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The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins. By Karl H. Schlesier.

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stereotypes. He makes the political judgment that the "Black Hills claim was seriously damaged by the Yellow Thunder Camp" (161), and says that if we thought the American Indian was stereotyped before, we can expect it to worsen as the "domain of the anthropologist" is taken over by "various representatives of the humanities" (163).

His dismissal of Native American Studies reflects the classical anthropologist's bias when he says "The trend in Native American Studies is toward an idealized notion of what American Indian cultures have been and what they are expected to be." He is, obviously, unfamiliar with the work of William Thornton, Robert F. Berkhofer, Vine Deloria, Jr., Robert Bennett and countless others who have put before us the models for the disciplinary approach to the development of an epistemology that might be the most important tool for cultural revitalization and political survival since the IRA.

In the final essay, Powers calls American Indians "ethnic groups", clarifying for most of us his position on the issue of nationhood and sovereignty which he fails to take seriously as a concept underlying all Oglala thought and behavior. This final deficiency of thought on the part of this scholar does not necessarily make the arguments in his scholarship specious or malicious. It simply makes them irrelevant.

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The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins. By Karl H. Schlesier. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 205 pp. \$25.00 Cloth.

For more than half a century, the accepted interpretation of the Cheyennes' migration and occupation of the northeastern Plains derived from the historical and anthropological record, has the event occurring in the late eighteenth century. Before A.D. 1700 the question of Cheyenne origins and their formation as a distinct ethnic entity has never been seriously addressed by scholars. *The Wolves of Heaven: Cheyenne Shamanism, Ceremonies, and Prehistoric Origins*, volume 183 in *The Civilization of the American Indian Series*, provides an alternative interpretation to the

migration of the Cheyenne people onto the Plains. Using selected published archaeological, historical, linguistic, and ethnographic resources, in combination with extensive field data collected from traditional Cheyenne elders, Schlesier argues that the Cheyennes were present on the northern Plains from 500 B.C. to A.D. 800.

The core of Schlesier's thesis rests on the premise that the Massaum was an earth-giving ceremony. Thus, the performance of the Massaum ceremony gave the Cheyenne rights to utilize the grasslands which they inhabited. Through a cultural reconstruction of this ceremony, the author delineates pre-Massaum and proto-Cheyenne cultural elements. These pre- and post-Cheyenne cultural categories are then applied to the existent archaeological record whereby the argument comes full circle. That is, the author concludes that the Cheyenne were present on the Plains much earlier than previous scholars have ascertained.

Using Cheyenne terminology, Schlesier in the first chapter begins to construct his argument by providing a detailed ethnographic reconstruction of Cheyenne world view and shamanism. A full ethnographic understanding of the world view is necessary because in the Massaum ceremony the creation of the world order is ritually reenacted by the shamans. Essentially, the Cheyenne world was spiritually alive, sacred, and symbolically ordered. The various physical and spiritual components of this hierarchically ordered universe, including plants, animals, and the Cheyenne people themselves, were endowed with spiritual forms which gave life and power.

This power could associate itself with a human through a formal submission by an individual to the powers of the universe. Such power could then be used within the order of the Cheyenne universe for protection, healing, ceremonies, and other practices which required spiritual intervention. Certain individuals because of their unusual sensitivity to the spiritual powers became shamans. Cheyenne shamans, within this world order, utilized complex methods to call upon this spiritual potential prevalent in the universe to perform their acts, including the performance of ceremonies. These tribal ceremonies expressed the interconnectedness and maintenance of the cosmos.

In order to demonstrate that the world description and institutions delineated in chapter one were in existence during the period which the proto-Cheyennes entered into the northeastern Plains, the author in the next two chapters describe the world

view and shamanistic practices in northern Siberian cultures. More specifically, the northern Siberian world is divided into three layers which is interconnected by a cosmic axis at the center. The middle world is the region where physical and spiritual life interact continually through reincarnation. Like the Cheyenne shamans, the northern Siberian shamans maintained harmony among the spiritual and physical forms in the universe by the performance of ceremonies, the two most important of which revolved around the hunting of animals in the fall and the regeneration of life in the spring of each year. These two major ceremonies parallel the Massaum and Sun Dance ceremonies among the Cheyennes.

