

# Twana

also known as “Southern Coast Salish”

Data source: eHRAF

Secondary source

Entered by Emily Pitek, Human Relations Area Files

*\* Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.*

*\* Secondary Source entry, prepared from a literature review by a Ph.D. RA*

Entry tags: North American Religions, Native American (North American) Religions, Religious Group

This entry focuses on the Twana, also known as the Southern Coast Salish, around the time 1860. This entry relies predominantly on information from William Elmendorf (1960), the principal ethnographic authority according to the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample (Murdock and White, 1969). Elmendorf (1960) presents ethnographic data collected between 1939 and 1956, which aims to reconstruct an account of the Twana as they existed around the time of 1860; prior to significant cultural changes as a result of Euro-American influence. At this time, the Twana was comprised of a group of villages living in the Hood Canal area of Washington, United States of America. Winter villages each contained a single house group and were the primary economic and social unit. During summer, the winter villages dispersed into smaller units and focused on subsistence gathering (e.g., hunting and fishing) and food preservation for winter use. The Twana did not possess a formal village community political leader, but high-class men held prestige and influence among their communities. Although the Twana did not have formal political leaders, the people were united by a shared language and culture. Relations between village communities were important and involved ceremonial and religious activities. One of the most prominent aspects of Twana religious beliefs involved guardian spirits; these supernatural beings entered into helpful relationships with individuals and conferred special powers. Guardian spirits were acquired by following a set of ritual activities including a training period and vision quests. According to Elmendorf (1960), the guardian spirit complex was “one of the most important expressions of the Twana worldview” (p.481). Guardian spirits were generally classified in two categories based on their powers: shaman or curing/diagnostic vs. all others (which were then subdivided into specific categories such as wealth powers, war powers, ceremonial powers, or sea-mammal hunting powers). Shamanism was a specialization within the guardian spirit concept, and shamans received their powers after acquiring a shaman guardian spirit. Besides guardian spirits, Twana supernatural beings included spirits of the dead, as well as other spirits/entities. Public rituals and ceremonies were an important aspect of Twana life; these events took place in either an inter- or intra-community setting. Because Twana religion did not exist in a distinct sphere of their society and culture, this entry considers the Twana religious group to be coterminous with the society itself.



Date Range: 1845 CE - 1875 CE

Region: Twana (Southern Coast Salish) Territory ca. 1860

Region tags: North America, United States of America

Twana (Southern Coast Salish) Territory ca. 1860; now known as Hood Canal area of Washington, United States of America

## Status of Participants:

- ✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

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Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 2: Murdock, G.P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Source 3: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. *Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.
- Source 1: Murdock, G. P., & White, D. R. (1969). Standard cross-cultural sample. *Ethnology*, 8(4), 329-369.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=nr26-012>
- Source 1 Description: Elmendorf, W. W. (William W. (1960). The structure of Twana culture. In *Research studies : a quarterly publication of Washington State University*: Vol. Vol. 38 (Issue no. 2, pp. xvi, 576). Washington State University. <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=nr26-012>

## General Variables

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### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: "Twana territory lay in contact with that of four other distinct native communities or groups of communities. These were: (1) the Satsop, to the southwest; (2) southwestern Puget Sound groups, Sahewamish and Squaxon, to the south and southeast; (3) the Suquamish of western Puget Sound, to the east; (4) the Klallam and the tiny Chemakum community, to the north. With all these groups Twana acquaintances and relationships were intimate. They were furthermore all peoples friendly to the Twana" (Elmendorf, 1960: 283).



Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

Notes: "With all these groups Twana acquaintances and relationships were intimate. They were furthermore all peoples friendly to the Twana" (Elmendorf, 1960: 283).



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (resolved rating) is coded "3" for Twana, which is between "1" (internal warfare seems to be absent or rare) and "5" (internal warfare seems to occur once every 3 to 10 years) (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

— Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (resolved rating) is coded "6" for Twana, which is between "5" (external warfare seems to occur once every 3 to 10 years) and "9" (external warfare seems to occur at least once every two years) (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the Twana would actively proselytize and recruit new members.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of a conception of apostasy among the Twana.

