Some Social and Spatial Aspects of Innovation at Zuni

BY TOM F.S. McFEAT

Introduction

In the course of inquiry into the theory of education of the Zuni of New Mexico[1] I discovered a phenomenon of the culture known to them as the "roads". Depicted in their most systematic form by seven of the older male informants, these "roads" or ways of life appeared on the basis of verbal report to have the quality of phenomenal objectivity. Thus, they were accorded the dignity of age and the status of spirit-given entities by all my informants who reported on the nature of the "roads" to a fair degree in a standardized manner. These ways of life, then, must be included as a part of contemporary Zuni culture and as such I will briefly describe them.

The Good Road (*onankokshi*), being the first of the four, was described by the Zuni as the *way of life* of the ideal cooperative and economically productive family man, who deeply desires an harmonious existence with his fellows, who is hard working, self-effacing and moderate in all things.[2] His success is attributed exclusively (a) to the inborn characteristics listed above which predispose him (b) to listen to and thereby learn from those described as the "inside-of-the-house" family. The family of the Good Road is described rather vaguely and the clearest depiction of statuses is that of *parents;* the function of this unit appears to be largely that of guidance.

[1] Field work was carried out over a period of seven months during 1953 and was financed by funds supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation and administered by the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. Special thanks are accorded to Dr. R.S. MacNeish and Mr. W.E. Taylor, both of the National Museum of Canada, who kindly made constructive suggestions.

[2] The similarity of implicit patterning of the Good Road to Benedict's Apollonian indicates the degree of cultural continuity that is present at Zuni. But the very different patterns of the Long Road should not be construed as something new.

Benedict once wrote that there were no disciplines exercised by the adult men of Zuni families (1948: 92). From the point of view of the Good Road this is certainly true, for with it there would be no need of disciplines. Her point, however, was that the reason was structural — disciplines were handled by agencies in the community other than the family. The Long Road (*onandashone*) is the perfect complement (according to my informants) of the Good Road specifically for purposes of finding the proper locus of disciplines, and it illustrates marked contrasts with the Good Road. This "Road" is described as the way of life of the same individual but from a different perspective, namely, that involving his relationships with a group of older men either *within* the family or closely related to it. The individual, it is implied, is inherently weak and subject therefore to intrusive influences from the environment (disease, injury and noxious but diffuse stimuli that may engender bad habits of essentially foreign origin). The individual, then, acquires a Long Road by having from an early age been subject to a process of toughening that was initiated by these older men, and carried out by them with dedication. This involved extreme coercion, and such "hardening" tactics as early morning rising, naked winter bathing, working long hours without food, and forced abstinence from smoking, drinking and other activities which, if they were to become habitual, would make one "soft inside". The Long Road is not conceived of as related to deviant behaviour; it is considered complementary to the Good Road and the two belong together in the ideal life. Of the two "roads", the former emphasizes inborn dispositions to be cooperative and provides the family as a guiding background whereas the latter indicates no concern with individual motivational states other than those related to fear and emphasizes the strictness and coercive activities of older males associated with the family.

The related Bad Road (*onanbocha*) depicts the individual as being primarily indifferent to cooperative enterprise. He is also depicted as not being able to make the neat discriminations between his own family and outsiders that marks the person of the Good Road. He is thus subject to easy exploitation from the community and beyond, and the background of the Bad

Road correspondingly becomes the community (which is vaguely described, usually as "the people", "everyone", etc.) A strong moral position is taken against the person on the Bad Road especially because of his orientation to present satisfactions. Since, however, he is described as sensitive to the wishes and actions of others (the danger being that he cannot select desirable "others") he can be controlled, and this control is brought about by the use of shame (*yatsadi*). This "shame technique" is not, however, applicable to the persons described in terms of the Short Road (*onankoni*) which is a state of illness and abnormality rather than one of deviance. Since the person of the Short Road is said to be born the way he is (the essentials of the case being that he is not responsive to the initiation of interaction) he cannot be controlled by ordinary measures that are part of the recognized system of social control; therefore, he must be subjected to the specialized techniques of the therapist.

While the degree of standardization of these phenomena and of their role in the community (and in the daily lives of the "average" Zuni) constitute problems that must yet be dealt with, there are several characteristics of the context of the production of the "roads" and their own content that suggest more pressing problems that can best be approached by diachronic analysis. The first of these pertains to the clearly *innovative* character of the "roads"[3]. I have found it surprising that in spite of the wide knowledge of the "roads" among my informants there evidently has been no record made of them by such close and perceptive observers in the past as Cushing, Stevenson, Kroeber, Bunzel and Benedict all of whom were intimate with the community at various times between 1870 and 1935. The only reasonable conclusion is that the "roads", which I regard as a category of Zuni culture, had not up to that time been developed as they appear in their present form. Second, they have a fairly definite innovative history. Thus, the concept of the *road* or *road of life* is old and

[3] Albert and Cazaneuve write:
"La notion que se font les Zuni du caractère idéal est visible aussi dans leur distinction classique entre les "quatre routes." (1956:11).
There is, in my opinion, no evidence to suggest that the *roads* as described herein, or by Albert and Cazaneuve, represent a well institutionalized phenomenon of long standing in Zuni culture.

well established at Zuni (having long ago been reported (Cushing, 1880; Bunzel, 1932) and in other pueblos, and the conception of their having been given by supernaturals who continue to exercise influence over the "road" appears to have been as true of Zuni in 1880 as it is today. What is *new* is the internal differentiation of the "road" into two distinct types and two sub-types. I shall endeavour to show later that this differentiation took place as other changes appeared in Zuni since that time. Third, it is surprising that such innovative phenomena should be receiving their impetus from a group of older men who, in other role capacities, belong in high priestly positions in the community. On two counts this is surprising: one would not generally expect the upper age group of men to be the carriers of a distinctly innovative tradition, nor would one expect this result from older men who otherwise belong to an extremely conservative tradition of activities (in the priesthoods) in what is generally thought to be an extremely conservative community. Since the "roads" are informally communicated in a family context and are not by any means accepted as guides for conduct in the real world, they might be expected to disappear as readily as they have been created. Whether or not one would make this prediction depends, I think, upon our understanding of the roles of the older men in this context.

