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# Disenchantment:

## *A Religious Abduction*

Some years ago I first observed portions of the ritual process by which Hopis initiate their children into their religious lives. I remember it clearly. It was early February, and the Hopi were celebrating the opening of their kivas and the return of the kachinas to the human world of the Hopi mesas. This occasion is Powamu, commonly known as the Bean Dance. Beans are planted and forced by the warmth maintained in the kivas to sprout early. The bean sprouting and the ceremonial events turn the attention of the Hopi toward the upcoming growing season.

The initiation of children accompanies Powamu. As I stood in the village of Mishong'novi, I observed groups of children, all decked out in new clothing and shoes, being instructed by their parents. These were the children being initiated into the kachina cult. Peering down one of the avenues between houses, I saw some of the children taken atop a kiva; one kachina held up a child's hands, while another whirled what appeared to be the cloth tassels of a sash gently against each child. The gentleness of this gesture belies the seriousness of the initiatory scenario of which it is a part. Were we to see the whole event, we would find that at least some Hopi children conclude their experience of initiation profoundly changed, bearing not the joys of conversion and revelation but rather feelings of betrayal and disenchantment. Hopi children are in a sense abducted from their childhood naïveté into maturity, and for us to consider more fully this initiatory process may open not only a deeper appreciation for Hopi religious practices, but also for widely used religious techniques.

The initiation into the kachina cult designates the formal beginning of participation in the myriad events of Hopi religious life. The rites

of initiation are performed only once every several years during the annual celebration of Powamu, the first major winter ceremony in which the kachinas appear. Children around the age of ten enter the kachina cult by being inducted into either the Kachina Society or the Powamu Society. The rites of initiation into those societies vary somewhat, as do the privileges of the members, but both take place during Powamu, and until recently every child was initiated into one or the other. Most Hopi children still undergo this initiation.

Students of religion have recognized that initiation into the religious life occurs in a series of events that opens for our analysis the shape and meaning of a religion. The Hopi rites are commonly cited as a classic example. A careful scrutiny of the descriptive accounts of this particular Hopi initiation reveals that the interpretation usually given is limited and misleading. I will suggest an alternative interpretation based on the point of view that the ritual does what the Hopi say it does—that is, initiate the children into their religious lives by revealing to them the nature of the kachinas.

### *Description and Interpretations*

The earliest description of the initiation version of Powamu I have found was written by Alexander M. Stephen at the Hopi village of Walpi, on First Mesa, in 1892.<sup>1</sup> The core of the ritual process, according to Stephen's description, takes place when the children are conducted into the kiva by their ceremonial fathers, whipped by Tungwup kachinas, and comforted by their mothers. Stephen advanced an explanation of this whipping rite that has been maintained by most other interpreters.

The primary significance of the whipping (*wuvi'lauwú*) seems to be this: Until children have acquired some real intelligence or are, say eight or ten years old, they are made to believe that the kachina appearing at all celebrations are superhuman visitors, nor must such children even see an unmasked kachina. When they have grown old enough or are deemed to have sufficient understanding, then they are instructed that the real kachina have long since ceased their visits to mankind and are merely impersonated by men, but they must buy this knowledge at the expense of a sound flogging.<sup>2</sup>

Stephen revealed something in his interpretation that he did not mention in his description. He indicated that the initiation is for the purpose of teaching the children that the kachinas no longer come to the villages, but appear only through the efforts of impersonation which the children, as new members of the cult, may now begin to perform.