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 1000

Notes: "Early and probably very rough population estimates from around the middle of the nineteenth century place the total number of Twana Indians at less than 1,000, of whom about one-half lived in the Skokomish River drainage area" (Elmendorf, 1960:1).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "The position of the shaman specialist in Twana society was an ambiguous one arising from his dual functions of curing and victimizing. On the one hand a shaman was the only person able to cure the great majority of illnesses—those having supernatural causes—and in this he played a respected and socially approved role. On the other, his ability to direct malignant magic against individuals made him the target of much suspicion, covert 'bad feeling,' or bitter enmity. In his socially approved function of curer a shaman could attain a very eminent position" (Elmendorf, 1960:509).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

— Yes

Notes: Shamans derive their power after obtaining a shaman guardian spirit (see Elmendorf, 1960:564).

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in the current life:

– Yes

Notes: "For shamans the sequent complexes [of obtaining shaman-spirit powers] were: (1) training of novice; (2) spirit quest; (3) vision encounter, with true bodily possession of novice by the spirit; (4) continued uncontrolled possession of novice by spirit, manifested in displays of magic power by novice; (5) a control period, during which the uncontrolled possessing power abated and the possessed novice shaman obtained purposive use of it; (6) direct use by the new shaman of his controlled power in curing or malignant victimizing" (Elmendorf, 1960:501).



Powers are culturally transmitted from a supernatural being:

– Yes

Notes: "Finally, at the conclusion of the vision encounter, the shaman spirit filled his new owner's body with spirit power, constituting true spirit possession which was only manifested in the lay-spirit pattern as a feature of the spirit dance" (Elmendorf, 1960:502).



Powers are culturally transmitted from another human (e.g. teacher):

– No

Notes: Powers are not directly transmitted from another human, but a novice shaman must complete a training requirement led by a mentor (see Elmendorf, 1960:501-502).

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of scriptures. Oral histories and stories/myths are present but do not appear to be viewed as scripture.

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– I don't know

Are pilgrimages present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of pilgrimages.

## Beliefs

## Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body.

Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: "Souls of the living were dual. Each individual possessed two souls, a life soul (shəl-ε', 'health, vitality') and a heart soul (yɪd'wa's, 'heart')" (Elmendorf, 1960:512-513).

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

— Yes

Notes: "The life soul was a miniature image of its owner, about the length of a finger, and of foglike consistency. It had its seat in the head and could leave or enter the body through the top of the head or the breastbone...The heart soul in contrast was a vague concept, undefined in form or nature. It had its seat in the heart and perished with its owner's death; it could not become detached from or leave its owner's body" (Elmendorf, 1960:513).

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

— Yes

Notes: "The life soul was a miniature image of its owner, about the length of a finger, and of foglike consistency. It had its seat in the head and could leave or enter the body through the top of the head or the breastbone" (Elmendorf, 1960:513).

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: "It was this soul [the life soul] that went to the land of the dead after the death of its owner" (Elmendorf, 1960:513). "The Twana conceived of two lands of the dead, places of residence of departed souls, with which were associated beliefs in a second death and in rebirth of the living from the second land of the dead" (Elmendorf, 1960:517).

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "The first land of the dead, or land of the dead proper, was termed a'ṭqwəṭ or ṭkwəd-a'ṭ, the latter a homonym of the word for ghost. This land of the dead was the place where souls first went after death in this world, and was the better-defined and richer concept. The second land of the dead, sp'at'a'ləb, 'place on beyond,' was where the dead went after dying the second death in a'ṭqwəṭ" (Elmendorf, 1960:517).

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

— Yes

Notes: "The second land of the dead, as its name, sp'at'a'ləb, suggested, was 'on beyond' and not below the first land of the dead" (Elmendorf, 1960:519).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

– No

Notes: "The first land of the dead was below this earth" (Elmendorf, 1960:518).