To further support his thesis that these Cheyenne concepts and institutions had their ancestral roots in a northern Siberian cultural milieu, the author compares 134 selected religious features. From this evidence, the author concludes that groups ancestral to northern Siberian cultures shared a common heritage with the Algonquian language family in Northern America.

Having established that these cultural categories have considerable cultural depth, Schlesier contends that the proto-Cheyennes and related groups brought both an annual fall ceremony (through which game was obtained), and also an earth renewal ceremony. Before discussing the Massaum ceremony, some proto-Cheyenne institutions outside of the Massaum are discussed. In chapter four, the author describes the medicine hunt, the spirit lodge, and the sweat lodge ceremonies. In each of these ceremonial performances, shamans called upon the spirits for success, and much of the symbolism present in these acts were represented in the Massaum. For example, the medicine lance carried by the shaman during a medicine hunt was decorated with the symbol of the wolf who, collectively, were the "game-keepers of the spirit herds . . . and messengers of the Massaum" (58). Thus, the shaman had the ability to call in and corral the animals.

Central to these ceremonial acts, including the Massaum, and among the shamans was the concept of *coincidentia oppositorum*, or the totality of opposites. The two types of contrary shamans—the *hemaneh* and the *hohnuhka*—assisted in the formulation of the Massaum Hohnuhka society, but did not participate directly in its performance. The *hemaneh* was a "half-man, half woman,"

whose sacred marriage of the male and female principle symbolically restored the unity of sky and earth, and facilitated the communication between humans and the spirits. Similarly, the *hohnuka* or contrary, among the proto-Cheyennes was an inverted warrior who played a key role in the defense of the Cheyenne people and territory. As a symbol of his power, he carried a lightning lance containing the spiritual power of lightning. These contrary principles were expressed in the Hohnuhka society which was an essential element of the Massaum. In fact, the "name Massaum derives from the performance of the Hohnuhka Society in the ceremony, *massa'ne* meaning "crazy," or more precisely, "acting contrary to normal" (pages 70-71).

Chapter five examines the migration and the formation of the proto-Cheyenne into a distinct ethnic entity through the performance of the Massaum. According to Schlesier, groups such as the proto-Cheyenne, when they moved into a new territory, were faced by potential resistance from other groups already living in the foreign land. The ceremony was conducted with the rising of Aldebaran, the red star, near the time of the summer solstice. On the northeastern Plains, the material evidence for the Massaum performance is manifested in the Big Horn and Moose Mountain Medicine Wheels, which have astrological correspondences found in the Massaum.

The Massaum ceremony was created and performed to give the Cheyennes permission from the new spirits to occupy and hunt in the new territory. The elements in the Massaum camp:

represented the universe of the grasslands, everything in it participated in the ceremony. From the sky derived the water used; from the ground the many paints applied by the performers. All species of vegetation were either directly or symbolically contained in the huge artifact inventory of the ceremony. Furthermore, the tree of the wolf lodge stood for the universe itself. All animal species were directly or symbolically represented by impersonators (81).

The performance of the Massaum required the existence of a cultural entity to which the earth could be given. Therefore, the Northern Cheyennes on the northeastern Plains forged themselves into a nation.

Before examining attempts to identify the Cheyennes in the archaeological record, the author provides a core ethnographic description of the Massaum ceremony in the sixth chapter. His description focuses on the ceremony's essential elements which are pertinent to his central argument that the Cheyenne possessed sacred rights in the grasslands which they claimed. The Massaum symbolically re-enacted a sacred hunt, which was a necessary prelude to the actual hunting of game animals in their territory.

The concluding chapters are concerned with locating the proto-Cheyennes' transition and origins in the archaeological record. By examining the major prehistoric phases in the northern Plains with respect to the Cheyenne world view and cultural categories, he concludes that the Eastern Besant Phase represent the proto-Cheyennes. Schlesier concludes that:

. . . Besant groups arriving in the northern plains from the boreal forest brought with them a world description common to all. After their entry, some clusters of bands underwent special developments (such as the elaboration of the Tsistsistas Massaum) that over a period of time, differentiated them culturally from others . . . Once Besant groups were distributed from the eastern North Dakota to Alberta, regional differences became more significant, although all would continue to share in a common, prevailing world-description base (139).

After establishing that the Cheyennes can be correlated with the Eastern Besant, the author then attempts to extend his thesis back by approximately 9,000 years by examining the history of the Algonquian language family in the archaeological record. Schlesier identifies the western groups of the Shield Archaic as ancestral proto-Algonquian speakers. These hunters migrated south and evolved into the Besant Phase, which agrees with the linguistic data.

The final section of this chapter examines the world renewal ceremonies of two widely dispersed Algonquian nations and compares selective features of the Mandan Okipa ceremony with the Massaum. By surveying the world renewal ceremonies of the Yurok and the Munsee-Mahican, Schlesier intends to demonstrate

that, despite their long historical separation, these Algonquian nations, like the proto-Cheyennes, ideologically remained close to northern Siberian thought. In his comparison of the Okipa to the Massaum, the author refutes the claim in the published ethnographic literature that the Cheyennes borrowed certain religious features from the Mandan Okipa. Thus, the Massaum ceremony and the shamanistic world interpretation were carried by groups ancestral to the Algonquian from the Arctic Shield. This Cheyenne world description had its closest relative not among people in North America but among the cultures in northern Siberia. At their core, these ceremonies have remained ideologically intact and unchanged for "at least one thousand, perhaps two thousand generations . . . Without the European conquests it would not have been in jeopardy" (189).

The Wolves of Heaven offers a fresh perspective of Cheyenne prehistoric origins which will certainly raise anthropological eyebrows. It raises exciting and stimulating ideas that warrant further investigation, but its central thesis is weak and unconvincing. Aside from the difficulties of superimposing cognitive cultural categories into the material, one must accept that the core of proto-Cheyenne religious ideology remained essentially static, intact, and "perfectly adaptable" despite centuries of ecological and historical change. Yet, according to oral tradition by Stands All Night, which is contained in the Grinnell papers housed at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, the Cheyennes underwent at least three political and economic transformations before entering the Plains. While religious institutions tend to be conservative, such radical material changes would necessitate significant shifts in socio-religious ideology, especially if the religious system revolved around the capture and renewal of game. Also, if the Massaum is a Plains specific adaptation, as Schlesier suggests, did the Cheyennes drop the ceremony after leaving the Plains and reinstitute it upon their re-entry some 900 years later?

Finally, archaeologists have always been reluctant to correlate specific archaeological complexes with specific historic and linguistic groups. The main problem is that similar archaeological remains often represent completely distinct ethnic groups or a hybridization of ethnic groups. Sharrock has discussed in detail the formation of hybrid Cree-Assiniboin bands, and Moore has discussed the same process for the Cheyennes during proto-historic period.

In conclusion, despite the above weakness, the book is not without value. The strength of this work lies not in its reinterpretation of Cheyenne origins and formation as a distinct ethnic entity, but in its rich ethnographic description of the Cheyenne world view, shamanism, and the Massaum ceremony. In this respect, the work is a valuable addition to Cheyenne ethnohistory and ethnography.

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Introduction to Wisconsin Indians: Prehistory to Statehood. By Carol I. Mason. Salem, Wisconsin: Sheffield Publishing Co., 1988. 327 pp. \$12.95 Paper.

In her preface Ms. Mason states that her book is intended as a means of obtaining a general introduction to the American Indian people of Wisconsin. For a very long time there has been a real need for a good, accurate, general introductory overview book on Wisconsin American Indians. Unfortunately, this book does not meet that need. She states that "references in the text have been deliberately kept to a bare minimum," however her failure to cite sources and evidence for controversial statements negatively affects the value of the book.

In her first chapter she asks, (2) "Who are Wisconsin Indians?" She then lists nineteen tribal groups in a non-alphabetized and confusing manner, including some (such as the "Ioway" and "Petun") who are not and apparently have never been "Wisconsin Indians". She lists others which did not come into Wisconsin until after 1800.

In her preface (v.) she states that she has stressed two groups with "contrasting lifeways". They are the Chippewa, which she sees as an example of a primarily hunting-gathering-fishing people, and the Winnebago, which she says are "the only fully horticultural people known to be resident in Wisconsin from the earliest historic periods."

Her failure to make it clear that the Chippewa did not enter the far northern Wisconsin area in significant numbers until 1679, nor establish major inland settlements until the 1740's, tends to make her focus on them somewhat misleading. Regarding her focus