men always carry abalorio when they turn into a bear so they can pay people not to betray them in case they get into trouble. The old woman did not take the abalorio but made the bear-man promise never to scare any woman again (Blackburn 1975:264-265).

Clearly, except for the trait of owning a bearskin machine rather than a straightforward bearskin outfit, these Chumash grizzly bear persons very much resembled the marauders commonly described among California cultures.

Bordering the Chumash to the south, Gabrielino societies did not report bearskin-wearing grizzly bear persons among them. Instead, they acknowledged only transformational grizzly bear persons (Harrington 1942:39). Behaviourally, Gabrielino grizzly bear persons were almost identical to those described above for the Chumash. That is, they were not recognized as shamans, they occasionally performed public demonstrations of their transformation abilities, they were imbued with a number of supernatural powers, such as rapid travel (although fire-handling capabilities were not specifically mentioned), they did not physically harm others, and they became permanently transformed into grizzly bears at the end of their human lives (Harrington 1942:39).

Interior subarea

With the exception of the Kitanemuk, grizzly bear persons reported among Interior cultures displayed uniform traits and behaviours. Amongst Serrano, Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Luiseño societies, persons who had grizzly bears as spirit-helpers (obtained through visions) were believed capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears. Interior Southern California grizzly bear persons, however, were not the benign transformational type which existed immediately to the north and west of this subarea (i.e., among the Yokuts, Chumash, and Gabrielino). Indeed, not only did Interior cultures recognize grizzly bear persons as shamans who had the ability to cure illness (Drucker 1937a:42), they also considered them among the most spiritually powerful shamans which existed in their communities. Among the Cahuilla, for example, it was noted,

some *puvulum* [shamans] transformed themselves into animals, such as bear, coyote or mountain lion. These individuals were in a special category, *pa[?]vu[?]ul*.... The *pa[?]vu[?]ul* could kill a man instantly by supernatural means. He knew more complex and difficult cures than others, and possessed the ability to cure disease that the ordinary *puvulum* could not cure (Bean 1972:115).

As noted in the above quotation, Interior grizzly bear persons not only cured, but also had the capacity to cause grave physical harm to others (Strong 1929:169; Gifford and Block 1930:68). Consequently, although renowned among Interior societies, grizzly bear shamans were also feared.

One such grizzly bear person was known to the Cahuilla as late as 1920 (Gifford 1918:209-210; Hooper 1920:337; Benedict 1924:385). Juan de la Cruz Norte, approximately forty-five years of age at that time, resided in Banning, and his extraordinary abilities and behaviours were well-known to the surrounding Interior communities. As Gifford (1918: 209) described him, "Juan is club-footed and of heavy build. It would not take a very vivid imagination to see the likeness of a bear in him". Tales of the transformation skills of this grizzly bear person were widespread. For example,

a couple of years ago Juan appeared as a bear to two girls, who often joked about his clubfeet and bear-like appearance. On this occasion Juan came by on horseback and saw the two girls sitting in a house with the door open. He rode up to the house, dismounted and stood in the doorway. He reminded the girls that they had twitted him about his feet and bear-like appearance and that he was really going to become a bear. The girls were very much frightened. He started to sing, raising and lowering his arms at the same time. His arms were flexed as he raised and lowered them from the shoulders. The terrified girls saw the hair appear on his body and saw the claws grow on his hands. His horse, which he held by the reins, snorted in terror, jerked on the reins, and finally pulled Juan out of the doorway, thus breaking the spell (Gifford 1918:210).

On another occasion,

Juan and his brother quarrelled while drunk. The brother said that he did not believe Juan could become a bear as he claimed. Juan accepted the challenge and the brother barely escaped the house. Neighbors were summoned, but upon their arrival Juan had assumed his natural form (Gifford 1918:210).

Although curing abilities were not specifically mentioned in these reports, it was known that he performed at public ceremonies. Hooper (1920:337), for example, noted that, "it

was during a fiesta that Juan de la Cruz assumed the shape of a bear. He did this just as he finished dancing. He first began to growl and imitate a bear, and then he really assumed its appearance".

Although Juan de la Cruz Norte died in 1922 (Benedict 1924:385), the circumstances surrounding his death were not recorded, and it is unclear what, if any, beliefs existed among Cahuilla societies with respect to the death of grizzly bear persons.

Similar individuals were known to have existed throughout Cahuilla, Luiseño, Cupeño, and Serrano societies (Gifford 1918:209; Benedict 1924:385; Strong 1929:169; Seiler 1970:142; Modesto 1980:44). The Cupeño, for example, remembered "a man at Kupa who had the faculty of transforming himself into a bear, which he did at fiestas" (Gifford 1918:209). Likewise, grizzly bear persons were fresh in the minds of Serrano and Luiseño informants (Gifford 1918:209; Benedict 1924:385). All cultures were in agreement concerning the general characteristics exhibited by these individuals. Cahuilla, Cupeño, Serrano, and Luiseño grizzly bear persons were capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears (which they occasionally enacted at public demonstrations), possessed the ability to cure illness, performed various supernatural actions (e.g., rapid travel), and often displayed a violent side to their character, through frightening or killing other members of their communities.

The Kitanemuk were the only Interior culture which did not hold beliefs in transformational grizzly bear persons. Bordering Chumash territories to the east, the Kitanemuk were influenced significantly by these societies, and, as noted by Blackburn and Bean (1978:564), appear in many respects to have culturally resembled the Chumash (e.g., in ritual, mythology, and shamanism) more closely than they did their geographical and linguistic counterparts of Interior Southern California. Most notably, Kitanemuk societies shared Chumash beliefs in malevolent grizzly bear persons who owned bearskin "machines". Kitanemuk grizzly bear persons, in fact, resembled Chumash grizzly bear persons in every way. As described by Blackburn and Bean (1978:568),

the Kitanemuk believed they [grizzly bear persons] had special costumes endowed with supernatural powers in which they dressed for the purpose of killing people secretly and for pay. In these costumes they resembled living bears. They sat inside and guided the costume with reins made from the hair of dead people. With this device a bear shaman was believed to travel great distances in a short time.

Such beliefs were not shared among other Interior cultures, all of whom denied that grizzly bear persons wore any type of costume or bearskin (Drucker 1937a:42).

Baja subarea

The Mountain Diegueño bordered Luiseño territory, and were known to have incorporated many customs expressed by this Interior culture (Kroeber 1925:712-723). Among them, the Mountain Diegueño seem to have assimilated Luiseño concepts of

grizzly bear persons. Drucker (1937a:42) has reported, for example, that the Mountain Diegueño acknowledged grizzly bear persons who were capable of transforming themselves into grizzly bears, curing illness, and travelling long distances very quickly. In other words, Mountain Diegueño grizzly bear persons displayed identical characteristics to Luiseño grizzly bear persons. Thus, although information is sparse concerning Mountain Diegueño grizzly bear persons (they do not appear to have been as prevalent as among Interior cultures), descriptions culled from the Luiseño make it possible to complete the profile of Mountain Diegueño grizzly bear persons. That is, Luiseño grizzly bear persons may be used as models from which to construct images of their Mountain Diegueño counterparts. All ethnographic summaries of Mountain Diegueño culture validate such an approach.²⁵

Concomitant with the general scarcity of bears (both grizzly and black) in the remainder of the geographical subarea, no other Baja cultures reported the presence of grizzly bear persons among them. Southern and Desert Diegueño societies, for example, knew of the existence of grizzly bear persons among Mountain Diegueño communities, but reported no such individuals amongst themselves (Spier 1923:314; Drucker

²⁵ Kroeber (1925:712), in fact, in his summary of the culture, noted that "Diegueno religion is so largely compounded of the same elements as that of the Luiseno that its detailed consideration would be repetition". He additionally concluded that this was not an equal sharing of cultural traits, but rather an instance of direct diffusion from the Luiseño to the Diegueño.

1937a:42). Similar expressions of nonexistence were noted among the Kamia (Gifford 1931:74), as well as the more "poor and hard-pressed" desert cultures farther south along the Baja peninsula (Kroeber 1925:725). It is clear, then, that as with material culture in general for the Baja subarea, grizzly bears were not an influential presence among these societies.

Northwest Coast Culture Area

Northwest California subarea

It was among the cultures of Northwest California (particularly the Yurok and Hupa) that the concept of "pains" found its ultimate expression. Indeed, these societies appear to have been the progenitors of the "pains" concept as expressed by cultures adjacent to this subarea (Kroeber 1925:136).²⁶

Because "pains" dominated the spiritual worlds of the Yurok, Hupa, Karok and Wiyot, the competing concept of personal spirit-helpers was only very weakly developed among these cultures. As explained by Elmendorf (1960:485),

both shamanistic and nonshamanistic spirit relations have been depersonalized and automatized. The curing shaman, normally a woman, receives her power, in a dream or trance, from a beast or a shaman of former times or other human spirit, who puts an object into her mouth or hand. This giver is obviously a "guardian spirit" of the customary North American type; but this one act is essentially the end of the guardian's function. It is the object bestowed by him, the *telogel* or animate pain object, which, through being

²⁶ See discussions of Northeast California (pp. 46-47), Athapascan California (pp. 50-51), and Oregon Northwest Coast (p. 86) subareas.

kept in the shaman's body and controlled there, that gives her her power of curing.

Due to the outright ascendancy of the "pains" concept in Northwest California, Elmendorf (1960:486) ultimately concluded that,

this slant of religion left little scope for public demonstrations of power -- sleight of hand, fire eating, rattlesnake handling, turning into grizzly bears, making weather, or production of miracles generally such as frequently appear as byproducts of guardian-spirit shamanism elsewhere. The Yurok would presumably have been uneasy at seeing even minor miracles performed by fellow men.

Procuring personal relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers and grizzly bear spiritual power (as reported, for example, among the Yuki or Cahuilla), were an acknowledged impossibility among Northwest California shamans (Kroeber 1925:67, 137). All Yurok, Hupa, Karok and Wiyot informants denied the existence of grizzly bear shamans among them (Driver 1939:364)

Unlike shamans and other minor curing professionals, however, "witches" or "sorcerers" among Northwest California cultures did not work with "pains". Spott and Kroeber (1942:163), for example, noted that among the Yurok "the power to bewitch or devil" was entirely distinct from the power to cure. Similarly, Kroeber (1925:136) reported that "the doctor and the witch are clearly separated in the northwestern California mind".²⁷ While shamans acquired and worked

²⁷ These two types of persons possessing spiritual power were unequivocally differentiated by Northwest California societies not only in terms of function, but also in terms of gender. Thus, while shamans were exclusively female among Northwest

primarily through "pains", sorcerers most often cultivated relationships with particular animals which were considered spiritually powerful. These animals acted as the sorcerers' familiars, and functioned very much like the spirit-helpers described for other cultures (Elmendorf 1960:482-483). Most notable among the animals with which Northwest sorcerers associated were wolves, dogs, and grizzly bears. Thus, although alliances with grizzly bears were not procured by shamans among Northwest California societies, sorcerers often exhibited spiritual contacts with this species (Wallace and Taylor 1950:191; Valory 1970:128).

Concomitant with these procured relationships, Northwest California societies recognized that sorcerers possessed the ability to transform themselves into their animal familiars. Among the Hupa, for example, it was noted that,

the *kitdongwe* or "Indian devil" can change himself into a wolf or bear, and often prowls about. If someone sees a track that looks like a bear or wolf track but isn't, it is assumed that a sorcerer has passed that way.... An Indian devil can only operate at night, he cannot devil in the daytime (Wallace and Taylor 1950:191).

Similarly, among the Yurok,

a spotted dog is always shunned, and is said to be either a sorcerer in disguise or to be his familiar. A dog of what are oversized proportions may appear near a house at dusk, and spark fears of '*uma'a*' ("Indian devil"). Or, one may see a bear walking on its hind legs on a trail at night (Valory 1970:128).

California societies, sorcerers were always male (Spott and Kroeber 1942:163).

Amulet-like objects were often worn by sorcerers to signify their unique relationships with their conscripted animals. Yurok sorcerers, for example, commonly attached snake skins, dog teeth and claws, or bear claws to their garments (Valory 1970:129).

As with grizzly bear persons which existed throughout the adjacent California culture area, Northwest California grizzly bear sorcerers were acknowledged to possess the ability of rapid travel. According to one Hupa informant, "if pursued, a *kitdongwe* can travel at great speed; he can jump 'way off, like flying" (Wallace and Taylor 1950:191). Although other extraordinary abilities commonly associated with grizzly bear persons of other cultures (e.g., invulnerability) were not specifically reported by Northwest California societies, it is clear that Northwest California grizzly bear persons wielded a significant degree of spiritual power.

Oregon subarea

Many, though not all, cultures of the Oregon subarea reported the existence of grizzly bear persons among them. Where such individuals were known, however, they were typically regarded as evil. All Oregon societies, in fact, considered the grizzly bear a distasteful animal (albeit spiritually powerful),²⁸ and those who associated themselves with this species were likewise regarded as distasteful.

²⁸ See, for example, Frachtenberg (1914:14-15); Rockwell (1991:133).

Among the Tolowa, for example, grizzly bear persons were recognized exclusively as sorcerers. Tolowa societies bordered the Northwest California subarea, and incorporated many of the cultural traits exhibited by these dominant groups. Most notably, the concept of "pains" pervaded the Tolowa spiritual world. Thus, as among Northwest California cultures, it has been noted that with Tolowa shamans "the guardian-spirit idea is weak or entirely lacking... there is no hint of a personal supernatural benefactor" (Drucker 1937a:259). Grizzly bear shamans were consequently unknown to Tolowa societies. Like Northwest California cultures, however, Tolowa societies acknowledged that sorcerers obtained spiritual power in manners distinct from those noted of shamans. Indeed, Tolowa accounts of sorcerers were virtually identical to those elicited from Northwest California cultures. Animal familiars (including grizzly bears) were common features of Tolowa sorcerers. As described by Drucker (1937a:259), "sorcerers (*te'ná:gf*, literally "at night travels"; in English, Indian devil) associated with certain animal forms: bears, wolves, spotted dogs". As in Northwest California, these animal familiars reportedly gave Tolowa sorcerers the ability both to assume their animal forms, and to travel long distances in brief periods of time (Drucker 1937a:259). Similarly, grizzly bears were one of the most frequently employed animal familiars among Tolowa sorcerers (Drucker 1937a:259). Further information regarding the specific traits and behaviours of these grizzly bear persons, however, is sparse. It is known, though, that

(as among Northwest California societies) Tolowa grizzly bear persons, and all sorcerers in general, were exclusively male (Drucker 1937a:259), even though those possessing the power to cure were predominantly female (Gould 1978:134). It may be also noted that, as implied by the Tolowa name for sorcerers, these individuals enacted their malevolent activities only during hours of darkness (Driver 1939:421).

Among the remaining Oregon societies, spiritual power as employed by both shamans and sorcerers was acquired only through spirit-helpers. The concept of "pains" was nonexistent elsewhere in the Oregon subarea. Among these societies, however, grizzly bears were only sporadically accepted as spirit-helpers. Immediately north of the Tolowa, for example, both the Takelma and Chetco denied that grizzly bears were accepted animals among their respective pantheons of spirit-helpers (Sapir 1907:42; Barnett 1937:190). Informants from both of these cultures noted that grizzly bears were not spirit-helpers to shamans (a denial common among Oregon societies), but they also disavowed any associations between sorcerers and the animals. In short, grizzly bear persons, by all accounts, appear to have been completely nonexistent among these two cultures.²⁹

²⁹ This latter denial was uncharacteristic of Oregon cultures, who commonly equated the grizzly bear with malevolence, and more specifically, with malevolent persons. That the Takelma and Chetco should differ with all other Oregon societies in this regard is suspect. These societies shared much, culturally, with their neighbouring Oregon linguistic relatives (Kendall 1990:590; Jorgensen 1980:89), and it is perplexing

The Galice, Coquille, Tututni, Kalapuya, Tillamook and Wishram all indicated that spiritual power associated with the grizzly bear was menacing or evil. The Coquille, for example, considered coyote spiritual power to be the most efficacious one could obtain, and grizzly bear spiritual power to be the most dangerous (Miller and Seaburg 1990:584). So dangerous was grizzly bear spiritual power, in fact, that even Coquille shamans avoided it whenever possible. As explained by Miller and Seaburg (1990:584),

a person might have shamanistic powers for years before they made him ill. The cure involved a diagnosis of the powers as the source for the illness and led to a Make-Doctor Dance in which a distinguished shaman announced the approach of a power armed with bow and arrow. The new shaman was asked to identify the power as it stood on the roof ready to shoot. If it was Grizzly Bear, the new shaman was told to send it away or it would eventually get out of control and kill the shaman. Other powers were approved and thus permitted to "shoot" the new shaman.

Although distasteful to shamans, the dangerous strength inherent in grizzly bear spiritual power made it attractive to those who were malevolently inclined. Coquille sorcerers (called *ai²nata*, "nightwalkers", because they enacted their malevolent activities during darkness) were commonly recognized

that they should differ substantially on this particular trait. It may be that the employed Takelma and Chetco informants were simply unaware of this existent cultural phenomenon (i.e., malicious persons associating themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power). If this were so, however, the fact that some informants (who supplied meaningful information on a number of cultural traits) were unaware of a connection between grizzly bears and the existence of malevolent persons still indicates that grizzly bear persons, and grizzly bear spiritual power in general, were not culturally significant among Takelma and Chetco societies.

as obtaining "evil power from grizzlies", which enabled them to "travel very fast and poison people" (Miller and Seaburg 1990:584). Similar individuals, displaying identical traits, were known among the Galice, Tututni, Kalapuya, Tillamook, and Wishram, where grizzly bear spiritual power was likewise regarded as evil and dangerous (Barnett 1937:190; Jacobs 1936:139; Spier and Sapir 1930:237). Among the Wishram, for example, Spier and Sapir (1930:237) noted that,

a shaman could not cure any one who had been bewitched unless his own spirit was more powerful than the spirit intrusive in the patient. Hopeless cases were those bewitched by the spirits of the grizzly, water-monster, mountain lizard, eagle, sturgeon, cougar and turtle. Of these the grizzly and water-monster were most fateful. Even the most powerful shamans would not attempt to cure these.

Similarly, among the Kalapuya, grizzly bear spiritual power was regarded as "bad power to kill and devour people" (Beckham 1984:68).

Many of the Athapascan Oregon cultures (i.e., Coquille, Galice, and Tututni) recognized a second class of individuals who associated themselves with grizzly bears. Such persons were formulists, known for their power of the spoken word, or spell. Among the Galice, for example, a formulist was known who "had two grizzly bears that did his bidding and a rattlesnake who aided him in getting public confessions of thievery" (Miller and Seaburg 1990:584). Other functions common of formulists included locating lost objects, and properly preparing meat to be eaten by families. Formulists, apparently, were recognized as minor individuals who helped

maintain the social structure of their communities. The exact relationship between formulists (who worked to positively uphold communities) and grizzly bear spiritual power (which was considered dangerous and detrimental to communities) is not clear, however. The structure of these associations has not been clearly defined.³⁰

Coast Salish subarea

Similar to Oregon cultures, Coast Salish societies commonly associated grizzly bear spiritual power with malevolent behaviour. Among the Twana and Klallam, for example, Eells (1985:52) noted that grizzly bear spiritual power ("a very strong *tamahnous*") was frequently employed by individuals "to make people sick". A sorcerer who obtained grizzly bear spiritual power was "able to send the treacherous animal to the heart of his enemy to eat his heart, plague him, make him sick, or kill him" (Eells 1887:675). Grizzly bear spirit-helpers, in fact, were commonly summoned by grizzly bear persons to accomplish their vengeful or murderous activities for them. In light of such anti-social deeds, it is not

³⁰ Farther north in the Oregon subarea, Chinook societies also recognized incidences of non-malevolent persons associating themselves with bear spiritual power. These were laypersons who performed in connection with annual winter dances (similar to those performances which existed among the Coast Salish, whom Chinook societies bordered). Consistent with the cultural ideology expressed among the Chinook, however, these spiritual associations were enacted with black bear spirit-helpers rather than grizzly bear spirit-helpers (Ray 1938:89). Chinook societies considered grizzly bear spiritual power simply too dangerous for laypersons.

surprising that, as Elmendorf (1960:508) noted, "shamans who were not curing 'doctors' usually attempted to keep secret their possession of malignant powers". Although other behaviours and abilities of these Coast Salish grizzly bear persons have not been delineated, it is clear from all reports that such malevolent individuals were not uncommon among Coast Salish societies.

In spite of these affiliations with evil, however, grizzly bear spiritual power was not routinely avoided by Coast Salish communities. Indeed, not only were grizzly bears accepted spirit-helpers among shamans, but laypersons were also invited to establish associations with such animals.³¹ Collins (1974:146), for example, noted that among the Skagit, "grizzly bear spirits could be obtained either as shamanistic or lay spirits". Similarly, among the Twana "grizzly bear was one of the more important lay-spirit-powers" (Elmendorf 1960:487-488). The Cowichan, Nanaimo, Pentlatch, and Comox also recognized grizzly bears as spirit-helpers which could be acquired by laypersons (Barnett 1939:271). The Comox, in fact, possessed a grizzly bear secret society made up of such individuals (Barnett 1939:276).

In each of these instances, however, grizzly bear spiritual power procured by laypersons was never considered as volatile as that acquired by shamans or sorcerers. Indeed,

³¹ Coast Salish societies acknowledged that laypersons as well as shamans and sorcerers were capable of establishing relationships with spirit-helpers.

this was the case not only for grizzly bear spiritual power, but for all forms of spiritual power. Powers employed by shamans were always qualitatively more potent than those known to laypersons.³²

Laypersons' connections with spiritual power were also temporally limited. Unlike shamans, laypersons did not have continuous possession of a spirit-helper (Elmendorf 1960:511). Instead, communion with spirit-helpers took place only during annual winter spirit dances. Ray (1938:81), for example, has noted that "a close spiritual bond existed between men and their tutelaries only during this ceremonial period. At other times, the relationship was real, but remote".

As described by Elmendorf (1960:496), the spirit dance itself "was individually sponsored by the spirit possessor and consisted essentially of a display or demonstration of the sponsor's individual spirit power, controlled and managed by him". Although not as potent as shamans' spiritual powers, Coast Salish laypersons did demonstrate a proficiency not known to other cultures which recognized such annual displays. During the typical Coast Salish spirit dance,

there is possession of the sponsor by his spirit, which enters his body, begins to sing its song "from the inside" of him, and induces the sponsor to dance and perform other ritual actions depending on the nature of the possessing spirit (Elmendorf 1960:497).

³² Indeed, what distinguished shamans from laypersons was their ability to acquire and utilize spiritual power to its maximum effect (Suttles 1990:467).

Clearly, this form of impersonation, when applied to grizzly bears, was very similar to the activities and behaviours of grizzly bear persons associated with the Kuksu Cult among California societies. In both cases, spiritual powers acquired through associations with the animal, though not as strong as shamans' or sorcerers' powers, were nevertheless substantial enough to enable animated impersonation.

The Skagit, however, took these powers one step further. Among this culture, it has been reported that, along with impersonation, grizzly bear spiritual power granted performers immunity from the dangers of fire (a skill noted among non-Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons of the California culture area). It was said of one Skagit layperson, for example, that "in dancing during the winter ceremonial, he would dance right into the fire and not be injured because of the spirit" (Collins 1974:147). Others dancing their grizzly bear spirit-helpers were said to physically transform themselves into the animals while they danced (Collins 1974:147). Although this latter trait certainly suggests similarities to the transformational type of grizzly bear persons noted among California and Southern California cultures, it must be reiterated that Coast Salish grizzly bear impersonators were laypersons, capable of such transformation (if at all) only once per year, during the annual winter spirit dances. Contrary to this, transformational grizzly bear persons known throughout both the California and Southern California culture areas were oftentimes shamans who held significant spiritual

powers, and were capable of employing these acquired powers any time they so willed. Nevertheless, it is clear that Coast Salish grizzly bear impersonators who performed during the winter spirit dances wielded a notable measure of spiritual power, more so than many of their layperson counterparts of other Pacific Slope cultures.

Not all Coast Salish societies, however, recognized the grizzly bear as a spirit-helper to laypersons. The Klahuse, Homalco, Siciatl, Squamish, and Sanetch are all reported to have denied the possibility of such associations (Barnett 1939:271). Among these societies, grizzly bear spiritual power was considered simply too dangerous for laypersons to harness. As among the Chinook of the Oregon subarea, only black bears were spirit-helpers to laypersons, and it was only this *ursus* species which was impersonated during winter spirit dance ceremonials.

Central subarea

Although grizzly bear persons possessing substantial spiritual power (as associated with shamans and sorcerers) have not been reported among Central Northwest Coast cultures,³³ grizzly bear dancers were known among these groups. Most notably, the Kwakiutl and Bella Coola reported grizzly bear

³³ McIlwraith (1948:71) has intimated that among Bella Coola societies, Grizzly Bear was mythologically associated with curing power. Actual incidences of shamans employing this spiritual power, however, have not been reported.

dancers who performed in connection with secret societies (Drucker 1947:230).

Among the Kwakiutl, grizzly bear dancers played a significant role in the Hamatsa Society, which has been recognized as the most complex and important religious society of the Kwakiutl winter ceremonial season (Gill and Sullivan 1992:115). As noted by Gill and Sullivan (1992:115), performances in connection with the Hamatsa Society reiterated "the fundamental belief that animals and supernaturals give power to a community", and focused the attention of the village on "the power of the wild". Of the various personages associated with the ceremonials, grizzly bear dancers were regarded as "the most dreaded helpers of the *ha'mats'a*" (Boas 1895:467). It was their function,

to punish all transgressions of laws referring to privileges of the *ha'mats'a*, or to the winter ceremonial in general. The penalty of some mistakes was death. The unfortunate ones were killed by the grizzly bears and *nu'LmaL* ["fool dancers"] (Boas 1895:467).

Additional duties of Hamatsa grizzly bear dancers included guarding the dance houses. These individuals, along with members of the Seal Society, often situated themselves on the roof of the houses, and "by their wild cries and threatening attitude frightened away everybody" (Boas 1895:467).

During the Hamatsa ceremonial cycle, these grizzly bear persons performed four separate "dances". As described by Boas (1895:467),

their circuit around the fire can hardly be called a dance. The first and third dances consist of violent

motions of the body, imitating the actions of a bear who sits on his haunches. Every now and then the dancer growls and scratches the ground with his paws. In the second and fourth dances he appears clad in a bearskin, walks on hands and feet, and paws the ground, imitating the motions of an angry bear.

In addition to bearskins, the grizzly bear dancers typically wore bear paws over their hands, and painted their faces "in imitation of an immense mouth of a bear" (Boas 1895:467).

While performing the dances, specific songs were sung which emphasized the immense and frightening spiritual power commanded by grizzly bears. For example,

How shall we hide from the bear that is moving all
around the world!
Let us crawl underground! Let us cover our backs with
dirt that the great terrible bear from the north
end of our world may not find us (Boas 1895:467).

and,

Haioo' a haioo'! Let your great name be called, Great
Bear!
You will go at once to the chiefs of the tribes, whom
you will make your slaves, Great Bear!
Then we shall have war!
Then we shall have trouble! (Boas 1895:467).

As with other grizzly bear dancers associated with Northwest Coast secret societies, Kwakiutl grizzly bear dancers enacted their various activities and functions only during the Hamatsa Society winter ceremonial.³⁴

³⁴ While Curtis (1911,1C:184) has produced a photograph of a Kwakiutl grizzly bear dancer which appears to have been taken outside the context of a Hamatsa Society ceremonial (and therefore suggests that grizzly bear persons performed their functions outside the ceremonial as well as within), the scene captured by Curtis is most probably a dramatization of a grizzly bear dance, and not an authentic enactment (see Lyman 1982).

From descriptions such as those noted above, it is clear that such grizzly bear persons were regarded as menacing and dangerous among Kwakiutl societies. Not only were Hamatsa grizzly bear dancers frightful characters, they also murdered outright those who transgressed them and the specific laws which they were contracted to uphold. Unlike the murderous grizzly bear persons commonly described among California societies, however, Kwakiutl grizzly bear dancers committed socially sanctioned murders, and were therefore not scorned (with intent on revenge) by other members of their communities. They were, in essence, the guardians of the Hamatsa ceremonials, and were respected in this regard.

The only other Central cultures to have reported grizzly bear dancers among them were the Nootka and Bella Coola. Although Drucker (1947:230) proclaimed that grizzly bear dancers were unknown to the Nootka, Curtis (1911,11:92) noted their existence among Kyuquot societies, whose ceremonies were borrowed heavily from Kwakiutl culture.³⁵ Thus, grizzly bear dancers were present at Kyuquot *nunukén'k* ceremonials, where they performed dances similar in form to those described for Kwakiutl Hamatsa grizzly bear dancers. Kyuquot grizzly bear dancers, however, were not the foreboding individuals known among the Kwakiutl. They appear instead to have played a relatively minor role in Kyuquot ceremonial life. Indeed,

³⁵ Curtis (1911,11:95) has produced a photograph of a Nootka grizzly bear dancer which very much resembles Kwakiutl Hamatsa grizzly bear dancers.

consistent with the general pattern of Nootka culture, Curtis (1911,11:92) observed that despite acknowledging grizzly bear dancers among them "the Kyuquot do not know the grizzly-bear and have no name for it". The existence of grizzly bear dancers within Kyuquot ceremonials was clearly not indigenous to these societies, and the incorporation of such persons into their social fabric was anomalous among Nootka culture.

Although the Bella Coola did not possess an Hamatsa society, grizzly bear dancers performed in connection with other secret society ceremonials (Drucker 1947:230). Like the Kwakiutl, one of the characteristic features of Bella Coola material culture was its extremely rich and complex ceremonialism (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:332). Two secret societies in particular dominated Bella Coola ceremonial life, the Sisaok Society and Kusiut Society (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:332). Of these, grizzly bear dancers were known among the Kusiut Society. As described by Stott (1975:60), some Kusiut dancers performed the "Dance of the Grizzly Bear, under the patronage of a grizzly bear resident in Qomoqwa's house (Qomoqwa was considered the king of the sea)". Carved bear masks worn by Kusiut grizzly bear dancers have been reproduced (Stott 1975:61), but the specific behaviours and abilities exhibited by the dancers have not been defined (Stott 1975:60). Given that cultural rituals with respect to grizzly bears were equally elaborate among the Bella Coola and Kwakiutl,³⁶ one

³⁶ See Boas (1930:191-196); Kennedy and Bouchard (1990:332).

might hypothesize that Bella Coola grizzly bear dancers approached their Kwakiutl counterparts in stature. However, the comparative dearth of information regarding Bella Coola grizzly bear dancers more readily suggests that these individuals were simply not as integral (or as foreboding) to the Bella Coola and their Kusiut Society as their counterparts were to the Kwakiutl and their Hamatsa Society.

In general terms, then, it can be noted that grizzly bear persons were not highly influential individuals among Central societies. Grizzly bear shamans and sorcerers were not readily acknowledged among these cultures,³⁷ and grizzly bear dancers were recognized only sporadically, as among the Bella Coola, Kyuquot Nootka, and Kwakiutl. Of these societies, the Kwakiutl were clearly the most forthright in their acknowledgement and expression of grizzly bear persons.