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

– Yes

Notes: "The first land of the dead was below this earth" (Elmendorf, 1960:518).

Reincarnation in this world:

– Yes

Notes: "The dead were also reincarnated, but this belief lacked elaborate expression in ceremonial or other behavior" (Elmendorf, 1960:483).

↳ In a human form:

– Yes

Notes: "The Twana conceived of two lands of the dead, places of residence of departed souls, with which were associated beliefs in a second death and in rebirth of the living from the second land of the dead" (Elmendorf, 1960:517).

↳ In animal/plant form:

– No

Notes: "There was no other reincarnation, of nonhuman creatures" (Elmendorf, 1960:519).

↳ In form of an inanimate object(s):

– No

Notes: "There was no other reincarnation, of nonhuman creatures" (Elmendorf, 1960:519).

↳ Reincarnation linked to notion of life-transcending causality (e.g. karma):

– No

Notes: "The fate of souls did not depend on ethical or social distinctions, and the manner of death was irrelevant" (Elmendorf, 1960:518).

↳ Other form of reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: "There was no other reincarnation, of nonhuman creatures" (Elmendorf, 1960:519).

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

Notes: "Burial was effected, when possible, the day following death" (Elmendorf, 1960:450).

↳ Cremation:

— No

Notes: Cremation was not practiced among the Twana (see Elmendorf, 1960:453).

↳ Mummification:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

— No

Notes: "Inhumation was not practiced, either for slaves or freemen, as a method of primary burial" (Elmendorf, 1960:453).

↳ Cannibalism:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the use of exposure to elements.

↳ Feeding to animals:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the dead were fed to animals.

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

— Yes

Notes: "The body in the grave canoe was redressed, its soiled or decayed wrappings replaced with new blankets, whenever the bereaved family felt this action necessary or fitting" (Elmendorf, 1960:456).

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

— Yes [specify]: Canoe burial

Notes: "The usual Twana coffin in the mid-nineteenth century was a canoe supported some

five to six feet above ground on a frame of four upright posts with inset cross planks supporting the bottom of the canoe near the bow and stern. The entire support frame was termed *sqa'laxwtəd*; it was one of the few manufactured articles which could appear as guardian-spirit power, in this case of the class *sbətəda'q*, for recovery of souls of the living stolen by the dead. Mounting was also at times on two posts, grooved at the top. The coffin support posts were painted red, with ochre, to preserve them from decay. An alternate but rarer method was to tie the canoe coffin in the branches of a tree" (Elmendorf, 1960:452).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of co-sacrifices.

Are grave goods present:

— Yes

Notes: "Valuables, but not food, were put in the coffin with the body, at the time of burial. These were for the use of the deceased in the land of the dead and were not later removed. Some of these articles were the property of the deceased, others were the gifts to the body mentioned above" (Elmendorf, 1960:455).



Personal effects:

— Yes

Notes: "Some of the deceased's own belongings might also be buried with him, although most of these were disposed of otherwise than as grave goods, at the death feast..." (Elmendorf, 1960:449).



Valuable items:

— Yes

Notes: "Relatives and friends might also donate personal articles, ornaments, clothing, money 'for the dead to take with him' [informant]. [Informant] indicated the usual, social-class difference in this connection: 'An important person, one with lots of friends, got lots of things to take with him. I have seen twenty-dollar gold pieces put one on each eye and one in the dead person's mouth. A poor person might get nothing to take with him' (Elmendorf, 1960:448-449)."



Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

— Yes

Notes: See above

Are formal burials present:

— Yes

Notes: For a complete description of burial and funerary practices see Elmendorf, 1960:450-456.



↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of domestic burials.