A problem for Stephen—indeed, the primary problem to which he spoke—was to explain what motivates the whipping of the initiates. He indicated that it is a kind of payment for the secret knowledge the initiates gain in the rites. Elsie C. Parsons, who undertook the task of editing Stephen's journal for publication, added a comment on the basis of her considerable experience, although it appears that she had not witnessed the initiation rites:

The whipping of the children is interpreted by our Journalist [Stephen] as a kind of expiation in advance for learning about the kachina. It is no doubt a ritual of exorcism but possibly it is an exorcism for the children against the evils of life and to promote growth and well being.<sup>3</sup>

Parsons places both the Hopi and Stephen within Judeo-Christian categories of meaning. Stephen's journal actually says nothing of atonement. Parsons' introduction of exorcism, unfounded in the descriptive accounts she used, was perhaps based on her view that Powamu is generally a ceremonial focusing upon exorcism.<sup>4</sup>

Another description based on witness of the initiation rites prior to the turn of the century is that of Heinrich Voth, a Mennonite missionary at the Hopi village now known as Old Oraibi. Voth witnessed the initiatory form of Powamu in both 1894 and 1899. His account was published in 1901 and supplements the Stephen account. Voth described the whipping rite as separate from the initiates' education about the nature of the kachinas. He clarified the distinction between the Kachina and Powamu societies in terms of the rites of initiation and the privileges enjoyed by the initiated. He shed further light on the significance of the whipping rite with the following information:

There is a tradition among the Hopi that this flogging ceremony was not always a part of the Powamu ceremony. It is stated that on one occasion a boy who had been initiated into the Powamu

fraternity had revealed the secrets that he had seen and heard. A council of the leaders of the fraternity was at once called and the question discussed as to what to do about it. All urged that a severe punishment be inflicted upon the perpetrator. Only the *kalehtakmongwi* (Warrior chief), now represented by Koyongainiwa, remained silent. After having been asked four times by the others as to his opinion about the matter, he first also expressed his displeasure at the occurrence and then suggested that the boy be flogged before all the other novitiates by Kachinas as a punishment and as a warning to the rest. This was done, and the custom was continued.<sup>5</sup>

Voth recorded the whipping as occurring on the sixth day of the nine-day Powamu ceremonial and indicated that the children are protected against seeing unmasked kachinas even after their whipping. According to Voth, it was not until the ninth night that the children learned that the kachinas were masked impersonators.

On this occasion the Kachinas appear unmasked, a very rare occurrence. The new Powamu and Kachina Wiwimkyamu (from Wimkya, member) that were initiated on the fifth and sixth days are to learn for the first time that Kachinas, whom they were taught to regard as supernatural beings, are only mortal Hopis.<sup>6</sup>

Stephen did not describe this event, but alluded to it two times by indicating that "the children are to be flogged this sunset in the court, after which they must not eat salt or flesh for four days, then they may look upon kachina and *wi'mi* in kivas."<sup>7</sup> *Wi'mi* are ceremonies.

Several witnessed accounts are available from the early decades of the twentieth century, but they add little to these earlier accounts.<sup>8</sup>

Descriptions and interpretations made through the 1930s placed major emphasis on the whipping rite.<sup>9</sup> The secondary literature has focused on this aspect of the initiation, maintaining with Stephen that the major information learned during the initiation is that the kachinas are masked impersonators rather than "real gods" as the children had been previously taught. Louis Gray, in the article on the Hopi in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, wrote, "Previ-

ous to this whipping the children have believed that the kachinas are real; after it they know that they are in reality only personifications." None of the secondary accounts raises the question of how this learning takes place, and not a single one gives any indication of how the Hopi children receive this knowledge.

It was not until 1942 that more was written about the effect the initiation has on the initiates. In that year the autobiography of the Old Oraibi Hopi Don Talayesva was first published. Talayesva had a vivid memory of his own initiation into the Kachina Society. He recalled,

When the Kachinas entered the kiva without masks, I had a great surprise. They were not spirits, but human beings. I recognized nearly every one of them and felt very unhappy, because I had been told all my life that the Kachinas were gods. I was especially shocked and angry when I saw all my uncles, fathers, and clan brothers dancing as kachinas. I felt the worst when I saw my own father—and whenever he glanced at me I turned my face away. When the dances were over the head man told us with a stern face that we knew who the Kachinas really were and that if we ever talked about this to uninitiated children we would get a thrashing even worse than the one we had received the night before.<sup>10</sup>

This Hopi account emphasizes the shock experienced upon learning that kachinas are masked Hopi. The whipping is described as a device to ensure secrecy, a role consistent with the story recorded by Voth.

For her study of Hopi personality development Dorothy Eggan interviewed a number of Hopis about their experience of the initiation into the kachina cult. Her evidence shows that Talayesva's response is typical. She wrote that

at initiation the child learned that the Kachinas were not *real gods* but merely representatives of them, and that they were an endless duty as well as a pleasure. The traumatic effect of this blow to a young Hopi's faith in his intimate world must be emphasized. All informants questioned by the writer have drawn the same picture of their reaction to initiation; their emphasis is rarely upon an anticipatory fear of it, nor upon the

physical hardships endured during it. Rather they stress a previous struggle against disillusionment in which the hints—not very specific because of the severe penalty for betrayal—of earlier initiates were dismissed; and finally the intense disappointment in and resentment toward their elders which survived in consciousness for a long time. . . . For Hopi children there was a double burden of disenchantment and modified behavior, for while an altered concept of the kachinas eventually became a vital part of their lives, excessive indulgence by their elders had disappeared never to return.

To exemplify this reaction Eggan quoted a Hopi woman as saying,

I cried and cried into my sheepskin that night, feeling I had been made a fool of. How could I ever watch the Kachinas dance again? I hated my parents and thought I would never believe the old folks again, wondering if Gods had ever danced for the Hopi as they said and if people really lived after death. I hated to see the other children fooled and felt mad when they said I was a big girl now and should act like one. But I was afraid to tell the others the truth for they might whip me to death. I know now it was best and the only way to teach the children, but it took me a long time to know that. I hope my children won't feel like that.<sup>11</sup>

On the basis of Hopi accounts it appears that the whipping is primarily an incentive for maintaining secrecy, but that the knowledge of the nature of the kachinas which is gained during the Bean Dance on the last evening of Powamu is experienced as a shocking disenchantment with the kachinas, Hopi ceremonials, and Hopi elders. This experience of disenchantment is vividly remembered throughout life.

Finally the most complete account based on an observed performance of the initiatory form of Powamu was written by Mischa Titiev. He and Fred Eggan were participants in the Powamu of 1934. Titiev's account clearly indicates the distinction between the whipping part of the initiation rite and the moment when the initiates learn about the kachinas. He describes the initiatory element of the Bean Dance, which is performed in the kivas on the ninth night of Powamu:

Then the dancers enter the kiva while one of their number stands by the hatch and calls down all sorts of jests at the expense of each man as he comes down the ladder. Inasmuch as the performers announce on entering a kiva that they are the real Katchinas, and as they are unmasked, it does not take long for the recent initiates to discover that the Katchina impersonators are their relatives and fellow villagers. In such dramatic fashion is the most important of all Katchina secrets revealed to Hopi children.<sup>12</sup>

More details of this witnessed event are available in Titiev's 1972 publication of his Hopi field notes as well as the description of the rites which he observed in 1954, with comments on the observed changes during that period of time.<sup>13</sup>

Given the disenchanting nature of the secret learned by the kachina cult initiates, it is certainly not surprising that they respond with shock and displeasure. What is more shocking to me is that none of the observers has shown the least surprise at the anomaly presented by these Hopi rites. Not a single observer has responded to the revelation of the secret of the masked nature of the kachinas with more than passive acceptance. But in light of the fact that the Hopi have been commonly regarded as being almost excessively religious—as evidenced by their constant involvement in religious activities—I feel that it is startlingly incongruous that Hopis introduce their children into their religious lives with the revelation that the kachinas are not real gods, but men dressed as gods. Should this not raise the question of the motivation and meaning of all of Hopi religious practices that are associated with kachinas? Does it not seem utterly in opposition to the abundant references which attest to the Hopi belief that the donning of a kachina mask transforms a man into a god?<sup>14</sup> And finally, it is hard to overlook evidence that the initiated Hopis follow with the utmost care procedures of deception calculated to bring about an experience of disenchantment. The mere fact of the intentionality suggests that there is more to it than appears on the surface. Hints of this significance are suggested in Eggan's report by the Hopi who said, "I know now it was best and the only way to teach the children." Certainly a major element in the meaning of the mature Hopi religious life must stem from this

shock of disenchantment. And I would suggest this may hold true for students of Hopi religion as well as for the Hopi children.

### *Disenchantment: Death to Naïve Realism*

The esoteric aspects of the kachina cult initiation will probably never be known to non-Hopis, but the surface structure of the events of the ritual of initiation suggests much.<sup>15</sup> Prior to their initiation the children meet the kachinas in the villages in a wide array of associated experiences. Some kachinas present gifts to the children, while others frighten and discipline them. In all contacts the children are carefully guarded against either seeing an unmasked kachina or gaining knowledge that the kachinas are masked figures. In this way the children are nurtured in a perspective of naïve realism; that is, they are treated in such a way as to support the adequacy of their commonsense view of the world. The children are raised to accept the kachinas exactly as they appear to them in the village, as spirit beings who have come to the village to overlook and direct human and cosmic affairs. They identify the kachinas with their physical appearances and actions.

During the kachina cult initiation rites the final development of the perspective of naïve realism is made through a period of intense contact with the kachinas. Children are acutely aware of the kachinas' presence in the village; they watch them move about the village; they may be whipped by them; they are told special stories about them; and they are given special gifts, which they are told are brought from the kachinas' home in the San Francisco Peaks. While the children perceive the kachinas as beings of a wholly different category than themselves, they are not separated from these powerful beings. They observe the interaction of the Hopi people with the kachinas when they visit their villages on many ceremonial occasions. Further, the children are taught that upon death a Hopi may become a kachina and return to work for the people.<sup>16</sup>

The nurturing of a perspective from which reality is viewed naïvely appears to lay the basis for the shock experienced at the conclusion of the initiation rite. This naïveté is shattered in the instant of realization that the kachinas are masked figures, impersonations perpetrated by members of their own village, even their

own relatives. The loss of naïveté is always irreversible. The result, as is clearly indicated by Eggan's consultants, is that the reality of the kachinas, one's destiny, and the whole basis for reality are called into serious question. The interaction between the Hopi people and the kachinas, which the children had come to know as essential to the continuity of the Hopi way of life, appears now to be impossible. The kachinas are shown to be only disguised Hopi men, the relatives of the children, and not spirit beings at all. The disjunction between the kachinas and humankind, which had heretofore been rather easily bridgeable, has now become an abyss. And perhaps the most remarkable thing in light of the expected initiatory structure, the rites of initiation end on this note of discord.<sup>17</sup>

While the new initiates must enter their new lives suffering this disillusionment, the privileges enjoyed in their new status permit them to participate in the affairs they have found to be disappointing. They may now participate in kachina cult activities.<sup>18</sup> They may be present in the kivas during rehearsal and mask preparation activities. They are eligible to be initiated into secret societies, in which they may gradually come to know esoteric dimensions of the kachina cult. The initiation is constructed in such a way that a child's religious life begins in a state of seriousness and reflection, motivated by doubt and skepticism. The very nature of reality has become threatened. Each child must search out a new basis for perceiving a meaningful reality. There is tremendous incentive to listen more carefully to the stories of the old people. Don Talayesva describes his increased interest in these stories as stemming from his experience of initiation.<sup>19</sup> It is apparently through the stories and through participating in religious activities that new initiates find the meaningful equilibrium which gives them reprieve from the awful state of disenchantment. The kachina cult initiation is the formal introduction into the religious life of a Hopi, not the culmination of this life. It turns an individual from the nonreligious life and provides the motivation for seeking religious awareness.

#### *Other Examples*

Disenchantment is not an uncommon technique used to bring about the fundamental changes so basic to rites of passage. Other

examples may be briefly described to show the extent and variety of this abductive force.

*Australia: The Broken Bullroarer.* The process of disenchantment can be seen at work in the initiation rites of the Wiradthuri tribes of Australia. The occasion is the initiation of boys into manhood. The boys to be initiated are abducted from the village, taken from their homes and their mothers. The rites are loaded with chicanery. The boys are commanded to walk with their eyes fixed on their feet so that they may not observe the staging of the trickery. A principal focus of the several rites rests upon the revelation of the nature of the spirit Dhuramoolan. The boys are told frequently that Dhuramoolan is coming near, and they are advised to listen for his approaching voice. They hear a whirring noise that grows louder and louder, but they do not know that the sound is being made by men whirling bullroarers (thin pieces of wood whirled at the end of strings). At a critical juncture in the rites the boys are covered with blankets and told that Dhuramoolan is coming and that he may eat them. With bullroarers speaking close by, the elders reach under each blanket and with hammer and chisel they knock an incisor tooth from the mouth of each boy. The boys think the spirit is taking their teeth while sparing their lives.

In this initiation an illusion of the perceptual presence of a spirit is prepared, and it is fully accepted by the initiates. But, the initiation culminates in a disenchantment of this knowledge. On the last day the boys are covered with blankets and a crackling fire is built. The bullroarers are whirled nearby, and the boys are told that Dhuramoolan is going to burn them. When the boys become very frightened, the blankets are removed from their heads, and they are shown for the first time the men whirling the bullroarers. Thus they learn that this artificial noisemaking is what they have taken to be the voice of Dhuramoolan. Pointing to the men whirling the bullroarers, the head man shouts, "There he is! That is Dhuramoolan!" and he explains to the boys how the noise is made by whirling flat pieces of wood on strings. Then the boys are given the bullroarers to examine; they may even whirl them. They are forbidden to tell the uninitiated about them or ever to make a bullroarer except during the initiation rites. Then they destroy the bullroarers by splitting them into pieces and driving them into the ground, or sometimes by burning them.

There is little information about how the boys respond to this revelation, but clearly they can never again be terrified as they once were by the voice of the bullroarers. Nor can they retain the naïve knowledge of Dhuramoolan's nature engendered in them during the initiation rites. They have learned that the world is not always as it appears to be. They must now come to terms with the spiritual nature of the figure Dhuramoolan.<sup>20</sup>

*Africa: the Killing of Kavula.* A striking example of the defamation of sacred objects in the initiatory process occurs in the rites of initiation into one of the healing cults of the Ndembu of Africa. As we would expect, the revelation of the nature of Kavula, the spirit of the healing cult, is an essential part of the initiation. But the process by which the initiates learn of Kavula is startling. The adepts prepare a frame made of sticks covered with a white blanket to represent the divinity. It is called *isoli*. One of the initiated hides beneath the blanket to play the part of Kavula. The initiates are chased by the adepts, caught, interrogated with unanswerable questions, taunted for being unable to supply appropriate answers, and eventually led to the *isoli*. The initiates are instructed regarding the formal procedure of greeting Kavula. When they address the spirit in the *isoli*, its voice returns their greeting. The initiates approach the structure and, when instructed to kill Kavula, they beat the object with the butts of their rattles. With each blow "Kavula" shakes convulsively, as if dying. The initiates are then led back to the village. When they enter it, an adept takes a firebrand, strikes it violently on the ground, and cries out, "He is dead!" After a brief closing oration the initiation is concluded.

Victor Turner, who reported these events, elicited comment on the killing of Kavula from the Ndembu people. Muchona, a knowledgeable old man, said, "Kavula is killed to frighten the candidate. For he believes he is really killing Kavula. He has been instructed by the adepts that 'If you see the spirit of Kavula, you must consider this is a spirit which helps people.' . . . The adepts are just deceiving the candidates at *isoli*." One of the female initiates told Turner that it was "Kavula's back that we saw in *isoli*. When Kavula was killed the spirit flew away into the sky, not to Nzambi (the High God), but 'into the wind.' It could come again."

In this initiation rite the adepts use techniques of deception to build an illusion, a fictitious conception of reality, for the initiates.

Bringing the initiates into Kavula's sacred presence, they confuse them with unanswerable questions, tell them to kill the very spirit that is to be revealed to them, and assure them at the conclusion of the rite that he is dead. Once the rites are over, the initiates are even shown the construction of the *isoli*. The illusion is disclosed; the enchantment with *isoli* is broken. Kavula, as presented to them, is shown to be nothing but a blanket-covered framework of sticks. Remarkably, however, the initiate demonstrated in her comments on the event that she discovered in it something of the mysterious nature of Kavula. She came to realize that Kavula is not limited to his appearance in the *isoli*, but is something more. Somehow in the process she gained the knowledge that Kavula is a spirit that flew "into the wind" and can come back; or perhaps, as Muchona told Turner, "Kavula takes all powers." It is through the creation of an illusion that is subsequently shattered by a dramatic and powerful act of disenchantment that the revelation of the spiritual dimension of reality is effected.<sup>21</sup>

#### *Disenchantment: The Birth of the Religious Perspective*

In these examples from Australia, Africa, and North America the whole process of initiation builds to a climax in the shock of disenchantment. The ritual objects are destroyed or their ordinary character is revealed to the eyes of the initiates. Despite this, the initiations evidently succeed, although the revelation of the religious or the spiritual is as much a result of the initiatic process as a part of it.

When the dynamic of disenchantment is the driving power in an initiation rite, the first and essential ingredient is encouraging identification of the spiritual with some physical/sensual aspect of the world. The uninitiated must come to believe that the objects and entities observed are what they are presented as being. The white blanket in the framework of sticks is Kavula; the masked dancers are Hopi spirit beings; and the roar of the noisemakers is Dhuramoolan shouting. Ingenious techniques of secrecy and deception have been devised to nurture a perspective of naïve realism, and the effectiveness of the initiation depends on how firmly this viewpoint is established.

The whole initiatory process reinforces this sense that the fullness

of the religious reality is invested in these figures and objects. Then in the concluding moments, upon the threshold of a new life, the illusion is dissolved, and the shock of disenchantment shatters all that went before. The experience makes a return to the previous state of life impossible. The naïve realism of the uninitiated perspective has been exploded. The rites have demonstrated irreversibly that things are not simply what they appear to be, that one-dimensional literalism is a childish faith that one has to grow beyond or else despair of a life rich in meaning and worth. Surely, being thus forced to abandon one's ingrained notion of reality is to experience a true death of the former self. And this loss of self constitutes the concrete transformation signified by the death experienced in the rites.

The purpose of initiation—to reveal the fullness of reality—is, of course, one with the nature of religion itself. For religion springs from the unique human capacity to grasp and to create dimensions of reality that are beyond the material, beyond the obvious, beyond even human existence, and to exercise this capacity by utilizing the material and obvious dimensions of ordinary human life.

Through initiation culminating in disenchantment, the novice is in a sense abducted into the religious life in a state of crisis, disappointment, or perplexity about the nature of reality. The only thing he knows is that he has been fooled and his sense of what is real and what is not is confounded. His options seem clear. He may see the world as meaningless, or he may undertake a quest for a fuller understanding of the world. This is scarcely a choice. The experience of disenchantment initiates the world-creating and world-discovering human and cultural processes we know as religion. It stimulates inquiry, thought, creativity, wonderment, and the eventual formation of the sense of the religious world. The newly initiated are invited and expected to participate in the religious activities of their communities. Through such participation they begin gradually to grasp the full scope of the reality that their initiatory experience has opened for them. With this expanding awareness, meaning may once again be conferred on the defamed objects, yet now in an enhanced and mature way.

The profound wisdom of the method of initiation by disenchantment lies in its capacity to bring the initiate through succeeding

stages of perception to an encounter with a fuller reality. The rites necessarily must end on the threshold of revelation, for it is only through the living of the religious way that the nature of reality becomes fully known.

### *Conclusion*

Following Victor Turner, who discussed the Gospel story of the empty tomb along with the killing of Kavula events, I too would like to briefly consider this biblical story, for I believe that this story of death and resurrection also involves the enchantment-disenchantment process at work in the initiation of the Christian tradition.

The Gospels recount the life and teachings of Jesus as the story of the incarnate revelation of God. The episode of the empty tomb concludes the books of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and in John only one chapter follows it. It comes directly after the account of the crucifixion, and for those destined to be members of the first Christian community this death caused fear, despondency, and consternation. This is especially clear in the concluding words of the Gospel of Mark:

And very early on the first day of the week they [the two Marys] went to the tomb when the sun had risen. And they were saying to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?" And looking up, they saw that the stone was rolled back—it was very large. And entering the tomb, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, dressed in a white robe; and they were amazed. And he said to them, "Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here; see the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you." And they went out and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them; and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid.

If we consider this as the concluding event in the initiation of the first Christians, several elements are remarkably similar to the rites of initiation described above. As the Ndembu experienced the death of Kavula, the Hopi the unmasking of the kachina figures, the



Wiradthuri the destruction of the bullroarers, so the followers of Jesus were forced to witness his death. They had come to know him well and had accepted him as their Lord. Yet they saw him captured, tortured, and crucified. They saw that he was a man who felt pain, suffered, and died. He, like any man, was placed in a tomb. The followers of Jesus had embraced a naïve view of his reality—that Jesus the man and Jesus the Christ were simply identical. But going to the tomb, they found that he was not there. The Ndembu who examined the *isoli* found only a framework of sticks—Kavula was not there. The Hopi found only their own relatives under the masks—the kachina spirit beings were not there. The Wiradthuri coming from under their blankets found only men whirling bullroarers—Dhuramoolan was not there.

The story of the empty tomb in Christianity follows a pattern akin to the abducting process of disenchantment. Christianity as a religion begins with the empty tomb which is received not with joy and comfort, but with trembling, astonishment, and fear. That which had appeared to be so real, the man Jesus, had ceased to be, and not even his body remained as an object to care for and reverence. It has been in the face of the fear and astonishment at the loss of Jesus, the man, that Christians throughout the Christian era have been led to grasp the reality of Jesus, the Christ, who was resurrected from the tomb, and hence the reality of God. It must follow that only with this revelation could it be clearly recognized that it is the life and teachings of Jesus that are the “living and the momentous revelation of the inexorable” God.

In these few examples from a broad spectrum of religious contexts there appears the common structure of a technique of disenchantment used to initiate the process of developing the mature religious perspective and to promote authentic apprehension of the fuller nature of reality. The apparent effect of disenchantment is itself illusory. Acts which seem to spell the end of religion are the very techniques that thrust the initiate into the arena of adult religious life with incentive to plumb its full depths. They lay bare the limitations of naïve views of reality so that through deepened participation in a religious community and celebration of the day-to-day events of life in religious ritual, the individual may increasingly explore, create, and experience worlds of fuller meaning.

## NOTES

1. It is not clear how much of the full initiation sequence Stephen observed. In Parsons' introduction to Julian H. Steward, "Notes on Hopi Ceremonies in Their Initiatory Form," *American Anthropologist* 33 (1931): 56-79, she indicated that Stephen had not seen the whipping rites in 1892, yet the account in his journal (*Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*, ed. Elsie C. Parsons [New York: Columbia University Press, 1936], pp 198-202) certainly appears to be written on the basis of direct observation.
2. Stephen, *Journal*, p. 203.
3. Stephen, *Journal*, p. 156.
4. Parsons presents an extensive comparative discussion of the whipping practice in her, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), vol. 2, pp. 467-76, including various Pueblo peoples. Stephen's journal was not published until 1936, but an account based solely on his notes was published by J. Walter Fewkes, *Tusayan Kachinas*, Bureau of American Ethnography 15th Annual Report (Washington D.C., 1897). Since Fewkes had not witnessed the initiation form of Powamu, he added nothing to Stephen's notes.
5. H. R. Voth, *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony* (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum Publication 61, Anthropological Series, vol. 3, no. 2, 1901), p. 105.
6. Voth, *Oraibi Ceremony*, p. 120.
7. Stephen, *Journal*, pp. 198, 202.
8. In Frank Waters, *The Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), pp. 176-79, an account of the kachina cult initiation is given as described by White Bear based on the 1914 initiation rites at Old Oraibi. The odd feature of this description is that it appears that the children see the dancers in an unmasked appearance before they undergo the whipping rite. When Waters describes the Bean Dance which concludes Powamu, he remarks, "All initiates know by now that the kachinas are mere men who impersonate them, and have full knowledge of Powamu" (p. 182). In Elsie C. Parsons, *A Pueblo Indian Journal* (Menasha, WI: American Anthropological Association, Memoirs no. 2, 1925), the account of the initiation into the kachina cult is described by the Hopi Crow-Wing, who mentions the whipping and the appearance of the Powamu kachinas as being without masks, but does not connect either very closely with the initiation. Steward presents a witnessed account on First Mesa from his field notes in 1927, but it does not add to the earlier accounts and does not make

clear when the children learn the nature of the kachinas. Steward indicates that the audience for the Bean Dance was "made up entirely of women who bring children, even small babies" ("Notes on Hopi Ceremonies," p. 71), but he does not make clear that only the initiated children and very small babies may be present.

9. For examples of this emphasis see Louis Gray, "Hopi," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. James Hastings (New York: Scribner's, 1920), 6: 783-89; Erna Fergusson, *Dancing Gods: Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957), pp. 128-29; Walter C. O'Kane, *Sun in Sky* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950); p. 185; and Alan W. Watts, *The Two Hands of God: The Myths of Polarity* (New York: Braziller, 1963), p. 206.
10. Don C. Talayesva, *Sun Chief: An Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, ed. Leo W. Simmons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 84.
11. Dorothy Eggan, "The General Problem of Hopi Adjustment," *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943): 372.
12. Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (Cambridge: Paper of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 12, no. 1, 1944), p. 119.
13. Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 341-43.
14. See Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, p. 109.
15. For descriptions of these events see Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, p. 118; Stephen, *Journal*, pp. 224-27; Voth, *Oraibi Ceremony*, p. 118; E. Earle and E. A. Kennard, *Hopi Kachina* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), Plates X, XI; J. Walter Fewkes, *Ancestor Worship of the Hopi Indians*, Smithsonian Annual Report for 1921 (Washington, 1923), Plates 2, 7, and "On Certain Personages Who Appear in a Tusayan Ceremonial," *American Anthropologist* 7 (1894): 32-53. Emory Sekaquaptewa, "Hopi Ceremonies," in *Seeing with a Native Eye*, ed. Walter H. Capps (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 35-43, has a particularly clear description of the view Hopi children develop toward kachinas.
16. This belief, which is alluded to by Eggan's consultant, is documented throughout Hopi literature.
17. The "betwixt and between" state of liminality as described by Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1901) and extensively explored by Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), esp. chapter 4, may be applicable here. But instead of concluding the initiation by establishing a new equilibrium to resolve the state

of liminality endured throughout the initiation process, it appears that it is the state of liminality that the children are being initiated into by these rites. A related discussion of liminality as associated with the Zuni ritual clown is presented by Louis Hieb, "Meaning and Mismeaning: Toward an Understanding of the Ritual Clown," in *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), pp. 163-95.

18. Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, p. 116, and others have indicated that children do not normally begin participating to any great extent for several years after their initiation.
19. Talayesva, *Sun Chief*, p. 85.
20. R. H. Matthews, "The Bûrbûng of the Wiradthuri Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 25 (1896): 295-317; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London: Macmillan, 1904), pp. 516-63.
21. Victor Turner, *Chihamba the White Spirit: A Ritual Drama of the Ndembu*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper no. 33 (New York: Humanities Press, 1962).