North subarea

Among the cultures of the North subarea of the Northwest Coast, only the Haida acknowledged the existence of grizzly bear dancers within their secret society ceremonials. As noted by Blackman (1990:253), Haida secret society dances, in form, "were acknowledged copies of Northern Wakashan [most notably,

³⁷ As described below for cultures of the North subarea (p. 102), it may not have been the case that grizzly bear shamans were completely unknown among Central societies, but rather that shamans who possessed grizzly bear spiritual power were not markedly distinct, and therefore did not stand out as sensational characters in comparison to other shamans. If this was so, however, it remains clear that grizzly bear shamans *per se* were not dominant figures among Central societies.

Bella Bella Kwakiutl] winter ceremonial dances", but were "neither so significant nor so elaborate as the originals". As with other cultures of the North subarea of the Northwest Coast, Haida secret society dances occurred at every potlatch, but were not enacted any other time (Swanton 1905:156).

Dances performed by grizzly bear persons within Haida secret society ceremonials have been described as follows:

those through whom the Grisly Bear spoke became inspired. They sang songs for the novice awhile, and then threw feathers upon her. She fell down. Only women were spoken through. From the time they joined until the spirits stood up (i.e., until the initiation was over), their faces were never seen. Without permission, no one could go behind the curtain. They wore black-bear skins, and went about town, saying, "We we we we ap ap ap ap!" Then the spirits (whistles) began sounding. The spirit-companions [the grizzly bear persons] wore dancing-skirts and rings of cedar-bark, and held large oval rattles in their hands. They went into all the houses, and again behind the curtain.... They shot at the novices and carried the dead bodies behind the curtain. Then they ripped to pieces many blankets, which they also called the "spirit-belt". Then the spirits "stood up" (Swanton 1905:171-172).

Although the narrative asserts that these grizzly bear dancers were exclusively female, Swanton (1905:161) has noted that those who "acted the Grisly Bear" might be either male or female, and elsewhere reported the existence of one male grizzly bear dancer (Swanton 1905:156). It is clear from ethnographic accounts, however, that females more frequently assumed these roles among the Haida.

This high incidence of female grizzly bear dancers (an uncommon trait among Pacific Slope cultures) may have been related to the prevalence of the "Bear Mother" myth among Haida

societies.³⁸ While many cultures emphasized the savage and menacing characteristics of grizzly bears, Haida societies, through their mythological tales, focused primarily upon the animals' nurturing qualities. Grizzly bear spirit-helpers, in fact, were perceived as "good spirits for possession" among the Haida (Swanton 1905:161). It seems, then, that concomitant with their mythologies, Haida societies more readily emphasized the sustaining qualities of grizzly bears than did other Pacific Slope Native cultures (e.g., as in California and Southern California). It would therefore not be completely unexpected to discover that women more typically performed as grizzly bear dancers among this culture.

Ethnographic accounts indicate that Haida grizzly bear dancers did not wield substantial spiritual power (Swanton 1905:161). Supernatural abilities, such as rapid travel or fire-handling, were not exhibited, and Haida grizzly bear dancers were not the murderous individuals reported among the Kwakiutl. Their functions and behaviours, in fact, seem to have more closely resembled those California grizzly bear dancers who performed as part of the Kuksu Cult. That is, Haida grizzly bear dancers were simply individuals recognized

³⁸ One of the most popular myths among Haida societies, the "Bear Mother" myth told of a female human (the heroine of the story) who married a male grizzly bear to produce half-human, half-bear offspring (Barbeau 1946:1-12; Barbeau 1953:84-146); Deans 1889:255-260). In versions of the myth most typical to these societies, the male grizzly bear battles, and is subsequently killed by, the brothers of the female human. The "bear mother" herself eventually becomes a grizzly bear, and in the end, "she is on her own, her two little cubs with her... tears running down her face" (McClellan 1970:33).

with an affinity to grizzly bears, who became "possessed" by their animal spirits during secret society ceremonials.

Although the Tlingit, Tsimshian, Nishga, and Gitksan did not have grizzly bear dancers as part of their secret society ceremonials (Drucker 1947:230),³⁹ these cultures did acknowledge the existence of spiritually powerful individuals (typically shamans) who affiliated themselves with grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Among the Tlingit, for example, Swanton (1908:465) has noted that "spirits of the crest animals came to shamans of the families to which the emblems belonged". Although information is scant with respect to the specific functions, abilities, and behaviours of these grizzly bear shamans, Rockwell (1991:64) has reproduced a Tlingit shaman's song to Grizzly Bear, a song which the shaman sang during a curing ceremony to "express his sense of oneness" with the animal:

Whu! Bear!
Whu! Whu!

³⁹ Although grizzly bear dancers *per se* were unknown among the Tsimshian, Boas (1916:548, 551, 553) has noted that of the four secret societies which existed, members of three (the Cannibal Society, Dog-Eater Society, and Destroyer Society) all wore grizzly bear skins while performing. Additionally, when the *Txe-la'ksgum lax-ha'* power was called during the ceremonial of initiation, the chief sang "his solo", wearing on his head "a representation of the ears of a grizzly bear with long hair on top" (Boas 1916:557). He also wore "a grizzly-bear blanket, dancing-apron, and leggings" (Boas 1916:557). The specific connection between grizzly bears and these public performances, however, has not been delineated. They appear, though, not to have been associated directly with grizzly bear spirit-helpers or grizzly bear spiritual power.

So you say
Whu Whu Whu!
You come.

You're a fine young man
You Grizzly Bear
You crawl out of your fur.

You come
I say Whu Whu Whu!
I throw grease in the fire.

For you
Grizzly Bear
We're one!

Among the Tsimshian, most practicing shamans, both male and female, wore crowns of grizzly bear claws on their heads (Boas 1916:474, 475, 559). Rockwell (1991:66) has suggested that such practices served to underscore the similar and overlapping positions grizzly bears and shamans were recognized as occupying in these societies. Thus, the crown of grizzly bear claws, among other animal talismans,⁴⁰ served to represent Tsimshian shamans' unique relationships with agents of spiritual power. Such objects also signalled the immense spiritual power shared by both animals (in this case, grizzly bears) and shamans.

Tsimshian shamans who received spiritual power directly from grizzly bear spirit-helpers, in addition to wearing crowns of grizzly bear claws, wore grizzly bear skins, or "blankets", over their shoulders (Boas 1916:475). As with the Tlingit, however, the particular functions, abilities, and behaviours of these individuals have not been delineated apart from general descriptions of Tsimshian shamans. Thus, other than

⁴⁰ See Boas (1916:475).

acknowledgements of the existence of grizzly bear shamans among North cultures of the Northwest Coast, information regarding these individuals is entirely lacking.⁴¹ Clearly, these persons were not the sensational characters typical of North-Central California cultures. Indeed, the dearth of ethnographic information suggests that within the realm of shamanism among North cultures, those who aligned themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power did not stand out behaviourally or functionally from the various types of shamans which existed. Although grizzly bear spiritual power was clearly considered important, grizzly bear shamans in the North subarea of the Northwest Coast were seemingly not regarded as particularly extraordinary in comparison to other shamans.

Plateau Culture Area

Interior Salish subarea

Not unlike other Pacific Slope cultures, Interior Salish societies attributed many extraordinary abilities to their shamans, in accordance with the specific spirit-helpers obtained by each. Among Okanagan shamans, for example, Spier (1938:158) noted that

⁴¹ It may be noted that North grizzly bear shamans would not have displayed malevolent behaviours in addition to their healing activities. Clear distinctions were made within North societies between those who caused disease and those who cured. As described by Halpin and Seguin (1990:279), "not classified as sacred were witches, who did not have spirit-helpers but employed physical objects such as dolls or nail parings to create a state of 'dirtiness'".

the guardian spirits confer many special faculties, such as clairvoyance, superhuman endurance and strength, immunity to certain dangers, control of the weather, the ability to transform oneself into the animal representing the spirit or to assume its most useful attributes, general skill and good fortune, and above all, the ability to cure illness.

Many of these abilities were acknowledged of shamans who possessed grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Indeed, throughout the Interior Salish subarea, grizzly bear spiritual power was considered among both the most powerful and most dangerous spiritual powers one could obtain (Spier 1938:134; Ray 1933:172; Ray 1942:234). Concomitantly, grizzly bear shamans were often regarded as the strongest shamans within their communities, possessing abilities unknown to other shamans. Okanagan societies, for example, reported that "of all the animal benefactors, only bears, and perhaps wolves, allowed their wards to assume their form" (Spier 1938:158). One Okanagan informant recalled "an old woman" who could transform herself into a grizzly bear (Spier 1938:158). The means of her transformation, however, was unlike any other reported among Pacific Slope cultures. This female shaman "always wore as a belt a strip of bear skin cut from nose to tail, which was not only her power emblem, but the instrument by which she was transformed" (Spier 1938:158). While this form of transformation appears to have been similar to those reported among North-Central California cultures (e.g., Pomo), where transformation was enacted with a bearskin fetish from which grizzly bear spiritual power emanated, differences between the two sets of beliefs were evident. Most notably, the spiritual

power associated with bearskin belts (or other such paraphernalia) worn by Okanagan grizzly bear shamans seems merely to have aided them in transformation. Transformation abilities themselves, as well as other extraordinary deeds commonly associated with Okanagan grizzly bear shamans, were understood to be received directly from grizzly bear spirit-helpers with which the shamans communed.

Other Interior Salish cultures also reported grizzly bear shamans capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears. Ray (1933:198), for example, noted this trait among the Sanpoil, where it was recalled that during the annual winter ceremonials (when demonstrations of power were commonly performed by shamans), "a woman who had grizzly bear power regularly left the dance house and returned a grizzly bear, stayed a moment, left again and immediately returned her normal self".

Over and above transformation abilities, Interior Salish grizzly bear persons exhibited traits commonly reported for grizzly bear persons of other Pacific Slope cultures. As shamans, all of these individuals demonstrated the capacity to cure illness and disease, particularly as may have resulted from bear attacks (Ray 1933:200). Interior Salish societies also recognized that grizzly bear shamans were endowed with extraordinary strength and endurance (a reflection of the strength of grizzly bears), as well as immunity from arrows and

other forms of attack. Once transformed into grizzly bears, these persons could not readily be killed (Ray 1933:201).⁴²

Grizzly bear spiritual power was not associated exclusively with healing activities and public demonstrations, however. Interior Salish cultures acknowledged that shamans had the capacity to cause as well as cure illness (Ray 1933:208), and those individuals associated with particularly powerful and dangerous spirit-helpers were most suspect by other members of their communities. Sanpoil societies, for example, reported that grizzly bear, wolf, cougar, badger, weasel, eagle, hawk, and rattlesnake spirit-helpers were commonly "possessed by malignant shamans" (Ray 1933:172). Interior Salish grizzly bear shamans, however, appear not to have carried out the marauding activities commonly reported of California grizzly bear persons. No such sensational behaviours, at least, have been reported. Instead, "malignant" grizzly bear shamans caused others to become ill primarily through supernatural means, by sending their grizzly bear spirit-helpers to "bite" chosen victims (Ray 1933:208).

As among Coast Salish societies of the Northwest Coast culture area, Interior Salish societies recognized that laypersons as well as shamans were capable of fostering relationships with spirit-helpers. Like the Coast Salish, it

⁴² Although the specific reported instances of grizzly bear shamans above involved female shamans, the grizzly bear, as a spirit-helper of shamans, was not exclusive to this gender. Male grizzly bear shamans were also common among Interior Salish societies (Ray 1933:200; Ray 1942:240).

was not unknown for Interior Salish laypersons to affiliate themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power, even though grizzly bears were widely considered among the most forceful and dangerous spirit-helpers existent.⁴³ As noted with the Coast Salish, however, Interior Salish laypersons did not procure relationships with spirit-helpers to the same degree as shamans (e.g., they did not display curing abilities or superhuman strength), nor were their personal encounters temporally ever-present. As elsewhere, Interior Salish laypersons demonstrated their relationships with spiritual power only during winter ceremonial dances.

Beginning at about the time of the winter solstice, Interior Salish ceremonial dance periods lasted approximately two months. As described by Ray (1933:189), "the only dances observed were guardian spirit performances and they were never held at any other time of the year". During these times, Interior Salish laypersons expressed their unique relationships with spirit-helpers by singing songs, painting or dressing themselves in representative ways, and by dancing (Spier 1938:146). Those associated with grizzly bear spiritual power typically represented their relationships by "dancing sideways and emitting deep sounds from the throat", as observed among the Okanagan (Ray 1933:196). Grizzly bear claws, strung

⁴³ Apparently, not all laypersons were considered capable of obtaining grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Most commonly, only those individuals possessed of great physical strength, such as warriors or hunters, were associated with grizzly bear spiritual power.

together on buckskin thongs and worn as necklaces or head bands, further symbolized associations with grizzly bear spirit-helpers (Spier 1938:143). By all accounts, in fact, grizzly bear spiritual power was well represented throughout this subarea during ceremonial dances performed by laypersons.

Thompson and Fraser Rivers subarea

As with the Coast Salish and Interior Salish cultures whom they bordered (and with whom they shared a linguistic background), societies of the Thompson and Fraser Rivers subarea acknowledged that laypersons could enter into relationships with the same representatives of spiritual power as those employed by shamans. Personal spirit-helpers were the domain of laypersons as well as shamans among Thompson and Fraser Rivers societies.

Among the spirit-helpers recognized by these cultures, grizzly bears figured prominently. There is ample evidence of laypersons who associated themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power (Teit 1900:354-355; Teit 1906:283; Teit 1909:606). More specifically, Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap informants all noted that grizzly bears were favoured spirit-helpers of hunters and warriors (Teit 1900:354-355; Teit 1906:283; Teit 1909:606). As with Interior Salish cultures, it seems that these societies affiliated grizzly bear spiritual power specifically with physical strength and endurance, such that only the most stalwart laypersons claimed grizzly bears as

their spirit-helpers. Indeed, Ray (1942:254) noted that among the Shuswap and Thompson, grizzly bears were regarded as the most powerful spirit-helpers laypersons could obtain. For physically dominant individuals such as warriors or hunters, however, grizzly bear spiritual power, although robust, was not concomitantly unwieldy or overwhelming. Instead, it could apparently be commanded by such persons as easily as other individuals managed lesser spiritual powers. One Thompson informant, for example, reported that "a man who, knowing the name of the grisly bear, addresses him, gains so much power over him that the bear at once becomes gentle and harmless" (Teit 1900:355).

As among Coast Salish and Interior Salish cultures, expressions of laypersons' relationships with their spirit-helpers occurred during winter ceremonial periods. Spirit dances took place annually among the Shuswap, Lillooet, and Thompson, where individuals "imitated their supernatural protectors in motion, gesture, and cry" (Goldenweiser 1910:216). Like Coast Salish and Interior Salish ceremonials, these public performances served to both express and solidify the bonds laypersons maintained with specific spirit-helpers. In form and function, in fact, grizzly bear dances at Thompson and Fraser Rivers winter ceremonials were identical to those described above among Coast Salish and Interior Salish cultures.

As noted, grizzly bear spiritual power was also the domain of shamans among Thompson and Fraser Rivers societies. Teit

(1900:354; 1909:605), for example, reported that both the Thompson and Shuswap regarded grizzly bears as among the most powerful spirit-helpers shamans could obtain. Specific behaviours, abilities, and functions of shamans who possessed grizzly bear spiritual power, however, were not defined. As such, nothing more than their existence is certain. Details, though, may be validly inferred from culturally related societies who expressed similar conceptions of grizzly bear spiritual power. Coast Salish and Interior Salish societies are the most appropriate models in this regard. Thus, employing Coast Salish and (particularly) Interior Salish reports of grizzly bear shamans as examples for Thompson and Fraser Rivers societies, it may be concluded that beyond those abilities and functions commonly attributed to shamans, grizzly bear shamans among Thompson and Fraser Rivers societies possessed the ability to cure victims of bear attacks, were capable of bodily transformation into grizzly bears, were noted for their extraordinary physical strength and endurance, and were often considered dangerous by other members of their communities (although they were probably not prone to indiscriminately murdering people).

Kutenai subarea

Consistent with the general pattern exhibited among Plateau cultures, Kutenai societies also regarded grizzly bears as one of the most powerful spirit-helpers one could obtain. Rockwell (1991:55), in fact, has noted that the Kutenai

considered grizzly bears to be *the* most powerful spirit-helpers, and grizzly bear spiritual power to be the most potent. Concomitant with these beliefs (and consistent with other Plateau cultures), it was not unknown for Kutenai shamans to establish associations with grizzly bear spiritual power. Those who did were regarded as particularly dominant individuals among their communities (Rockwell 1991:87).

In form and function, Kutenai grizzly bear shamans were very similar to those described among Interior Salish societies (with whom the Kutenai bordered, though they were linguistically dissimilar). Rockwell (1991:87), for example, has noted that over and above curing victims of bear attacks, and others suffering from large open wounds,⁴⁴ Kutenai grizzly bear shamans typically exhibited superhuman strength and endurance, as well as invulnerability to assault. Although it is not clear whether these individuals were also regarded as capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears, given the expressed potency of grizzly bear spiritual power, and the

⁴⁴ Turney-High (1941:157) noted the existence of "Shamans' Societies" among the Kutenai, which consisted of "village shamans banded together for mutual assistance, advice, and joint public service". As elsewhere among Pacific Slope cultures, shamans were recognized as possessing highly specialized healing abilities, according to their respective spirit-helpers. With respect to such specializations, however, Kutenai shamans displayed a degree of co-operation uncommon to other cultures. As explained by Turney-High (1941:158), the motive behind the Shamans' Society was to treat illnesses too complex or difficult for single shamans. In such cases, communal healing sessions were enacted ("multiple shamanizing") where "each man treated his particular part of the body [or his particular injury]... Each practitioner was careful to see that all sickness had been dispelled from his special region before he ceased" (Turney-High 1941:158).

general cultural pattern of Kutenai societies, this trait would not be unexpected. The vigour ascribed to grizzly bear spiritual power also meant that shamans who possessed grizzly bear spirit-helpers were occasionally suspected of malevolence, in the form of supernaturally causing disease or illness. These were not typical complaints of all Kutenai grizzly bear shamans, however, nor were they considered the vengeful, marauding individuals characteristic of other Pacific Slope cultures (Turney-High 1941:173-174). Indeed, beyond curing illnesses, grizzly bear shamans often held significant social positions within Kutenai societies. Most notably, they presided over annual "Grizzly Bear Dances", or *khlukinam* ceremonies.⁴⁵ Of the many social ceremonies enacted among Kutenai societies, *khlukinam* ceremonies were among the most spirited, commonly considered second only to Sun Dance ceremonies in emotional importance (Turney-High 1941:184).⁴⁶

Khlukinam ceremonies were performed each spring by the Kutenai, to coincide with both the beginning of berry-picking

⁴⁵ Curtis (1911,7: 140) has noted that *khlukinam* is most likely derived from the root *hluk*, meaning "makes the noise proper to" an animal, such as neighs, chirps, or barks. Because grizzly bears were the animals specific to these ceremonies, he concluded that *khlukinam* could be most reliably translated as "The Growling".

⁴⁶ It is widely accepted that the Kutenai incorporated many Plains cultural traits into their world-view (Macmillan 1988:162), and like most major ceremonies enacted by the Kutenai (including Sun Dance ceremonies), *khlukinam* ceremonies appear to have also diffused from adjacent Plains cultures. Indeed, McClintock (1910:264-265) has described similar grizzly bear ceremonies among the Blackfeet (a Plains culture bordering the Kutenai to the east), while no such ceremonies were known to have existed among any other Plateau culture.

season, and the time grizzly bears emerged from hibernation.⁴⁷ Correspondingly, the purpose of *khlukinam* ceremonies was twofold. As explained by Turney-High (1941:184), primarily they were "prayer for plenty... and the Grizzly Bear is the supernatural invoked because berries are his food. Bear tells his people how to find food". Secondly, the ceremonies served to properly pay homage to (and therefore placate) Grizzly Bear, ensuring that members of the village would not be harmed by this species in the upcoming Spring and Summer seasons.

The ceremonies themselves took place in a "great tipi", built by two men appointed by the presiding grizzly bear shaman (Turney-High 1941:184). Inside, an altar ("Grizzly Bear praying place") was prepared, and behind it was placed the skull and skeletal forepaws of a grizzly bear, with both the nose and the claws facing the entrance of the lodge. As Curtis (1911,7:141) described it, "the whole arrangement was designed to resemble the appearance of a bear lying at the mouth of a den with its head between its fore paws".

When darkness had fallen, the grizzly bear shaman entered the lodge and sat behind the altar facing the entrance, singing songs and speaking to Grizzly Bear. When he "thinks the time is ripe, he directs the two assistants to summon the people"

⁴⁷ Both Curtis (1911,7:140-142) and Turney-High (1941:184-185) have published accounts of Kutenai Grizzly Bear Dances, and although descriptions provided by each author were dissimilar in many respects, with slightly divergent conclusions regarding purpose, they do appear to be describing the same general ceremonies. Undoubtedly, each Kutenai society placed their unique imprint on the ceremonies they enacted, and this would account for such differences in ethnographic descriptions.

(Turney-High 1941:184). Every household in the community contributed a medicine-bundle, ritually placed around the grizzly bear skull. Upon entering the lodge, each male filled his personal pipe and offered smoke to Grizzly Bear, reciting prayers such as the following: "You are coming out in a few days, and I want you not to bite me, or my children, or my people. Do not make us sick. I want you to have a good summer, with good food, and may we have the same" (Curtis 1911,7:141). Both males and females seated themselves, forming a semi-circle around the lodge, facing the altar and the grizzly bear shaman. The grizzly bear shaman, still seated behind the altar, began once again singing and speaking to Grizzly Bear, all the while shaking a rattle. As described by Turney-High (1941:185),

this rattle differs from ordinary ones. It is made of three strips of [grizzly bear] hide. The central one is twined to form a handle. The other two are quite broad and are not twined, and are joined near the handle at each end, thus passing around the fist.

Upon finishing his songs to Grizzly Bear, the grizzly bear shaman passed the rattle to the first male seated on his left. This individual "tells the congregation of his medicine [spiritual power] experiences and proceeds to sing one of his songs. When he has finished, he passes the rattle to the person on his left who does likewise" (Turney-High 1941:185).

While the grizzly bear shaman addressed Grizzly Bear, all individuals in the lodge sat quietly. However, once the rattle was passed to others, both men and women began dancing in the middle of the circle, gesturing and vocalizing in imitation of

grizzly bears. As Turney-High (1941:185) observed, the men and women danced as they became inspired, such that "the whole group is never dancing at any one time. Many of the people are always sitting, listening, or assisting in the singing of any song they have heard". At various times throughout the ceremony,

an individual will take his pipe and offer it to the skull and paws. He then takes it to the head [grizzly bear] shaman who lights it for him from the central fire. Taking a few puffs, he returns it to the owner who prays that a plentiful supply of berries will be found both during the current year and the next, and that Grizzly Bear will help him in all his troubles (Turney-High 1941:185).

Identical ceremonies were performed for three successive nights. As dawn approached during the ceremony of the final night, a feast was held which featured "berries they think Grizzly Bear most enjoys" (Turney-High 1941:186). At the end of the feast, the *khlukinam* was declared complete.

With the performance of these socially important ceremonies, the Kutenai clearly differentiated themselves from other Plateau societies. No other cultures acknowledged such public rituals to Grizzly Bear, and grizzly bear shamans of other cultures did not have such celebrated roles outside their healing rituals.

Where the Kutenai did resemble other Plateau cultures, however, was in their recognition that laypersons could also enter into relationships with grizzly bear spiritual power. As elsewhere, laypersons' associations with grizzly bear spirit-helpers were not as consistently immediate nor as powerful as

those procured by shamans. Laypersons could not, for example, cure illnesses, and the only occasions on which they expressed their unique bonds with spiritual power were culturally sanctioned public ceremonies (e.g., winter spirit dances), where they danced and behaved in imitation of their spirit animals.

Sahaptian subarea

All Sahaptian cultures except the Umatilla recognized grizzly bears to be not only among the most powerful, but also among the most dangerous spirit-helpers one could obtain.⁴⁸ Among the Klikitat and Tenino, for example, grizzly bear spiritual power was considered unwieldy, unpredictable, and fierce (Ray 1942:234). Likewise, Rockwell (1991:95) has reported that the Nez Percé emphasized the "malevolent side of

⁴⁸ Ray (1942:234) reported that the Umatilla did not recognize a hierarchy of spirit-helpers in terms of their comparative strengths. As a rule, one type of spirit-helper was not regarded as any more or less powerful or dangerous than any other type of spirit-helper. This difference undoubtedly stemmed from the Umatilla belief that any specific spirit-helper may not endow its full complement of power to an individual shaman or layperson. As explained by Walker (1968:20), "one individual might obtain only a small part of the total power conferred by Grizzly Bear, whereas another would get all of Grizzly's power". Thus, receiving spiritual power from a grizzly bear spirit-helper would not in-itself guarantee the procurement of an unwieldy or dangerous power. A small portion of grizzly bear spiritual power, for example, may not be as strong or unwieldy as an entire complement of raccoon spiritual power. Given the possibility of infinite variations of spiritual power endowed by each species of spirit-helper, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the Umatilla to unequivocally report that any one type of spirit-helper (i.e., grizzly bear) was consistently the most powerful or dangerous one could encounter.

the bear", and regarded grizzly bear spiritual power as difficult to control. The expressed danger of an attempted relationship with a grizzly bear spirit-helper was that the spirit-helper might come to possess the individual rather than the individual possessing the spirit-helper. Such an unfortunate encounter, it was felt, would eventually bring ruin not only to the person, but also to the entire family or village (Rockwell 1991:95). In spite of such fatalistic characterizations of grizzly bear spiritual power, grizzly bears were commonly sought as spirit-helpers by both laypersons and shamans among all Sahaptian societies.

As elsewhere in the Plateau culture area, Sahaptian laypersons expressed their encounters with individual spirit-helpers during winter ceremonial dance periods. In both form and function, these performances were virtually identical to those described among other Plateau cultures. Among the Nez Percé, for example, the typical dance denoting associations with grizzly bear spirit-helpers,

was danced with raised forearms and clenched fists parallel with the upright body, the fists just opposite the ears with palms facing forward. In this position the dancer would turn his body first to the left and then to the right as he moved about the floor in time to the song others sing with him. If he had power from Grizzly he might scratch the ground with his feet, as does Grizzly, and make growling sounds (Walker 1968:21).

As elsewhere, Sahaptian cultures also placed a great deal of emphasis upon the song given to individuals by their spirit-helpers. Walker (1968:21) has noted that among the Nez Percé "the single, most important aspect of having tutelary spirit

power probably was possession of the song". Thus, while imitative physical movements denoted one's relationship with a particular spirit-helper, it was the spirit song (imparted to the individual upon initial contact with the spirit-helper) that served to re-awaken spiritual power during the dance ceremonies.

Although shamans who acquired grizzly bear spirit-helpers were known to have existed among Sahaptian societies, detailed information regarding their specific behaviours, abilities, and functions is lacking. As such, it is not entirely clear the extent to which shamans with grizzly bear spiritual power were differentiated from other shamans. Given that most Sahaptian cultures considered grizzly bear spiritual power both the most cogent and most dangerous spiritual power which existed, however, shamans who obtained grizzly bear spirit-helpers must have been regarded as possessing unique abilities over and above those commonly ascribed to shamans in general.

Klamath subarea

Klamath and Modoc societies differed from all others of the Plateau culture area in that they did not recognize spiritual power to be the domain of both laypersons and shamans. Only spiritually gifted persons (e.g., shamans) fostered relationships with spirit-helpers among these cultures. Consequently, the winter ceremonial dances common among other Plateau societies (the vehicles whereby laypersons

expressed their procured relationships with spiritual power) were unknown to the Klamath and Modoc.

These cultures, however, were not completely dissimilar to their Plateau counterparts regarding conceptualizations and manifestations of spiritual power. As with some Sahaptian societies (e.g., the Umatilla), the Klamath and Modoc recognized that spirit-helpers representing the same species of animal may bestow different degrees of spiritual power to individuals. Spiritual power was not uniformly distributed by all members of the same animal species. Thus, although a number of shamans may have possessed grizzly bear spirit-helpers, each would not have been recognized as possessing the same degree of spiritual power. As explained by Ray (1963:47), among the Modoc "no two [spirit-helpers] conferred upon their shamanistic associates exactly the same amount of power with regard to the function of the spirit". Not only were representative spirit-helpers of different animal species regarded as qualitatively distinct in the spiritual power they conferred, but there also existed notable differences among individual spirit-helpers of the same animal species. The result was that neither Klamath nor Modoc societies recognized a definite hierarchy of spiritual powers, where representatives of a single type of spiritual power (e.g., grizzly bear

spiritual power) were consistently considered to be among the most powerful or dangerous spirit-helpers one could obtain.⁴⁹

Because individual spirit-helpers differed in the spiritual power they conferred, the Klamath and Modoc also did not recognize strict specialist shamans among them, such as "weather shamans", "rattlesnake shamans", or "grizzly bear shamans", as these persons existed in other Pacific Slope cultures (Spier 1930:108; Voegelin 1942:159). Indeed, Klamath and Modoc shamans did not typically receive all of their spiritual power from one source. Instead, they garnered their powers from a multitude of spirit-helpers, and those shamans considered the strongest or most powerful in their communities were those who had several potent spirit-helpers, each conferring a different type of spiritual power (Ray 1963:42). Thus, shamans with grizzly bear spiritual power would not necessarily have been considered any more powerful than shamans possessing other types of spiritual powers. Additionally,

⁴⁹ Park (1938:16) has noted that among some Pacific Slope cultures it was not always entirely clear whether animal spirit-helpers were regarded as representatives of the species or of single animals. It seems, however, that where hierarchies were expressed (e.g., grizzly bear spirit-helpers were reported to be the most dangerous), spirit-helpers were most often conceived as representatives of the species, or messengers of "owners of the species", such as Grizzly Bear spirit. Thus, even though persons obtained different individual grizzly bear spirit-helpers, it was believed that each grizzly bear spirit-helper conferred similar, if not identical spiritual power to its human proprietor. In contrast, when spirit-helpers were more precisely recognized as representatives of single animals, hierarchies of spiritual powers were not as readily expressed. In such cases, as among the Klamath and Modoc, every spirit-helper was regarded as distinct, and conferred a different degree of spiritual power regardless of the larger species to which it belonged.

shamans with grizzly bear spiritual power would have possessed other spirit-helpers over and above grizzly bear spirit-helpers (although they would have called upon only one spirit-helper at a time). In this regard, Klamath and Modoc societies displayed the same general pattern as other Plateau (and most Northwest Coast) cultures, but differed from the California cultures which they bordered to the south.

The manner in which grizzly bear spiritual power was acquired was also similar to that reported among all other Plateau societies. Thus, Klamath and Modoc shamans received grizzly bear spiritual power through visitations from grizzly bear spirit-helpers (as opposed to wearing bearskin fetishes, or cavorting with live grizzly bears, as was reported among California cultures). Among the Klamath, for example, it was recalled,

Men came to this place [Wita'mumpsii] to swim. Standing on the bluff they saw several bears below. Another man came to swim at sunset. He saw a bear standing upright in the water. "That is what I like. I will swim there", he said. The bear disappeared. The man dived in but did not come up. He was found lying on the bank, blood flowing from his mouth. The bear had caught him and made him a shaman (Spier 1930:99).

Although the degree of their curative powers varied, Klamath and Modoc shamans with grizzly bear spirit-helpers, as elsewhere in the Pacific Slope, were generally recognized as possessing the ability to cure victims of bear attacks, as well as others suffering from large open wounds. As described by Spier (1930:128),

wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent the forepaws.