↳ Other formal burial type:

— Yes [specify]: graveyard

Notes: "A place of burial was termed duwu" k'wad. There was no single term for an individual grave or grave canoe; the expression used was 'his canoe at his graveyard.' A burial place was located apart from any settlement and was used by everyone in a village community. Some burial sites were used by personnel of separate winter villages. The location of graveyards was often near but not on the beach, and usually in a grove of trees. They were not situated on islands, since there were none in the canal area. Neither poles, carved, painted, or plain, nor carved figures were set up in graveyards" (Elmendorf, 1960:455-456).

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

— Yes

Notes: See the questions below for more details.

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of a supreme high god. Additionally, Ethnographic Atlas Column 34 (High Gods) indicates that among the Twana, "a high god is absent or not reported in substantial descriptions of religious beliefs" (Murdock, 1967).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: "Relations of the dead to the living were for the most part harmful, resulting in soul-loss illness of the living" (Elmendorf, 1960:483).

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: "Ghosts (lkwəd-a't, also a term for the first land of the dead) were the form taken by souls (shə-ε') of the dead when appearing in the world of the living as visible to nonshamans" (Elmendorf, 1960:513).

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits have memory of life:

— Yes

Notes: "...belief that dead, especially newly dead, souls grieve for their living kin and are at first uncomfortable and 'lonesome' in their new state. This leads them to linger for a time in this world, near their old surroundings, or may even bring them back to this world after departure to the land of the dead for the purpose of stealing the souls of their living relatives in order to 'have company'" (Elmendorf, 1960:516).

↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:

— I don't know

↳ Human spirits possess hunger:

— I don't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "Those supernatural beings which entered into personal and helpful relationships with individual human beings were the guardian spirits" (Elmendorf, 1960:482). "There were other supernatural beings, not classed as or functioning as guardian spirits, but whose relations with human beings might have on occasion important and far-reaching effects" (Elmendorf, 1960:483)." "In addition to the foregoing the thoroughly animistic Twana world view included a large but definite number of supernatural beings whose relations to human beings were indifferent or occasional and accidental. This miscellaneous population of spirits lay outside the guardian-spirit and soul complexes, but was grouped into classes of beings" (Elmenforf, 1960:484).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: "If training and quest procedures had been carried out conscientiously a guardian spirit would sooner or later appear to the seeker while on a quest. Contact with the spirit took the form of a vision experience. This was the initial vision encounter (s'ǎl'xw) whereby a spirit established personal relations with his human partner" (Elmendorf, 1960:494).

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

Notes: "In this culture all human success and failure, skill and mediocrity, received their explanation in terms of personal relations or lack of relations with supernatural beings" (Elmendorf, 1960:481). "...one of the specific functions of guardian spirits was their conferring on their human partners of certain abilities or powers. There was a rather elaborate native classification of guardian spirits which grouped under named classes those spirits conferring powers of analogous function. This was a classification of spirit functions or powers, rather than one pertaining to the formal characteristics of the spirits themselves" (Elmendorf, 1960: 489).

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

– I don't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– I don't know

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more detail.

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– No

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– Yes

Notes: "In addition to the foregoing the thoroughly animistic Twana world view included a large but definite number of supernatural beings whose relations to human beings were indifferent or occasional and accidental. This miscellaneous population of spirits lay outside the guardian-spirit and soul complexes, but was grouped into classes of beings. These included: deities (sun and earth), spiritual prototypes or 'fathers' of animal species distinct from animal-form guardian spirits, earth dwarfs, mountain giants, underwater people, wet cedar-tree ogres, thunder birds, and water horses" (Elmenforf, 1960:484).

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

—Yes [specify]: By spirit powers

Notes: Guardian spirits were classified into two main categories. "The major categories in the native Twana classification of spirit powers were the two already referred to: the shaman or curing and diagnostic powers (swa'daš), and all other spirit powers, nondiagnostic or lay, grouped as c'ša'lt...The lay-spirit powers or c'ša'lt were further subdivided into numerous named categories of power functions" (Elmendorf, 1960:489).