Finally, I should like to draw attention to the content of the two "primary" *roads:* the Good Road and the Long Road. The Good Road emphasizes the familiar *Apollonian* ethic of moderation and cooperativeness and stresses harmony and integration. In commenting upon certain scholarly views of Pueblo culture, Bennett has recently summarized one of these (i.e., that which stresses the features listed above) as the *organic theory* (1956: 204-206). One could add at this point that the Zuni have vindicated this view with the statements as they appear on the Good Road. The other view of Pueblo culture, Bennett points out, stresses coercion, autocracy, implicit hostility, fear, etc., and this he calls the *repressive theory*. Again, the Zuni have been accommodating in supporting this view as well, this time with the statements as they appear on the Long Road. Considering the fact that the Zuni have chosen to combine and render inseparable these two primary "roads", it would appear

that they speak in support of Bennett himself who, in conclusion, writes:

> I am convinced that this [i.e., organic] world view actually exists — just as I am also convinced that Pueblo society achieves homogeneity by repressive measures. (*Ibid*: 211)

In this respect it should be noted that the four "roads" constitute a single unit of Zuni culture; the very fact of their presence in the culture attests to the organic character of that culture in some of its aspects, and in this case, then, the "organic world view" embodies and legitimates "repressive measures". Thus repressive measures do not just "occur" but are themselves caught up in a segregated aspect of an explicit world view. It should therefore be proper to speak of "repressive measures" in terms of authority, i.e., *repressive authority*. The production of segments of world view in explicit terms (as, for example, in the recital of folklore) enjoys acceptance by virtue of those in authority who convey its contents; in this sense I shall refer to the presence of a well delineated "world view" as *organic authority*. This applies to the Four Roads as a whole.

From the points that have emerged I should like to suggest the following hypotheses: (a) "repressive" and "organic" patterns of authority have long been a part of Pueblo organization and (b) there is a specific relationship between these two forms of authority that indicates the indispensability of roles in the community which I should like to call *"authoritative innovators"*. In order to supply evidence in support of these hypotheses, it will be pertinent to deal in extensive time depth and, therefore, to examine the archaeological record. In so doing I shall endeavour to indicate that certain objectively ascertainable growth trends in Pueblo society can be seen in relationship to the specified patterns of authority and innovation.

A note on method: a considerable amount has been written on the subject of ethnological inferences based on archaeological materials, especially pertaining to the Southwest (Haury, 1956; Hawley, 1950; MacWhite, 1956; Parsons, 1940; Reed, 1956; Reiter, 1946; Thompson, 1956; Vogt, 1956; Wendorf, 1956; Willey, 1956). In this paper the method is based on familiar assumption, namely, that human groups tend to allocate space

in a community in accordance with their size, structure and inter-relationships. This space may become rigidified in cases where changes in social organization are too rapid and too subtle to be reflected in gross building materials. In the Southwest, however, building, tearing down (and falling down) and modifying are constant activities. Thus, it is the fluidity of settlement patterns that make it possible I hope to draw reasonable inferences from community plans.

The tools of analysis are those pertaining to common principles of grouping: *similarity-difference, proximity-distance, orientation* and *relative size.*

ANASAZI CULTURE GROWTH

Anasazi culture, which belongs within the "four-corners" region of the Southwest (Reed, 1946) was identified as a tradition (first *Basket Maker* and later *Pueblo phases* of development) beginning about A.D. 200 (Martin, Quimby and Collier, 1947: 101). The growth of culture for about 1,000 years following A.D. 500 (from the *Modified Basket Makers*) will be examined here. This growth was marked by the following features or trends: rapid change; progressive enlargement of communities and their recurrent fisions; and simultaneous and mutually limiting trends toward religious centralization and dwelling proximation.

1. *Rapidity of Change*

A cursory inspection of the community plans in this region indicates clearly that by some standards[4] in North American culture the pace of change was very rapid. Even by the objective (yet surely not imposed) measure of roughly 30 generations, the change must still be regarded as rapid, for these few generations were involved in the not-inconsiderable task of bringing about the transformation of communities from the crudest of

[4] Compare communities in the Western and Eastern Subarctic.

the early Basket Maker organizations to those of the most developed post-classical Pueblos.

2. *Enlargement*

Within this same period of time Anasazi communities grew from a few more or less remote clusters of close kindred to units embodying hundreds of dwellings and the ratio of dwelling units to kivas indicates similar growth (Steward, 1937: 97-8). In time the population density became the highest in aboriginal America north of Mexico (Kroeber 1939: table 8) and was, moreover, intensified by the characteristic close-clustering settlement pattern of the Pueblos. A significant aspect of this enlargement is that relative homogeneity was maintained in communities which were accepting considerable numbers of settlers from outside the region (Kidder, 1924: 129).

3. *Recurrent Fissions*

It is well attested in the record of Southwestern archaeology that break-ups of communities were frequent throughout the latter period under consideration (*Ibid:* 128-130).

The rapidity of change and the sure (although sometimes fluctuating) pattern of enlargement of communities can be related to fissions and abandonments on a wide scale in this region. According to Titiev, the reasons underlying these fissions were internal and structural and only indirectly (if at all) related to external threats from enemies, droughts and epidemics. Steward had earlier pointed out that the method of enlargement of Southwestern communities was through the amalgamation of small (and ostensibly complete) units. These would be his *lineage units* which, when combined and compounded into Pueblo towns, brought them beyond optimal size and therefore forced their collapse. Titiev writes:

> There, I believe, we have the heart of the whole matter, for the huge pueblos failed to endure precisely because they continued to operate with social structures that were best adapted to small communities. (1944:99)

Whatever other inferences one wishes to draw concerning the relationship between these three trends in Pueblo culture

growth, two seem reasonable, namely (a) all Pueblans were permanently adjusted to conditions of continuous and fundamental changes in their communities and (b) these conditions were reflected in the quality of authority and leadership.

4. *Mutually Limiting Trends:* Centralization & Approximation

While the evidence is clear enough to establish the fact of recurrent break-ups (the inference being communal instability) there is a strong case to be made for overall stability in the basic plans of culture growth. Thus, even though community break-ups did continue, these events evidently did not bring about a halt to the changes that were going on in the area, nor did communities cease progressively to enlarge.

