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Tarahumara, Where Night is the Day of the Moon. By Bernard L. Fontana, with photographs by John P. Schaefer./Yaqui Deer Songs, Maso Bwikam. By Larry Evers and Felipe S. Molina.

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ing that they are today second in numbers to the Navajo (approximately 35,000 and 160,000 respectively).

Many other tribes are discussed in full (e.g., Choctaw) or in part (e.g., Chippewa, Piegan, Sioux); land cessions receive review in more than one chapter. Others consider the role of jurisdiction on reservations relative to law and order; Indian women; historic Indian-white relations; and the urban Indian (perhaps the weakest chapter). Although "north" is in the title, only two chapters really focus on Canada. The volume is amply illustrated with maps, but many fall short of professional quality and, on occasion, they lack data (e.g., the Arizona map, p. 137, overlooks the Havasupai, especially in light of the addition of some 190,000 acres) or complete legends (several examples for the Iroquois map sequence). Hopefully, the editors will catch numerous typographical errors in a new printing. Overall, when one considers the limited interest in the Indian by geographers, this volume holds much appeal for its eclectic topics despite some imbalance which characterizes most symposia. Students of cultural geography, however, should not expect to find chapters specifically devoted to methodology as applied to the study of the Indian.

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**Tarahumara, Where Night is the Day of the Moon.** By Bernard L. Fontana, with photographs by John P. Schaefer. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1979, 167 pp. \$21.95 Paper.

**Yaqui Deer Songs, Maso Bwikam.** By Larry Evers and Felipe S. Molina. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987, 239 pp. \$29.95 Cloth, \$15.95 Paper.

These two books are about the numerically largest surviving Indian peoples or cultures of northwest Mexico, the 50,000 Tarahumaras mostly of Chihuahua and the 30,000 Yaquis who are divided now between their native Sonora and various federally recognized and entitled communities in Arizona. Both books are graced with good writing and handsome, evocative photographs, but I will say that one book is anthropology and the other is art,

with the following distinction in mind: anthropology is that which supplies social science with facts and art is that which supplies the general public with images. To maintain this distinction we must contrast "social science" with "general public" and "fact" with "image."

Social science gives naturalistic explanations to facts about people. The general public receives images, e.g., artistic images of people or peoples. Facts are hard won truths about, for example, what some people actually think or do. Social science has a notorious desire for facts, including facts which threaten peoples' rights to privacy. Images are palpable (concrete) representations which people (artists) make up and which are not necessarily or demonstrably true.

The Yaqui book is anthropology about a form of native verbal art (Deer songs), and the Tarahumara book is art based on previous anthropological writings about the Tarahumara. Let us start with the art book. My claim that it is art depends on the following statement being accepted as central to the argument of the book:

"To those of us who live in a world in which the primacy of the family and household has been in a state of siege, the sense of unity, warmth, and affection provided by a Tarahumara family—whether living in a cave or cabin—is astounding. It is also reassuring. Here in the mountains, at least, a very old-fashioned form of love has survived" (p. 96). The statement forms the conclusion of the longest chapter in the book, a chapter which starts with a walking trip that the authors made down a Tarahumara canyon, then takes us on a partly literary (past writings) and partly eye witness (words, supplemented by photographs, on what the authors saw) tour of Tarahumara food and craft products, society, and religion.

One aspect of the book's artfulness as opposed to scientificness is the challenge of finding a central argument in it. If I am not mistaken, the argument in this book is more complex than the above. It also includes the book's subtitle, "Where night is the day of the moon," which pertains to Tarahumara beliefs about life after death (pp. 84–85), and it includes a statement made in the final ceremonies:

Could it be that in their great church fiestas modern Tarahumara have devised a way of dramatising the

reality of their lives? Does the Easter rite of spring belong to their native selves [family oriented, where the day is the day] and the rites of winter to their new selves [Europeanism, creeping urbanism, where the night is the day]? (p. 123)

We have then three passages whose overall argument I would express as follows: They (Tarahumaras) are to us (middle class whites) as our besieged familism is to their besieged nativism, as their moonlit future afterlife (romantic, spiritual) is to their sunlit present mortal life (mundane), *or* as their present historic existence (admirable) is to their future historic existence (threatened).

The above is offered as a fair reading of the book's implicit artistic argument. I have difficulty knowing why those evocative passages were put in the book if not to comprise an argument more or less like the above. I consider the argument to be artful (imagistic) because the passages are not painstakingly tied to facts of Tarahumara thoughts or behaviors. Had they been, this would be a scientific study of the Tarahumara world view analogous to Michael Kearney's study of the Zapotec world view, *The Winds of Ixtepeji*, for example. Now, assuming that this book is art, is it good art? Fontana did the writing and Schaefer did the photography. Each was skilled and serious and their contributions go together well: technical success. I have a problem with the argument, however. On the one hand I applaud it for implicating Tarahumaras in problems of American morality: family values and third world exploitation. On the negative side, the argument as reconstructed above is inconsistent. The "or" marks the inconsistency. Notwithstanding the seriousness of the ideas, in fact because of that seriousness, I see this inconsistency as a fault. This is a matter of taste, but I object to an inconsistently executed art of ideas (that is, an inconsistent ideological art). If the inconsistency was intended, it does not detract from the art and is purely a matter of taste. If the inconsistency was accidental, it does detract.

As a science book about art, the second book, a study of Yaqui Deer songs, is basically a work of exploration which I think is true of all live science, that it places temporary factual construals on things. The construals are temporary, even flimsy and overreaching, if the science is alive and not dead. Live science follows on

the tail of live science replacing what was suggestive but flimsy with what is more definite or works better. The scientific issues that I see in this book are:

(1) The difference between Yaqui "song language" and "ordinary language" (discussed on pp. 28-31).

(2) The internal parts of a typical Yaqui song (discussed on p. 31 and implicitly illustrated throughout).

(3) The progression of topics from the beginning to the end of a typical multi-song set of Deer songs (pp. 82-86).

(4) The possibility that a "Killing the Deer" fiesta, held at home in memorial of a person's death and described for the first time in this book (pp. 129-181), stands in logical counterposition to the much more famous Yaqui Easter ceremonies.

The first two issues are basically matters of ethnopoetic or comparative literature technique. They involve important theoretical matters, however, for example on what a language is, and what poetic or musical departures from language are. The book makes marked progress on these issues for the study of Yaqui song poems (two Masters' theses had previously been written about such songs); it puts Deer songs in the workroom of current theory/technique. The third issue is more tenuous, that is, it is not clear whether we ought to expect a determinate progression of topics in a set of Deer songs. We will only know the answer to that when more than the present two multi-song sets have been analyzed, and when the issue has been broached in discussion with more than the present two Deer song singers (one of whom is co-author of this book). The last issue pertains to the most abstract level of uniquely Yaqui institutional architecture, and it has no obvious carryover into general theory. It concerns the relation between the ideas of Christian and pagan, mortal and immortal, and wild and civilized in this people's ceremonial arts. I must add however that there is an echo between the deer killing fiesta and the Yuma *keruk* ceremony. This echo bolsters the authors' claim that the Killing the Deer is a major Yaqui ceremony.

Other readers may be struck by other factual issues in the book, or they might like the book for artistic reasons. They may like the art of the songs themselves or of the ceremonies in which the songs are used, and they may appreciate the book simply for making that art available to them, regardless of the science involved. But I say that I don't find a complex, author-made im-

agistic argument in this book. I see *Yaqui Deer Songs* as a work of factual description rather than as a work of art in itself.

I will take up one last technical matter in some detail because it pertains to the boundary between fact and image. A central concept in the authors' interpretation of Yaqui Deer songs is *sea ani* which they translate as "flower world, realm, domain" (p. 45). Deer songs are said to originate in and provide testimony from this Yaqui conceived and perceived flower world. My problem is whether the flower world is the Yaquis' or the authors' image.

Of course it is at least one Yaqui's image since co-author Molina is a Yaqui, but the question is whether this image as substantiated in the book arose from his discussions with Evers, or his discussions with Yaquis. Concerning the "flower" word, these flowers typically seem to occur in the east, especially in the part of the east where the sun rises. Therefore I wonder (and the book doesn't state clearly) how much the Yaqui word *sea* designates "flower," how much it designates "east," and how much it designates "dawn." Could *sea ania* equally be translated as "east world" or "dawn world?" Are there *sea* flowers in the west? Are there *sea* flowers in botanical gardens?

Concerning *ania*, "world," I note that this concept basically confirms Carlos Castaneda's commonly discounted interpretation of Yaqui thought as involving separate, distinct, "nonordinary realities." This is important, and I would like to see a text written from a wise old man's Yaqui, and scrupulously translated into English, in confirmation of it. "World" and "flower world" are English words pressed into imagistic service, and so is "night is the day of the moon" (Fontana and Schaefer). The question is whether these admittedly odd seeming English usages represent something familiar to and discussed by natives in their own language. Fontana and Schaefer generally exempted themselves from that question (they claimed neither to speak much Tarahumara nor even much Spanish), whereas Evers and Molina did not; and I am suspicious in the case of *ania*, "world."

To conclude, except for dealing with peoples who belong to the same geographical region, Northwest Mexico, these books would seem to have little in common. I have expressed their difference in reference to art and science, that one is art about science and the other is science about art. To me, only the second is anthropology in the traditional and I think proper sense, but it is fair

to ask, where is a book about Northwest Mexico that is science about science, that is, a treatment of traditional social science issues such as habitat, economy, and society? Neither book is of that nature. Such a book (and there could be many such) would be materially, politically, and ethically more difficult to write than either of these. Fontana and Shaefer were materially prevented from writing one. They didn't have or take the time to do so. I suspect that Evers and Molina picked science about art because although Deer songs are sacred, the songs themselves do not reveal contemporary Yaquis' thoughts and actions on matters of habitat, economy, and society. Yaquis can stand behind and glory in their Deer songs with Evers and Molina, and not betray their actual strife or chaos, if any. In this sense the Deer songs are a separate reality, but should they be?

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**Yaqui Deer Songs: A Native American Poetry.** By Larry Evers and Felipe S. Molina. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987. 239 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes. \$29.95 Cloth, \$15.95 Paper.

Of the few but most significant changes that have taken place in North American Indian studies since World War II is the appropriation of cultural materials, once the exclusive domain of anthropology and history, by a nascent literati. Of particular importance is the appearance of Native Americans not as objects of study, but as students and interpreters of their own multitudinous and diverse cultures and histories. In the process, anthropology and history are partly swept into the shadows, but not totally since much of the new literature continues to interpolate and extrapolate, embellish and obfuscate, enrich and subordinate many of the ideas of the academic past, giving old concepts a newly-suited texture revitalized by an experiential present.

Moving to still another level of discourse, the literary exponents of American Indian culture have paid an undue amount of respect to the genre of collaboration, a sometimes arcane collection of cultural confessions told to, told by, told through, a visible team of white man and Indian, the former assuming the position