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

— I don't know

Notes: "Ethical notions were associated only with the earth and sun deities, as was also the case with prayer" (Elmendorf, 1960:564). According to an informant, "Sun sees the path a person walks. He likes good, wants you to be good. That's why I saw my old folks pray to him for good luck, long life. The earth hates evil. It will punish your bad ways, If your ways are bad earth will close his eye on you and you'll be gone [meet disaster]. Of a wicked person, violent, quarrelsome, or a murderer, who met misfortune it was said, 'Earth hates his ways. Earth has closed his eye on him'" (Elmendorf, 1960:530-531). However, this was the only information provided, and the Sun and Earth are not described in further detail.

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information was available to inform a decision.

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information was available to inform a decision.

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of an eschatology.

## Norms and Moral Realism

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: See questions below for more detail.



Ritual purity / ritual adherence / abstention from sources of impurity:

— Yes

Notes: "Emphasis in [childhood] training was from the outset on laying the bases for a later successful spirit quest by the novice. The essential requirements were seriousness of attitude or mental concentration, and ritual purity of the novice. These were the mental and physical prerequisites to attracting the favorable attention of guardian spirits of any kind" (Elmendorf, 1960:492). See Elmendorf, 1960, page 492 for more information on ritual purity and specific sources of impurity.



Cleanliness (physical) / orderliness:

— Yes

Notes: "An important aspect of the hygienic training of older children was instruction in means of removing body hair, pubescent boys also pulled out facial hair as it appeared. Body hair was unclean and 'like an animal,' and was distasteful to guardian spirits. Its eradication was most intensively practiced during adolescence and early maturity, the period of most intensive spirit seeking" (Elmendorf, 1960: 429).

## Practices

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### Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of required castration.

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

— No

Notes: Although not required, fasting was practiced as a means to remove ritual impurity. For more information see Elmendorf, 1960:492. Fasting also appears to be an aspect of girls' puberty ceremonies (see Elmendorf, 1960:439).

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— Yes

Notes: "Certain kinds of potential foodstuffs were not eaten by the Twana, although the term 'taboo' is perhaps too strong to apply to all these cases of avoidance. Certain cases amounted to true and strong taboos, above all human flesh, but also a few species of animals regarded as monstrous, or possible man-eaters, as grizzly and cougar. Others were based on mere distaste or a simple unrationalized cataloging of certain things as inedible. Almost all potential foods avoided were animal species or animal products" (Elmendorf, 1960: 143).

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of human sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale "ceremonies" and "festivals."

— Yes

Notes: Although large-scale rituals are not explicitly required for membership among the Twana (because the religious group is coterminous with the society itself, membership is default), such rituals are significant enough to be included in the present analysis. "Community setting was a most important feature of all Twana ceremonies" (Elmendorf, 1960:545). "All ceremonies of primarily social or primarily religious function were intracommunity; all ceremonies combining or compounding social and religious functions occurred in an intercommunity setting" (Elmendorf, 1960:550). Elmendorf (1960) describes a variety of Twana ceremonies, and includes a comparative analysis of 15 public ceremonies for which sufficiently detailed information was available (see pages 540-559). Elmendorf (1960) identified four particularly elaborate ceremonies: the intercommunity give-away, the secret society initiation, the guardian-spirit dance, and the group soul-recovery ceremony (p.540). For a full description of Twana ceremonies see Elmendorf, 1960:540-559.



On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

— I don't know

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

– I don't know

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

Notes: The winter-spirit-dance ceremonial was "...controlled and managed by [the sponsor of the ceremony] except for initial assistance by a shaman and occasional spontaneous occurrences of spirit possession (dłšĩ'kwələš) of the sponsor's guests by their own guardian spirits" (Elmendorf, 1960:496). Note: the winter-spirit-dance ceremonial is one example of a large-scale ritual. Other large-scale rituals may entail different procedures.

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

– I don't know

Notes: The use of intoxicants is not described.