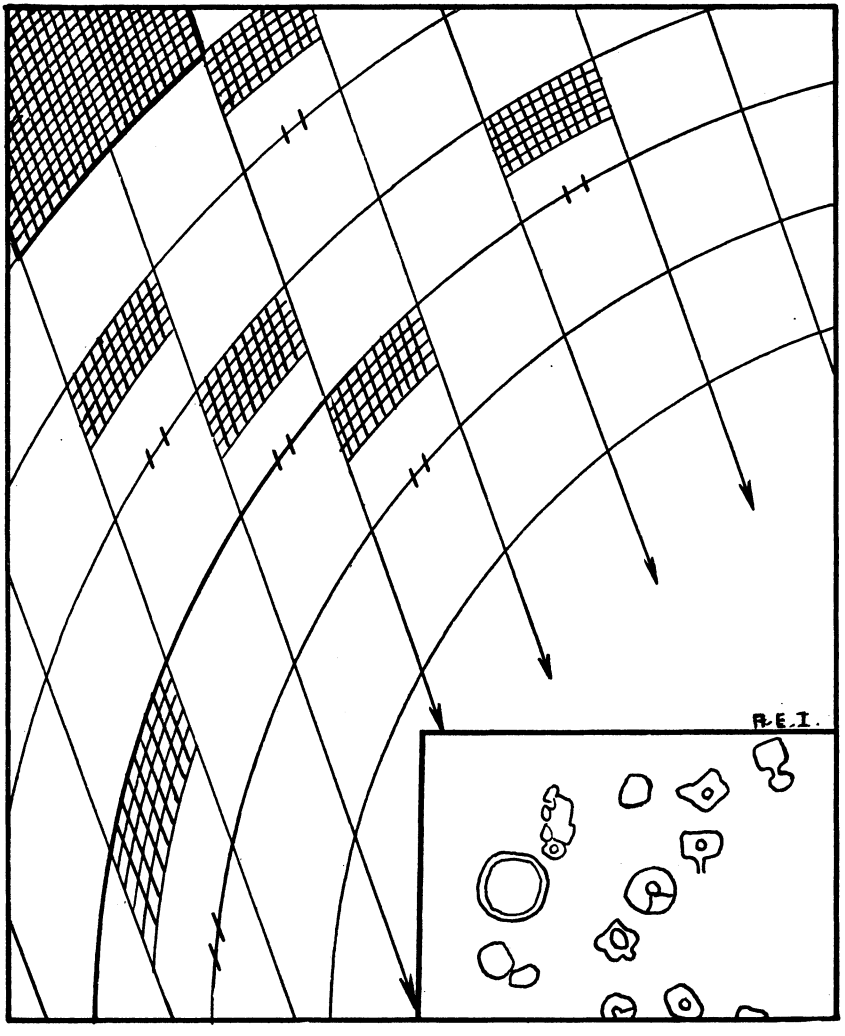
In the following sections I should like to indicate that stability in growth was expressed in part through two long-standing but mutually limiting trends, one toward the centralization of ceremonial structures and the other toward the growing approximation and communication of dwelling units. As a process, Anasazi culture growth involved then a number of trends: rapid change, extraordinary growth, recurrent dangers or actualities of civil strife, and increasing centralization and progressive dwelling communication. I shall examine these trends as part of the community plans at each definable stage of development.

THE MAJOR FEATURES OF CULTURE GROWTH

Modified Basket-Maker Pattern[5]

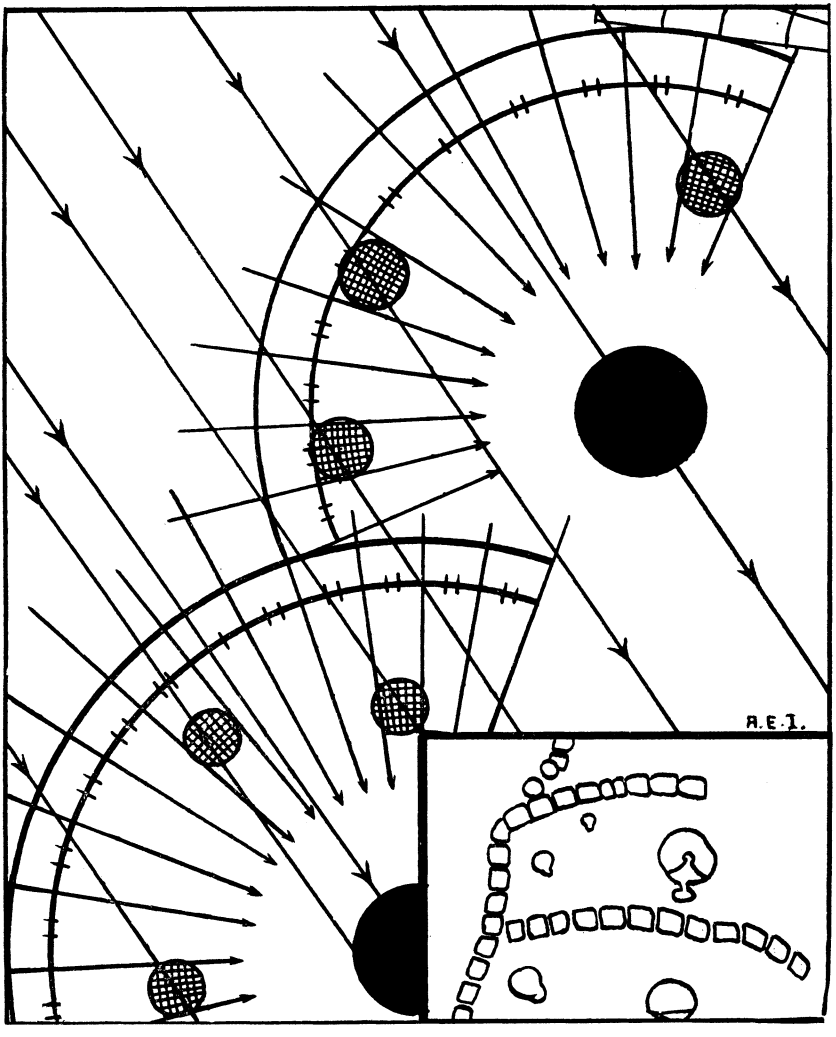
Time: about A.D. 500-700. Type sites: Kiatuthlanna, Shabik'eschee Village (represented above). Dwellings: Semi-Subterranean, variable

[5] The following drawings are taken from actual sites, but illustrate only position, orientation and ceremonial regions. It was convenient to draw these on grids, using arcs and parallel lines, depending on their application to the dynamics of integration as I view them. The first is taken from Shabik'eschee village, the second from Alkali Ridge, the third from Pueblo Bonito and the fourth from Zuni. Concerning the last, I have included geo-



shapes; most internally divided into ceremonial and non-ceremonial regions; in larger community dwellings are directionally oriented southeast. Maximum number of dwellings: 17. Architectural Relations: in most cases not easy to define: *in at least one,* however, a rough arc forms the community.

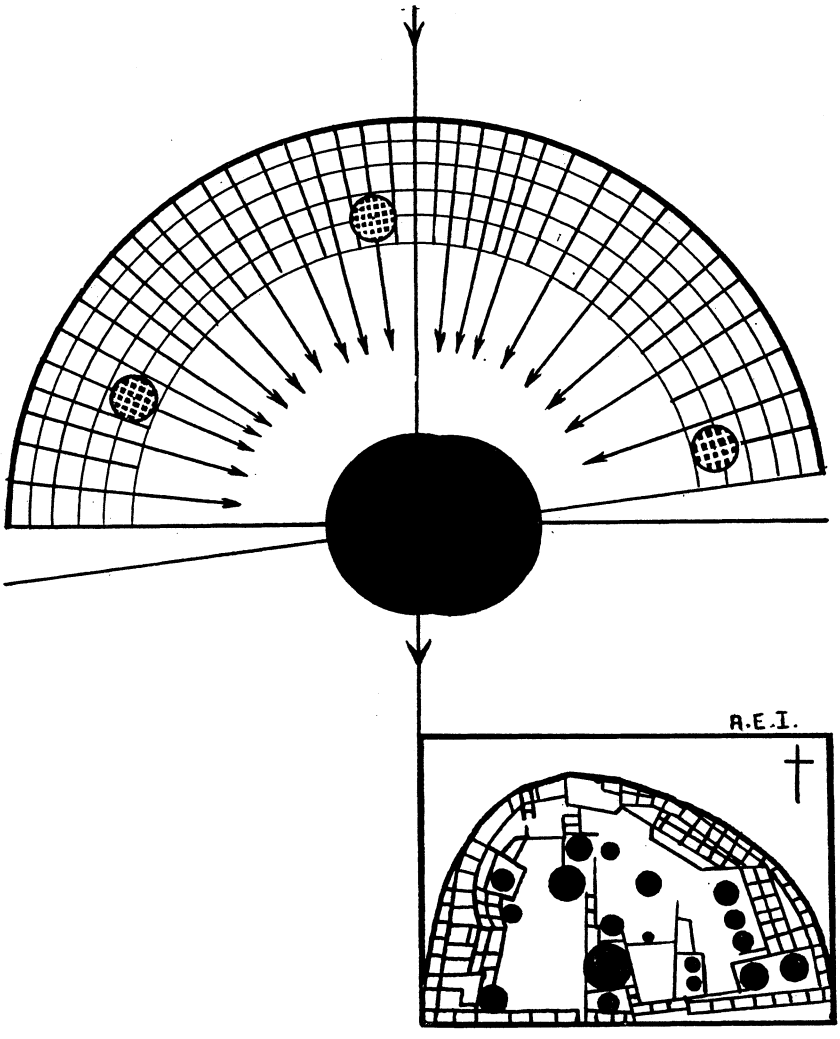
metric projections that are based both on community plans and the houses outside the community which are nevertheless oriented to it.



The Developmental-Pueblo Pattern

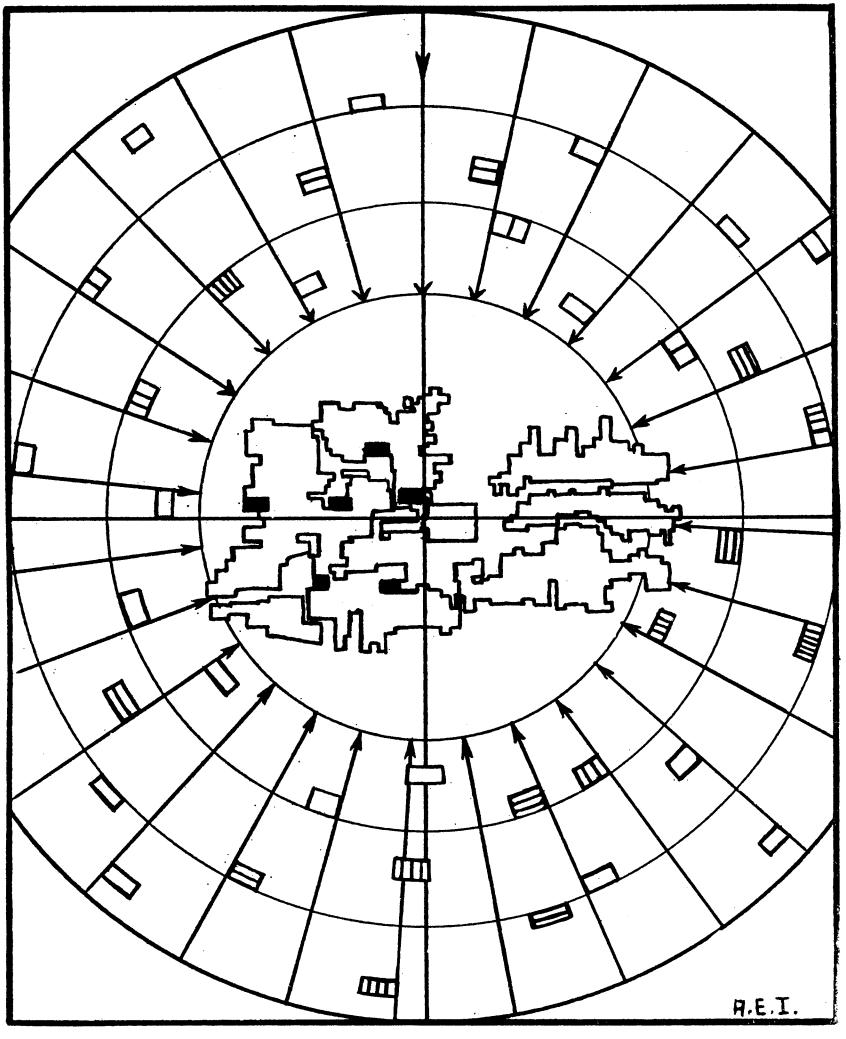
Time: about A.D. 1,000. Type Sites: La Plata, Stollsteimer, Alkali Ridge (represented here). Dwellings: surface, rectangular without internal divisions, oriented toward Great "kivas".[6] Maximum Number of dwellings: 300. Architectural Relations: Definite arcs, connected dwellings and strict formal distinctiveness between dwellings and "kivas".

[6] When "kiva" is written between quotation marks, I intend to indicate that these are proto-kivas or pit-houses serving more specialized religious functions.



Classical Pueblo Pattern

Time: About A.D. 1200. Type Sites: Aztec, Kiatuthlanna, Village of the Great Kivas, Chettro Kettel, Pueblo Bonito (represented here). Dwellings: Surface, rectangular without internal divisions, but multi-roomed. Maximum Number of Dwellings: perhaps 500. Architectural Relations: Square, semi-circular and block communities appear. Dwellings are multiply connected and communications are beginning to appear in lines of 12 to 15 rooms and possibly more. Formal distinctiveness between dwellings and kivas. Some local kivas are surrounded but Great Kivas are spatially segregated from other units in the community.



Post-Classical and Modern Patterns

Time: following A.D. 1500. Type sites: Kin-tiel, Hawikuh, Oraibi Zuni (illustrated here). Dwellings: surface, rectangular, multi-roomed and enlarged and without internal divisions. No visible orientations.

Maximum number of dwellings: probably 4-500.

Architectural Relations: dwellings often intercommunicating and without any formal distinctiveness from kivas. No spatial segregation of kivas from dwellings ("clan" kivas of Oraibi an exception) and the Great Kivas have altogether disappeared. Although the old polarization to a center has disappeared, the phenomenon of "drifting" (note the large number of houses on peripheries) indicates definite polarization with, however, the community as a whole now being the center.

Comments

Of the *Modified Basket-Maker* villages, one is especially interesting, for while its architecture was in keeping with the period, it grew in community size beyond many others. This was Shabik'eschee village, a unit which was clearly greater than the sum of its parts. It was probably more than simply a "unilateral, localized, exogamous and land owning" community (Steward, 1937: 101) for although this was a community whose dwellings (with their sacred regions) indicate a fair degree of control over supernatural relations by the household, at the same time there *was* a center for the group that is indicated by the "kiva" and plaza. Evidence is thus supplied in architecture of what Reiter called "the town hall concept" (1946: 282-3). It is clear, on the whole, that this was the first level at which at least one multi-structured unit occurred which had a form and an apparent center and in which both "household" and "community" could be identified according to some of Chang's criteria (1958: 302-3).

When considering the community plans of the *Developmental-Pueblo* villages (and those that are subsequently to be dealt with here) they should be regarded in relation to each other. One may note, then, that the loose form of the community has become more clear-cut between the period that ends the Modified Basket Maker phase and that which begins the Pueblo phases. There are definite local "kivas" and three Great "Kivas" in the four arcs at Alkali Ridge. There are arcs and a Great "Kiva" development at the La Plata site as well. While the common orientation of dwellings implied to some degree in the former Basket-Maker community a consensus as to how a house should be appropriately placed .(and therefore we may infer some degree of communal control) the individual and clearly marked sacred regions in the dwellings of these earlier communities imply the presence of local or family control over its own ceremonial organization. Developmental Pueblo dwellings now having lost both their sacred regions and their individual alignments, and their having been grouped around local Great "Kivas", stand in a different relationship to the community. Clearly if there are sacred regions at Alkali Ridge these regions

belong to the arc as a whole and religious expression was therefore a performance of a segment of the community that went well beyond the familly and probably beyond the lineage. What that segment might have been is not clear — there is certainly no indication that the "clan kivas" (as they are sometimes called) united lineages or clan segments in any sort of unity distinct from or in conflict with larger segments of the community. If such conditions prevailed one would expect to find some separations as to grouping; one finds, on the contrary, no such thing. In fact, the trend from dwelling *proximity* to their *simple connectedness* has become clearly manifest and this same trend will continue, finally to obliterate any possible subdivisions in Pueblan communities that are based on a lineage or clan arrangement. With their presumed method of building on the peripheries of arcs, with their insistence upon simple connectedness, and with the resulting gradual obliteration of sub-group lines, the possibility of the development of segregated dwellings — those that clearly show privileged access to the facilities of the centers (i.e., the Great "kivas") is disappearing. The most conservative and enduring pattern of front-to-back (or front *and* back) in Basket Maker and Pueblo communities (including but not surpassing Pueblo III) emphasized by Reed 1956: 11) is clearly illustrated in both settlement patterns and involves the community as a whole in both cases. But in the Modified Basket Maker community the dwellings *shared* in this back-front orientation (i.e., the front and back of the dwellings faced as did the front and back of the community) whereas at Alkali Ridge and the other Developmental Pueblo communities this was not true: rather, the importance of the orientations of Pueblo dwellings is that they *all faced their centers.*

Although a polarization of segments of communities around central ceremonial structures had taken place during the Developmental period, there was no indication of polarization around a single central region prior to the Great Pueblo period. This was now taking place, particularly at Pueblo Bonito, Tyonyi, Aztec and Chettro Kettle. While the Great Kiva with its central plaza (in some places apparently organized in pairs) has reached its maximum development in size and in centralizing the polarized blocks of dwellings, the further development in

the intimacy of relations between dwellings marked communities everywhere. Their having become *multiply connected,* indeed surrounded, the limits of the household can no longer be defined according to Chang's first criterion of identification (Chang, *Op. Cit.*). The dwellings have also surrounded many of the lesser kivas and similarly do not permit us to associate lesser kivas with specific groups of dwellings (since we cannot find a group of dwellings) (Wendorf, 1956: 19). Structures resembling Great Kivas, which Wendorf calls "specialized ceremonial structures" (*Ibid*: 20) appeared in a few places, indicating integration beyond the domain of any single community. Still, there is little or no indication that Southwestern communities would develop those features Steward calls "formative" (1949: 19-20)) and which indicate growth toward an era of "regional florescence" with its city states. One reason why this could not occur is probably supplied in the environment itself. The other I would like to explore below.

Post-Classical and Modern Pueblos were still very large, but they were becoming amorphous by standards so far applied to form and grouping. Reed has noted the parallel alignments in the communities, but it does not seem likely that these were clan blocks (Reed, 1956: 19-20), especially in view of Mindeleff's survey of Hopi (1891: 82) and Kroeber's of Zuni (1917: 103-115) both of which indicate great dispersal of clan segments throughout both communities. Two interesting developments have taken place since the end of the Classical Pueblo era. First, Great Kivas have disappeared. In relation to this development all of the gross formal characteristics that separate dwelling from kiva have also disappeared: they are not separated from each other in space; there is now no formal distinction, for the kivas as well as the dwellings are rectangular, and the kivas are no longer underground (at Zuni) but are on the surface of the ground as are the dwellings (except those dwellings, of course, that are on the second, third and fourth floors). In relation to this development Hawley writes:

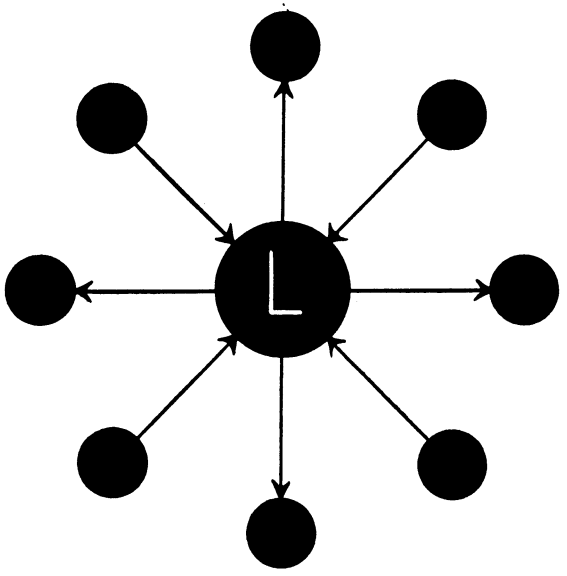
> Unless a kiva built within a house block possessed a ladder-pit or fire place with terraced back (not a universal feature) archaeologists excavating today would be unable to recognize it as a kiva. (1950:299)

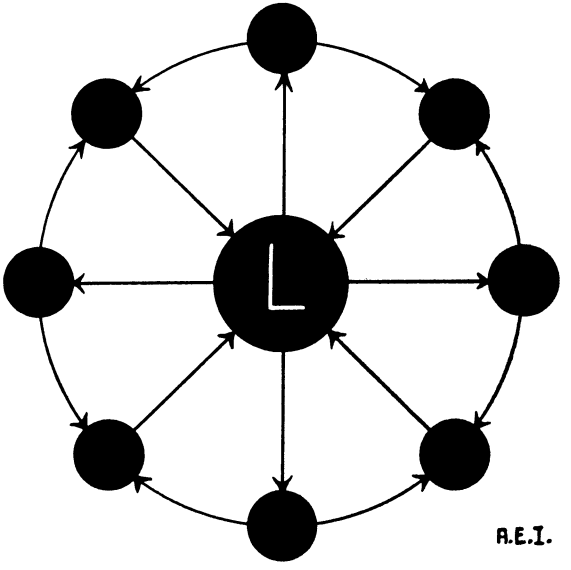
The other interesting development in culture growth is the final step in dwelling relationships: begun in the Great Pueblo period on a small scale (at the Village of the Great Kivas, Kiatuthlanna, Pueblo Bonito, for example) a system of *multiple communication* of rooms is evident, and thereafter began to enlarge as a system until, at Zuni in 1904, Stevenson remarks:

> The houses are so provided with interior doors that almost the entire older portion of the village can be put in communication without passing outside the communal structure. (p. 350)

This, then, marks the end of the two trends I have outlined above. The question remains as to how each may be interpreted and what significance should be attached to the relationship between them. As for the first, it should be noted it has generally been assumed that the Great Kiva (and presumably the Great Pit-House of Developmental Pueblo communities before it) was authoritarian (i.e., *repressive*) in the form of its relationship to the community. This assumption is reasonable on the basis of the contemporary evidence concerning priesthoods and their association with households through the kiva organization and is one of the major sources of the *repressive theory* of Pueblo society. One might go one step further, however, in drawing attention to the sociometric form of experimentally induced authoritarian leadership, the "star", which has the following characteristics: "The authoritarian leader encourages a segregated group structure in which the intercommunication among the parts is held to a minimum and wherever possible the avenues of communication are through him. In this way he ensures the indispensability of himself to the group... there is less opportunity for the development of close... relations among all group members... the withdrawal of the leader... may precipitate chaos in the group." (Krech & Crutchfield, 1948: 425).

There was an architectural similarity to this sociometric form that was manifest even at Alkali Ridge and most certainly is the mark of the communities of the Great Pueblo period where the pattern of polarization of dwellings to the center is outstanding. It is also notable that the formation of sub-groups did *not* take place along lineage or clan segment lines, at least during the





" authoritarian " leadership.

" democratic " leadership

ethnographic present. Now, the transplanting of a sociometric pattern on an architectural site while inferring the same relationship from the latter which was induced in the former may indeed be risky. It would hardly be worth presenting here were it not, also, for the fact that as the intimate system of communication between the "parts" (i.e., the dwellings) took place on a widespread scale, thus destroying the spatial form of authoritarian leardership, at this precise moment, so to speak, in archaeological time, the *Great Kivas disappeared.*[7]

If one looks now at Zuni it will become apparent to him that if there is a central position in an area this belongs to the community as a whole. Kivas are now all equally *centers* (they are not clan kivas). The "front-back" orientation of former pueblos has now completely disappeared and in relation to this peripheral households appear in considerable numbers in fairly remote positions outside the community proper, but always oriented (or polarized) *toward* the community and that section of the community from which their members originally came.

THE DYNAMICS OF INTEGRATION

The Repressive Pattern

The Pueblo people were, it appears, adjusted to the problems that are engendered by the fact that change was rapid, enlargement progressive, and efficient, centralized, coordinating structures never became inclusive in their domain as they did, for instance, in Mexico. It seems then that all problems involving the coordination of activities in the Pueblos were attacked with this set of conditions occurring as a phenomenal and social reality. These conditions were not only appreciated but must also always have been implemented, for there was great stability in the growth trends I have described. There was also, of course, the ever recurrent possibility of civil strife which occurred as late as 1906 at Oraibi (Titiev, 1944). One is therefore brought

[7] There are to-day big kivas and little kivas, as Hawley (1950) points out, but there are no Great Kivas in the Zuni-Hopi areas.

to suspect that there was a large dynamic ingredient infused into the leadership roles of the Pueblos. Bennett has performed a useful service in drawing out the two forms of integration, and what I am trying to indicate is the basis upon which a specific relationship between them prevailed. I have up to this point identified the locus of *repressive* authority with the kivas; I think this conception can now be broadened to include not only a region in the community but a type of role as well which may be regarded as a priestly role. The most dramatic activities associated with this role are to be found in socialization and specifically in the initiation ceremony with its whippings and swearing to secrecy and in the bi-annual visit of *A'Doshle* to the community for the manifest purpose of abducting, castrating, decapitating and eating recalcitrant children whom he threatens with convincing realism. Another aspect of the role is its *collective* nature which preserves individual anonymity both of the ancestors and of the priests who, as masked dancers, perform for their benefit on behalf of the community. This plurality of authority holders only serves to intensify the repressive nature of their relationship to subordinates in developing what Simmel called the quality of *objectivity* which renders irrelevant the needs of the subordinate of "tenderness, altruism and favor..." (Simmel, 1950: 224). Finally, the activities associated most directly with the role were rigidly prescribed and as rigidly controlled. They were the essence of ritual, performed (as Bunzel and Benedict have bent their efforts to emphasize) in measured fashion and never as a "spontaneous outpouring". Even the poetry associated with ceremony was strictly speaking "ritual" poetry (Bunzel, 1932) and lengthy prayers were so carefully rendered as to permit recitation in unison over a period of three to four hours at Shalako.

One can readily associate rigid and repressive authority with the recurrent break-ups that occurred in Anasazi communities — at least, one can appreciate the inability to prevent them. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand the constancy and regularity of culture growth in the Southwest either in terms of this kind of authority or in terms of haphazard events. One then is driven to the hypothesis that a more adaptive form of authority prevailed of the sort that could withstand the

threat and actuality of fission while itself remaining intact, and one that *implemented* growth.

The Organic Pattern

Bennett evidently regarded the two patterns of Pueblo organization as operating at different levels, since he refers (in the above quote) to *repressive measures,* on the one hand, and to *organic world view* on the other. The organic appearance of the community, therefore, does not necessarily reflect the tight fit of *existing* relationships between persons, groups, institutions, etc., but rather the *conceptualization* of such relationships in an overall scheme which is more peculiarly a product of the verbal medium of the culture than of its social organization. Moreover, the function of organic patterning and the authority based upon it — that is, subordination to a set of *principles* rather than to a set of priests (Simmel, *Op. Cit:* 250) — may be regarded in the context of a response to the growing problems of co-ordination in a society of ever increasing size and complexity, and a society evidently which continued to insist on maintaining its patterns of repressive authority and therefore (considering the well-known Pueblan ambivalence to assume authority roles in their communities) which had to legitimate them in an efficient way. The legitimation of priestly roles (and therefore of repressive activities) appears to have come about in at least two ways. First, the roles were accorded the respect of deep extension into the past. Zuni and other pueblos have been profoundly concerned with their creation myths the content of which is largely concerned with the role of essential guidance assigned to the priesthood (Cushing, 1896). But this comes about through the priesthood itself — it is a kind of public relations activity, if I may so phrase it, and therefore self-interested. Furthermore, the *context* in which this occurs (i.e., the ceremonial context) is itself rigid and one that is most effective in maintaining stability in a relatively static and relatively unchanging community. But Pueblo life was, as I have tried to indicate, always dynamic and the Pueblans were themselves permanently and in part successfully adapted to conditions of continuous growth and enlargement. Therefore, the larger, more inclusive, and essentially more fluid concept of authority mentioned above may be regarded

as the more effective source of the sanction for the activities of the priesthoods.

The Zuni concept of the *Directions* will serve to illustrate the way in which one form of *organic* authority legitimates and gives a place to the roles associated with *repressive* activities. According to Cushing, Zuni was conceptually divided on the basis of six divisions in space. These divisions corresponded to six directions (the four cardinal points, the upper and the lower worlds) with a seventh — the middle — which became the synthesis of all the rest. Thus, the principle represented an organization of all existing phenomena relevant to the Zuni at the time, and it served to establish a locus of relationships between individuals, activities, groups and institutions along with the environments associated with these directions and their characteristics. Each of the four cardinal points was associated with a season and each season posed problems peculiar to itself which, in turn, had to be adapted to by plants and animals associated with these directions (or points) and therefore with the seasons. Finally, in association with the plants and the animals were the various groupings in Zuni from which association they derived their sanction for authority to perform in the interest of the community. Eggan writes,

> The directional basis for grouping selected by the Zuni has the advantage of being applicable to a variety of institutions: not only clans are (or were) so organized but kivas, societies, and priesthoods as well. (1950:213)

Thus, the priesthoods were *only one among many* aspects, activities and roles in and of community life that were legitimated in the actual transmission of the content of the Directions.

The principle of the Directions did more, however, than simply legitimate for it also regulated activities by basing them upon a natural order and a natural sequence. Cushing remarks that

> ...no ceremonial is ever performed and no council ever held in which there is the least doubt as to the position which a member... shall occupy in it... (1896:370)

and he concludes,

> With such a system of arrangement as all this may be... mistake in the order of a ceremonial, a procession or a council is simply impossible, and the people employing such devices may be said to have written and to be writing their statutes and laws in all their daily relationships and utterances. (*Ibid:*372)

The Directions were informally communicated "designs" relating to the organization of the world; they were created by the older men of the community — the philosophers, the "men of thought" (Radin, 1956: 230) — and diffused generally. In this capacity (not as priests, even though in other capacities they were priests) these older men indulged unmistakably in *innovative* activity, for the beautifully integrated world which they created out of their own past they also imposed on a social world which, though changing, could be ordered as the Directions ordered it. The Directions could not have maintained *even a remote fit with communities organized around Great Kivas* (as in the former phase of development) for, according to the way in which the Directions were conceived, the Kivas and their associated priesthoods were simply one among the many elements — Zuni *and* other — that were given their place in the overall scheme[8].

Finally, the Directions represent an organic pattern that was related to the settlement pattern in such a way as to suggest that with the disappearance of the Great Kiva this (i.e., the *organic*) became the central form of authority in Pueblo communities. Whereas it is probable that *repressive* authority had been the central or dominant form in the large "classical" Pueblos, the subsequent related events involving the widespread communication of rooms, the disappearance of the Great Kivas, the loss of a distinctive form for all kivas, the loss of the "front-back" orientation and the *conceptual centralization* of the community (given in the Directions), indicate clearly the contemporary relation between the two forms of authority.

[8] Kroeber attacks this problem from the point of view of social organization, indicating that a progressive differentiation of priesthoods took place with enlargement (1919: 872).

THE ZUNI "ROADS"

Although the *Directions* appeared to be effective in coordinating the activities of the Pueblo in 1890, by 1917 they were, according to Kroeber, "so wholly mental as scarcely even to affect ritual" (1917: 97). The question then arises as to whether or not a new synthesis was developing at Zuni at the time of Kroeber's visit. As I have suggested, the concept of *road* or *road of life* as given by the spirits who continue to exercise interest and influence over it was represented at Zuni during Cushing's visit there. On this basis it seems probable that the contemporary concept of the "roads" is related to this earlier phenomenon. The four "roads", then, appear to be a Zuni innovation, but in view of the hypothesis concerning the "authoritative innovator" one would expect other and related changes to have occurred in the Pueblo.

Two related changes in community plans actually were taking place during Kroeber's visit; one of these was the enlargement of individual houses. The other concerned the general drift out of Zuni that Kroeber documents so carefully: 81 houses of 220 had been built outside the community in fairly distant surroundings (Kroeber 1917: 118). One should note that this was not an indiscriminate break-up, but a slow process of orderly decentralization, and one should note also Kroeber's finding that houses were situated along a line of extension from their quarter of origin in the community and that, regardless of position, they all oriented their doorways toward the community. One is induced therefore to speculate on the quality of authority and innovation at Zuni today.

What changes are taking place at the moment are undoubtedly too complex to be dealt with as a whole in a single paper. I would suggest, however, that *repressive* authority (*and* "repressive measures" in Bennett's meaning) is still present in the community. Both from the evidence supplied in the "roads" and from that given by Havighurst and Neugarten, it appears that this type of authority is, however, coming *more and more to be lodged within the Zuni family itself* rather than more

exclusively in the priesthood in particular or in the elders of the community at large (Li Anche, 1937: 70). Thus, as a result of their findings, Havighurst and Neugarten express surprise at

> the Zunis' low mention of the community ('everybody') as a source of praise and blame. In view of their close communal life, we might expect them to be much involved emotionally and much concerned about praise and blame from community members, as is true with the Hopi; and we might also have expected this from statements made by anthropologists that Zuni parents do not punish or threaten their children as much as in most societies, but depend on nonfamily members to do much of the scolding of children. Instead we have found just the opposite... (The family seems to have much more influence as a socializing agent with the Zuni than with any other group except Navaho Mountain.) (1955:201)

My own inquiries concerning socialization at Zuni were in agreement with these findings (McFeat, 1957: III). The following points were easily established: (a) a child's own parents are the proper first disciplinarians, (b) a boy will fear his father more than he will fear his mother, his mother's brothers, his father's brothers or his grandparents but (c) he will also fear those once upward removed by generation who are male and live within or are intimately associated with the household. (He also was positively disposed to the above). I also learned that corporal punishment, while preferably a last resort in a sequence of disciplinary steps, is considered an acceptable and effective mode of discipline.

These statements were given as fact and as opinion concerning facts. But they were poor generalizations other than their being rough indicators of change, for I could rarely at the outset establish the *context* (i.e., the conditions) relevant to a given act of discipline. The older men, again, were able in part to solve this problem in their presentation of the Four Roads which were volunteered not as facts or as re-statements of existing norms but as *idealizations* of individual careers, in the case of the two primary "roads", and they were often spoken of as "the perfect way in the life of a boy or a man". Thus, in spite of their clearly innovative character, they were not regarded by the Zuni as innovations at all, but rather as

ancient and as the gift of the spirits.[9] Whether they were aware of the fact or not, these same older men were, through their transmission of the Four Roads (and probably through many other expressions of their thoughts) attempting to bring about a new synthesis in Zuni culture. It was my judgment at the time that these same men were highly respected, and the respect accorded them appeared to include their command over (and the subject matter of) the "roads". It is for this reason that I feel justified in referring to them as "authoritative innovators".

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted in this paper to show that culture change occurred in the Anasazi region in such a way as to manifest the following trends: rapid growth, progressive enlargement, recurrent fissions and the related developments toward centralization of ceremonial structures and proximation of dwellings. It has appeared to me as an inescapable conclusion from these facts that Pueblans were themselves permanently adjusted to conditions under which communities readily change in these directions. In spite of the recurrent fissions of communities it has appeared that the growth trends were consistent enough in their direction to imply that — despite fissions — there was overall stability in culture change. Therefore, I concluded that Pueblans were not only adjusted to change but they exercised some measure of control over the direction of change and that therefore one could best understand this change from the point of view of those in authority or positions of leadership in the communities. This implied, then, that those in leadership in the communities were in some capacities *significant innovators* as well. Since I identified (both by historical projection from the present and by formal relations) the prehistoric kivas, especially the Great Kivas, with *repressive* authority, and therefore one

[9] Since they clearly *were* innovations, it appears that a phenomenon similar to Robert's *acognitive* shift was operative (ROBERTS 1951:81).

form of leadership, I came to the conclusion that this (repressive) form could not reasonably be regarded as productive of innovative change. I suggested, therefore (again, by projection from the present) that if another form of authority must be hypothesized for the past that this be *organic* authority, and I attempted to bring some evidence directly to bear on the contention that *repressive* authority was present (especially during Classical Pueblo development) and that its chief purveyor, the Great Kiva, disappeared as intimate relationships between dwellings grew. The implication became, then, that the growing communication of the dwellings of communities as wholes (in accompaniment with the loss of front-back and the centralization of the community in an area) could be interpreted as an *organic* development based as it is upon two things: subordination to a *principle* (Simmel, *Op. Cit.*) and upon self-abnegation, moderation in all things, cooperation, etc that are seemingly appropriate with intensely clustered living which is at the same time intimate.

The complexity of communal organization and the conditions, of change, then, produced what might be called communal philosophers — men of power, authority and prestige — for whom a speculative type of role was left open. One might put the matter another way: conditions were such as always to present to this class of persons discrepancies between the world of value and the world of reality (Kroeber, 1952). Specifically, one function of the philosopher is that of demonstrating some significant and meaningful relationship between the two (*Ibid:* 159). In the theoretically perfect folk community, where value patterns and reality patterns are one and the same thing (Redfield, 1946) there would be no need to bring about an approximation between the two, therefore there would be no philosophers. Similarly, in the community of perfect *anomie* where there *could* be no bringing of the two together there would be no philosophers. But where change was regular but orderly, and where complexities tended to develop, then philosophies in the order of the *Directions* could be expected to appear and to be inclusive, even to include in its place, institutionalized repressive authority. We have Cushing's report concerning the efficacy of the *Directions* to organize life in Zuni.

But there is also Kroeber's report to the contrary only thirty or forty years later. It appeared, then, that the *Directions* emerged as an innovative response — they met and helped organize a complex situation, and they disappeared as the situation changed.

Finally, the data which I secured at Zuni and which are clearly innovative — the Four Roads — were on the one hand idealistic, "value" phenomena. I felt that in order to indicate the innovative roles of the older men who produced them and, moreover, to present these "roads" as philosophies (and therefore also reality-directed as well as value-oriented) in the sense given above, that changes should be shown to have occurred in the community which were reflected in the "roads". This I trust I have demonstrated.

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