Although shamans with grizzly bear spiritual power imitated grizzly bears in gesture and sound during their healing ceremonies, objects worn in representation of grizzly bear spirit-helpers were sparse. Typically, they consisted only of grizzly bear claw necklaces. No bearskins were worn, nor were these shamans deemed capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears while they cured (Spier 1930:128). Indeed, beyond the capacity to heal specific maladies, other abilities typically conferred to shamans by grizzly bear spirit-helpers seem nonexistent. Given that grizzly bear spirit-helpers were not regarded as necessarily more powerful or dangerous than any other spirit-helpers, it is probable that traits commonly attributed to grizzly bear persons by other Plateau cultures (e.g., superhuman strength and endurance, invulnerability) were not as readily ascribed by the Klamath and Modoc. More appropriately (in keeping with the concept of individual spirit-helpers conferring different degrees of spiritual power), only those grizzly bear shamans deemed most powerful would have been recognized with such capacities. These, and any other exhibited abilities, would have been tied directly to the relative power attributed to the grizzly bear spirit-helpers possessed by individual shamans. Thus, those grizzly bear shamans with more powerful grizzly bear spirit-helpers would have displayed both a higher number of extraordinary

abilities related to grizzly bear spiritual power, and more proficiency at the abilities.

Great Basin Culture Area

Washo and Northern Paiute subarea

Unlike the Klamath and other Plateau (and Northwest Coast) cultures, shamans of Washo and Northern Paiute societies received all of their spiritual power strictly from one spirit-helper (Park 1934:100). In this respect, Washo and Northern Paiute shamans more closely resembled those reported for California cultures (with whom Washo and Northern Paiute societies shared a territorial boundary). Similarly, the reported existences of grizzly bear shamans more readily corresponded to the general pattern found among California cultures. A shaman who procured a relationship with a grizzly bear spirit-helper typically associated only with this spirit-helper during his or her lifetime. Consequently, the appellation "grizzly bear shaman" is more befitting to Washo and Northern Paiute shamans than their Plateau counterparts. It was also the case among Washo and Northern Paiute societies that only individuals of renowned spiritual power (e.g., shamans) established personal relationships with spirit-helpers. Laypersons did not systematically pursue such encounters (Liljebald and Fowler 1986:428; d'Azevedo

1986:489).⁵⁰ As a result, annual spirit dances performed by laypersons were unknown in the Washo and Northern Paiute subarea.

While Stewart (1941a:414) has reported that grizzly bear shamans existed among only two of the twelve Northern Paiute societies he surveyed (Tagö and Wada), Kelly (1932:190) uncontrovertibly acknowledged that grizzly bear shamans were known among the Kidü (one of the societies discounted by Stewart). As such, the existence of grizzly bear shamans among Northern Paiute societies may have been more frequent than one is led to believe from Stewart's account.⁵¹ Park (1934:99), with his monograph of Paviotso culture, certainly gives the impression that grizzly bear shamans were not uncommon among these societies, and it is evident that elsewhere in the subarea grizzly bear shamans were an acknowledged phenomenon. Both Steward (1933:309) and Driver (1937a:105) reported their presence among the Owens Valley Paiute, and Downs (1961:381) has affirmed that grizzly bear shamans were known to the Washo. Clearly, then, shamans who possessed grizzly bear spiritual power were an accepted cultural trait of societies in this subarea.

⁵⁰ Stewart (1941a:415) has reported the existence of a "guardian spirit concept" among the Northern Paiute, but this has been refuted by Fowler and Liljebald (1986:451).

⁵¹ Stewart (1941a:414) also reported that grizzly bear shamans were unknown to Washo societies, a declaration refuted solidly by the findings of other ethnographers (e.g., Downs 1961:381).

Wherever grizzly bear shamans were reported among Washo and Northern Paiute societies, the pattern of their existences was similar. As was common among Pacific Slope cultures in general, Washo and Northern Paiute societies regarded grizzly bear spiritual power as particularly strong and forceful. All cultures were in agreement, for example, that grizzly bear shamans acquired the capacity to physically transform themselves into grizzly bears (Stewart 1941a:414; Driver 1937a:105; Steward 1933:309). Indeed, such transformation abilities were said to be endowed *only* by grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Other types of spirit-helpers did not confer such powers.

Similar to grizzly bear shamans reported among California cultures, Washo and Northern Paiute grizzly bear shamans were acknowledged to have frequently employed their transformation abilities in order to intimidate others. As recalled by one Washo informant,

A hunter boasted, "I would kill a bear and throw dirt at him. I am not afraid of bears". A bear shaman, hearing this, said to himself, "Some day I will meet you in the woods and will show you". The shaman transformed himself into a bear and met the hunter in the mountains, saying, "I wonder how brave this man really is? I will test his power". The bear jumped from behind a rock. The hunter threw dirt at him. The bear jumped and the hunter dodged. Again this happened. The bear pursued him over rocks, through trees. The hunter said, "This thing chasing me can't be a bear. A bear could not do this well". He knew it was not a real bear and tried to escape. The bear caught him but failed to tear him up. Rolling in the dirt, the hunter slipped into a crack in the rock (Steward 1933:309).

Other extraordinary traits frequently attributed to grizzly bear shamans included the power of rapid travel and invulnerability, or immunity from attack (Stewart 1941a:414; Driver 1937a:105). Additionally, Washo and Northern Paiute grizzly bear shamans were reportedly able to safely associate with live grizzly bears. As explained by one Kidü informant, "if you dream of a bear go and see a bear. He is your friend; he doesn't bite you; he is like a good dog" (Kelly 1932:190).

The most notable abilities of grizzly bear shamans with respect to their communities, however, were their healing powers. As was common among Pacific Slope societies, Washo and Northern Paiute cultures recognized that shamans who acquired grizzly bear spiritual power were endowed specifically with abilities to cure victims of bear attack, and other persons with open wounds (Steward 1933:309). During their curing ceremonies, grizzly bear shamans typically danced in imitation of grizzly bears. As noted by Steward (1933:309), "their songs imitated grunts; their dance was a slow bear-like step". Physical transformation, however, was not enacted during these times. Instead, grizzly bear spiritual power was visually represented by the shamans wearing grizzly bear claws and, on occasion (as among the Owens Valley Paiute), grizzly bear hides (Driver 1937a:105).

Because grizzly bear spiritual power was considered so potent and dangerous by Washo and Northern Paiute societies, the line between benevolent and malevolent grizzly bear shamans was not always clearly drawn. Individuals associated with

exceptionally strong spirit-helpers, such as grizzly bears, were often suspected of maliciousness, or employing their powers to harm others. Among the Washo, for example, only "particularly powerful doctors", such as grizzly bear shamans, were considered able to kill their enemies (Downs 1961:372). Indeed, one Paviotso individual expressed the belief that "all shamans who derive powers from the bear practice sorcery" (Park 1938:45). Park discovered, however, that "this view was only partially confirmed by several informants". Others reported that "supernatural power derived from the bear carries no more possibility of sorcery than the powers of other spirits" (Park 1938:45).

Although grizzly bear spiritual power may not always have been associated with malevolent actions, it is clear that malevolent persons commonly sought grizzly bears as spirit-helpers. Thus,

many of the Paviotso believe that a witch doctor gets his power from the bear: "sometimes a sick man dreams that a person who looks like a bear comes to him. Then he knows that a shaman with power from a bear poisoned him. This is the strongest power. Even a good doctor cannot cure him" (Park 1934:110).

Interestingly, although both males and females held significant spiritual power among Washo and Northern Paiute societies, grizzly bear shamans, whether primarily healers or malevolent individuals, were exclusively male (Steward 1933:311; Driver 1937a:105). Undoubtedly, this was a corollary of grizzly bear spiritual power being intimately associated with both superior physical strength and untamed ferocity.

Western Shoshone subarea

While grizzly bear spiritual power (and individuals holding such power) exerted a dominant presence among most Washo and Northern Paiute societies, it does not seem to have been such an immediate force among Western Shoshone cultures.⁵² Although not unknown among Western Shoshone societies, persons who possessed grizzly bear spiritual power were not widely recognized. Steward (1940:322), for example, found that grizzly bear persons were acknowledged among only one (Snake River) of the twelve Western Shoshone societies he surveyed. Similarly, Driver (1937a:105) noted that only one (Koso Range) of three Panamint Shoshoni societies proclaimed the existence of grizzly bear persons among them, and Stewart (1941a:317) and Steward (1942:346) each indicated that all of their Gosiute informants denied the presence of grizzly bear persons. The only other Western Shoshone societies for which grizzly bear persons have been positively reported, in fact, were the Battle Mountain (Harris 1940:60; Steward 1942:285).

Where grizzly bear persons were acknowledged among Western Shoshone cultures, they appear to have been similar, if not identical, in character to those reported for Washo and Northern Paiute societies. Grizzly bear spiritual power, when expressed as a reality, was regarded as unusually potent, and

⁵² This is not completely surprising, given that grizzly bears (and other large mammals) were simply not as plentiful in the semi-arid deserts typically occupied by Western Shoshone societies.

grizzly bear spirit-helpers were said to have bestowed unique abilities to their human beneficiaries. As such, grizzly bear persons were commonly noted to possess remarkable physical strength, as well as the capacities of both rapid travel and immunity from attack. Physical transformation into grizzly bears, however, was acknowledged among only Snake River societies.

All three of these Western Shoshone groups (Snake River, Koso Range, and Battle Mountain) reported that grizzly bear persons possessed abilities to cure illness, and classed them as shamans (Steward 1940:322; Steward 1942:285; Driver 1937a:105). In function, Western Shoshone grizzly bear shamans were identical to those reported among Washo and Northern Paiute societies. Able to particularly cure victims of bear attacks, Western Shoshone grizzly bear shamans imitated grizzly bears visually and kinesthetically during their healing performances. Koso Range grizzly bear shamans, for example, typically wore bearskins while enacting their cures (Driver 1937a:105). Malevolence among grizzly bear shamans was neither reported nor denied by these societies. Given the cultural characterizations of grizzly bear spiritual power, however, and the cultural proximity of these societies to Washo and Northern Paiute societies,⁵³ malevolent behaviours would not be unexpected.

⁵³ See, for example, Steward (1937:625-634); Jorgensen (1980:89).

As to why only Snake River, Koso Range, and Battle Mountain societies acknowledged the existence of grizzly bear shamans among them is unclear. It may have been that the geographical regions inhabited by these groups were the only areas occupied by Western Shoshone societies which also readily supported grizzly bears. Thus, these societies may simply have had more contact with the species, and consequently more readily acknowledged grizzly bear spiritual power as an imminent force. Clearly, however, grizzly bear spiritual power and persons who held such power were not consistently acknowledged in the Western Shoshone subarea.

Kawaiisu subarea

Unlike Western Shoshone societies, grizzly bear spiritual power and grizzly bear persons were well known among the Kawaiisu.⁵⁴ In character, however, grizzly bear persons recounted by the Kawaiisu differed somewhat from those reported by other Great Basin cultures. They more closely resembled the individuals described among many California cultures.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Kawaiisu societies existed primarily in the southern reaches of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, as well as on the slopes of Piute and Tehachapi mountains (Zigmond 1986:398). As such, they would have experienced much more sustained contact with grizzly bears than Western Shoshone societies.

⁵⁵ Klimek (1935:54) and Zigmond (1986:408), in fact, have noted that in terms of cultural expression, the Kawaiisu were very similar to both Tübatulabal and Foothill Yokuts societies (with whom they shared a territorial boundary). It would not be surprising, then, to find that Kawaiisu reports of grizzly bear persons also resembled those expressed by these California cultures.

Grizzly bears, and the spiritual power associated with them, were portrayed exclusively as malevolent and dangerous by the Kawaiisu. Grizzly bears, in fact, were considered the ultimate embodiment of evil and malice (Zigmond 1977:81). As a result, the animals, and the spiritual power associated with them, were to be avoided at all costs. Indeed, the mere sight of grizzly bears (particularly in one's dreams) was sufficient to cause remarkable dread. The Kawaiisu considered grizzly bears *miitiipi*, an expression which denoted "an unfavorable and unlucky sight which, unless prompt counteraction is taken, may be the prelude to some dire consequence" (Zigmond 1977:77). If a grizzly bear appeared in one's dreams, for example, this was interpreted as an unfavourable omen. Unless appropriate curative actions were taken immediately, it was understood that "you will die in two or three days. He will eat you" (Zigmond 1977:77).⁵⁶ Upon seeing *miitiipi*, the only way to deflect their harmful effects was to undergo an "ant ritual".⁵⁷ As one Kawaiisu explained,

if you eat or drink nothing after seeing him [*miitiipi*] and you take red ants the next morning, you will live... After swallowing the ants, you fall into a deep sleep at once like being drunk. The *miitiipi* comes to you in your dream and says: "you will not die" (Zigmond 1977:77).

⁵⁶ The only other entities categorized by the Kawaiisu in such a fatalistic manner were rattlesnakes and Rock Babies (Zigmond 1977:78).

⁵⁷ For a discussion of the ant ritual as practiced among the Kawaiisu and neighbouring South-Central California cultures, see Applegate (1978:35).

Not surprisingly, any persons who willingly associated themselves with grizzly bear spiritual power were regarded with suspicion among the Kawaiisu. Only individuals of questionable character, it was felt, would seek out such a malevolent and evil force. Indeed, those who acquired grizzly bears as spirit-helpers were reported to have most commonly employed this spiritual power for purposes of intimidation and murder. Extraordinary abilities associated with such persons included superhuman strength and endurance, and the capacity to physically transform themselves into grizzly bears (Zigmond 1977:81). The following accounts aptly illustrate the noted demeanour and abilities of these grizzly bear persons as reported among the Kawaiisu. Thus,

Someone in Tejon wants to kill someone over here. The "bear" waits for the man in the mountains. He hides in the willows near the trail. The man to be killed is a "South Fork" [Tübatulabal]. The "bear" cuts off his head and legs. They thought it was a real bear, but it wasn't. He stuck arrows with the points upward in a circle around the dead man.... The people, including the dead man's wife, went up there. The "bear" was watching from somewhere--they could hear him laughing. They thought it was a grizzly bear until they found the arrows. Then they knew it was a man (Zigmond 1977:81).

Another Kawaiisu reported,

Once some cowboys in Tehachapi saw a bear eating juniper berries. They threw a lasso and caught it by the hand. They pulled and the hand came off. Later, that "bear" saw these cowboys. He said, "Look what you fellows did to me". His hand was missing (Zigmond 1977:81).

A third informant recalled that,

Once two of the "bears" went through Kelso Valley on the way to the desert to get salt. Real bears never go to get salt. On the way back they passed Jim Haslem's

place where there was a pine tree. One of the "bears" jumped and swung on one of the limbs. Then they went through Tehachapi on the trail back to Tejon. Their tracks could be seen (Zigmond 1977:82).

These descriptions notwithstanding, Zigmond (1977:81) was of the opinion that the phenomenon of grizzly bear persons was not a Kawaiisu institution. Instead, he concluded that the Kawaiisu knew of (and reported) such individuals only as a result of contact with adjacent California societies. Most notably, these would have included the Tübatulabal, Foothill Yokuts, Kitanemuk, and Serrano (Zigmond 1986:398). Indeed, while the above accounts simulated Yokuts reports in the mischievous nature of grizzly bear persons, other summaries supplied by Kawaiisu informants were clearly of Kitanemuk influence. Grizzly bear persons were elsewhere described as,

able to behave like a bear by dressing in a bear skin. They used *puyuma'aku* (white powder) to make him run and act like a bear... the *pitadi* [sorcerer] made a "bear" called *kaukau*. Maybe they put *puyuma'aku* on the man. He sits inside the bearskin. He has reins and carries lots of beads inside. That powder makes the hide alive--makes him run (Zigmond 1977:81).

And,

If a bear is killed and skinned, then someone with his substance can control or direct the bearskin from a distance by using some kind of rein or bridle-type mechanism, and it can be used to kill one's enemies. Perhaps the person doing the magic could hide a knife inside the bearskin to kill someone (Zigmond 1977:81).

Clearly, these narratives reflected the "bear machine" tales reported by Kitanemuk societies (who, in turn, adopted the concept from the Chumash).

With respect to such Kawaiisu descriptions of grizzly bear persons, Zigmond (1977:89) noted that "no Kawaiisu word was

ever suggested for 'bear shamanism'. The term *kaukau* is clearly alien... and informants insisted that bear-impersonators belonged to neighbouring tribes". Ultimately, he concluded, "it is doubtful that bear shamanism was a Kawaiisu institution" (Zigmond 1977:89). Substantiation for Zigmond's conclusion can be found in earlier ethnographic sources. Driver (1937a:105), for example, noted that the Kawaiisu individuals with whom he came into contact all denied the existence of grizzly bear persons among them. It appears, then, that in spite of very detailed descriptions given by some Kawaiisu, grizzly bear persons were not indigenous to Kawaiisu culture. Grizzly bears, and the spiritual power they commanded, were regarded as so distasteful that no Kawaiisu sought relationships with them. Tales of malicious activities of grizzly bear persons from other cultures, however, were consistent with Kawaiisu conceptions of grizzly bear spiritual power, and appear to have been (at least in recent times) wholeheartedly incorporated into the lore of these societies. Such tales, in fact, served to further reiterate the inherent dangers of grizzly bear spiritual power as expressed by Kawaiisu culture.

Northern and Eastern Shoshone subarea

Northern and Eastern Shoshone cultures, who were influenced by adjacent Plateau and Plains societies to a much greater degree than other Great Basin groups (Murphy and Murphy 1986:289; Shimkin 1986:308), correspondingly expressed

attitudes about spiritual power which differed somewhat from their Great Basin counterparts. Most notably, both laypersons and shamans among Northern and Eastern Shoshone cultures fostered relationships with spirit-helpers.

Among the existent pantheons of Northern and Eastern Shoshone spirit-helpers, grizzly bears figured prominently. All Northern and Eastern Shoshone cultures considered grizzly bear spiritual power to be among the strongest and most dangerous types of spiritual power encountered (Madsen 1980:21). So unwieldy and dominant was grizzly bear spiritual power, in fact, that although laypersons routinely cultivated relationships with spirit-helpers, they rarely forged ties with grizzly bears. Typically, only extraordinary individuals (e.g., shamans) claimed grizzly bears as spirit-helpers. Among the Wind River Shoshoni, for example, it was noted, "the bear is an animal that gets mad, therefore no good *puha* [spirit-helper] for a family-man: he will get mad over nothing" (Hultkrantz 1970:76). Northern and Eastern Shoshone laypersons avoided grizzly bear spiritual power whenever possible.

With respect to shamanism, Northern and Eastern Shoshone shamans who obtained grizzly bear spiritual power were often considered the strongest and most prominent individuals of their communities (Hultkrantz 1970:75). As elsewhere among Pacific Slope cultures, grizzly bear spirit-helpers were said to impart extraordinary abilities (over and above curing illness) to their human associates. Included among these was immunity from attack. One Wind River Shoshoni grizzly bear

shaman, for example, whom Hultkrantz (1970:75) noted was the "most respected medicine-man of the Wind River Shoshoni in the 1940s", stated,

When the sun went up in the east I dreamed about three bears sitting under a pine-tree. I shot at them. One of them came forth to me and said, Look now, you see all these bullets twisting the fur here?--Yes, I see them.--This is the way I am: the bullets cannot kill me.--It really looked as if the bear had mud twisted in his coat. The bear said, I want you to cut one of my ears. You should fasten it in a rope hanging down from your side. In this way you will dance.--The dream ended. Later on I stumbled upon a dead bear, took his one ear and carry it now. No bullet can kill me. This is true (Hultkrantz 1970:75).

Such declarations of immunity, coupled with widespread acknowledgement that immense physical strength was imparted by grizzly bear spirit-helpers, gave rise to many Northern and Eastern Shoshone societies associating grizzly bear spiritual power with war power. The Lemhi and Bannock, for example, both considered grizzly bear shamans an important asset during times of warfare (Steward 1942:346). It was understood that grizzly bear shamans (given their superior strength, ferocity, and invincibility) greatly increased one's chances of victory.

Other attributes correlated with grizzly bear shamans included the capacity to associate with live grizzly bears. The Wind River Shoshoni shaman referenced above also noted that "bears often come to me in my dreams, they rustle and scratch, but don't hurt me" (Hultkrantz 1970:75). A second individual reported that "a Shoshoni who has the bear as *puha* may treat the bears in whatever way he pleases. Any other person will

however be torn to pieces by a bear if he tries to deal with it" (Hultkrantz 1970:76).

Although transformation abilities were never explicitly acknowledged among Northern and Eastern Shoshone societies, grizzly bear persons often resembled their spirit-helper benefactors. Thus, "one man with bear *puha* was Pinji:z, a good, strong medicine-man. When he got mad he growled like a bear, and the hair on his head stood up like the hair of a bear" (Hultkrantz 1970:76).

Special curing abilities reported of Northern and Eastern Shoshone grizzly bear shamans paralleled those acknowledged elsewhere. Such individuals were said to have been especially adept at curing victims of bear attacks. Grizzly bear shamans, while imitating grizzly bears in gesture and sound, sucked intruding objects (e.g., bear tongue) from patients' bodies and, upon displaying the objects to others present, safely deposited them away from the village (Shimkin 1986:326).

Contrary to the pattern of most Great Basin cultures, Northern and Eastern Shoshone societies did not associate malevolent activities with the grizzly bear shamans they reported. Although grizzly bear spiritual power was itself considered unwieldy and dangerous, shamans who procured this spiritual power seemingly behaved only in ways which benefitted their communities. Murderous or vengeful displays were

nonexistent in informants' reports.⁵⁸ Indeed, the general attitude of respect imparted by informants when referring to grizzly bear shamans suggests that they were commonly held in high esteem within their Northern and Eastern Shoshone communities.

Ute subarea

Unlike Northern and Eastern Shoshone societies (but similar to all other Great Basin cultures), Ute societies considered the cultivation of spiritual power to be an activity exclusive to extraordinary individuals, such as shamans. Ute laypersons did not routinely foster personal relationships with spirit-helpers (Smith 1974:154).

Of the various types of spiritual power recognized in the Ute cultural world-view, grizzly bear spiritual power was regarded as one of the strongest (Smith 1974:155). Not all Ute societies acknowledged the presence of grizzly bear persons among them, however. Stewart (1941b:317), for example, noted that two of the six groups he surveyed, the Uintah and Pahvant, denied the existence of grizzly bear persons. In contrast, grizzly bear persons were positively reported among the Muache, Timpanogots, Capote, and Weeminuche.

In those Ute societies where grizzly bear persons were acknowledged, beliefs regarding their behaviours and functions

⁵⁸ Shimkin (1986:325) has noted that among the Eastern Shoshone, "other than through breach of taboo, illness comes from malevolent dwarf people".

very much paralleled those described for other Great Basin cultures. Beyond the ability to cure specific illnesses (most notably, victims of bear attack and persons with open wounds), grizzly bear spirit-helpers conferred unique abilities to the shamans with whom they associated. Thus, Ute grizzly bear shamans were deemed capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears, and were reported to have acquired the faculties of both rapid travel and invulnerability. They also routinely associated with live grizzly bears, and at least one Ute society (the Capote) acknowledged that grizzly bear shamans were particularly valuable to their communities in times of warfare (Stewart 1941b:317). It may be also noted that murderous or intimidating activities were not reported for these individuals. Similar to Northern and Eastern Shoshone societies, Ute grizzly bear shamans seem to have functioned primarily, if not exclusively, for the general benefit of their communities.

A second general type of bear person also existed among Ute societies. In conjunction with their important annual Bear Dance ceremonies,⁵⁹ all Ute communities recognized the presence of bear persons who performed as public dancers. As described by Opler (1941:27), "the Bear Dance leader is selected each year by bear, from whom he receives his power in this ceremony, usually through dreams, as the annual representative of bear himself". Wearing bearskins, bear dancers, among other

⁵⁹ For the best descriptions of the Ute Bear Dance, see Reed (1896:237-244); Steward (1932:263-273); Opler (1941:21-30).

activities, entered into the dance circle on the last day of the Bear Dance, "pawing and prancing" in imitation of bears "to symbolize that the prayers have been heard and the earth is awakened" (Pettit 1982:92). From all ethnographic evidence, however, it is clear that these bear dancers represented black bears rather than grizzly bears. Additionally, they appear not to have possessed bear spiritual power to any extent beyond the Bear Dance ceremonies themselves. The functions and existences of these individuals, in fact, were linked entirely to the Bear Dance. It is certain, then, that Ute bear dancers were qualitatively distinct from the grizzly bear shamans described above. The two may confidently be considered as separate personages.

Southern Paiute subarea

Grizzly bears (and concomitantly, grizzly bear spiritual power) were not a dominant presence among Southern Paiute societies. Correspondingly, grizzly bear persons were widely unknown in this subarea. Stewart (1941b:317), for example, indicated that all of his Southern Paiute informants (representing Shivwits, Kaibab, and San Juan societies) denied the existence of grizzly bear persons among them. Likewise, Kelly (1939:166) noted that although Southern Paiute societies customarily recognized "specialist shamans" of the California type (e.g., rattlesnake shamans, weather shamans), "bear shamans are unknown".

The only Southern Paiute culture which acknowledged the existence of grizzly bear persons was the Chemehuevi. As reported by Laird (1976:47), "there was, among the Chemehuevis, the presence of bear shamans in the days when shamanism flourished, together with the high esteem in which they were held". The characteristics reported of Chemehuevi grizzly bear shamans very much coincided with the traits acknowledged by other Great Basin cultures. Thus, Chemehuevi grizzly bear shamans were endowed specifically with the capacity to cure victims of bear attack, and their healing performances featured the sucking out of disease from patients' bodies. Other faculties granted by grizzly bear spirit-helpers to shamans included extraordinary physical strength and the ability to physically transform themselves into grizzly bears (Laird 1974:22). Transformation abilities, however, were not enacted as part of curing rituals. As noted by Laird (1974:22),

it is said that occasional shamans actually had the power to assume the form of the animal familiar, but only did this when alone. A bear shaman whose fame still lingers could turn himself into a bear, but he was said to have been less successful as a healer than most bear shamans.

While malicious activities were neither positively reported nor denied, the fact that grizzly bear shamans were renowned for their abilities to heal suggests that they were not overly vengeful or murderous characters. Such a conclusion is consistent with both the prevailing characteristics of grizzly bear shamans reported for other Great Basin cultures, and the above statements provided by Laird which unequivocally

declare that grizzly bear shamans were both respected and admired among Chemehuevi societies.

Colorado River Culture Area

Yuman subarea

Consistent with the fact that grizzly bears were altogether absent from the territories occupied by every Colorado River culture, this species was not a spiritual presence among these societies. All ethnographies of Colorado River cultures are in agreement that grizzly bear spiritual power, and concomitantly, grizzly bear persons, were unknown to these groups. Gifford (1933:310), for example, noted that among the Cocopa "bear and weather shamans were lacking". Likewise, Drucker's Yuma informants all denied the existence of grizzly bear persons among them (Drucker 1937a:42). Grizzly bears were also conspicuously absent from lists of Maricopa spirits "who appear in dreams" (Spier 1933:250), as well as Mojave "types" of shamans and sorcerers (Stewart 1970:15-24; Stewart 1973:315-324; Stewart 1974:4-13). It is abundantly clear from all ethnographic sources that grizzly bear spiritual power, and grizzly bear persons, simply did not exist among any of the Colorado River societies.

Southwest Culture Area

Piman subarea

Piman societies exhibited refined and elaborate beliefs regarding bear spiritual power.⁶⁰ Central to these beliefs was the concept of "bear sickness", one of a number of specific types of illness (collectively known as "staying sickness") recognized by these societies.⁶¹ Bear sickness, in fact, was considered one of the most dire forms of disease, concomitant with the expressed convictions that bears were among the most

⁶⁰ Differences between black bear spiritual power and grizzly bear spiritual power were much less distinct among Southwest and Pueblo cultures than among other societies of the Pacific Slope. Black bears were much more frequent in these territories, and the many concepts, rituals, and ceremonies described for Southwest and Pueblo societies were unmistakably directed toward this species. Grizzly bears, however, were treated in much the same manner as black bears. Indeed, attitudes exhibited toward black bears were expressed for all *ursus* species. Grizzly bears, among others, were implicitly included. As such, clear demarcations between grizzly bear spiritual power and black bear spiritual power, as noted elsewhere in the Pacific Slope region, were not manifest here. It is not inappropriate, therefore, to incorporate these concepts and rituals into a general analysis of grizzly bear spiritual power. In light of the similar treatment of black bears and grizzly bears, however (and the primacy of black bears to these societies), the more generic terms "bear spiritual power" and "bear persons" will be employed throughout summaries of Southwest and Pueblo cultures.

⁶¹ Bahr (1983:196) has identified a total of 38 different types of "staying sickness" recognized among Piman cultures (27 of which were derived from animals). The term "staying sickness" was itself a post-contact designation used by the Pima and Papago to differentiate aboriginal illnesses (e.g., bear sickness, coyote sickness) from those illnesses of Euro-American origin (e.g., measles, flu, chicken pox), which were referred to collectively as "wandering sickness" (Bahr et al. 1974:22).

spiritually powerful (and dangerous) entities which could be encountered (Bahr et al. 1974:26).

Bear sickness, however, was not acknowledged to result specifically from attacks by bears (the primary cause of bear-related disease expressed among other Pacific Slope cultures). More typically, Piman societies reported that bear sickness resulted from individuals coming into contact with bears (either physically or spiritually), and violating in some way the acknowledged cultural codes which delineated proper behaviour in such circumstances. As described by Bahr (1983:196),

each kind of dangerous object [e.g., bears] has a "way" (*hímdag*), which in practical terms means a number of things that humans must do when they meet up with a dangerous object... One can get a staying sickness only by transgressing on a way; he cannot get it by contagion from another sick person and he cannot get it merely by meeting up with a dangerous object.

Bear sickness, then, was said to have resulted from transgressing "bear way".

Piman societies believed that some time after the transgression, spiritual power (*géwkadag*, "strength") associated with the "dangerous object" (e.g., bear) entered the body of the offending individual to produce the symptoms of a particular sickness (Bahr 1983:196). Specific symptoms associated with bear sickness included "swellings upon the body" (particularly the limbs), as well as headaches and fevers (Russell 1908:262; Bahr 1983:196). It was understood, however, that these symptoms need not develop immediately after a transgression had taken place. Instead, bear sickness may

remain latent for some time within an individual before eventually surfacing. As one Pima individual recalled,

A lady found out she had this kind of sickness even though she had never seen a bear. Then she remembered that as a little girl she was walking alone in a sandy wash in the mountains and she came upon a large track. She didn't know what animal had made it and decided to step in it. Now she found out it must have been a bear (Bahr 1983:198).

As the quotation illustrates, knowledge of contact with bears was not necessary for the effects of bear spiritual power to be transmitted. Any object touched by a bear was capable of subsequently causing bear sickness.

For those who suspected that bear sickness was upon them, shamans were required to enact cures. More specifically, Piman societies recognized the existence of bear shamans among them, who had established personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers (Gifford 1940:75, 181).

Curing ceremonies, which lasted up to four nights, initially featured bear shamans singing a number of "bear songs" over patients in all-night diagnostic sessions known as *dóajida*.⁶² As explained by Bahr (1983:194),

in the *dóajida* one must bring spirit helpers into play by singing to them.... Each song is understood to have been given to him [the shaman] by a spirit, and so as he works through his repertoire he calls out his lifetime collection.

Upon establishing the extent of bear sickness within patients, disease was removed by bear shamans (on succeeding nights) primarily through sucking bear "strength" from the afflicted

⁶² See, for example, Russell (1908:318).

individuals (Bahr 1983:196). Although bear songs continued to be sung in order to invoke bear spirit-helpers, visual representations of bears were minimal, if not altogether lacking, during the healing ceremonies. Russell (1908:262), for example, indicated that "no part of the animal" was present during cures. Instead, bear songs were the primary medium through which bear spirit-helpers were summoned. Indeed, in the final stages of the curing ceremonies, the songs served to precipitate full recovery from bear sickness.

The shamans' actions of sucking bear "strength" from patients were understood as necessary but not sufficient procedures to completely remove bear sickness. It was understood that some bear spiritual power would remain within patients' bodies, "diagnosed but unremoved" (Bahr 1983:197). The singing of bear songs subsequent to the sucking procedure, however, invoked bear spirit-helpers to thoroughly eliminate bear "strength". As explained by Bahr (1983:197), "upon hearing its way celebrated, the spirit will lift the remaining strength from the patient's body". This final round of songs, in fact, provided great comfort to those afflicted with bear sickness. Thus, "patients are said to experience a great relief on hearing the songs. People who have been feverish and unable to rest for weeks may fall into a deep sleep after the curers have gone home" (Bahr 1983:197).

From all reports, it is clear that although Piman bear shamans were capable of effectively alleviating victims of bear attack (the most severe form of bear-related disease), their

prevailing role as curers was in the treatment of more subtle manifestations of bear sickness. In this regard, Piman bear shamans differed from most other Pacific Slope bear shamans, who (although they removed disease-causing objects such as bears' tongues from patients' bodies) specialized in curing victims of physical bear attacks. Piman bear shamans were required to alleviate not only ailments which resulted directly from physical bear attacks, but also (and more frequently) ailments which resulted from the more endemic disease of bear sickness. This function, as will be shown, was a trait characteristic of Southwest bear shamans in general (Pai societies excluded).

Bear shamans were recognized as more than curers among Piman societies, however. Concomitant with beliefs regarding the debilitating aspects of bear spiritual power, bear shamans were occasionally reported to have employed their power for malevolent purposes. Gifford (1940:74-75), for example, has noted that Papago societies attributed "witchcraft" to shamans, and that bears particularly were "connected with witchcraft". Indeed, malevolent bear shamans were reported to have often sent their bear spirit-helpers to inflict persons with bear sickness (Gifford 1940:182).

It was also reported that such bear shamans were of the "werewolf type", possessing abilities to transform themselves into bears (Gifford 1940:180), even though such feats were never accomplished during their curing ceremonies. Although the exact behaviours of transformed bear shamans have not been

delineated, these individuals undoubtedly effected intimidation of others. Presumably (given evidence from other Southwest societies) transformed bear shamans prowled about Piman communities at night, physically attacking unsuspecting victims, or employing their bear spirit-helpers to impart bear sickness to selected individuals (Gifford 1940:180). Thus, as was not uncommon elsewhere in the Pacific Slope, Pima and Papago societies recognized that bear shamans occasionally caused disease and suffering (particularly as associated with bear sickness) as well as cured.

Pai subarea

Bears were altogether absent from the territories occupied by both Walapai and Western Yavapai societies. As a result, bear spiritual power was not an acknowledged presence among them, and bear persons were likewise nonexistent (Kroeber 1935:185; Gifford 1936:316). The position reported among Southeastern Yavapai societies, although similar, was slightly more complex. These societies encountered bears intermittently in their territories, and recognized the existence of bear spiritual power in their respective worlds. The mythological character Bear, in fact, was said to possess significant curative powers. These societies, however, discounted the possibility of bear persons among them (Park 1938:102). As described by Gifford (1932:241),

there was no belief in bear shamans or bear people. In the dawn of the world, however, Bear was a great shaman and cousin of Widapokwi [the culture hero],

from whom he derived his power. Shamans did not get power from the bear, but only from Widapokwi.⁶³

Concomitant to these beliefs that Bear itself did not grant curative powers, bear spirit-helpers were not recognized in Southeastern Yavapai culture.

In contrast, Northeastern Yavapai societies acknowledged that individuals could derive spiritual power from bear spirit-helpers. These bear persons were recognized as shamans among Northeastern Yavapai communities (Gifford 1936:310). As among the Southeastern Yavapai, the pattern of spiritual power associated with Bear was fixed in mythological times. Thus, "Skatakaamcha [the Northeastern Yavapai culture hero] told some shamans that they were to have power from bear, others that they were to have power from rattlesnake..." (Gifford 1936:315). Specifically, Northeastern Yavapai bear shamans were regarded as possessing abilities to cure those who had been harmed by bears. Although the precise concept of "bear sickness", as expressed among Piman societies, was lacking among the Northeastern Yavapai, these societies did acknowledge that bears were immensely powerful creatures spiritually, and unless proper precautions were taken by those who came into contact with bears, bear spiritual power would overcome them, resulting in sickness or death (Gifford 1936:319).

As among Piman cultures, the singing of specific "bear songs" appears to have been the primary means by which bear

⁶³ Not all Southeastern Yavapai shamans received their spiritual power from Widapokwi. Others (e.g., rattlesnake shamans) did procure spiritual power directly from spirit-helpers representing animal species (Gifford 1932:239).

shamans diagnosed and removed bear spiritual power from afflicted individuals (Gifford 1936:315, 319), although curing performances (which typically lasted up to four nights) also featured bear shamans sucking the bear-related disease from patients' bodies. As described by Gifford (1936:309), "shamans giving treatment sang all night, sucked patient in morning after cutting him with sharp flake of black stone. Sucked out blood with lump or clot".

Ceremonially, Northeastern Yavapai bear shamans also officiated at post-mortem rituals associated with hunting bears. During these times, as with curing performances, bear shamans enacted rituals (most notably, the singing of bear songs) which removed the hazardous effects of bear spiritual power. In these particular instances, however, bear shamans served preventative rather than curative functions. As one Northeastern Yavapai explained, "after kill, hunters danced sunwise around dead animal. Shaman was leader, sang about bear's power to make power leave meat. If this not done, someone got sick" Gifford (1936:319).

Other acknowledged abilities and behaviours of northeastern Yavapai bear shamans were less clear. They do not appear to have been the intimidating individuals described among Piman societies, however. There were no specific reports of such conduct among the Northeastern Yavapai, and transformation abilities were denied to have been within the capacity of these bear shamans (Gifford 1936:307). Additionally, it may be noted that bear shamans among these

societies were exclusively male, while "witchcraft was chiefly attributed to young women" who were not shamans (Gifford 1936:307). Northeastern Yavapai bear shamans, then, seem to have functioned primarily, if not completely, as healers within their communities.

The Havasupai are the only other Pai culture to have recognized the existence of bear shamans among them (Spier 1928:278). Like Northeastern Yavapai bear shamans, the principal function of Havasupai bear shamans appears to have been curing illnesses of bear-related origin. Although no more than their existence has been definitively stated, the specific behaviours and abilities of Havasupai bear shamans may be confidently inferred based on known cultural patterns. Havasupai societies most closely resembled Northeastern Yavapai societies both in their attitudes and rituals pertaining to bears and bear spiritual power,⁶⁴ and in the more general development and expression of their cultural world-views (Jorgensen 1980:89). Havasupai bear shamans, then, may be best understood as similar in form and function to Northeastern Yavapai bear shamans. Given the decided lack of information regarding Havasupai bear shamans, however, they may not have been as widespread among Havasupai societies as their counterparts were among Northeastern Yavapai societies, a reflection of the relative existences of bears themselves among

⁶⁴ The Northeastern Yavapai and Havasupai, for example, were the only Pai cultures to have hunted bears, and developed associative rituals involving the animals (Gifford 1936:319; Spier 1928:142; Whiting 1985:194).

these cultures. Bear shamans, however, were clearly a cultural entity among Havasupai societies.

Apache subarea

Bears were much more abundant in the territories occupied by Apache societies than elsewhere in the Southwest culture area. Indeed, Buskirk (1986:132) has noted that attacks and maulings by bears were not infrequent among the Apache. Consequently, Apache societies regarded bears as immensely dangerous and evil creatures (Opler 1983b:413), and attempted to avoid contact with *ursus* species as much as possible.

Concomitant with the perceived evil nature of bears, Apache societies (like Piman cultures) conceptually associated bear spiritual power with "bear sickness".⁶⁵ Apache societies expressed the belief that any encounters with bear spiritual power (whether through bears, or the spiritual power itself) had the potential to cause disease within individuals. Thus,

if you come in contact with the track of a bear, or a tree where a bear has leaned, or bear manure, or if you sleep where a bear has sat down, or if you come in contact with a bear by smell or touch, you can get sick (Opler 1965:225).

Apache societies acknowledged an additional cause of bear sickness, however, which was not reported among Piman cultures. As noted by one Chiricahua Apache,

⁶⁵ In terms of spiritual power, bears were considered one of the four most "unreservedly dangerous" animals which existed in the Apache world, along with coyotes, snakes, and owls (Opler 1965:224; Opler 1983:373).

if a person does not come in contact with a bear but is scared by a bear, it causes sickness too. The condition of fright that a man gets in causes his sickness... It is the thrill of terror, the moment of cold fright, that is really the entrance of the evil influence into your body (Opler 1965:224).

Indeed, fright from bears appears to have been the most common manner in which bear sickness was contracted.

As among Piman societies, specific rituals were prescribed to ward off the effects of bear spiritual power if adverse interaction was suspected. Apache cultures did not specifically express the concept of "bear way", however, and they did not believe (as Piman societies did) that bear sickness resulted from particular transgressions on the part of the individual. Instead, Apache societies acknowledged that it was the contact itself with bear spiritual power which produced bear sickness. Bear spiritual power was regarded as such an immensely evil force that interaction alone was sufficient for a person to become afflicted.⁶⁶ As such, once contact had been established (or even suspected), it was deemed necessary for individuals to take proper steps in order to immediately nullify the dangerous influences of bear spiritual power. One such procedure was to deceive bear spiritual power. Thus, "if

⁶⁶ In connection with these expressed beliefs, it may be noted that Jicarilla children played a game called "Bear" which was similar in form to the modern game of "tag". Thus, the aim of the Jicarilla game was to avoid the child who was "Bear", whose task was to catch all other children participating (Opler 1938:113). The cultural significance of the game lay in the fact that it served to symbolically illustrate to Jicarilla children that they were to avoid bears at all cost. Thus, just as when Bear touched a child he or she became "it", so in real life when bears "touched" individuals those persons became inflicted with bear sickness. The game, then, served to indoctrinate children early as to the dangers of bears.

you have to cross the tracks of a bear, you say 'It was a year ago.' It is the custom to say that to make it appear that it happened a long time ago, so the evil influence will keep away" (Opler 1965:225).

Apache descriptions of the particular symptoms of bear sickness were similar to Piman accounts. For example, "a person suffering from bear sickness gets run down... he gets a pain all over his body, and his body swells" (Opler 1965:225). In more severe cases of bear sickness, it was noted that "there might be a limb deformity or withering, or one might exhibit symptoms of madness, hydrophobia, or grand mal epilepsy" (Haley 1981:69). Additionally, Apache societies noted that those afflicted with bear sickness typically behaved in manners representative of bears. One Chiricahua informant recounted,

When a man is sick from bear, he acts like a bear. First he gets a pain all over his body. Then his mouth is twisted, and he bites. His whole face twists. His body swells (Opler 1965:225).

And,

Long ago at Fort Stanton two men got sick from bear and died. These two men were out. It was snowing. There was a big pine tree. A bear had been there. The two men slept there all night. They got sick from it. Their arms went behind their backs, and they growled like bears. I saw them when they were sick. They tried to bite me (Opler 1965:225).

Bear spiritual power was not deadly to all, however. Apache cultures recognized the existence of shamans who had established personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers, and who had obtained from these spirit-helpers specific knowledge regarding the healing of individuals affected by bear

sickness.⁶⁷ Among the Chiricahua, for example, it was said

Perhaps Bear is appearing to a man with its offer to cure "bear sickness".... Bear informs the man selected that he has watched him closely and has decided that he is the proper person through whom to work and do much good (Opler 1935:67).

Another Chiricahua recalled how his father, a renowned bear shaman, had received bear spiritual power:

My father went across the plains twice, and the second time he slept at a place just beyond the White Sands. When he was sleeping at the place, something came to him. He was a little up the hills on a rock. He was sound asleep. It touched him and told him to awake. It had something to tell him. He pushed the cover off his head, and there sat a silver-tip bear. It spoke in a human way to him and told him it was time for him to get up and that he was about to get something to know and to travel by. He got up. He knew that a door was open to him. He just walked right in, into the rocks. He was led into a room, and the bear changed itself into the form of a human and told him to follow wherever he went.... He told him what was best. And this, they say, was the power of Bear. After this my father did much healing (Opler 1965:288-290).

Most typically, Apache bear shamans cured bear sickness through the singing of bear songs, and the sucking of bear spiritual power out of patients' bodies. In basic form and execution, these rituals were similar to those described among Piman societies. The Chiricahua bear shaman noted above, for example, cured in the following manner:

My father sang the songs of the bear and found out what had to be done.... Then my father started in. He took the right front paw of a bear, warmed it, and put

⁶⁷ Although Apache cultures recognized that both males and females were capable of becoming shamans (Opler 1965:201), there exists no evidence for the presence of female bear shamans among the Apache. This, coupled with the general pattern for bear shamans among Southwest cultures, leads to the assumption that female bear shamans were rare, if not altogether absent, among Apache societies.

it on her chest where it pained most. Then he took a bowl and put it to her chest. He sucked. Blood and pus and suds came out and foamed up. He did that four times.... The second night it went the same way. My father sang two songs. He marked her with pollen. He used the bear paw, putting pollen on it first. He sucked pus out of her again. It came out easily this time (Opler 1965:291).

As among Piman societies, these curing ceremonies lasted four consecutive nights.

Although similar in form to Piman rituals, Chiricahua curing ceremonies were typically much more elaborate than their Piman counterparts. Impersonation of bear spirit-helpers, for example, was characteristic of the performances (Opler 1983b:416), and, as noted in the above quotation, parts of bears (e.g., paws, claws, hides, and tails) were commonly worn and employed by bear shamans in their cures (Opler 1965:260).

While Mescalero bear shamans were reported to have performed similar ceremonies to the Chiricahua (Opler 1983c:436; Farmer 1982:113), healing rituals for bear sickness were even more embellished among Jicarilla and Western Apache societies, where dances, masked impersonations of spirits, and sandpaintings were additionally employed in the cures (Tiller 1983:446; Basso 1983:479). Of these cultures, healing ceremonies among the Jicarilla are by far the best documented. Indeed, the curing of bear sickness among the Jicarilla (in performances known as the Holiness Rite), was an important ceremonial among these societies (Tiller 1983:446).

Jicarilla Holiness Rite ceremonies served two general purposes. They were called not only to heal victims of bear

sickness, but also to cure those who suffered from snake sickness, a disease which reportedly had similar swelling effects on the body as bear sickness (Opler 1965:228).⁶⁸ Correspondingly, the specific enclosures built for Holiness Rite ceremonies were divided into two sections, representing each animal. If swellings on patients' bodies were determined to be from bear sickness, ceremonies took place on the north side of the chamber (Bear's side), while snake sickness was cured on the south side (Farmer 1982:112).⁶⁹

As with bear sickness curing ceremonies among other Apache societies, Jicarilla Holiness Rite ceremonies lasted four nights. Rituals on the first night, as elsewhere, were performed primarily to determine whether bear sickness was indeed afflicting the person, and if so, the extent of the disease. While the singing of bear songs by bear shamans formed part of the diagnostic procedure,⁷⁰ a second type of

⁶⁸ The specific relationship between bear sickness and snake sickness, and why the two diseases were treated with the same ceremony, were delineated in a Jicarilla myth which recounted the origin of the Holiness Rite. The story-line of the myth revolved around the abduction of two girls by Bear and Snake. Upon rescue of the girls', and their ultimate return to the community, a series of rituals were enacted to properly cleanse the girls of the spiritual ill effects of their abductors (Tiller 1983:446).

⁶⁹ Opler (1938:31) has reported that Holiness Rite ceremonies were enacted only during winter months, "when the bear is hibernating and the snake is away".

⁷⁰ When bear songs were sung by shamans during the ceremonies, it was reported that those afflicted with bear sickness began to tremble. This constituted proof that the correct disease was being treated (Opler 1938:32).

bear person also participated in the rituals, dancing in impersonation of bears to help shamans ascertain the degree of bear sickness involved.

These bear impersonators were not themselves shamans, but merely "dancers" who, through looking and acting like bears, aided bear shamans in their diagnoses of bear sickness. As such, the impersonators may be considered similar in character to bear dance individuals described elsewhere among other Pacific Slope cultures. They did not wield bear spiritual power to any degree, nor did they establish personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers. Instead, these individuals merely behaved in ways which represented bears (Russell 1898:369; Tiller 1983:446).

Russell (1898: 369) has described one such "dance" of bear impersonators:

... the patient entered and, after offering pollen and meal, seated herself upon the [sand] painting. Then a terrifying figure rushed into the semi-darkness of the lodge, lunged toward Kes-nos-un-dä [the patient], but seemed unable to reach her, gave forth two or three cries similar to those uttered by the bear, and then made its exit. Gumsi [the Jicarilla informant] admitted that he was frightened himself, although he knew it was only one of the men, who had been painted black and covered in pine branches. He wore no mask. The sand painting on which prayer-meal and pollen were offered represented snakes, and the bear was called upon to frighten the disease. While the "bear" was in the lodge the men, engaged previously in singing, yelled at the top of their voices.

If the patients themselves were visibly frightened by this spectacle, it was considered confirmation that bear sickness was indeed the disease concerned (Tiller 1983:446). In the above ceremony, for example, it was further noted that "after

the departure of the bear another song was sung, during which Kes-nos-un-dä fell shaking to the ground" (Russell 1898:368).

On those occasions when fright was positively diagnosed as the specific cause of the onset of bear sickness (as opposed to simple contact), this ritual was repeated on each successive night of the Holiness Rite ceremony. Such subsequent performances, it was said, served to help "frighten the disease away" from patients (Russell 1898:369).

In contrast, the specific treatment of bear sickness by bear shamans was similar regardless of the noted cause of the disease. Typically, bear shamans presided over patients for the duration of the first night, where they sang "an average" of twenty-four bear songs (Tiller 1983:446).⁷¹ Upon completion of the song cycle, they attempted to physically extract bear sickness from patients' bodies through sucking (Opler 1938:34). These procedures were repeated on each of the four nights of the ceremony until, by dawn of the fifth day, patients were declared cured.

Although healing bear sickness was clearly the primary function of Apache bear shamans, this was not the sole public duty performed by these individuals. As explained by Farmer (1982:113),

⁷¹ While songs were sung by the shaman, women and men (and on the fourth night, sacred clowns) danced throughout the enclosure. Indeed, Holiness Rite ceremonies (which formed part of the long-life ceremonial cycle among the Jicarilla) were regarded as much for the social atmosphere they produced as the curing of bear or snake sickness.

the shaman with bear power has special songs, not only for curing illness but also for use in a girl's [puberty] ceremony, for the moccasin game and most recently, for the peyote rite. The power can also be used to predict the future and to assist in the hunt. Furthermore, it can be used against aliens, witches or evil things.

Apache bear shamans appear to have behaved and functioned only in manners which benefitted their communities. Malice was never attributed to them, nor did their actions indicate propensity toward maliciousness. Indeed, bear shamans seem to have been highly respected and honoured individuals among Apache societies.

Concomitant with the perceived evil nature of bears, however, bear spiritual power was also reported to have been employed by malevolent individuals (Gifford 1940:74), though a lack of critical ethnographic information regarding their specific behaviours suggests that they were not as widespread or influential as their counterparts in other Southwest cultures. Malevolent bear persons acknowledged among the Apache were clearly not the harbingers of bear sickness described by Piman societies, nor were they the powerful sorcerers of Navajo culture (described below). Indeed, although these bear persons were regarded as possessing extraordinary abilities, such as the capacity to transform themselves into bears (Farmer 1982:113), their existences within Apache communities appear to have been very minor.

Navajo subarea

Navajo societies conceptualized bears and bear spiritual power in terms very similar to the Apache. Navajo societies, like the Apache (and all Southwest cultures), believed that bears were dangerous and inherently evil animals, spiritually as well as physically (Reichard 1963:92). Consequently, Navajo individuals avoided contact with bears and bear spiritual power whenever possible.

As elsewhere in the Southwest culture area, Navajo beliefs regarding bears found their ultimate expression in the concept of bear sickness. As with Piman and Apache cultures, Navajo societies recognized a plenitude of particular sicknesses, mostly associated with animals, with which individuals might become stricken. Leighton and Leighton (1944:24), for example, reported that "at least thirty-two animals could cause sickness" among the Navajo. Of these, the most common were bears, deers, coyotes, porcupines, snakes and eagles. As expressed among the Apache, Navajo societies believed that mere contact with the spiritual power associated with these animals was sufficient to produce disease in individuals. Correspondingly, specific causes of bear sickness acknowledged by the Navajo closely resemble those reported among Apache societies (with whom the Navajo shared a linguistic background). Wyman (1975:18-19), for example, has noted,

Bear sickness may be contracted through a great variety of injuries or insults to this animal. Of course hunting and killing it, skinning it or handling its hide, and eating its flesh, are the most serious misdemeanors. However, there are plenty of

other kinds of contacts which are dangerous. Sleeping in or merely walking over a [bear's] resting place invites bear infection. Stepping on a bear's bones; handling or walking or sitting on a stone which a bear has turned over; getting ants on one's person that a bear has rolled over or slept on; using dried branches that a bear has broken off; using wood for any purpose from a tree against which a bear has rubbed himself; drinking at a bear's watering place; and stepping on bear tracks or simply crossing his path--all these acts may lead to bear disease.

Dreaming of bears was also cause for alarm among Navajo individuals. Additionally, it was noted that "even the breath of a bear coming from a distance may make one weak" (Wyman 1975:19).

The general symptoms of bear sickness recognized by the Navajo were similar to those acknowledged among other Southwest societies. Most typically, bear sickness among the Navajo became physically manifest through sore, swollen limbs, and feelings of overwhelming tiredness (Wyman 1975:20; Rockwell 1991:51). The Navajo, however, more commonly added mental components to the disease than their Southwest counterparts. These included "uneasiness and nervousness, fainting, temporary loss of mind, delirium, violent irrationality, or insanity" (Wyman 1975:20).

For those stricken with bear sickness, culturally sanctioned cures were necessary. Unlike other Southwest cultures, however, the Navajo did not acknowledge the existence of individuals who had entered into relationships with bear spirit-helpers, who could employ bear spiritual power to counteract the harmful effects of bear sickness. Bear shamans were unknown among Navajo societies (Stewart 1941b:317).

This absence of bear shamans (i.e., healers of bear sickness who possessed bear spirit-helpers) undoubtedly resulted from the slightly different manner in which disease was treated among the Navajo. As explained by Wyman (1975:17), "Navajo curing ceremonials are directed toward the restoration and attraction of good" rather than the extraction of evil. Thus, bear shamans *per se* were unnecessary. Rather than sucking or blowing affected areas of patients' bodies (common methods of cure among bear shamans of other Southwest and Pacific Slope cultures), or otherwise attempting to extract sickness from victims, Navajo societies more readily acknowledged that the primary goal was to "restore goodness" to patients through the performance of a series of rituals. In typical curing ceremonies,

the Holy People, the supernatural beings invoked, are the judges of the completeness and correctness of the ritual, and if satisfied they are compelled by the ethic of reciprocity to restore universal harmony and thus cure the patient.... The procedures in the ritual identify the patient with the Holy People represented in the [sand] painting who have been attracted to the scene to look at their painted likenesses. The patient absorbs their powers from the sands applied to him, exchanging evil for good, and becomes strong like them and immune to further harm. Indeed, for a time he is a Holy Person himself. That is why he must observe four days of ceremonial restrictions afterwards, lest he harm others through his acquired power (Wyman 1975:5).

All ceremonials were conducted by specialists known to the Navajo as "singers" (*hataalii*), so called because the singing and chanting which accompanied their rituals were understood as the essential elements of the ceremonies (Wyman 1975:5). Every Navajo singer typically specialized in one or two complete

chant ceremonials, each consisting of a vast complex of songs, prayers, and rituals which lasted two, five, or nine nights (Wyman 1975:6). Individuals who performed ceremonies to cure bear sickness, then, might more appropriately be called "bear singers" (as opposed to "bear shamans"), although such terms were not employed by the Navajo themselves.

The actual healing of bear sickness among Navajo societies was enacted with the Mountainway Chant and its accompanying Shock Rite ceremony. The Mountainway Chant was one of the many observances which comprised the elaborate Chantway ceremonial system recognized throughout Navajo culture (Wyman 1983:545). As described by Wyman (1975:17), "the etiological factors with which Mountainway is designed to deal are animals which live in the mountains". Although numerous animals were recognized in this category, it was noted that "first and foremost is the bear" (Wyman 1975:18). Indeed, Wyman (1975:18) concluded that "the [Mountainway] ceremonial may be considered primarily as a cure for bear disease".

Typical Mountainway Chant ceremonies consisted of a number of rituals performed over nine-day periods.⁷² The first four nights featured "unraveling" ceremonies, where

⁷² As with Jicarilla Apache Holiness Rite ceremonies, Mountainway Chant ceremonies were held only during winter months (between the first killing frost in the fall and the first thunderstorm in the spring), while bears were hibernating. It was felt that during these times the animals posed no additional threat to either the patients or those taking part in the ceremonies (Wyman 1975:15).

a certain number of bundles of herbs and feathers tied together with a wool string are applied to various parts of the patient's body and the string is pulled free, symbolizing release from harm" (Wyman 1975:11).

Each night, unraveling ceremonies were followed by the "singer" ritually singing over the patient in performances which lasted approximately one hour (Wyman 1975:11).

The next four days and nights featured sandpainting rituals. Before dawn, bundle-sticks (wooden sticks decorated with painted symbols and feathers) were vertically inserted into the ground at the entrance of a ceremonial hogan "to notify human and supernatural beings that a sandpainting is to be made" (Wyman 1975:11). At dawn, a sweat ceremony was enacted "to drive away evil by internal and external purification" (Wyman 1975:12). During that ceremony,

small sandpaintings, often of snakes, may be made at the cardinal points around the central fireplace, and another small sandpainting made northwest of the fire, on which the patient's basket of emetic is placed. Sweating, vomiting, and bathing in the warm herbal decoction (emetic) purify the patient... After breakfast, painted prayersticks are prepared to attract the Holy People. The patient holds these while repeating a long litany after the singer.

Finally, a helper deposits the offerings in specified places away from the hogan (Wyman 1975:12).

In the morning of the final day, the "sandpainting ceremony" proper began. After a morning bath ritual which served to further purify the patient, a large sandpainting was produced inside the hogan. As described by Wyman (1975:12),

when the picture has been completed, usually in the early afternoon, the bundle-prayersticks are brought in from the set-out mound [at the entrance of the hogan] and placed in upright position around the painting. Cornmeal then is sprinkled on the

sandpainting by singer and patient.... The patient's body is painted from head to foot with symbolic designs (by means of mineral pigments), and in his hair are tied a feather plume and a turquoise bead. The bead becomes the patient's property, a mark of recognition from the Holy People and a protection from danger. The patient then sits on some figure in the sandpainting [a bear for bear sickness]; and the singer, after moistening his palms in herb medicine, applies sand from various parts of the painted figure's bodies to corresponding parts of the patient's body. Then he similarly applies the bundle-prayersticks and parts of his own body to the patient. Finally, the patient leaves the hogan; the sandpainting is erased; and the sand is carried outside and deposited to the north of the hogan.

From these, and all other accounts of Mountainway Chant ceremonies, it is clear that the Mountainway Chant singers who healed bear sickness were markedly different from those persons who healed bear sickness in other Southwest (and Pacific Slope) cultures. Navajo Mountainway Chant singers did not derive their power from bear spirit-helpers, nor did they in any way possess bear spiritual power. Instead, their power to cure came in the form of being able, through the correct performance of rituals and ceremonies, to summon the Holy People. In turn, it was the Holy People (if pleased with singers' ritual actions and behaviours) who removed the evil influences of bear spiritual power from patients by restoring a proper balance to them.

Because Navajo Mountainway Chant singers did not procure personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers or bear spiritual power, none of the superhuman abilities commonly associated with bear persons of other Pacific Slope societies were attributed to these singers. They did not display, for example, extraordinary physical strength, invulnerability, or

the power of rapid travel (Stewart 1941b:317). Neither were they capable of physical transformation into bears. In short, although Navajo Mountainway Chant singers were healers of bear sickness, they were not bear shamans as such individuals have been defined among other Pacific Slope cultures.

Mountainway Chant singers were not the only "bear persons" associated with Navajo bear sickness curing rituals, however. Before Mountainway Chant ceremonies were formally enacted, it was first deemed necessary (as among other Southwest cultures) to establish the degree to which potential patients were afflicted with bear sickness. These evaluations took place in the form of Shock Rite ceremonies, which (like Jicarilla Apache Holiness Rite ceremonies) featured dancers who represented bears. Thus, once patients had been seated upon prepared sandpaintings (either "The House of Bear and Snake", "Bear's Sitting Place", or "Changing Bear Maiden"), dancers costumed to represent bears (covered with spruce branches) would emerge from darkened areas of the ceremonial hogans and leap at patients in attempts to frighten them. As described by Matthews (1887:423),

at a certain part of the song the chanter was seen to make a slight signal with his drumstick, when instantly a mass of animate evergreens--a moving tree, it seemed--sprang out from the space behind the singers and rushed towards the patient. A terrifying yell from the spectators greeted the apparition, when the man in green, acting as if frightened by the noise, retreated as quickly as he came, and in a moment nothing could be seen in the space behind the singers but the shifting shadows cast by the fire. He was so thoroughly covered with spruce twigs that nothing of his form save his toes could be distinguished when he rushed out in

the full glare of the fire. This scene was repeated three times at due intervals.

If patients displayed reactions of repulse (e.g., recoiling, trembling, or fainting) at the sight of such "bear persons", this was regarded as confirmation of their having contracted bear sickness (Wyman 1975:103). Mountainway Chant ceremonials then proceeded as the correct cure for patients' afflictions.

The "frightening" activities associated with Navajo Shock Rite ceremonies were clearly similar to the diagnostic portions of Jicarilla Apache Holiness Rite ceremonies, which also featured attempts by bear dancers to frighten patients. Indeed, in function, appearance, and behaviour, Shock Rite bear dancers were virtually identical to those dancers who performed at Holiness Rite ceremonies, and it is evident that Jicarilla Holiness Rite ceremonies and Navajo Shock Rite ceremonies were derived from the same source.⁷³ It may be noted, however, that the two ceremonies were distinct in an important way. While Shock Rite ceremonies were intended strictly as exploratory procedures among the Navajo (to determine if patients were

⁷³ Although it is more probable that these ceremonies diffused from Navajo rather than Jicarilla societies (because of the significant role played by chants and sandpaintings in each culture's ceremonies), such a conclusion cannot be made with certainty. Indeed, these ritual accompaniments are perhaps best considered of Pueblo origin (Opler 1983a:373). Given this, and the frequent historical interaction between Jicarilla and Navajo societies, it is most probable that after initial incorporation of prototypical rituals from a common source (i.e., Pueblo cultures), Shock Rite and Holiness Rite ceremonies developed simultaneously out of the ongoing cultural exchange between the Navajo and Jicarilla. As Opler (1983a:373) has noted, "some Navajo and Jicarilla ceremonies are so strikingly similar, in general conception and details, that it is difficult to accept theories of long separation for these two peoples".

truly suffering from bear sickness), Jicarilla societies occasionally considered the "frightening" rituals of Holiness Rite ceremonies to be part of the cure. Nevertheless, the bear persons performing the "frightening" rituals among both of these cultures' ceremonies were identical in form and behaviour. Thus, like Jicarilla Holiness Rite impersonators, bear persons performing at Shock Rite ceremonies were not bear shamans. They did not have the ability to cure bear sickness, they did not hold any bear spiritual power, nor did they procure relationships with bear spirit-helpers. Instead, Shock Rite bear persons merely behaved in ways which represented bears (Reichard 1963:717; Farmer 1982:111). As Reichard (1963:717) has noted, "the Bear impersonator represents the dangers and sufferings encountered by Holy Man, and is intended to eliminate fear and inspire confidence". These bear persons were, in essence, dancers, similar in behaviour and abilities to those bear dancers described elsewhere among Pacific Slope cultures.

A third type of bear person acknowledged among Navajo societies (and the only one reported to have held bear spiritual power) was associated exclusively with malevolence. Bears were characterized by the Navajo as so inherently destructive and menacing that the only Navajo individuals motivated to procure relationships with bear spirit-helpers were those intent on employing this evil and dangerous spiritual power to enact amoral deeds. Such malevolent bear persons, however, were not the infrequent and seemingly

insignificant individuals reported among Apache societies. Instead, they were a dominant presence in the life-ways of Navajo culture. This, at least, is the conclusion which emerges from ethnographic evidence.⁷⁴

Colloquially, such persons were known among the Navajo as *yenaldlooshi*, or "skin-walkers" (Brady 1984:19).⁷⁵ Typically, "skin-walkers" dressed in the hides of their spirit-helper animals and, much like malevolent bear persons reported throughout Pacific Slope cultures, sought to intimidate or murder other members of their communities.⁷⁶ Thus, one informant noted that "Navaho witches had recently been transforming themselves into bears, wolves, etc., and had been committing crimes all over the country" (Stewart 1941b:348). Another recounted that "before the Navaho went to Fort Sumner there used to be witches who would put on the skin of the bear and go around in them" (Kluckhohn 1944:140).

Extraordinary abilities much like those acknowledged for bear persons throughout the Pacific Slope were attributed to Navajo bear persons. Primary among these was transformation into bears. Although physical transformation itself was not

⁷⁴ See, for example, Kluckhohn (1944); Brady (1984).

⁷⁵ Literally, *yenaldlooshi* translates as "he who trots along here and there on all fours with it", where "it" refers to "the skin he wears" (Brady 1984:19).

⁷⁶ Only bears, coyotes, and wolves were reported to have conferred such powers to humans (Kluckhohn 1944:140). These three animals, not surprisingly, were the also most distasteful animals to Navajo societies, and the ones most associated with potent, yet dangerous, spiritual power (Brady 1984: xi).

reported, malevolent bear persons, by cloaking themselves in bearskins and employing the bear spiritual power they had acquired, were considered by the Navajo, for all intents and purposes, to have become bears. The following anecdote serves to illustrate such beliefs:

my brother said that one night at his hogan his dogs were barking and chasing around all night. Toward morning they chased something away. In the morning my brother looked for the tracks and saw bear tracks. He followed them and they went to the house of a man who was a witch. These kind of men put on a whole bearskin and then they are just like a bear. They can run like a bear. That is what those witches use. They look just like a bear and they go and do harm to someone (Kluckhohn 1944:140).

Other powers attributed to such bear persons included superhuman physical strength, invulnerability, and the capacity of rapid travel (Kluckhohn 1944:140). An additional trait not commonly reported among other Pacific Slope cultures, however, was the ability to render themselves invisible to humans. One informant, for example, noted, "they say the people wears the skin of these animals at night. Sometimes horses get scared at night when person doesn't see anything. They say that is those were-animals" (Kluckhohn 1944:140). Although this characteristic was not unanimously reported among the Navajo, a number of informants, when recounting their experiences with malevolent bear persons, noted that "you only see their tracks" (Kluckhohn 1944:140).

Unlike their Piman counterparts, malevolent bear persons among the Navajo were not considered possessed of the ability to cause bear sickness. Instead, their only behaviours, once

"transformed", appear to have been physical murder and intimidation, as well as a general committing of crimes, as reported above by Stewart's informant. Not unexpectedly, these bear persons were vehemently despised and feared by the Navajo. As with bears themselves, humans possessing bear spiritual power were invariably considered evil, dangerous, and a constant threat to the well-being of Navajo communities. For Navajo culture, bear spiritual power, whether emanating from animals or humans, was always regarded as a menace.

Pueblo Culture Area

Western Pueblo subarea

Western Pueblo societies did not regard bears as the menacing and dangerous animals characterized by Southwest cultures. Concomitantly, bear spiritual power, although considered potent, was not necessarily something to be avoided at all costs. Indeed, all Western Pueblo cultures regarded bears and bear spiritual power only in positive manners.

Most notably, bear spiritual power was associated with the general curing of illness. All Western Pueblo shamans affiliated with curing societies were in fact known by the appellation "bear", an acknowledgement of the immense curing power perceived to be held by the Bear spirit (Parsons 1939:189; Tyler 1975:201). Not every shaman, however, was recognized as possessing bear spiritual power. Bunzel (1932:531), for example, noted that among the Zuñi, "only the

oldest and most learned of the medicine men are qualified to impersonate the bear. They acquire power to summon the bear only after the expenditure of great effort". Bear spiritual power was considered the greatest spiritual power a shaman could obtain.⁷⁷

Although primarily healers, bear shamans were not the same type of specialists known to other Pacific Slope cultures. The concept of "bear sickness", for example, was unknown to Western (and all) Pueblo cultures, and while bear shamans may occasionally have been called upon to cure victims of bear attack (Tyler 1975:205), this was not their principal curing function. Instead, Western Pueblo cultures, as described by Tyler (1975:202), conceptualized that "disease is caused almost entirely by witches who shoot objects, such as bits of glass, stones, thorns, or even snakes into the body of their victim". As such, Western Pueblo shamans were most commonly called upon to enact cures which removed these harmful objects, and thus remove the evil effects of "witchcraft". Bear spiritual power, as the strongest curing power which existed, was regarded as the power which could best counteract evil. Tyler (1975:202), for example, noted that "the aid of all the beasts of prey is called upon to help in the struggle against witches, but it is

⁷⁷ So dramatic were the relationships between bear shamans and bears, in fact, that their lives were considered permanently intertwined. The Zuñi, for example, believed that bear shamans did not, upon death, go to the Zuñi underworld (the usual resting place of human spirits) but instead journeyed to Shipapolima (in the Jemez Mountains), the spiritual home of the Beasts of Prey "to live with their bear colleagues" (Parsons 1939:190).

the bear who is pre-eminent". Bear shamans, then, were not necessarily associated with curing sickness or wounds which might result from contact with bears or bear spiritual power. Instead, they were recognized as the individuals in their communities who could best combat the ill effects of witchcraft.

Once it had been determined that a person had become the victim of witchcraft, curing ceremonies were enacted. During the ceremonies, the bear shaman "smokes, sings, mixes his medicines in a bowl, massages with ashes, locates the seat of pain with his crystal, sends his animal helper into the body [of the patient] by exhalation, and sucks out the illness" (Parsons 1939:135). Curing rituals also included representation of bears, both physically and behaviourally, by the shamans. Most typically, bear shamans wore bearskins and necklaces of bear claws, as they "impersonated Bear in front of the patient... dancing about in imitation of the beast" (Tyler 1975:203).⁷⁸

Among the Zuñi, curing rituals were performed by bear shamans in connection with Cult of the Beast Gods ceremonials. Held in the autumn and winter, these were a series of rituals

⁷⁸ The only other animals impersonated by Pueblo shamans during curing rituals were eagles (Tyler 1975:205). Among all Pueblo cultures, Bear, Eagle, and Mountain Lion were the three most significant curing spirits. As noted previously, however, Bear was always considered "pre-eminent" (Tyler 1975:202).

and ceremonies conducted by twelve societies which undertook "worship of the beast gods" (Bunzel 1932:528). On the final night of the nine-day ceremonials,

the songs of the Beast Gods are sung, and society members dance. The dance is without formation, members rising to dance whenever they choose. The purpose of this dancing is to create a proper atmosphere in which to summon the Beast Gods. The participants gradually work themselves into a state of mental excitement bordering on hysteria. Finally those who are qualified to impersonate the bear draw over their hands the bear paws that lie on the altar, and in doing so assume the personality of the bear, much as the wearer of a mask becomes a god. They utter the cries of animals and otherwise imitate the bear. In this condition they are enabled by gazing into the crystal to see the hidden sickness in those present. When they see sickness in anyone they draw from his body the foreign substance that has caused it. Dust, stones, bits of calico, feathers, fur or the entrails of animals are extracted from the mouth and other parts of the bodies of patients. Each article as it is extracted is exhibited to the company and dropped into a bowl to be disposed of the following day (Bunzel 1932:532).

Extraordinary abilities attributed to Western Pueblo bear shamans beyond curing illness have not been specifically delineated. It appears, in fact, that bear shamans functioned exclusively as healers in these communities, and traits or abilities not associated directly with healing rituals (e.g., superhuman strength, rapid travel) were considered irrelevant, and therefore not exhibited by them. Irrespective of the extent of such additionally acknowledged abilities, however, it is clear that bear shamans played significant roles in Western Pueblo societies. The spiritual power they obtained from bear spirit-helpers was considered the most proficient for curing disease, and, in general, the most potent spiritual power one

could procure. Indeed, among Western Pueblo societies (as among all Pueblo cultures), bear shamans were the most powerful and respected of all shamans.

Bear shamans were not the only persons who represented bears among Western Pueblo societies, however. Non-curing bear persons also played important roles in Western Pueblo ceremonial life. Among the Hopi, for example, bear persons were part of the Snake society initiation ceremony. As part of the initiation rite, a bear person, dressed in imitation of the animal (wearing a bear claw necklace and bear paws over the hands, but no bearskin),

enters the kiva and passes before the novices with corn stalks and vines in his mouth. The Bear personator carries the plants and moves them up and down four times in front of the novices' faces that they may grow swiftly and vigorously like the rank vines and corn stalks (Tyler 1975:201).

While performing these rituals, the bear persons behaved in manners representative of bears, which most typically included growling and clawing at the initiates (Parsons 1939:349). Unlike bear shamans, however, these bear persons did not claim bears as their spirit-helpers. Consequently, they did not possess bear spiritual power, nor were they capable of extraordinary abilities, such as curing illnesses. In character and performance, in fact, they very much resembled bear dancers of other Pacific Slope societies. As elsewhere, their purpose seems to have been solely ceremonial.

More prominent non-curing bear persons were associated with *kachina* ceremonials. Among Western Pueblo societies (and

throughout all Pueblo cultures), the *kachina* were considered embodiments of all deceased members of a particular clan. Strictly speaking, the *kachina* were representations of the clan itself (Fewkes 1901:83). Throughout the year, each clan participated in a number of ceremonies designed to pay tribute to, and ask assistance of, their respective *kachina*. The principal activities during these celebrations were dances, performed by individual impersonators of the *kachina*. As Fewkes (1901:82) described it,

a Katcina dance was formerly a clan festival participated in by living members of a clan and by ancients of that clan. The latter, called Katcinas, were represented by men wearing masks and other paraphernalia which legends ascribe to them.

Each and every Pueblo clan had a corresponding *kachina*, usually of the same name. Thus, the representative of the Bear Clan was the Bear *kachina*. Bears, the Bear spirit, and bear spiritual power, however, were not objects of veneration during *kachina* ceremonies. As cautioned by Fewkes (1901:91),

Katcina worship is not that of an animal, or other object which has given a totem, name, or symbol to a clan. It is not what is ordinarily called totemism, nor, strictly speaking, ancestor worship... The ancients [*kachina*] are simply members of the same clan.

During the dance ceremonies, costumes used by impersonators of the Bear *kachina* were unique to each village. Some physically resembled bears in every detail, wearing such paraphernalia as bearskins, bear paws or bear heads. Others were less literal, only remotely suggesting the animals visually (Rockwell 1991:152). In every instance, however, the

symbolic representation was clear to those taking part: the Bear *kachina* personified the conceptual connection between the mythological animal and the clan.

As ceremonial figures, Bear *kachina* impersonators were similar to the non-curing bear persons noted above for Hopi Snake society initiations. That is, Bear *kachina* impersonators possessed no bear spiritual power, nor did they procure relationships with bear spirit-helpers. Their performances were strictly representative, and ceremonial in nature.

In contrast to these persons, Western Pueblo societies reported that witches gained power by aligning themselves with specific spirit-helpers. Most notably, these spirit-helpers were representatives of the animal world, who endowed upon malevolent persons the capacity to transform themselves into their animal affiliates. Stories abound of persons terrorizing Western Pueblo communities after transforming themselves into animals such as wolves, coyotes, eagles or owls.⁷⁹ Given the prevalence of such beliefs in "witches" (that such individuals were almost entirely responsible for the existence of disease among Western Pueblo societies), and convictions that spiritual power associated with bears was the strongest spiritual power which existed, a high incidence of reports of malevolent bear persons might be expected among Western Pueblo societies. Such was not the case, however. Bear spirit-helpers are conspicuous by their absence among acknowledged animal familiars of

⁷⁹ See, for example, Stevenson (1904:392-406); Espinosa (1936:74-80); Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1935:5-8).

witches, and malevolent bear persons were never mentioned by Western Pueblo informants. These glaring absences, coupled with the dominant presence of bears in Western Pueblo pantheons of spirit-helpers, overwhelmingly suggest that bear spiritual power was so intimately linked with curing power among Western Pueblo societies that malevolent bear persons were unknown to them. Bears, and the spiritual power associated with them, were not the dangerous, menacing forces so vehemently characterized by Southwest societies. Instead, bear spiritual power, although forceful, was affiliated exclusively with the well-being of Western Pueblo communities.

Eastern Keresan subarea

Eastern Keresan attitudes toward bear spiritual power, and the pattern of reports of bear persons among them, were similar to those noted for Western Pueblo societies. Most notably, bear spiritual power was equated strictly with curing power among Eastern Keresan societies. As stated by one Cochiti individual, "the bear is supernatural and a shaman" (Lange 1959:234). Consequently, bear shamans (those who, through relationships with bear spirit-helpers, acquired the power to cure disease) were acknowledged presences among Eastern Keresan cultures.

The acquisition of bear spiritual power by shamans took the same general form among Eastern Keresan cultures as elsewhere in the Pacific Slope. One such encounter among the Cochiti has been described by Boas:

Men would go out and fast for four days and four nights. If they fasted properly they would see a bear or a mountain lion, coyote, wolf, or eagle. John Dixon remembers a man to whom a bear appeared. He believed that the bear had spoken to him and promised to help him. This happened while the hunter was in the mountains in a deep canyon. Suddenly, he heard something calling from the distance, "Hu, hu!" It sounded like the growl of a bear. He stopped to listen, then he heard the roaring coming nearer. He did not know what it was and went into hiding. Finally, the noise came very near, and he saw a bear which came close to him. The animal was supernatural (mai'mai) and stopped right in front of him. The bear spoke, "Friend, I am going to help you.... Now, friend, go home. Carry as much of the medicine as you can take along. But you must come back for the rest of the medicine. When you reach home tell your wife to make wafer bread and when you come back, bring some of it." The man obeyed, and when he came back he carried some wafer bread. He met the bear and gave it to him. The bear returned to his home in the mountains. For four days, his wife made wafer bread for the man and the bear (Boas in Lange 1959:234).

The informant concluded his narrative by noting that bear shamans "carry bears' claws and act like bears. When a person is cured, wafer bread is made for two days. This is given to the shaman who gives it to the bears" (Boas in Lange 1959:234).

As with other Pueblo societies, the Eastern Keresan believed that most serious diseases were caused by witchcraft. Witches precipitated illness by shooting objects, such as thorns or broken glass, into their victims' bodies (White 1942:320). The primary function of Eastern Keresan shamans, then, was to counteract disease by removal of the offending objects. Although all shamans were deemed capable of curing illnesses caused by witchcraft, Eastern Keresan cultures (like the Western Pueblo) considered shamans who had procured bear spiritual power to be the most effective. Bear shamans were

regarded as the most powerful of all healers among Eastern Keresan societies (Tyler 1975:202).⁸⁰

The general means by which Eastern Keresan bear shamans cured disease were similar to those described for Western Pueblo bear shamans. Curing ceremonies were held in which bear shamans impersonated bears through costume and behaviour, performed a number of specific rituals which additionally served to summon bear spiritual power, and finally attempted to extract, through sucking, the disease-causing objects from patients' bodies.

Among the San Felipe, for example, bear shamans typically dressed in representation of bears by wearing bearskins and bear claw necklaces. Additional paraphernalia included whistles created from leg bones of bears. All of these adornments, as noted by Tyler (1975:203), served to help awaken bear spirit-helpers, and thus aided bear shamans in their attempt to combat witch-caused diseases. With respect to the specific curing rituals performed, it was observed that the San Felipe bear shaman, before extracting disease from the patient, also "makes a meal painting and lays several leg skins and paws of bears on either side of it, for these bring him the power to cure" (Tyler 1975:202). Similar, if not identical curing ceremonies were enacted among other Eastern Keresan societies. Thus, Rockwell (1991:84) noted that Sia bear shamans wore bear

⁸⁰ It may be noted that bear shamans among Eastern Keresan societies, as among all Pueblo cultures, were exclusively male (Tyler 1975:202).

claw necklaces, ritually placed the leg skins of bears around the kiva where the curing ceremonies were performed, and imitated bears in movement and sound all as means for "evoking the power of the bear". Once bear spiritual power had been sufficiently activated, bear shamans proceeded to suck the disease-causing objects from patients' bodies.

Eastern Keresan bear shamans, however, participated not only in curing ceremonies (which were their primary and most impressive appearances), but also in other more general public functions. Among the Santo Domingo, bear shamans danced in impersonation of bears during winter solstice ceremonials. They appeared in typical bear costumes, wearing bearskins and bear claw necklaces, but also wore bear leg skins on their forearms. Dressed in this manner, "they come in a procession of two single files and make noises like a bear and dance" (Tyler 1975:200). Although the solstice ceremonies themselves were primarily associated with war, this was not the acknowledged reason for the bear shamans' presence. As explained by Tyler (1975:200), "the purpose here is not war in the usual sense, but a war on evil spirits who must be exorcised at the solstice". Such exorcisms were deemed necessary so that solstice rituals could be enacted without concern for witches. Even in these more public ceremonies, then, bear spiritual power was evoked for its curative and restorative qualities.

Bear spiritual power was so intricately linked to combatting disease that Eastern Keresan societies (like Western

Pueblo cultures) did not recognize the existence of malevolent bear persons among them. This, at least, is the inevitable conclusion which emerges from ethnographic evidence. Of the numerous reports of witches and their animal spirit-helpers among Eastern Keresan societies, bears and bear spiritual power were never regarded as aids in the production or dissemination of disease.⁸¹ Bear spiritual power was simply not regarded as an evil or dangerous force among Eastern Keresan societies. Instead, it seems to have been perceived exclusively in terms of *fighting* witchcraft and disease.

Tanoan subarea

Like other Pueblo cultures, Tanoan societies considered bear spiritual power a pre-eminent healing power. Tanoan societies likewise referred to their shamans generally as "Bear" or "Bear Men" (Parsons 1929:122-123; Tyler 1975:205). As elsewhere in the Pueblo culture area, however, only the strongest shamans were considered capable of actually procuring personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers. Concomitantly, Tanoan societies regarded bear shamans as the most effective of all shamans for curing disease, particularly disease produced by witchcraft.

Curing ceremonies among the Tanoan (as among other Pueblo cultures) typically involved bear shamans invoking the power of their bear spirit-helpers through the enactment of a number of

⁸¹ See, for example, Benedict (1933:232-235); Espinosa (1936:90-92); White (1942:319-323).

specific rituals. It was observed among Isleta bear shamans, for example, that,

in their medicine bowl they can see where their partners, the real bears, have gone. Bear chief will look in and say "Our helper is at Durango or California or up in the sky or underground" (Parsons 1939:190).

As part of the power-summoning process, bear shamans also imitated the animals in costume and behaviour. Most typically, bearskins and bear claw necklaces were worn. Imitation of bears, however, often reached a point where Tanoan bear shamans were recognized to have actually become bears. As was noted among the Isleta, "when they stand up to cure they put a plant into their mouth and become real bears" (Parsons 1939:190).⁸² That the Tanoan recognized physical transformation, and not merely skilled imitation of bears, is illustrated by the following Nambé account:

there was a man who did not believe in the Bear men. He thought the Bear men carried what he sucked out in his paws. This man became an Outside chief. When they are curing, the Outside chief is sent to watch the Bear men, to see where they go. Two Bears took the Outside chief to the lake. Then the Bears jumped in. They stayed a long time. Then one Bear came out, and told the Outside chief to follow. He went behind the church; the Outside chief followed him. "My helper is going ahead," he said to the Outside chief. He went to the middle of the plaza. A real bear came out from the stone shrine and went to the east. (It was the Bear left behind in the lake.) Out from the shrine came the man bear and the real bear, his partner. There were two

⁸² The employed plant was known throughout Pueblo societies as "bear medicine" or "bear root". Although its Latin designation has not been ethnographically established, it was apparently of an hallucinogenic nature, as it was said to induce a "trance-like state" when ingested (Rockwell 1991:83). Functionally, it was regarded as helping furnish bear shamans with the ability to precisely diagnose the cause of a patient's sickness.

bears there. The doubting Outside chief now began to believe. "Perhaps they are really bear," he said (Parsons 1939:189).

As elsewhere in the Pueblo culture area, Tanoan curing ceremonies typically culminated in bear shamans sucking disease-causing objects from patients' bodies. Tyler (1975:194), however, has reported one instance among the Isleta where it was determined that a witch had not "shot" an object into the victim, but had instead stolen part of his heart (a not uncommon cause of witchcraft-related sickness reported among Pueblo cultures). In such instances, the curing procedures took on a slightly different form:

while the singing continues the bear swings his head from side to side, until at last he expels something which one of the helpers picks up and washes. The patient is asked to swallow this object and he is told that it is the other half of his heart which had been lost. Almost immediately, [the patient] feels strong again. The helpers stroke the bear with feathers while sprinkling meal over him, then the bear rises up, sniffing (Tyler 1975:194).

Thus, rather than extracting disease-causing objects from patients' bodies through sucking, bear shamans occasionally emitted objects from their own bodies, which patients were directed to ingest. In such instances, bear shamans acted primarily to restore patients rather than extract objects from them. Whether restoring or extracting objects, however, bear shamans' functions were similar: to combat disease which resulted as a direct consequence of witchcraft.

An Isleta informant has adeptly described the behaviours of bear shamans from a patient's perspective. Not surprisingly, bear shamans appeared as immensely overwhelming

and startling figures from such vantage points. As narrated by the patient, the bear shaman,

knocked on the door with his paws. When the bear followed the pollen road into the house some of the spectators hid their faces in their hands. I was trying to make myself strong, but I could not stand it; I was feeling faint. The bear hit the post of the house, and hit the floor, and stopped and growled. He smelt around the altar and acted as if he was going to spring on me, opening his mouth and growling. I was not afraid of him, but I was feeling faint. He came up to me, clapping his paws and growling. The closer he came to me, the madder he acted. He struck at me with his paws, and held my head (Tyler 1975:194).

In connection with their curing performances, Tanoan bear shamans reportedly enacted a number of extraordinary abilities not positively acknowledged among societies of other Pueblo subareas. Isleta and Nambé bear shamans, for example, were purported to have the capacity of rapid travel (Parsons 1929:121), and as noted above, physical transformation into bears was an accepted trait of Tanoan bear shamans. The most unique ability proclaimed of these individuals, however, was clairvoyance. Specifically, Tanoan bear shamans were acknowledged to be aware of others' thoughts (Parsons 1929:119, 305).

Each of these feats attributed to bear shamans were said to have been performed by them only in connection with curing diseases (Parsons 1929:121). Tanoan bear shamans were never accused of abusing their acquired powers. Indeed, they appear to have been uniformly well-respected among their communities.

A second general type of bear person acknowledged among the Tanoan also played a significant role ceremonially within

these societies. As elsewhere in the Pueblo culture area, bear dancers represented bears in form and character at specific social gatherings. At Taos, for example, a prescribed ritual was held every year during the annual winter solstice ceremony so that "the bears will be peaceful to the people" (Tyler 1975:205). While, as noted above, bear shamans themselves performed at Santo Domingo solstice rituals in order to combat witchcraft, the role of bear persons at Taos winter solstice observances was much more ceremonial in nature. As described to Parsons (1936:45),

In the Water People's kiva in the day time, sometimes at night, dance four men painted black. Each holds a bear head in his hands. Other members sing. They too are painted black. When the song is finished, the dancers raise their bear heads towards the sun four times--moving the head from a position close to the floor up as high as they can reach. Four songs are sung in this manner. Then they lay their heads on the floor. The chief gives each dancer a pinch of medicine and two or three turkey feathers. The dancer prays and sprinkles the medicine on the bear's head and puts the feathers in the bear's mouth.

Like bear dancers recognized among other Pueblo (and more generally, Pacific Slope) cultures, these bear dancers did not establish personal relationships with bear spirit-helpers, nor did they possess bear spiritual power such as was demonstrated by bear shamans. Consequently, Tanoan bear dancers did not cure illness, nor were they capable of performing the extraordinary feats attributed to bear shamans. Instead, their sole function was to represent bears during appointed ceremonials.

At the opposite end of the Tanoan societal spectrum existed witches. As elsewhere in the Pueblo culture area, Tanoan societies considered witchcraft to be the primary cause of disease in their communities. Similarly, detailed accounts of the activities of witches were prevalent among the Tanoan. Of the numerous reports produced, however, associations of witches with bears (or bear spiritual power) were notably absent. Anecdotes of witches transforming themselves into coyotes, snakes, dogs, and wolves were common,⁸³ but bear spirit-helpers were seemingly never employed for malevolent purposes. Tanoan societies, as other Pueblo cultures, evidently regarded bear spiritual power exclusively in restorative terms. As elsewhere in the Pueblo culture area, bear spiritual power was so intimately linked with curing power that it was infeasible for it to be associated with malevolent ends.

⁸³ See, for example, Espinosa (1936:124-132); Parsons (1936:61).

3. THE GRIZZLY BEAR PERSON COMPLEX: AN ANALYSIS OF TRENDS

When descriptions of Pacific Slope grizzly bear persons are examined collectively, it is clear that a number of similarities existed in these persons' reported appearances, abilities, behaviours and functions. Although specific details of grizzly bear persons differed from culture to culture, there is a degree of overlap in descriptions. Grizzly bear persons from culturally disparate societies oftentimes displayed remarkably similar attributes. Though the observed physical and behavioural characteristics of grizzly bears themselves undoubtedly played a role in how human representatives of the animal behaved, this does not account completely for the universality of specific traits. That Cochiti (Pueblo), Lassik (California), and Wada (Great Basin) grizzly bear persons all possessed the ability of rapid travel, while such abilities were unknown to Monache (California), Owens Valley Paiute (Great Basin), and Shuswap (Plateau) grizzly bear persons suggests that more than simple observation of grizzly bears is at play. It is undeniable that the interaction of Native societies precipitated the diffusion of many cultural concepts, such as specific rituals, social structures, or technologies (Jorgensen 1980), and there is no reason to believe that this process might not also have occurred with respect to the existence and displayed traits of grizzly bear persons. There

are clearly a number of "hot spots" of grizzly bear person activity throughout the Pacific Slope (e.g., North-Central California), and it is not unreasonable to assume that the acknowledged traits of one culture's grizzly bear persons may have diffused, in one form or another, to surrounding societies. If this was indeed the case, it suggests a certain degree of connectedness among grizzly bear persons, such that those of different cultures may not, and probably did not, develop independent of each other. It may not be, for example, that there is a direct link between Tsimshian and Cahuilla grizzly bear persons, but it is probable that Cochiti and San Felipe grizzly bear persons arose from the same "stock".

It could prove instructive, then, to speak not only in terms of individual cultural reports of Pacific Slope grizzly bear persons, but also in terms of a more general grizzly bear person complex, made up of a number of different types. Identifying Pacific Slope grizzly bear persons in this way provides the perspective of looking beyond head-to-head differences of individual descriptions. Thus, if the focus is shifted slightly to reveal *trends* in descriptions, the larger picture of the existence of grizzly bear persons can become both more defined and more interpretable.

In order to effectively disclose trends, it is necessary to re-examine each description for the separate fragments of information conveyed. That is, every description must be deconstructed to reveal the specific traits and characteristics of grizzly bear persons which are delineated. What, for

example, was the gender of the reported grizzly bear person; was there transformation into a grizzly bear; if so, how was it enacted; what other special abilities were displayed? When all ethnographic descriptions are deconstructed in this manner, they elicit an inventory of attributes which encompass the entire range of traits and characteristics reported for all Pacific Slope grizzly bear persons. Such an inventory is akin to the checklist of cultural variables produced by the "Culture Element Distributions" series.¹ Just as the checklist of data created by the "Culture Element Distributions" series became the foundation for a number of definitive cultural analyses (e.g., Jorgensen 1980), so an inventory of grizzly bear person attributes can provide the essential groundwork for a definitive study of the "types" of grizzly bear persons which are reported to have existed in Pacific Slope Native cultures.

In total, one hundred and ninety-seven separate references can be found which describe the existence of grizzly bear persons among Pacific Slope cultures.² These ethnographic accounts vary in length and detail. Some span little more than

¹ As noted in Chapter One, the "Culture Element Distributions" series, published out of Berkeley in the 1930s and 1940s, was a succession of articles published by noted anthropologists who sought to systematically delineate all cultural aspects of Native societies in western North America. Each author, given a common checklist of possible cultural traits, simply noted in which cultures these traits were present, and in which cultures they were absent.

² Any descriptions which relied exclusively upon previously published material were considered redundant, and therefore not included among the 197 references. Additionally, those reports which provided no details, but stated only that grizzly bear persons existed (or did not exist) could not be included.

one or two paragraphs (e.g., Levy 1978b:489), while others form the basis for entire articles (e.g., Barrett 1917). Each, however, has disclosed specific beliefs with respect to grizzly bear persons in a given culture, and is valuable for the information it contains.

A critical dismantling of the 197 descriptions of grizzly bear persons yields 32 separate attributes, covering a range of abilities, behaviours and functions. An inventory of these attributes is presented in Table 2. In order to facilitate comparison of reported traits among grizzly bear persons, the attributes have been grouped into five general categories: gender, costume, relationship to spiritual power, abilities and functions, and behaviours.

While perusal of the ethnographic accounts may yield a number of hypotheses with respect to trends in the descriptions of grizzly bear persons, any such suppositions, ultimately, can be no more than inconclusive hunches. The sheer number of reports which must be considered simultaneously makes "eyeing" the information both an unwieldy and imprecise endeavour. Specific techniques exist, however, which are both efficient and reliable for accomplishing such a task. Indeed, if the information is treated strictly as data, statistical analyses may be employed.

Of the numerous multivariate analyses available, factor analysis would seem the most appropriate procedure for evaluating possible trends among the varied descriptions of

grizzly bear persons. As explained by Tabachnick and Fidell (1983:372),

in FA [factor analysis], the researcher is usually interested in discovering which variables in a data set form coherent subgroups that are relatively independent of one another.... the specific goal of [factor] analysis is to summarize patterns of intercorrelations.

Thus, in analyzing the intercorrelations of attributes (noting how each attribute correlates with every other attribute), factor analysis serves to "reduce a large number of variables [attributes] to a smaller number of clusters" (Tabachnick and Fidell 1983:372). It is these resultant clusters, or "factors", which would indicate the general types of grizzly bear persons described in the literature. Performing a factor analysis on the ethnographic data presented in Chapter Two, then, would reveal: a) the number of general types of grizzly bear persons which existed; and b) the specific traits associated with each of these types.

One of the advantages of employing factor analysis over other techniques is that the number of clusters (factors) produced is not pre-set. The occurrence of factors is limited only by the number, and inter-relationships, of attributes. Trends inherent in the data are the exclusive determinants. Factor analysis, then, provides an excellent framework for the unequivocal delineation of any and all distinct types of grizzly bear persons described in the literature.

Although several factor analysis extraction techniques are available to the researcher, differences between the resultant solutions are commonly negligible. Thus, Tabachnick and Fidell

(1983:394) have noted that "a stable solution usually tends to appear regardless of which extraction technique was employed". The choice of extraction technique, then, is largely a matter of researcher preference. For the present study, the "complete centroid method" of factoring was used to determine any and all factors which emerged from the ethnographic data.³

Results of the factor extraction are reproduced in Table 3. As indicated, four major factors (each representing a distinct trend in the ethnographic descriptions of grizzly bear persons) emerge from the data. Together, these four factors account for over eighty percent of the total variance in descriptions. In other words, of all descriptions of Pacific Slope grizzly bear persons in the ethnographic literature, more than eighty percent of the reports can be accounted for with this theoretical model. Given the varied and sometimes indiscriminate nature of the reports, this indeed is a significant proportion.

The factors themselves are interpreted through their "loadings", numerical correlations between individual attributes and factors. Each factor in the present study, then, contains thirty-two separate loadings, one for each attribute. Because loadings are expressed as correlations, the

³ For an overview of the calculations employed for the present study, see Appendix A.

higher the absolute value of the loading, the stronger the relationship between that attribute and the factor.⁴

Although a default cut-off of .25 is used by some factor analysis programs (e.g., BMDP4M) to indicate a significant loading, some researchers have suggested that a correlation of .25 is too weak to be deemed significant (e.g., Comrey 1973:156). In light of this, Tabachnick and Fidell (1983:411) have suggested that,

as a rule of thumb, loadings in excess of .32 are eligible for interpretation, whereas lower ones are not, because a factor loading of .32 indicates at least 10% overlap in variance between the variable [attribute] and the factor.

This more moderate limit of .32 will be adopted as the point of significance for the present study.⁵

In applying the cut-off of .32, specific patterns become clearly visible for each factor. To ease interpretation of the four factors, Table 4 displays those factor loadings of Table 3 which are above the critical .32 level. Thus, only those loadings deemed significant are presented in Table 4.

⁴ Correlations are expressed as numbers between +1.00 and -1.00, where +1.00 signifies that the two variables in question display a perfect direct correlation, -1.00 signifies that the two variables display a perfect inverse correlation, and 0.00 signifies no correlation between the variables.

⁵ Noting that some researchers may additionally argue that .32, although acceptable, is also a poor correlation, Tabachnick and Fidell (1983:411) have reasoned that "because the size of loadings reflects, to some extent, the homogeneity of scores in the sample, if homogeneity is suspected, interpretations of lower-end loadings may be warranted". Because the data for grizzly bear persons indeed displays a high degree of homogeneity, it is appropriate (and beneficial) to include such loadings for interpretation.

Examination of the significant loadings for Factor I reveals several identifying traits and characteristics. The type of grizzly bear person enumerated by this factor, for example, could be either male or female (attributes #1 and #2). He or she did not typically exhibit physical transformation into a grizzly bear (#3), but instead disguised him- or herself with a grizzly bear skin (#4). The bearskin costume was oftentimes a source of significant spiritual power (#10) which imparted supernatural abilities to its proprietor (#14), including invulnerability (#15) and the capacity for rapid travel (#16). No power or instruction was received from a grizzly bear spirit-helper (#9, #13), nor was there any association with live grizzly bears (#31). Instead, the costume itself was central to this grizzly bear person. As a sacred object, it required reverential treatment. Typically, it was kept in a secret place (#6), away from profane contact. Before it could be worn, a number of prescribed preparatory rituals were enacted (#7). Although spiritual power was inherent in the costume, instruction for its proper use was received from other grizzly bear persons (#12). No curative powers were displayed (#18), nor other functions commonly associated with shamanism (#17). Neither was there participation in community ceremonies or social events (#19, #21). Instead, this grizzly bear person acted only in a violent or malicious manner (#22), murdering anyone happened upon (#27) with a concealed weapon (#28). As a result of such anti-social, aggressive behaviour, he or she was not held in

high repute by other members of the community (#25), and was, in fact, killed when possible (#24). Consequently, this grizzly bear person kept his or her identity hidden (#23).

Factor II reveals a slightly different grizzly bear person, one who received spiritual power not from a bearskin costume (#10), but directly from a grizzly bear spirit-helper (#9). This grizzly bear person, who regularly associated with live grizzly bears (#31), was capable of physical transformation into such an animal (#3), and therefore did not require a bear skin costume (#4) or other such paraphernalia (#5), and did not perform any of the observances (#6) or preparatory rituals (#7) affiliated with such attire. Instruction for proper procurement and maintenance of grizzly bear spiritual power was received both from grizzly bears (#13) and other grizzly bear persons (#12). Numerous supernatural abilities resulted from this obtained spiritual power (#14), including invulnerability (#15) and rapid travel (#16). Most significant for the community, however, this grizzly bear person was known as a shaman (#17) who displayed curative powers (#18), although there was no participation in community-sponsored dances or ceremonies (#19, #20, #21), nor in communal grizzly bear hunts (#32). Indeed, like the grizzly bear person of Factor I, there were acknowledged malevolent tendencies inherent in this grizzly bear person (#22), who commonly murdered others of the community (#27) while transformed as a grizzly bear (#29). As a consequence, the community often sought revenge (#24).

Factor III reveals a grizzly bear person whose behaviours and functions were always of benefit to the community. Recognized as a shaman (#17) with curing abilities (#18), this person received spiritual power and instruction from a grizzly bear spirit-helper (#9, #13), but commonly wore a bearskin costume while curing (#4). A number of supernatural abilities were exhibited (#14), including rapid travel (#16) and invulnerability (#15). Violent behaviour was also common, but directed only to known enemies of the community (#26), who were killed with a concealed weapon (#28). Consequently, this grizzly bear person was not condemned by others in the community (#24), but was highly respected (#25), and participated in both public ceremonies connected with war (#20) and communal grizzly bear hunts (#32).

Factor IV delineates a grizzly bear person markedly different from the previous three. Either male or female (#1, #2), this person did not wear a bear skin costume (#4), but rather paraphernalia which represented the grizzly bear (#5). Spiritual power was received from a grizzly bear spirit-helper (#9), but supernatural abilities were not exhibited (#14). This person did not cure illness (#18) and was not recognized as a shaman (#17). Instead, his or her main function was to represent the grizzly bear at public ceremonies and observances (#19). As such, this grizzly bear person was held in high repute by other members of the community (#25).

Clearly, four discrete factors, or types of grizzly bear persons, emerge from the ethnographic literature. Each type is

distinct from the others in the combination of attributes possessed. The grizzly bear person represented in Factor I, for example, was clearly an evil-doer. He or she did not serve any overtly positive function for the community, but employed grizzly bear spiritual power strictly for personal gain or satisfaction. The behaviours and activities of this grizzly bear person, in fact, conform closely with anthropological conceptions of "sorcerers" and "witches". An appropriate label for the person delineated in Factor I, then, may be "grizzly bear sorcerer".⁶

The grizzly bear persons represented by factors II and III were both recognized as shamans. However, over and above their respective healing capacities, each displayed slightly different behaviours and activities. The grizzly bear persons of Factor II, for example, also displayed the same malicious

⁶ Although "sorcerer" and "witch" are often used synonymously, distinctions between the two terms have been made in the past by some anthropologists (e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1937), and those distinctions are retained here. While the differences may on the surface seem trivial, specific and accurate definitions must be adopted in order to avoid further confusion with respect to grizzly bear persons. Marwick (1970:12) has summarized past distinctions between "sorcerer" and "witch" by noting that sorcerers effect their malicious ends through the use of magic ("rituals or observances aimed at controlling impersonal supernatural forces held responsible for the succession of events"), while witches effect their ends by "some mystical power inherent in the personality, a power that does not require the help of magic". Furthermore, "propensity to witchcraft is usually considered to be hereditary, whereas sorcery is believed to be practiced by anyone who can acquire the necessary magical substances". In accepting these definitions for the present study, "sorcerer" appears to be the more applicable term.

tendencies as grizzly bear sorcerers (Factor I), while the persons of Factor III displayed only behaviours otherwise associated with the public duties of a shaman, such as performing at cultural ceremonies or presiding over rituals connected with the grizzly bear. Identical labels for these two types of grizzly bear shamans, then, (besides being confusing) would not be appropriate. The persons represented in Factor II are perhaps best designated "grizzly bear shaman-sorcerer", acknowledging the fact that they were capable of destructive as well as curative activities. Although many Pacific Slope cultures recognized that shamans, by the very nature of their possessing spiritual power, routinely displayed both malevolent and benevolent tendencies, it is necessary in this case to differentiate the two general types of grizzly bear shamans. Thus, although the straightforward appellation "grizzly bear shaman" would be appropriate for the persons outlined in Factor II, "grizzly bear shaman-sorcerer" is more helpful, as it distinguishes this type of shaman from those represented in Factor III, who are perhaps best named "grizzly bear shaman-healer", denoting their role as working strictly for the benefit of their communities.

Grizzly bear persons represented in Factor IV impersonated grizzly bears at social ceremonies and gatherings. Because this personification often took the form of dance, these persons can perhaps best be designated "grizzly bear dancers", where "dancer" holds the widest possible meaning: someone who moves with measured steps and gestures. Although other grizzly

bear persons (particularly the two types of grizzly bear shamans) may have performed public dances on occasion, the designation "grizzly bear dancer", as used here, denotes function. That is, the grizzly bear persons of Factor IV were the only ones whose primary (and seemingly sole) function was to represent the grizzly bear at social events in the capacity of a dancer. This appellation, then, is both accurate and appropriate.

In examining the four types of grizzly bear persons delineated by factor analysis, the pattern manifest by certain attributes (Table 4) warrants further discussion. It is interesting to note, for example, that physical transformation into a grizzly bear (attribute #3) was most frequently reported for grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers. Although superhuman abilities were routinely associated with both types of grizzly bear shamans, grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers more commonly displayed this special ability. Indeed, in many cases this seems to have been the pivotal attribute in differentiating whether a grizzly bear shaman displayed malevolent tendencies over and above curing abilities. Both types of shamans were clearly associated with the conceptual attributes of grizzly bears (e.g., physically strong, aggressive, war-like), but those shamans acknowledged as capable of physical transformation seem to have been identified more closely with the actual animal. Such shamans, for example, were more commonly reported to cavort with grizzly bears while transformed (e.g., as among the Yuki). They were, in essence,

constant living embodiments of the animal. Correspondingly, behavioural characteristics commonly attributed to grizzly bears were also more commonly ascribed to these shamans. Grizzly bear shamans capable of physical transformation into grizzly bears were typically regarded as menacing, easily angered, and vindictive. In contrast, when physical transformation was not associated with grizzly bear shamans (as was generally the case with grizzly bear shaman-healers), grizzly bear behavioural characteristics were less immediate. Although relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers were evident, these shamans were seemingly not regarded as literal embodiments of the animal. They did not, for example, become bodily transformed into grizzly bears during public ceremonies. Correspondingly, behavioural characteristics of grizzly bears were not as commonly ascribed to these shamans outside of their professional functions, and, though spiritually powerful, they were not commonly regarded as inherently malicious (a trait almost universally attributed to grizzly bears). It seems, then, that when physical transformation was specifically associated with grizzly bear shamans, malevolent tendencies were more frequently ascribed.⁷

A second notable trend evident in the results of the factor analysis concerns the various grizzly bear persons'

⁷ When physical transformation was mentioned as a trait of grizzly bear persons, they were also characterized as malicious in 69 percent of the cases (25/36). Likewise, when grizzly bear shamans were reported as not capable of physical transformation, maliciousness was correspondingly denied 73 percent of the time (11/15).

sources of spiritual power. When grizzly bear spiritual power was derived from a grizzly bear skin costume, it was inevitably associated with malevolent or violent persons. Grizzly bear sorcerers, in fact, were the only general type of grizzly bear person who obtained their spiritual power from the costumes they wore (e.g., as among the Pomo and Chumash). Neither of the two types of grizzly bear shamans, nor the grizzly bear dancers (all of whom acted at least partially for the benefit of their communities) ever procured grizzly bear spiritual power directly from their costumes or paraphernalia. Instead, grizzly bear shamans and dancers received their grizzly bear spiritual power, when it was procured, exclusively from grizzly bear spirit-helpers. This, however, is not indicative that grizzly bear spiritual power derived from grizzly bear spirit-helpers was always associated with curative or restorative activities. Grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers, for example, typically received their power from grizzly bear spirit-helpers. Likewise, there are specific reports of grizzly bear sorcerers who procured relationships with grizzly bear spirit-helpers (e.g., as among the Nisenan, Galice, and Navajo). These instances notwithstanding, when grizzly bear spiritual power was obtained directly from a grizzly bear spirit-helper, it was not invariably associated with violent actions. In contrast, grizzly bear spiritual power derived from a bear

costume was the exclusive domain of violent and/or malicious persons (most frequently, grizzly bear sorcerers).⁸

In outlining the general types of grizzly bear persons represented by trends in the ethnographic data, it is also instructive to plot the existence of each of these types as they occurred among Pacific Slope cultures. This information is provided in Tables 5 through 10.⁹ When coding the data, the four types of grizzly bear persons were distinguished primarily in reference to function. Thus, grizzly bear sorcerers were regarded as those who employed grizzly bear spiritual power

⁸ When grizzly bear spiritual power was reported to have been obtained from a grizzly bear spirit-helper, it was associated with violent actions or persons (i.e., grizzly bear sorcerers or grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers) only 37 percent of the time (30/82). In contrast, when grizzly bear spiritual power was derived from a bearskin costume, it was associated with violent or malevolent activity in 100 percent of the cases (11/11).

⁹ Although each type of grizzly bear person is treated as an entity in-itself, it must be reiterated that these are simply representations of general trends existent in the ethnographic data. When two separate cultures have both recognized the existence of grizzly bear sorcerers among them, for example, it is not necessarily the case that all grizzly bear sorcerers among these cultures were identical in every way. Instead, it merely indicates that both cultures recognized the existence of *similar* such persons, who, in this particular example, employed grizzly bear spiritual power strictly for malevolent purposes. Exceptions to the general trends do exist. This is evident from the descriptions of grizzly bear persons provided in Chapter Two. Individual cultures' world-views played a significant role in how grizzly bear persons became manifest. Very rarely were grizzly bear persons completely identical across cultures (particularly when the cultures existed in different subareas). The information provided in tables 5 through 10, then, is intended to denote *trends* in the descriptions of grizzly bear persons among Pacific Slope cultures. While differences in detail must never be discounted, the delineation of general relationships can be equally important for understanding the roles and functions of grizzly bear persons among Pacific Slope Native cultures.

exclusively for personal gain or satisfaction, typically through violence; grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers were those who were acknowledged as shamans within their communities, but who also employed grizzly bear spiritual power in malicious ways; grizzly bear shaman-healers were those who were recognized as shamans, and employed grizzly bear spiritual power only in beneficial manners among their communities; and grizzly bear dancers were those who were recognized as neither shamans nor sorcerers, and represented grizzly bears publicly at social gatherings and ceremonies.

From the six tables, a more distinct image emerges of the patterns of grizzly bear persons existent among Pacific Slope cultures. Although each of the four general types of grizzly bear persons were reported throughout the Pacific Slope, this was certainly not a random displacement of attributes. Clearly, societies of the same culture area recognized similar types of grizzly bear persons among them. In the Pueblo culture area for example (Table 10), every society acknowledged the existence of two types of grizzly bear persons, a grizzly bear shaman-healer, and some form of grizzly bear dancer. These were, in fact, the only two types of grizzly bear persons existent among Pueblo societies. Grizzly bear sorcerers and grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers were unknown. Similarly, individual Great Basin societies commonly reported only one type of grizzly bear person among them, either grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers or grizzly bear shaman-healers (Table 9). No

society reported the existence of either grizzly bear sorcerers or grizzly bear dancers.

It is evident, then, that general patterns can be confirmed when the existence of grizzly bear persons is examined from the perspective of culture areas. These demarcations provide a solid foundation from which to explore relationships in the existences of grizzly bear persons among Pacific Slope cultures.

It is at the level of the subarea, however, that relationship patterns become even more distinct. Just as cultural traits in general become more uniform as one narrows the focus from culture area to subarea, so the patterns of the reported traits and activities of grizzly bear persons are also more refined when subareas are taken into consideration. This is perhaps most apparent with the Great Basin example of above. As noted, when the Great Basin culture area is examined in its entirety, there is evidence that most societies recognized one type of grizzly bear shaman among them, either the grizzly bear shaman-sorcerer or the grizzly bear shaman-healer (Table 9). However, neither type of shaman predominates at the culture area perspective. Nine societies reported grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers, while seven reported grizzly bear shaman-healers. Thus, from the vantage point of culture area it can only be concluded that grizzly bear shamans were the prevalent form of grizzly bear person among Great Basin societies. When the perspective is expanded to incorporate specific subareas, however, the pattern of the existence of grizzly bear shamans

becomes more refined. It becomes clear that Washo and Northern Paiute, as well as Western Shoshone societies recognized only grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers among them, while Northern and Eastern Shoshone, Ute, and Southern Paiute societies recognized only grizzly bear shaman-healers. These patterns are further clarified when it is noted that Washo and Northern Paiute, and Western Shoshone societies had greater contact with California cultures (particularly the North-Central and South-Central subareas), where grizzly bear sorcerers and grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers were common, while Northern and Eastern Shoshone, Ute, and Southern Paiute societies had more contact with, and more resemblance to Plains and Southwest (Pai, Navajo, and Apache) cultures, where grizzly bear shaman-healers predominated.¹⁰ Thus, while most Great Basin societies recognized grizzly bear shamans among them, patterns of the acknowledged type of grizzly bear shaman become more refined as a result of incorporating the concept of cultural subareas.

Similar analyses can help clarify the particular patterns of the existence of grizzly bear persons in every culture area of the Pacific Slope. In the Northwest Coast, for example, the distribution of different types of grizzly bear persons was also consistent with subarea groupings (Table 5). Thus, although all four general types of grizzly bear persons were reported in the Northwest Coast, grizzly bear sorcerers existed

¹⁰ For a discussion of grizzly bear shamans among Plains societies who bordered the Great Basin culture area (specifically the Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho), see Rockwell (1991:71, 75, 77).

consistently among only the southernmost subareas (Oregon and Northwest California), where grizzly bear spiritual power was regarded as much more of a malevolent and dangerous force. In contrast, grizzly bear shaman-healers dominated societies of the North subarea, where grizzly bear spiritual power, although considered potent, was associated with restorative functions. Only Coast Salish societies consistently reported more than one type of grizzly bear person among them, acknowledging both grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers and grizzly bear dancers (as affiliated with their winter spirit dances).

Trends of grizzly bear persons in the Plateau culture area were also reflective of specific subareas (Table 6). Similar to the Coast Salish of the Northwest Coast, grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers predominated Interior Salish, Thompson and Fraser Rivers (who were also Salishan-speaking), Kutenai, and Sahaptian subareas. Societies of each of these subareas also recognized grizzly bear dancers as part of their winter spirit dances. The lone exception to this overall pattern were societies of the Klamath subarea, who shared many cultural traits with Northeast California societies (whom they bordered), and acknowledged only grizzly bear shaman-healers among them.

The distribution of grizzly bear persons among California societies was more complex (Table 7). All four types of grizzly bear persons were known in this culture area, and their existences did not always unequivocally follow subarea groupings. Thus, while it is clear that Northeast societies

acknowledged only grizzly bear shaman-healers, and Central Coast societies reported only grizzly bear sorcerers, Athapascan, North-Central, and South-Central subareas (where cultural variation was more pronounced) are perhaps better characterized by the grizzly bear persons they did not acknowledge. Except for the Miwok, societies of all three of these subareas denied the presence of grizzly bear shaman-healers among them, indicative that grizzly bear spiritual power was never associated exclusively with benevolence. North-Central societies more commonly acknowledged grizzly bear sorcerers, while South-Central and Athapascan societies more frequently reported grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers. Grizzly bear dancers were also observed wherever the Kuksu Cult existed in these three subareas. Clearly, however, non-Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons were dominant, and when acknowledging such persons, Athapascan, North-Central, and South-Central (as well as Central Coast) societies associated the cultivation of grizzly bear spiritual power with mischievous and/or violent behaviour.

Southern California subareas displayed similar beliefs in the existence of grizzly bear persons (Table 8). That is, the only grizzly bear persons reported among these subareas were regarded as mischievous and/or violent in nature. The distribution of Southern California grizzly bear persons, however, more closely followed the demarcations of cultural subareas. Thus, Coast societies reported only grizzly bear sorcerers and mischievous "grizzly bear dancers", while

Interior societies reported grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers. The only societies exceptional to their subarea trends were the Kitanemuk and Diegueño. Kitanemuk societies, who bordered (and shared many cultural traits with) the Chumash, acknowledged grizzly bear sorcerers rather than grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers. Similarly, while grizzly bear persons were commonly denied among societies of the Baja subarea, the Diegueño, who had more physical contact with grizzly bears (and more interaction with Interior societies), reported the existence of grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers.

Colorado River societies uniformly denied the existence of any and all grizzly bear persons among them (Table 9). The principal reason for this absence, as noted, was (as with the Baja subarea) the general lack of grizzly bears in their geographical territories.

All general types of grizzly bear persons were present in the Southwest culture area (Table 10). As elsewhere, the pattern of reports approximated the division of cultural subareas. Thus, although societies of each subarea (who had developed similar concepts of "bear sickness") recognized bear shamans among them,¹¹ Piman societies (where shamans were routinely suspected of malevolence as well curing abilities) reported grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers, while Pai, Apache, and Navajo societies (who made clear distinctions between shamans

¹¹ As noted, although the Navajo did not recognize bear shamans *per se*, their "bear singers" (healers of bear sickness) have been included in this category.

and sorcerers) reported grizzly bear shaman-healers. Navajo and Jicarilla Apache societies (who conceptualized the cure of "bear sickness" in a slightly different manner than other Southwest societies) acknowledged grizzly bear dancers as well as grizzly bear shaman-healers. Additionally, of the three subareas which differentiated sorcerers from shamans, grizzly bear sorcerers were acknowledged among the Apache and Navajo. Such individuals were not reported among Pai societies, who were culturally less opulent.

Pueblo societies, as mentioned previously, were the most uniform of all Pacific Slope cultures in their beliefs concerning grizzly bear persons (Table 10). The societies of all three Pueblo subareas reported both grizzly bear shaman-healers (who counter-acted witchcraft) and grizzly bear dancers (most frequently associated with *kachina* ceremonials). Grizzly bear sorcerers, as well as grizzly bear shaman-sorcerers, were unknown to all of these subareas, underscoring the fact that grizzly bear spiritual power was associated exclusively with the restoration of personal and cultural health.

Given that subareas provide a valuable touchstone from which to examine the patterns of the existence of grizzly bear persons, and subareas themselves are based on a display of similar cultural traits, it becomes clear that the general cultural traits exhibited by any society were a critical factor in determining the particular characteristics of grizzly bear persons recognized by that society. Grizzly bear persons, and grizzly bear spiritual power in general, did not exist in a

cultural vacuum. How grizzly bears were perceived, the enactment of rituals and ceremonies connected with the animals, specific conceptualizations of grizzly bear spiritual power, and the particular existences of grizzly bear persons were all expressions of the general life-ways and world-views inherent in Pacific Slope societies. Each culture's relationship with grizzly bears and grizzly bear spiritual power was conditioned by that culture's belief-system. That the Navajo were among the few societies in the Southwest which did not possess formal grizzly bear shamans is not surprising given the specific manner in which the curing of disease (specifically, "bear sickness") was enacted by this culture. Grizzly bear shamans, as they occurred elsewhere in the Southwest, were unnecessary among the Navajo. Such a deviation, then, was not an inexplicable quirk, but was instead an occurrence entirely consistent with the cultural position of the Navajo. Similarly, the fact that Pomo grizzly bear persons received grizzly bear spiritual power from the costumes they wore rather than from a grizzly bear spirit-helper reflected that culture's development of "outfit doctors". Spirit-helpers, and in particular, grizzly bear spirit-helpers, were a cultural impossibility among the Pomo.

It is evident that the ways in which grizzly bear spiritual power was both conceptualized and manifest were intricately connected to the particular world-views developed by individual cultures. Although general trends and commonalities can be established, grizzly bear spiritual power

was not a single thing among Pacific Slope cultures. It was not conceived in identical terms by every society, nor were relationships cultivated in the same manner. Each society related to grizzly bear spiritual power from its own cultural perspective.

4. GRIZZLY BEAR SHAMANS AND THE STUDY OF SHAMANISM

A number of inferences can be made from the descriptive and correlational analyses of the preceding three chapters. Most notable perhaps are the implications of this monograph to the study of shamanism. This research has underscored that the experiences of spiritual power by individual shamans were highly dependent upon the specific sources of spiritual power recognized by each shaman's culture. Shamans who possessed grizzly bear spiritual power, for example, differed from culture to culture in accordance with each culture's representation of grizzly bear spiritual power. This points to a pattern, then, of the existence of specific types of shamans, whose recognized behaviours, abilities, and functions within a community were consistent with the cultural properties of different types of spiritual power. The particular spirit-helpers acquired by shamans established the pattern for both their experiences of spiritual power, and the public exhibitions (e.g., cures) which resulted from the acquisition of such power. In short, the individual spirit-helpers of a shaman determined his or her social identity. Indeed, in most cases shamans were recognized according to their spirit-helpers.

Grizzly bear shamans were just one of many types of shamans acknowledged among Pacific Slope cultures. One can find examples not only of grizzly bear shamans, but also of

antelope shamans, rattlesnake shamans, badger shamans, and weather shamans, among others. Although some cultures may have acknowledged that shamans were capable of acquiring more than one spirit-helper at a time (and therefore would not have recognized "grizzly bear shamans" or "rattlesnake shamans" in the strict sense of these terms), in each case the experiences of spiritual power, and the abilities attributed to the shaman were very specific, in accordance with the prescribed cultural properties of each of his or her acquired spirit-helpers. Thus, in many Pacific Slope cultures shamans with grizzly bear spiritual power were recognized as primarily possessing the ability to cure victims of bear attacks; shamans with antelope spiritual power aided hunters with their ability to "charm" antelope, so that the animals could more easily be killed; and shamans with rattlesnake spiritual power demonstrated a specialized ability to cure rattlesnake bites. These functions and abilities were all very specific. One shaman did not typically have the ability to cure all illnesses, or perform all spiritual functions. Instead, each shaman's existence was intimately linked with the individual sources of his or her spiritual power.

This assertion at least implicitly contradicts the direction taken by many current studies of spiritual power and shamanism within Native North American cultures. While the present study has demonstrated that grizzly bear shamans (and by extension, all shamans) were intricately tied to the cultures in which they existed and the individual spirit-

helpers which they obtained, many researchers have either ignored or actively removed the cultural milieus out of which shamans developed. Most notably, beginning with Eliade's landmark study of shamanism, the ecstatic journey has become an accepted general reality of the behavioural pattern of shamans worldwide.¹ Eliade regarded the ecstatic journey (a shaman's travel from one "cosmic zone" to another along an imaginary vertical axis²) as the defining characteristic of shamanism. As he explained it, "the shaman specializes in an ecstatic trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld" (Eliade 1964:5). Shamans' experiences *vis à vis* an ecstatic journey became the focal point of Eliade's study, and the primacy of such experiences has subsequently been reiterated by other researchers.³ The profound impact of Eliade's analysis is evidenced by the fact that more than forty years after its publication, the work remains a standard in the field.

In light of the present study, however, the significance of the ecstatic journey as postulated by Eliade and others

¹ With *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (originally published in 1951), Eliade was the first to systematically study the phenomenon of shamanism in a cross-continental manner, and approach the subject from a strictly religious perspective. As was noted at the time by Leenhardt (1952:16), in taking up the study of shamanism, Eliade "succeeds in defining its bounds, so that, for the first time in the history of religions, a clear idea can be formed of what shamanism is and what it is not".

² See Eliade (1964:259-288).

³ See, for example, Harner (1988); Doore (1988).

seems suspect. Spiritual power and knowledge appears to have been gained by Pacific Slope shamans not inevitably from ecstatic journey experiences, but more frequently through direct communication with individual spirit-helpers while in the physical world. Grizzly bear shamans, for example, commonly enacted cures by *becoming* grizzly bears (either literally or metaphorically). This typically involved, as described among Pueblo cultures,⁴ summoning a grizzly bear spirit-helper, and allowing grizzly bear spiritual power to emanate through the shaman. Indeed, spiritual power (in the form of spirit-helpers) oftentimes came to the shaman, rather than he or she travelling to an otherworld abode of spirits. It was not necessary for the shaman to "go and get" grizzly bear spiritual power and the specific knowledge required to execute a cure. Spiritual power came to the shaman through direct communication with individual spirit-helpers.

This is not to say that ecstatic journeys to upper or lower worlds were never performed by shamans. It is clear that such journeys were frequent. But that they were a universal phenomenon essential to every shaman's acquisition of spiritual power and performance of cures is questionable.⁵

⁴ See p. 183.

⁵ While it must be noted that Eliade's analysis of shamanism focused primarily upon shamans of Siberian cultures (where the ecstatic journey appears to have been more readily practiced), he nevertheless did employ examples of North American shamans (e.g., among Paviotso and Achomawi societies) in order to substantiate his assertion of the primacy and universality of the ecstatic journey. A critique of Eliade's summary of

Interpretation of the results of the present monograph instead suggests that, at least for cultures of the Pacific Slope, interactions with individual spirit-helpers (who were the foundation of a shaman's obtained power) were the significant factors in determining a shaman's particular experiences of spiritual power.

In noting the specificity of the functions, abilities, and behaviours of various shamans both within and among Pacific Slope Native cultures, as has been done throughout the present study, one is inevitably compelled to ask where, in Eliade's treatise, do individual types of shamans fit? Eliade, with his emphasis on the commonality of the ecstatic journey, has seemingly de-emphasized (to the point of non-existence) the relationship between cultural representations of spiritual power and the expressed characteristics of individual shamans. He has disregarded the fact that cultural conceptualizations of different types of spiritual power determined to a large extent the specific social roles of shamans. In doing so, Eliade has also necessarily discounted the personal relationships shamans fostered with individual spirit-helpers. Spirit-helpers were, after all, the embodiments of cultural conceptualizations of spiritual power; they were the tangible sources of spiritual power. As such, the relationships which developed between a shaman and specific animal or entity spirit-helpers were crucial to the establishment of the shaman's role and status

shamanism, then, is both valid and appropriate from the perspective of a study of Pacific Slope cultures.

within his or her community. Personal interaction with individual spirit-helpers was oftentimes the ultimate experience for a shaman in the acquisition of spiritual power and the performance of cures.

Eliade, it should be noted, seems to have been at least cognizant of the important connection between individual shamans and specific types of spiritual power. This is evidenced in the following observation by him:

For the shaman, donning the skin of an animal was becoming that animal; feeling himself transformed into that animal. This magical transformation resulted in a "going out of the self" that very often found expression in an ecstatic experience. Imitating the gait of an animal or putting on its skin was acquiring a superhuman mode of being. There was no question of a regression into pure "animal life"; the animal with which the shaman identified himself was already charged with a mythology, it was, in fact, a mythical animal. By becoming this mythical animal, the shaman became far greater and stronger than himself. We are justified in supposing that this projection into a mythical being induced the euphoric experience that, before ending in ecstasy, showed the shaman his power (Eliade 1964:459-460).

Having made such an acknowledgement, however, Eliade stopped short of accepting the primacy of the shaman's relationship with animal (and other) spirit-helpers, as bearers of spiritual power. Ultimately, he concluded that, "animal forms play an important role in the *preliminaries* to the shamanic séance, in *preparation* for the ecstatic journey to the sky or underworld" (Eliade 1964:92, emphases added).

In explaining all of shamanism in light of ecstatic journeys, the important role of animals (and the natural world in general) in cultural conceptualizations of spiritual power

became lost for Eliade. In stressing the importance of a perceived lower world and upper world, Eliade necessarily de-emphasized the fact that spiritual power, by and large, was conceptualized in terms of specific animals or phenomena which existed in the natural world. Throughout the Pacific Slope, spirit-helpers were typically representatives of the physical environment which a particular culture experienced.

Accordingly, shamans' relationships with spiritual power were commonly defined in terms of their affiliations with natural world beings and phenomena. Indeed, it was often the shaman's intimate relationship with spiritual representatives of the natural world which was most important to the community. Thus, as noted, grizzly bear shamans became grizzly bears and employed grizzly bear spiritual power to cure victims of bear attack; antelope shamans became antelopes and employed antelope spiritual power to aid hunters of the animals. Similarly, weather shamans, in a much more metaphorical sense, became the weather (e.g., thunder) and employed this spiritual power to alter weather patterns. In engaging such specific types of spiritual power, shamans forged vital links with the natural world on behalf of their communities. They were, in essence, helping their communities survive in the natural world. Communication with animal forms, then, was more than a mere preliminary to the shamanic séance. It was, in many circumstances, the essence of the shaman's experience of spiritual power.

In accepting the immediacy of the natural world in both conceptualizations of spiritual power and manifestations of shamanism, it may be appropriate (to employ a mathematical metaphor) to rotate Eliade's *axis mundi* (the imaginary vertical axis) ninety degrees. That is, Eliade's *axis mundi* might be better envisioned as a horizontal rather than vertical axis, which encompasses primarily the natural world rather than the "three cosmic zones". Such a rotation would serve to underscore the significance of the natural world (including animals) in conceptualizations of spiritual power and manifestations of shamanism. For Pacific Slope, as well as other North American Native cultures, spiritual power did not reside only in far-off, cosmic places away from the natural world. Instead, it was considered an integral part of the natural world.

It seems, then, that we must ultimately question Eliade's analysis of shamanism. Although not entirely wrong, his particular emphasis is somewhat misleading. Although others have reiterated Eliade's claims, interpretation of the data for Pacific Slope grizzly bear shamans intuitively counters the primacy of the ecstatic journey. Ecstatic journeys to upper or lower worlds appear not to have been invariably performed by each and every shaman when enacting their cures. Although such experiences were not uncommon, the ecstatic trance did not always culminate in an ecstatic journey. Oftentimes, *becoming* the animal or entity of power was the means by which cures or miracles were enacted. Journeying was not always necessary

because souls were not always lost.⁶ In highlighting the experience of an ecstatic journey (as Eliade and others have done), both the inter-cultural and intra-cultural diversity of shamanism has disappeared. Spiritual power and shamanism are perhaps more precisely understood as existing in a multitude of forms and types, thus shifting the perspective to incorporate each shaman's experience relative to the cultural conceptions of spiritual power. Such a perspective additionally shifts the focus from an other-worldly cosmic journey experience to an intimate relationship with spiritual representatives of beings (e.g., animals) and phenomena existent in the natural world of specific cultures.

⁶ Kroeber (1925:851), for example, has noted that of all the Native cultures which existed within what is now the state of California (this would include the entire California culture area, all but the Baja subarea of Southern California, the Northwest California subarea of the Northwest Coast, many Colorado River societies, as well as numerous Western Shoshone, Washo and Northern Paiute societies of the Great Basin culture area), "the Mohave are the only tribe for whom there is definite record that shamans recovered souls". Additionally, Ray (1942:247), in his summary of Plateau cultures, noted that soul-loss illness was recognized by only seven of the sixteen cultures he surveyed.

5. CONCLUSION

From this monograph of grizzly bear spiritual power, a number of important general conclusions can be drawn regarding spiritual power as it existed among Pacific Slope Native cultures. The conclusions are as follows:

1. Spiritual power was not unidimensional.

Different types of spiritual power were recognized both within and among Pacific Slope Native cultures. Examples exist of grizzly bear spiritual power, antelope spiritual power, badger spiritual power, rattlesnake spiritual power, etc., and each one of these acknowledged types of spiritual power was imbued with specific properties which affected in very different ways both the individuals who came into contact with them and the world in which they existed.

2. The types of spiritual power acknowledged, and how they were conceptualized by a given culture were always consistent with that culture's specific world-view.

The same types of spiritual power were not recognized by every Pacific Slope Native culture. The types of spiritual power acknowledged were instead a reflection of both the environment in which a culture subsisted and the thought-patterns (e.g., as determined by cosmology, social structure, and linguistic structure) expressed by that culture. Thus, although grizzly

bear spiritual power was commonly acknowledged throughout the Pacific Slope, it was not always regarded in the same manner. That grizzly bear spiritual power was considered menacing and dangerous among Clackamas societies, that it was strictly a healing power among Cochiti societies, and that it was associated with "bear sickness" among Papago societies were all resultant of the different over-riding world-views expressed by these cultures.

3. The natural world (which included animals) dominated cultural expressions of spiritual power.

Because conceptualizations of spiritual power were themselves reflective of each culture's collective experiences, the specific natural environment in which a culture existed also played a significant role in the determination of which types of spiritual power were acknowledged, and which were considered most beneficial or dangerous to individuals and communities. Animals, because they were so immediately a part of Pacific Slope cultures' experiences (e.g., in supplying food, clothing, and tools), particularly dominated expressions of spiritual power.

4. Spiritual persons were not unidimensional.

"Spiritual persons" (e.g., shamans, sorcerers) were not identical across Pacific Slope Native cultures. Each individual held one or more specific types of spiritual power, and their displayed functions, behaviours, and abilities were

dependent entirely upon these acquired powers. Thus, persons with grizzly bear spiritual power were markedly distinct from those with rattlesnake spiritual power. Additionally, individuals from disparate cultures holding the same type of spiritual power exhibited different functions, behaviours, and abilities, in accordance with how that specific type of spiritual power, and the spiritual persons themselves, were conceptualized in each culture. Grizzly bear shamans as recognized among the Tsimshian were clearly distinct in behaviour and appearance from those recognized among the Cahuilla. Like the spiritual power from which their acknowledged abilities derived, shamans and sorcerers were products of their cultural milieus.

Any discussion or analysis of spiritual power among Pacific Slope Native cultures must necessarily take these points into consideration. They are integral to a satisfactory understanding of the complexity of spiritual power as it was both conceptualized and manifest among these societies.

APPENDIX A: FACTOR ANALYSIS CALCULATIONS

As outlined by Tabachnick and Fidell (1983:373), the specific procedures involved in factor analysis include,

selecting and measuring a group of variables, preparing the correlation matrix, extracting a set of factors from the correlation matrix, (probably) rotating the factors to increase interpretability, and, finally, interpreting the results.

The first step (selecting and measuring a group of variables) was accomplished by way of the inventory of attributes (Table 2), as well as noting the presence or absence of attributes for each ethnographic description encountered. The next step, then, is to prepare a correlation matrix from this information.

As Jorgensen (1980:312) has demonstrated, a numerical correlation between any two attributes can be easily ascertained with Pearson's ϕ coefficient. Pearson's ϕ is the form of Pearson's r designed specifically for nominal (as opposed to interval) data (Jorgensen 1980:312). Before Pearson's ϕ could be applied, however, it was first necessary to determine the total incidence of commonality in every possible pair of attributes as they existed in the "raw" data. In terms of the present study, then, it was necessary to determine: a) how often two attributes were simultaneously reported present for each description of a grizzly bear person; b) how often both attributes were simultaneously reported absent; and c) how often one attribute was reported present while the other was simultaneously reported absent. The

numerical incidence of commonality which results from this is conventionally expressed with a four-cell chart,

		Attribute Y	
		+	-
Attribute X	+	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
	-	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>

where *a* is the frequency for which both attributes are reported to be simultaneously present, *b* is the frequency for which Attribute X is reported present while Attribute Y is simultaneously reported absent, *c* is the frequency for which Attribute Y is reported present while Attribute X is simultaneously reported absent, and *d* is the frequency for which both Attribute X and Attribute Y are simultaneously reported absent.

From this data, the correlation between any two attributes, Pearson's ϕ , is expressed as $\phi = (ad - bc) / \sqrt{(a+b)(a+c)(b+d)(c+d)}$. As with Pearson's *r*, Pearson's ϕ yields a score between +1.00 and -1.00, where +1.00 signifies that the two attributes display perfect direct correlation, -1.00 signifies that the two attributes display perfect inverse correlation, and 0.00 signifies no correlation between the attributes.

To illustrate, when Attribute 3 (physical transformation into grizzly bear) was compared with Attribute 17 (grizzly bear person is recognized as a shaman), the following incidence of commonality was produced:

		Attribute 3	
		+	-
Attribute 17	+	38	25
	-	17	55

Applying the equation for Pearson's ϕ to these obtained frequencies yielded a score of +0.373, indicating a positive (direct), but low correlation between the attributes.

When each of the 32 grizzly bear person attributes was paired in this way with every other attribute, 496 separate correlations were produced. These were subsequently arranged in a correlation matrix (Table 11), the basis from which the actual extraction of factors was made.¹

¹ Because of the complex and arduous nature of factor extraction, the calculations and applications required for the procedure are not outlined here. For a complete discussion of the calculations and theory involved in the "complete centroid method" of factor analysis, see Thurstone (1947:160-170).

Table 1

Pacific Slope Cultures and Their Linguistic Affiliations

NORTHWEST COAST	31. Suislaw (Pe)	59. Klikitat (Pe)	87. Tübatulabal (UA)
North	32. Coos (Pe)	60. Tenino (Pe)	Central Coast
1. Tlingit (Is)	33. Kalapuya (Pe)	Klamath	88. Costanoan (Pe)
2. Tsimshian (Pe)	34. Coquille (At)	61. Klamath (Pe)	89. Esselen (Ho)
3. Gitksan (Pe)	35. Tututni (At)	62. Modoc (Pe)	90. Salinan (Ho)
4. Nishga (Pe)	36. Chetco (At)		
5. Haida (Is)	37. Umpqua (At)	CALIFORNIA	SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
Central	38. Takelma (Pe)	Athapaskan	Coast
6. Kwakiutl (Wa)	39. Galice (At)	63. Sinkyone (At)	91. Chumash (Ho)
7. Haisla (Wa)	40. Tolowa (At)	64. Mattole (At)	92. Gabrielino (UA)
8. Bella Coola (Sa)	Northwest California	65. Nongatl (At)	Interior
9. Nootka (Wa)	41. Yurok (Al)	66. Chilula (At)	93. Kitanemuk (UA)
10. Makah (Wa)	42. Karok (Ho)	67. Lassik (At)	94. Serrano (UA)
Coast Salish	43. Hupa (At)	68. Whilkut (At)	95. Cahuilla (UA)
11. Comox (Sa)	44. Wiyot (Al)	69. Wailaki (At)	96. Cupeño (UA)
12. Klahuse (Sa)		70. Kato (At)	97. Luiseño (UA)
13. Pentlatch (Sa)	PLATEAU	Northeast	Baja
14. Siciatl (Sa)	Thompson & Fraser Rivers	71. Shasta (Ho)	98. Diegueño (Ho)
15. Squamish (Sa)	45. Shuswap (Sa)	72. Chimariko (Ho)	99. Kamia (Ho)
16. Nanaimo (Sa)	46. Lillooet (Sa)	73. Wintu (Pe)	100. Kumayaay (Ho)
17. Cowichan (Sa)	47. Thompson (Sa)	74. Achomawi (Ho)	101. Kwaaymi (Ho)
18. Sanetch (Sa)	Kutenai	75. Atsugewi (Ho)	102. Akwa'ala (Ho)
19. Halkomelem (Sa)	48. Kutenai (Is)	76. Yana (Ho)	103. Kiliwa (Ho)
20. Klallam (Sa)	Interior Salish	North-Central	GREAT BASIN
21. Lummi (Sa)	49. Okanagan (Sa)	77. Nomlaki (Pe)	Washo & Northern Paiute
22. Skagit (Sa)	50. Sanpoil (Sa)	78. Maidu (Pe)	104. Paviotso (UA)
23. Twana (Sa)	51. Wenatchi (Sa)	79. Nisenan (Pe)	105. Küpa (UA)
24. Quinault (Sa)	52. Colville (Sa)	80. Yuki (Pe)	106. Pakwi (UA)
25. Quileute (Ch)	53. Kalispel (Sa)	81. Pomo (Ho)	107. Tagö (UA)
Oregon	54. Couer d'Alene (Sa)	82. Wappo (Pe)	108. Wada (UA)
26. Chinook (Pe)	55. Pend d'Oreille (Sa)	83. Patwin (Pe)	109. Kidü (UA)
27. Clackamas (Pe)	56. Flathead (Sa)	South-Central	110. Owens Valley (UA)
28. Wishram (Pe)	Sahaptian	84. Miwok (Pe)	111. Washo (Ho)
29. Tillamook (Sa)	57. Nez Percé (Pe)	85. Monache (UA)	
30. Alsea (Pe)	58. Umatilla (Pe)	86. Yokuts (Pe)	

Linguistic Affiliations:

- Al - Algonkian
- At - Athapaskan
- Ch - Chimakuan
- Ho - Hokan
- Is - Linguistic Isolate
- Ke - Keresan
- Pe - Penutian
- Sa - Salishan
- UA - Uto-Aztecan
- Wa - Wakashan

Table 1 (cont.)

Pacific Slope Cultures and Their Linguistic Affiliations

Western Shoshone	Ute	SOUTHWEST	PUEBLO
112. Snake River (UA)	126. Ute (UA)	Pai	Western Pueblo
113. Battle Mountain (UA)	Southern Paiute	136. Havasupai (Ho)	148. Hopi (UA)
114. Elko (UA)	127. San Juan (UA)	137. Walapai (Ho)	149. Zuñi (Pe)
115. Death Valley (UA)	128. Kaibab (UA)	138. W Yavapai (Ho)	150. Acoma (Ke)
116. Koso Range (UA)	129. Shivwits (UA)	139. NE Yavapai (Ho)	151. Laguna (Ke)
117. Saline Valley (UA)	130. Moapa (UA)	140. SE Yavapai (Ho)	Eastern Keresan
118. Beatty (UA)	131. Chemehuevi (UA)	Piman	152. Sia (Ke)
119. Gosiute (UA)		141. Pima (UA)	153. Santa Ana (Ke)
Kawaiisu	COLORADO RIVER	142. Papago (UA)	154. Santo Domingo (Ke)
120. Kawaiisu (UA)	132. Mojave (Ho)	Apache	155. Cochiti (Ke)
Northern & Eastern Shoshone	133. Yuma (Ho)	143. Western (At)	156. San Felipe (Ke)
121. Wind River (UA)	134. Cocopa (Ho)	144. Chiricahua (At)	Tanoan
122. Bannock (UA)	135. Maricopa (Ho)	145. Mescalero (At)	157. Jemez (UA)
123. Lemhi (UA)		146. Jicarilla (At)	158. Nambé (UA)
124. Bohogue (UA)		Navajo	159. Tesuque (UA)
125. Hukün-Dūka (UA)		147. Navajo (At)	160. Santa Clara (UA)
			161. San Juan (UA)
			162. San Ildefonso (UA)
			163. Taos (UA)
			164. Isleta (UA)

Linguistic Affiliations:

- Al - Algonkian
- At - Athapaskan
- Ch - Chimakuan
- Ho - Hokan
- Is - Linguistic Isolate
- Ke - Keresan
- Pe - Penutian
- Sa - Salishan
- UA - Uto-Aztecan
- Wa - Wakashan

Table 2

Inventory of Attributes for Grizzly Bear Persons

GENDER

1. Both men and women capable of becoming grizzly bear persons.
2. Only men capable of becoming grizzly bear persons.

COSTUME

3. Physical transformation into grizzly bear.
4. Wears bearskin costume.
5. Wears bear "paraphernalia" only (person not fully encased in bearskin, but wears regalia which represents grizzly bear, e.g., bear claw necklace).
6. Bearskin or paraphernalia kept in secret place.
7. Preparatory rituals enacted over bearskin or paraphernalia.
8. Physical transformation effected with ointments.

RELATIONSHIP TO SPIRITUAL POWER

9. Spiritual power obtained from grizzly bear spirit-helper.
10. Spiritual power obtained from bearskin costume or paraphernalia.
11. Grizzly bear one of a number of spirit-helpers held by person.
12. Instruction received from other grizzly bear persons.
13. Instruction received from live grizzly bears.

ABILITIES AND FUNCTIONS

14. Displays supernatural abilities.
15. Is invulnerable (could not be killed, or returned to life after being killed).
16. Displays capacity of rapid travel.
17. Is recognized as a shaman (performs cures, holds authority as spiritual leader).
18. Has no curative powers.
19. Performance of public dance in connection with social event or ceremony (e.g., mourning ceremony, gathering acorns).
20. Performance of public dance in connection with war.
21. Performance of public dance in connection with secret society (e.g., Kuksu Cult).

BEHAVIOURS

22. Is malicious.
23. Identity kept secret.
24. Killed by members of own community.
25. Held in high repute (e.g., respected as a warrior)
26. Murders only enemies of community.
27. Murders anyone (including members of own community).
28. Murders others with weapon (e.g., obsidian knife, bone dagger).
29. Murders others by mauling, as a transformed grizzly bear.
30. Has assistant.
31. Associates with live grizzly bears.
32. Fights or aids hunting of grizzly bears.

Table 3

Results of Factor Extraction for Grizzly Bear Persons

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
1	.52	.13	.26	.36
2	-.58	-.10	-.29	-.45
3	-.37	.57	.22	.24
4	.50	-.56	.44	-.42
5	-.26	-.34	-.37	.33
6	.67	-.55	.31	-.07
7	.71	-.46	.26	.15
8	-.02	-.02	.02	.04
9	-.75	.47	.46	.39
10	.80	-.34	.28	.11
11	-.08	-.02	.04	-.12
12	.33	.33	-.10	.30
13	-.54	.65	.33	-.22
14	.36	.47	.61	-.35
15	.45	.32	.59	-.25
16	.50	.37	.58	-.29
17	-.38	.39	.54	-.52
18	.42	-.33	-.52	.36
19	-.64	-.45	-.17	.39
20	-.26	-.29	.75	.24
21	-.62	-.58	-.29	.21
22	.70	.63	.31	.15
23	.83	.19	-.16	-.08
24	.78	.56	-.34	.14
25	-.33	-.17	.92	.47
26	-.08	-.26	.71	.24
27	.80	.81	-.17	-.12
28	.91	-.03	.33	-.24
29	-.13	.40	-.22	.14
30	.29	-.98	-.30	.28
31	-.65	.65	.06	-.21
32	-.11	-.35	.35	-.30
Proportion of Variance	.34	.22	.16	.09

Table 4

Statistically Significant Factor Loadings

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
1	.52			.36
2	-.58			-.45
3	-.37	.57		
4	.50	-.56	.44	-.42
5		-.34	-.37	.33
6	.67	-.55		
7	.71	-.46		
8				
9	-.75	.47	.46	.39
10	.80	-.34		
11				
12	.33	.33		
13	-.54	.65	.33	
14	.36	.47	.61	-.35
15	.45	.32	.59	
16	.50	.37	.58	
17	-.38	.39	.54	-.52
18	.42	-.33	-.52	.36
19	-.64	-.45		.39
20			.75	
21	-.62	-.58		
22	.70	.63		
23	.83			
24	.78	.56	-.34	
25	-.33		.92	.47
26			.71	
27	.80	.81		
28	.91		.33	
29		.40		
30		-.98		
31	-.65	.65		
32		-.35	.35	

Table 5

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
Northwest Coast Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
NORTH				
Tlingit	-		+	-
Tsimshian	-		+	-
Gitksan	-		+	-
Nishga	-		+	-
Haida	-			+
CENTRAL				
Kwakiutl	-			+
Haisla	-			-
Bella Coola	-			+
Nootka	-			-
Makah	-			-
COAST SALISH				
Comox		+	-	+
Klahuse		+	-	-
Pentlatch		+	-	+
Siciatl		+	-	-
Squamish		+	-	-
Nanaimo		+	-	+
Cowichan		+	-	+
Sanetch		+	-	-
Halkomelem		+	-	-
Klallam	+	+	-	+
Lummi		+	-	+
Skagit		+	-	+
Twana	+	+	-	+
Quinault		+	-	-
Quileute		+	-	-
OREGON				
Chinook		-	-	-
Clackamas		-	-	-
Wishram	+	-	-	-
Tillamook	+	-	-	-
Alsea		-	-	-
Suislaw		-	-	-
Coos		-	-	-
Kalapuya		-	-	-
Coquille	+	-	-	-
Tututni	+	-	-	-
Chetco	-	-	-	-
Umpqua		-	-	-
Takeima	-	-	-	-
Galice	+	-	-	-
Tolowa	+	-	-	-
NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA				
Yurok	+	-	-	-
Karok	+	-	-	-
Hupa	+	-	-	-
Wiyot	+	-	-	-

Table 6

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
Plateau Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
THOMPSON & FRASER RIVERS				
Shuswap		+	-	+
Lillooet		+	-	+
Thompson		+	-	+
KUTENAI				
Kutenai		+	-	+
INTERIOR SALISH				
Okanagan		+	-	
Sanpoil		+	-	+
Wenatchi		+	-	+
Colville				
Kalispel				+
Couer d'Alene		+	-	+
Pend d'Oreille		+	-	+
Flathead		+	-	+
SAHAPTIAN				
Nez Percé		+	-	+
Umatilla		+	-	+
Klikitat		+	-	+
Tenino		+	-	+
KLAMATH				
Klamath		-	+	-
Modoc		-	+	-

Table 7

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
California Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
ATHAPASCAN				
Sinkyone	-	-	-	+*
Mattole	-	-	-	-
Nongatl	-	-	-	-
Chilula	-	-	-	-
Lassik	-	+	-	+*
Whilkut	-	-	-	-
Wailaki	-	+	-	+*
Kato	-	-	-	+*
NORTHEAST				
Shasta	-	-	+	-
Chimariko	-	-	-	-
Wintu	-	-	-	-
Achomawi	-	-	+	-
Atsugewi	-	-	+	-
Yana	-	-	-	-
NORTH-CENTRAL				
Nomlaki	+	-	-	-
Maidu	-	+	-	+
Nisenan	+	-	-	+
Yuki	+	-	-	+
Pomo	+	-	-	+
Wappo	-	-	-	-
Patwin	+	-	-	+
SOUTH-CENTRAL				
Miwok	+	-	+	+
Monache	-	+	-	-
Yokuts	-	-	-	+*
Tübatulabal	-	+	-	-
CENTRAL COAST				
Costanoan	+	-	-	-
Esselen	+	-	-	-
Salinan	+	-	-	-

* Grizzly bear persons reported among the Sinkyone, Lassik and Wailaki, as well as non-Kuksu Cult grizzly bear persons recognized among the Kato and Yokuts, were not grizzly bear dancers as the term has been strictly defined. Since these grizzly bear persons were clearly neither shamans nor sorcerers, however, they have been included in the "grizzly bear dancer" category because their behaviours were least unlike this general type.

Table 8

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
Southern California Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
COAST				
Chumash	+	-	-	+#
Gabrielino	-	-	-	+#
INTERIOR				
Kitanemuk	+	-	-	-
Serrano	-	+	-	-
Cahuilla	-	+	-	-
Cupeño	-	+	-	-
Luißeño	-	+	-	-
BAJA				
Diegueño	-	+	-	-
Kamia	-	-	-	-
Kumayaay	-	-	-	-
Kwaaymi	-	-	-	-
Akwa'ala	-	-	-	-
Kiliwa	-	-	-	-

* As among the Yokuts of South-Central California, both the Chumash and Gabrielino acknowledged grizzly bear persons who were neither shamans nor sorcerers, nor grizzly bear dancers as the term has been defined. They have similarly been included in the "grizzly bear dancer" category because their reported behaviours were least unlike this general type.

Table 9

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
Great Basin Culture Area and Colorado River Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
WASHO & NORTHERN PAIUTE				
Pavlotso	-	+	-	-
Küpa			-	-
Pakwi			-	-
Tagö	-	+	-	-
Wada	-	+	-	-
Kidü	-	+	-	-
Owens Valley	-	+	-	-
Washo	-	+	-	-
WESTERN SHOSHONE				
Snake River	-	+	-	-
Battle Mountain	-	+	-	-
Elko	-	-	-	-
Death Valley	-	-	-	-
Koso Range	-	+	-	-
Saline Valley	-	-	-	-
Beatty	-	-	-	-
Gosiute	-	-	-	-
KAWAIIISU				
Kawaiisu	-	-	-	-
NORTHERN & EASTERN SHOSHONE				
Wind River	-	-	+	-
Bannock	-	-	+	-
Lemhi	-	-	+	-
Bohogue	-	-	+	-
Hukün-Düka	-	-	+	-
UTE				
Ute	-	-	+	-
SOUTHERN PAIUTE				
San Juan	-	-	-	-
Kaibab	-	-	-	-
Shivwits	-	-	-	-
Moapa	-	-	-	-
Chemehuevi	-	-	+	-
YUMAN				
Mojave	-	-	-	-
Yuma	-	-	-	-
Cocopa	-	-	-	-
Maricopa	-	-	-	-

Table 10

Distribution of Types of Grizzly Bear Persons,
Southwest Culture Area and Pueblo Culture Area

	Grizzly Bear Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Sorcerer	Grizzly Bear Shaman-Healer	Grizzly Bear Dancer
PAI				
Havasupai	-	-	+	-
Walapai	-	-	-	-
W Yavapai	-	-	-	-
NE Yavapai	-	-	+	-
SE Yavapai	-	-	-	-
PIMAN				
Pima	-	+	-	-
Papago	-	+	-	-
APACHE				
Western	-	-	+	-
Chiricahua	+	-	+	-
Mescalero	+	-	+	-
Jicarilla	-	-	+	+
NAVAJO				
Navajo	+	-	+*	+
WESTERN PUEBLO				
Hopi	-	-	+	-
Zuñi	-	-	+	+
Acoma	-	-	+	+
Laguna	-	-	+	+
EASTERN KERESAN				
Sia	-	-	+	+
Santa Ana	-	-	+	+
Santo Domingo	-	-	+	+
Cochiti	-	-	+	+
San Felipe	-	-	+	+
TANOAN				
Jemez	-	-	+	+
Nambé	-	-	+	+
Tesuque	-	-	+	+
Santa Clara	-	-	+	+
San Juan	-	-	+	+
San Ildefonso	-	-	+	+
Taos	-	-	+	+
Isleta	-	-	+	+

* Curers of bear sickness among the Navajo were not bear shamans in the strict sense of the term (e.g., they did not associate themselves with bear spirit-helpers or bear spiritual power). Because they functioned primarily to cure bear sickness and counteract bear spiritual power, however, they have been included in the category of "grizzly bear shaman-healer".

Figure 1

Pacific Slope Culture Areas

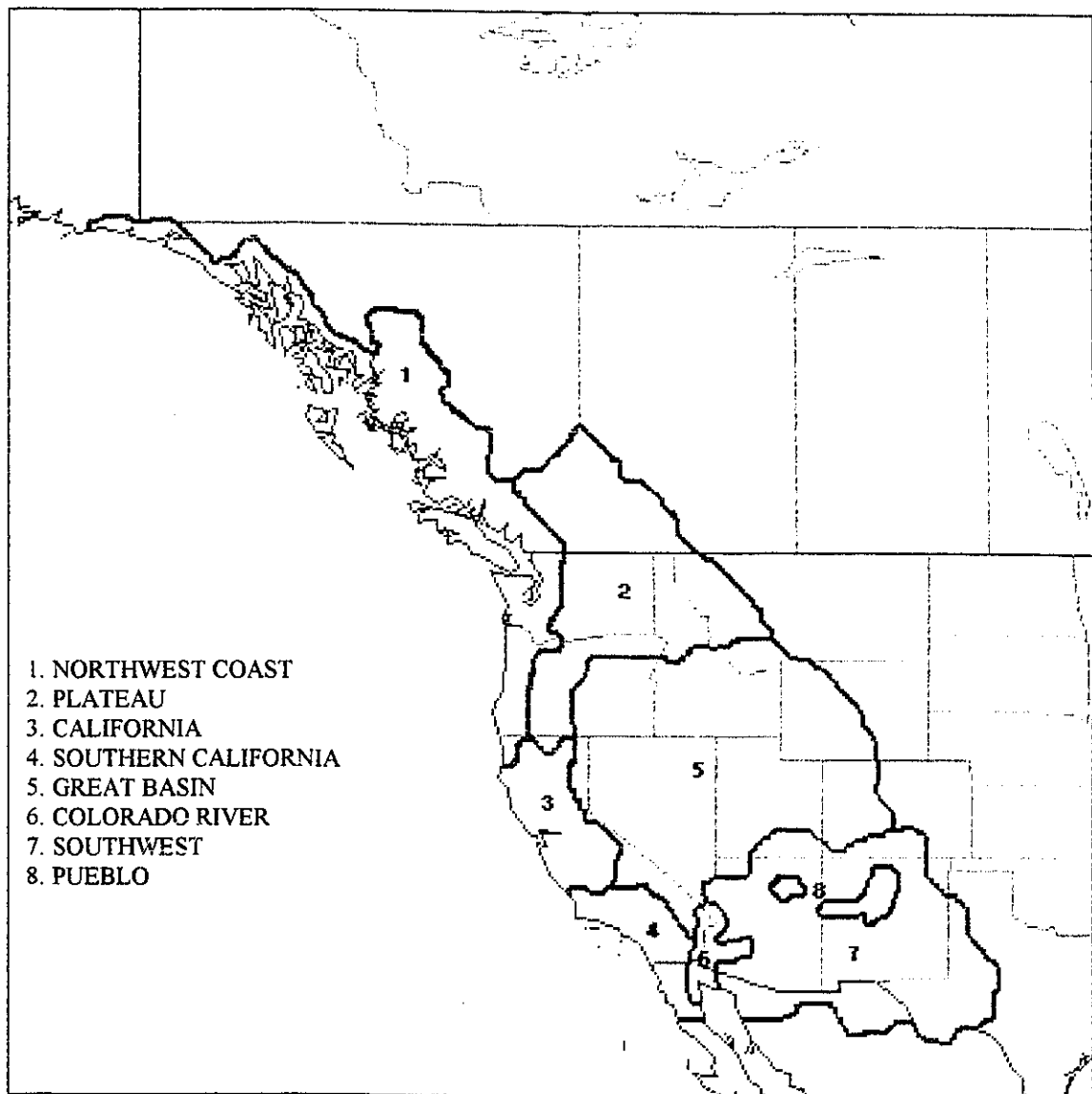


Figure 2
Northwest Coast Culture Area

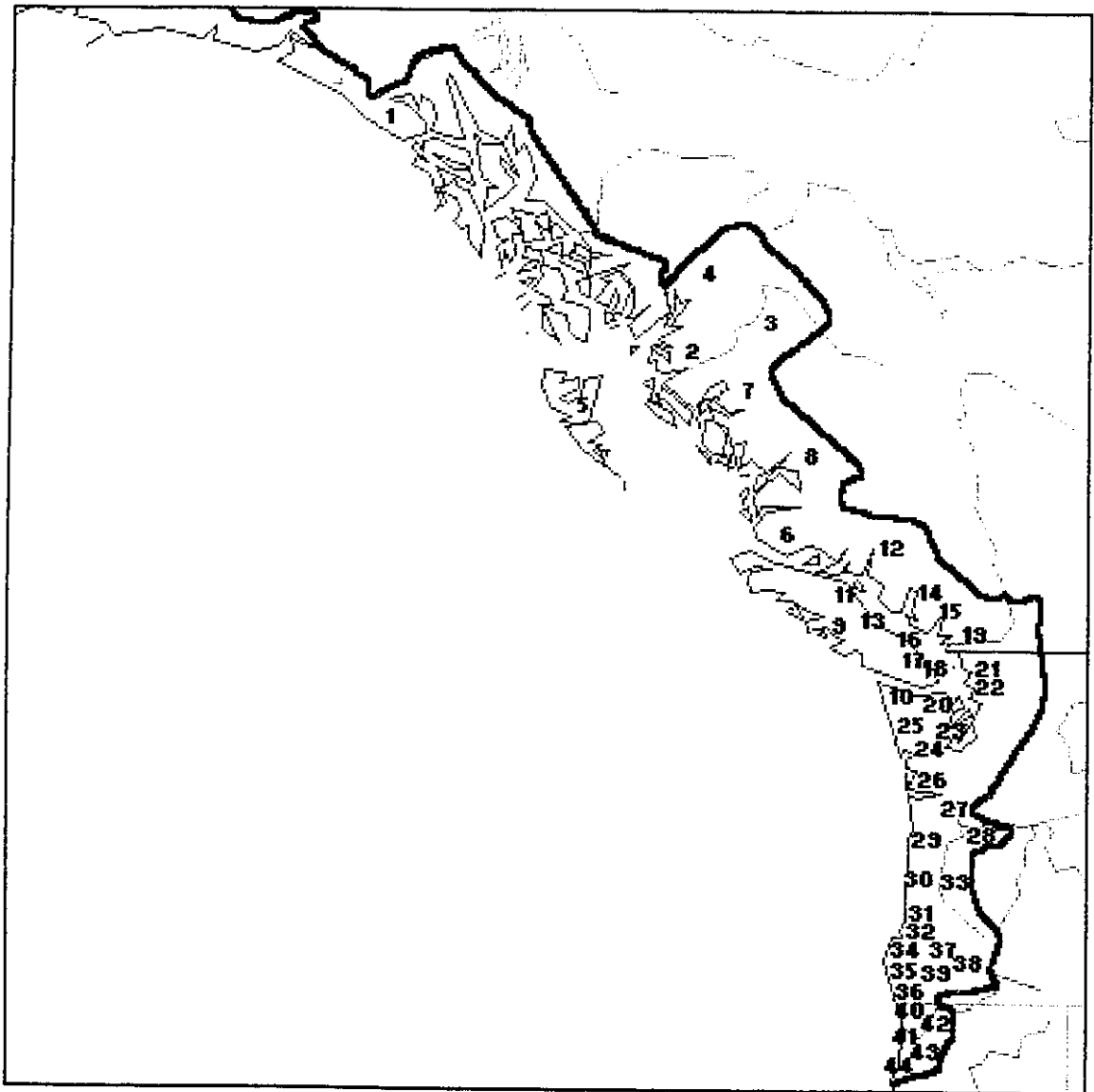


Figure 3
Plateau Culture Area

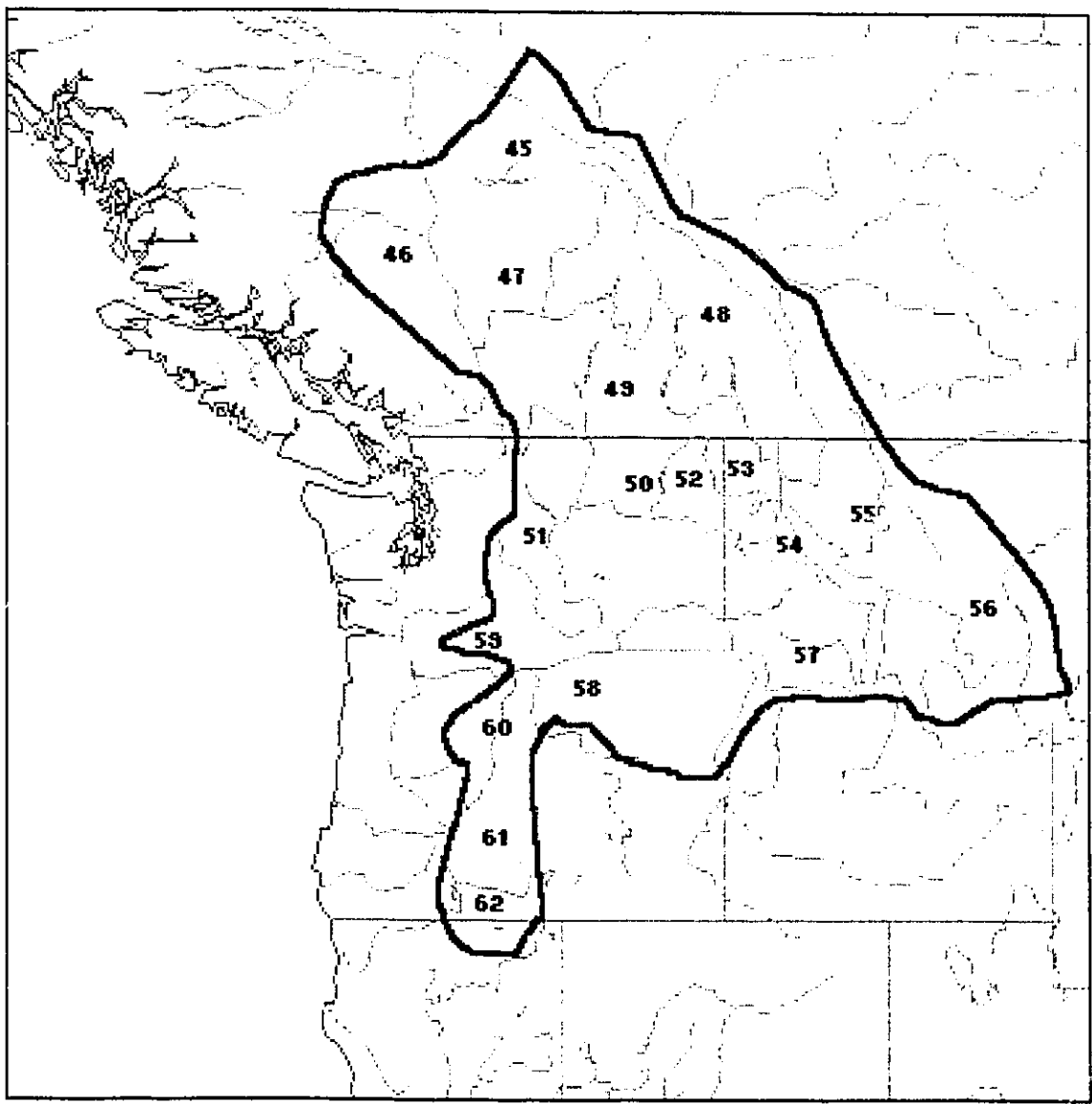


Figure 4
California Culture Area

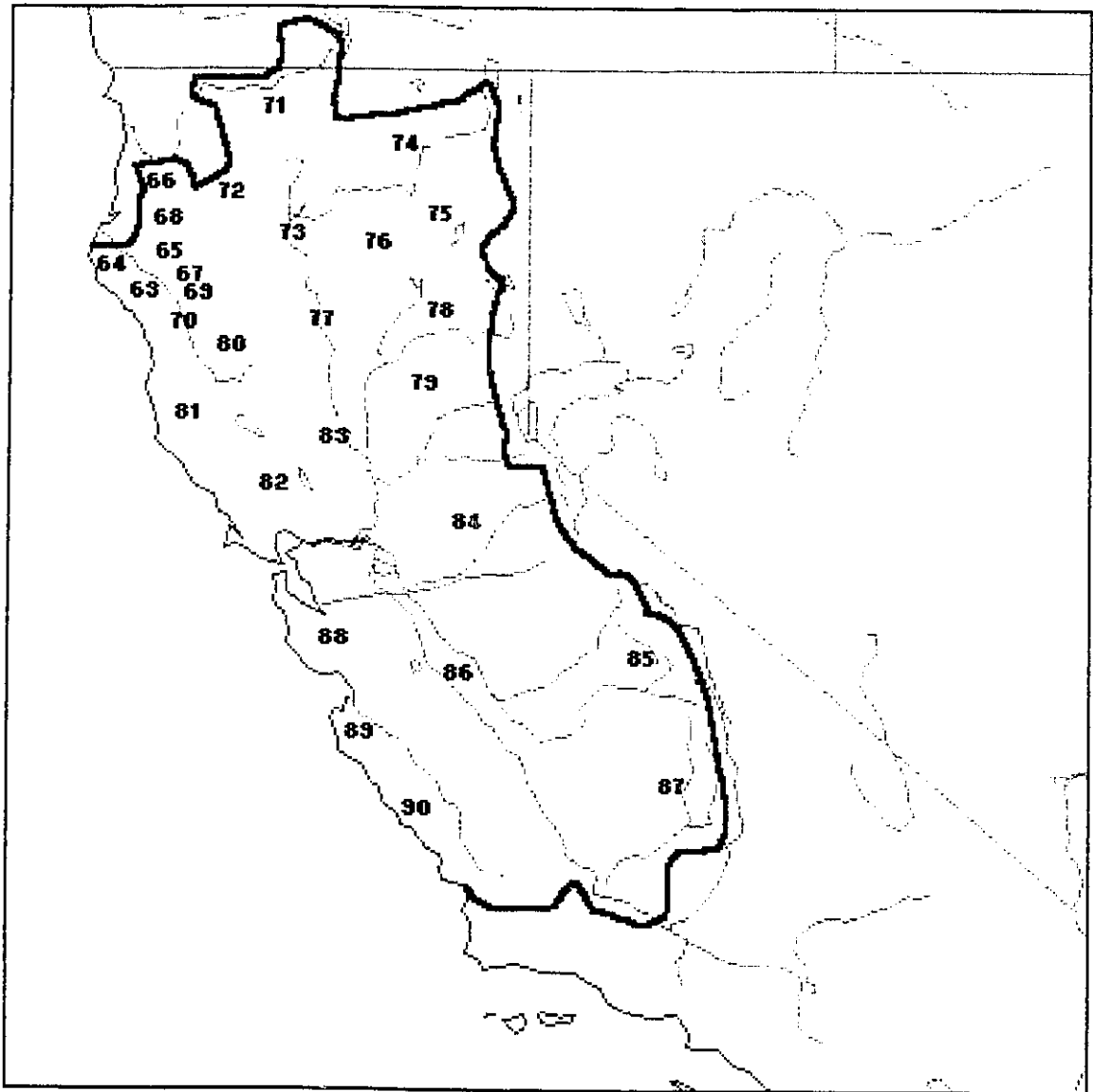


Figure 5
Southern California Culture Area

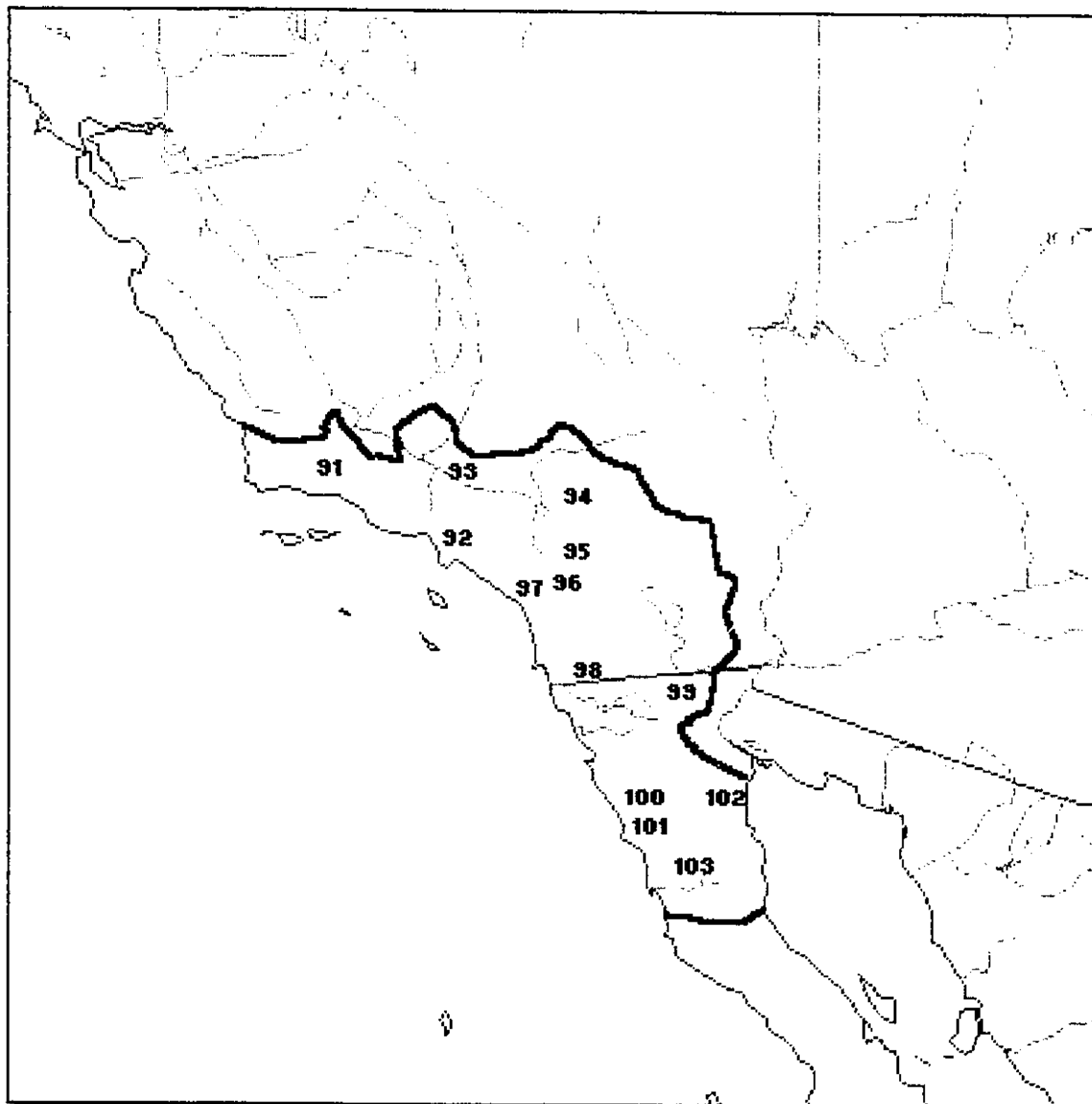


Figure 6
Great Basin Culture Area

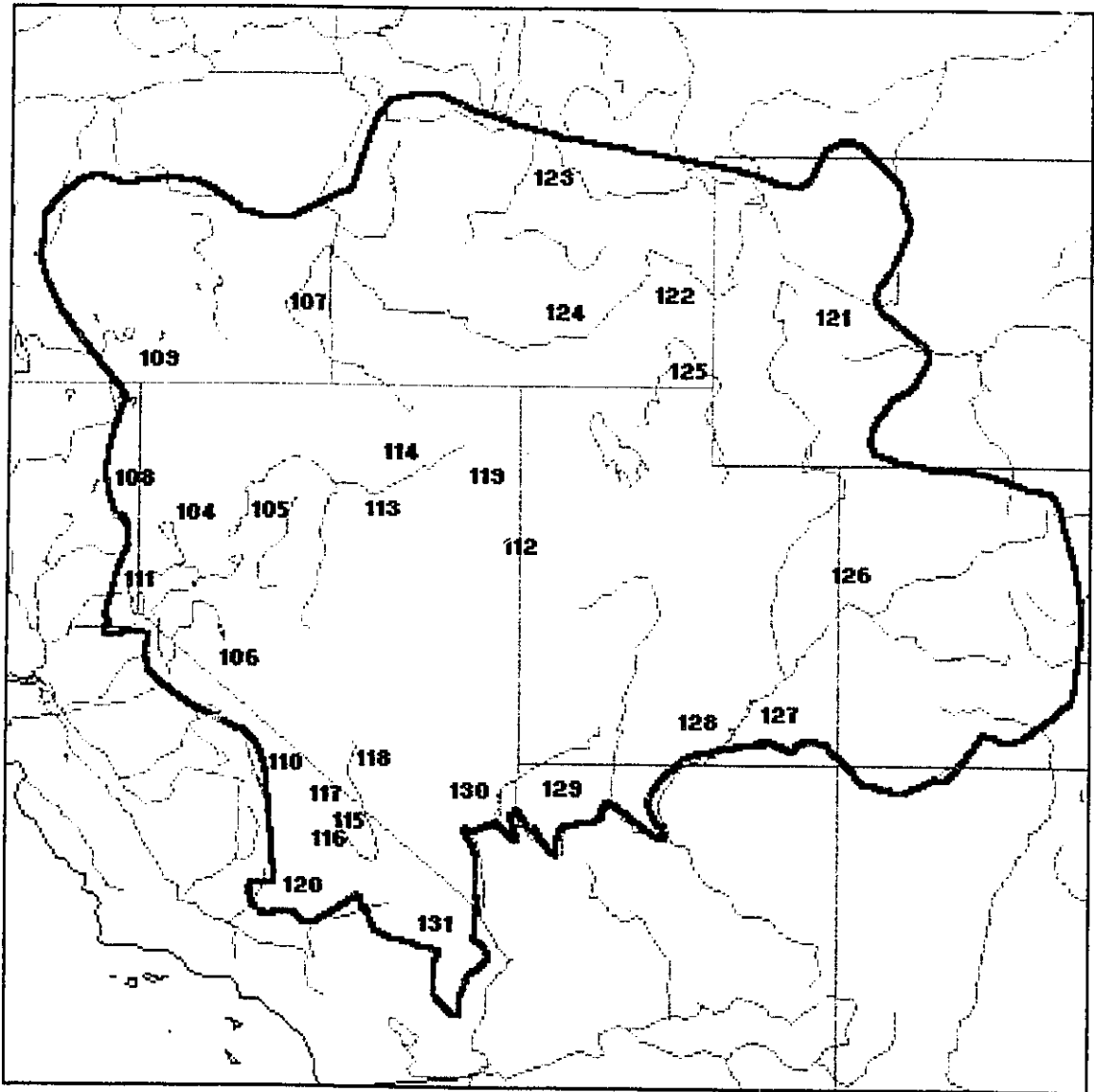


Figure 7
Colorado River Culture Area

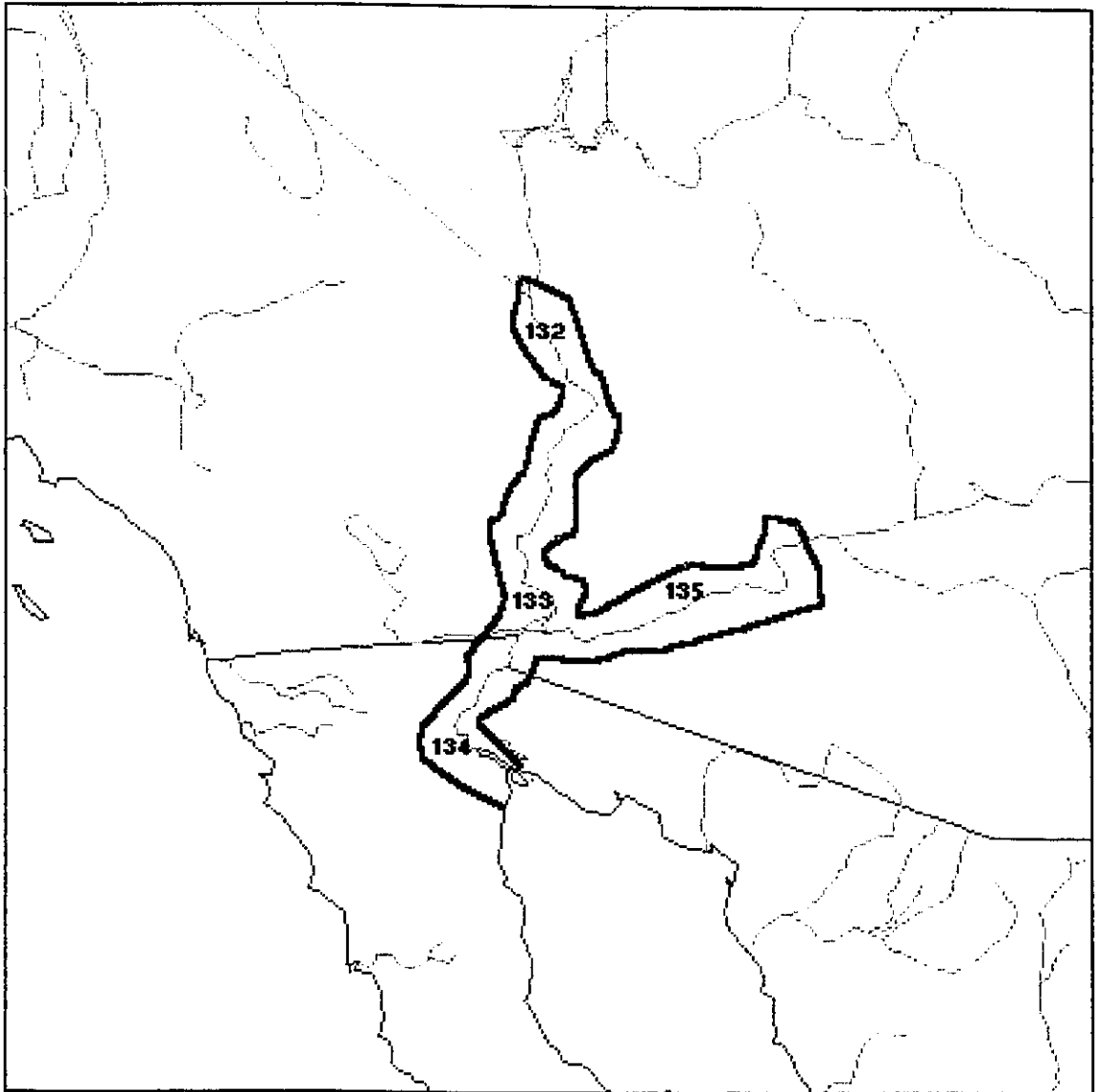


Figure 8
Southwest Culture Area

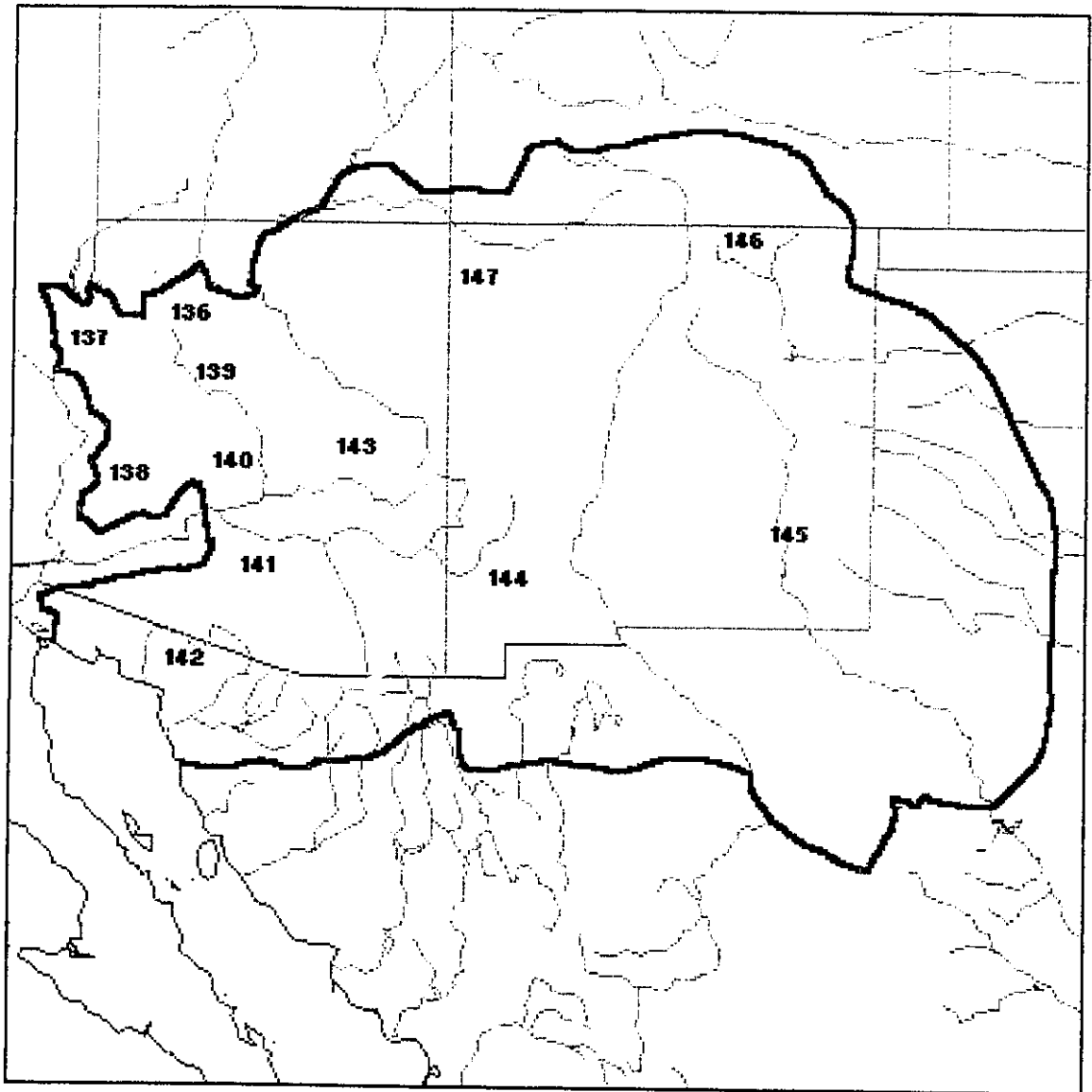
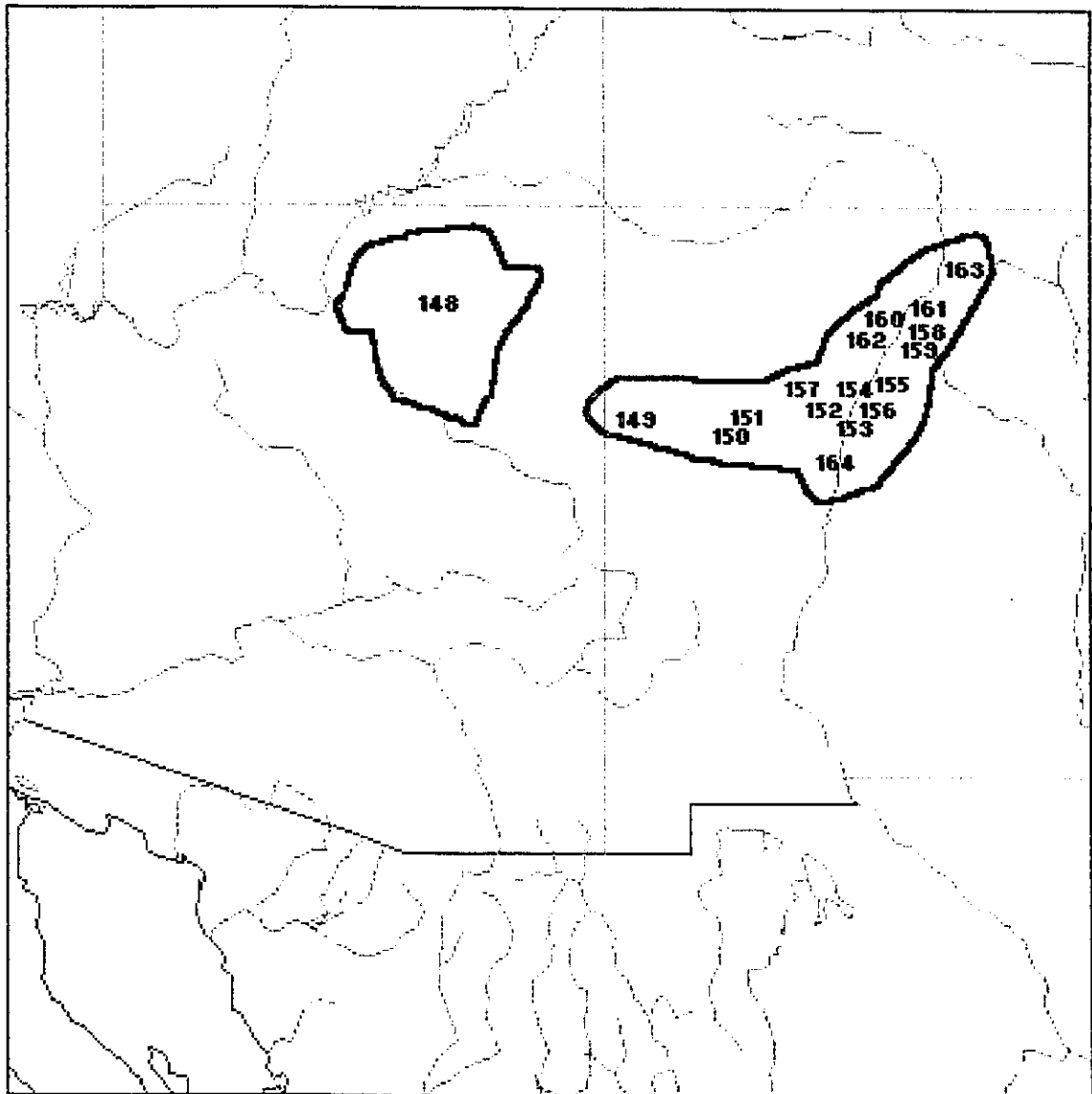


Figure 9
Pueblo Culture Area



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