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A band

Notes: "Political structure of the village community was unformalized, without true governing offices, but considerable prestige and influence adhered to the ranking high-class man in each village" (Elmendorf, 1960:3). "The village community, single or extended, was an independent unit in subsistence economy and social relations. Community leaders or headmen were also single-family and household heads within each village and ranking members of the upper social class in terms of largely economic-social stratification criteria. Their leadership was not politically formalized, but was recognized within and outside their own communities" (Elmendorf, 1960: 559). "Some important cultural activities were, however, not primarily functions of the village community. These activities can be adequately understood and described only by definition of the more inclusive type of intercommunity social groups which produced them. They were functions of a plurality of village units and were manifested only in situations which involved the joint participation of two or more village communities. In other words, an intercommunity setting was necessary for the carrying out of these particular cultural activities. Most of these intercommunity complexes were ceremonies or at least activity patterns some part of which was ceremonialized" (Elmendorf, 1960:298). The Twana have no levels of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community, which is reflective of autonomous bands and villages (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004). Further, the Twana have exogamous communities, but neither patrilineal nor matrilineal kin groups or exogamy are present. Source of information: Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1967) columns 19, 20, 22.

## Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— Yes

Notes: "The training stage began in early childhood, when the novice was about five or six years of age. Systematic training was directed primarily by an individual mentor, an older relative of the novice and preferably a grandparent...Emphasis in training was from the outset on laying the bases for a later successful spirit quest by the novice. The essential requirements were seriousness of attitude or mental concentration, and ritual purity of the novice. These were the mental and physical prerequisites to attracting the favorable attention of guardian spirits of any kind" (Elmendorf, 1960:492) "All children up to seven or eight years of age, and in some families up to adolescence, were brought into the house each evening and required to listen to verbal instructions on deportment and ethical matters, interspersed with myth narration. This verbal aspect of education was termed s'o'scädł, 'admonition, good advice'; also a verb form, bi'o'scätəbč, 'you are getting trained'" (Elmendorf, 1960:430).



Is formal education restricted to religious professionals:

— No

Notes: "All" children participated in verbal instruction (see notes from question above).



Is such education open to both males and females:

— Yes

Notes: Presumably, education is open to both males and females because "all" children participated in verbal instruction (see notes from question above).

## Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— No

Notes: "Political structure of the village community was unformalized, without true governing offices, but considerable prestige and influence adhered to the ranking high-class man in each village" (Elmendorf, 1960:3).

## Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 20, Food Storage, indicates that food is stored in individual houses (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No



Notes: SCCS Variable 14, Routes of Land Transport, indicate that the Twana utilize unimproved trails (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004). Transportation infrastructure is presumed to be absent.

## **Taxation**

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of taxes or tithes.

## **Enforcement**

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

Notes: Tuden and Marshall (1972) column 10, Police (note, equivalent to SCCS variable 90, Police) indicates that "police functions are not specialized or institutionalized at any level of political integration, the maintenance of law and order being left exclusively to informal mechanisms of social control, to private retaliation, or to sorcery."

## **Written Language**

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— No

Notes: SCCS Variable 149, Writing and Records, indicates that the Twana utilized mnemonic devices (Murdock and Provost, 1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004). This information, together with an absence of ethnographic evidence to indicate the presence of writing, suggests the Twana did not utilize a written language.

## **Calendar**

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

— No

Notes: "...data here presented seem to indicate that the Twana were less concerned with temporal than with spatial orientation, As with spatial direction, there were no fixed points of reference in time. The year (sytlɔ'ɓ) was known by seasonal recurrence, but its division into designated seasons and lunar months was poorly defined. Seasons were probably a more important concept than months. Means of measuring space, like temporal measurements, were simple and did not form a coherent system as did the directional concepts" (Elmendorf, 1960:25-26).

## **Food Production**

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Papago rely mainly on fishing for subsistence, with hunting as a secondary mode of subsistence. Gathering supplements the diet. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing