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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

of *written by* while his faithful companion assumes that of *written about*. Frequently the collaboration is mystically transformed from one printing to the next such as when John G. Neihardt changed the attributive statement in *Black Elk Speaks*, a story *told to him* to one *told through him* in a subsequent revision. I share with Arnold Krupat, whose various works have dealt head on with the problem of the Indian "autobiography," a certain pessimism about this genre, one that would also include publications authored by, say, Plains Indians through an invisible editor writing much of the book from a New York City office. Krupat's *For Those Who Came After: A Study of Native American Autobiography* (1985) should be required reading for all social scientists interested in understanding to what extent fiction plays a role in the manufacture of contemporary beliefs about American Indian cultures.

Another kind of collaboration is that of authors, each representing different cultures, putting their pens together, so to speak, to elucidate what each respectively knows best of a specific culture. These kinds of collaborations were found in earlier anthropological works (Boas and Hunt, for example) but never became fashionable. One of the most beautiful books ever written is by Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer, *Birds of My Kalam Country* (1977). Although from a different part of the world, New Guinea, the book illustrates just what a truly interdependent collaboration can produce. Unfortunately, as I understand it, the book was turned down by the *American Anthropologist* for review partly because a distinguished anthropologist had given his "informant" senior authorship, thus upsetting the establishment which, by virtue of this novel juxtaposition, deemed the book unworthy of serious commentary.

Fortunately, with the appearance of *Yaqui Deer Songs (Maso Bwikam): A Native American Poetry* there is some hope for collaborative efforts that exhibit at once the co-authors' mutual understanding of a culture and a mutual respect for each other. Larry Evers and Felipe S. Molina have written a most sensitive study that is indeed worthy of not only serious but laudatory comment.

The work does not meander through Yaqui culture page by page. Rather, it unveils itself. Beginning with a stark and simple pair of deer antlers on the cover, one opens the book to a most striking example of Yaqui totality expressed in a two-page

rendition of a painting by Daniel Leone, "At the Enchanted Fall of the Yaqui Deer Dancer," which conjures up all the rich and colorful impressions of a double world that is to follow.

The book comprises four large chapters, but in many ways they do not follow in the strict sense of the word. Perhaps it is through this kind of literary device that the deeper significance of Yaqui thought is explored and ultimately made clearer only after initial concepts have been introduced. In a sense, this whets the appetite of the curious reader. One reads on in order to understand the Yaqui world that has been placed before the reader as if to tempt him.

Chapter One "Enchanted Talk," discusses how the authors came to know each other and examines the nature of the deer singers, and being Yaqui. We learn about some of the problems of writing about Yaquis, writing what they call "song talk," and the general problems of translation and song structure. Here, some of the issues raised in Dennis Tedlock's various treatises on "dialogical anthropology" are given a new and special dimension: a dialogue between collaborators becomes the foundation for the dialogue between cultures that subsequently unfolds.

Chapter Two "Where It Comes Out," is about the origin of Deer songs in myth and history, and how the songs appear to individual singers. This chapter introduces the reader to the origins of the Yaqui who once lived in the "wilderness world" somewhere beyond the desert, and the "flower world," a place in the east, beneath the dawn, which is believed to be a "perfect mirror image of all the beauty of the natural world of the Sonoran desert" (p. 47).

Of particular interest is the Yaqui concept of a "talking stick," described as a tree or thick bare trunk of an unidentified tree which existed at a time before the coming of the Europeans. All sound in Yaqui culture has significance, and in the beginning it was necessary to find someone to interpret the meaning of the talking stick. A female, sometimes a twin and called by various names such as Flower Girl, heard in the vibrations of the tree "a message that marks a boundary between . . . myth and history, immortality and death . . . between the language of the wilderness and the language of town" (p. 37).

In Chapter Three "One Night of Songs," we are introduced to the performance of *maso bwikam* 'deer songs' sung usually by

three men to accompany the deer dancer. These songs are performed at a ceremonial occasion called a *pahko* which in Spanish is frequently glossed "*fiesta*." During the *pahko*, the deer singers create what the authors' major respondent, Don Jesus Yoilo'i, calls "one night of songs" (p. 73) during which time we see the dancer:

Dipping delicately as if to drink; erect, curious, then bounding with the *pahkolam* in their play; or suddenly motionless and coiled with tension, alert to some new movement in the darkness—the dancer's ability to suggest the movements of a deer can be astonishing and mesmerizing. But the dancer can only move to the music of the deer singers (p. 73).

During the performance, the *rama*, or structure in which the *pahko* is held, is transformed into the flower world.

Following instructions about how to properly sing deer songs, the authors provide a description of deer-song texts which, in keeping with the Yaqui perspective, sees songs "not as a taxonomy but as a narrative" (p. 86). Some of the texts impart the same type of mesmerizing effect as the dancer himself:

Over there, I, in the center
of the flower-covered wilderness
I turned toward the dawn.
With a cluster of flowers in my antlers,
I walk.
But I am washed by the flower,
with a cluster of flowers in my antlers,
I walk (p. 93).

Chapter Four "Killing the Deer," focuses on rituals that eventuate the symbolic death of a deer dancer. The "running the deer" ritual, one of several ceremonies that enacts the killing of the deer, is celebrated to mark the anniversary of a relative's death which releases the family from mourning. In the ensuing sequences in which sets of songs are sung, a mock deer hunt performed as a burlesque powerfully enunciates the theme of death, and a return to the other world.

This work is indeed a tribute to the 30,000 persons along the Rio Yaqui in southern Sonora who regard themselves as Yaqui,

as well as the five to six thousand Yaquis living in the United States communities of Old Pascua, 39th Street, and Pascua Pueblo in Tucson, and the community of Guadalupe near Phoenix. A reference section on Yaqui orthography, a map of communities, plus notes and references to earlier works provide an elegant blend of poetics and traditional scholarship. Ethnomusicologists will be happy to know that a cassette of Yaqui songs accompanies the texts.

As the authors state, it is through song that Yaquis believe that all things communicate through a dialogue of sound created between the deer, other members of the wilderness, and the deer singers themselves. Indeed, the book contributes to a better understanding of Yaquis by themselves and others through the rituals of the Deer dance and Deer singing,, which themselves have become an unequivocal symbol of Yaqui identity in the twentieth century.

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Wisdom of the Elders: Native Traditions on the Northwest Coast. By Ruth Kirk. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, in association with the British Columbia Provincial Museum, 1986. 256pp. including index.

One of the intriguing developments in Native communities today is the resurgence of the traditional role of elder—the influencers of Native society. To the casual observer, it is not immediately apparent what the nature of that functioning was in the height of the culture (or even today), and so one looks forward with anticipation to what this volume may offer. The title seems to suggest that information about the status and role of eldership might be forthcoming.

The anticipation of learning about eldership is further whetted in the preface where the nature of the book's content is implied by the statement that "we no longer can hear the voices of many elders except in memory . . ." and by the title of chapter one which is, "Today's Elders." Basically the chapter reviews elements of Indian history, apparently from the perspective of