

# Papago

also known as “O’odham”

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Entry tags: Native American (North American) Religions, Syncretic Religions, Religion

The Papago have traditionally inhabited the Sonoran desert area of present day Sonora, Mexico, and Arizona, United States. Today, the Papago live on the Tohono O’odham Nation Reservation in Arizona, United States. This entry focuses on the reservation circa 1910, with emphasis on the Archie dialect division. By this time, the Papago have had contact with Spanish missionaries and settlers for about two centuries, and the United States had incorporated the territory into its reservations. As a result of this contact, Christian ideas have been incorporated into the Papago religion, which is a syncretic blend of native and Christian beliefs and practices.



Date Range: 1900 CE - 1935 CE

Region: Tohono O’odham Nation Reservation

Region tags: North America, United States of America, Central America, Mexico

Tohono O’odham Nation Reservation, ca. 1910, especially the Archie dialect division

## Status of Participants:

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

## Sources

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. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: *Cross-Cultural Codes 3. Ethnology*, 11(3), 254-295.
- Source 3: Murdock, G.P. (1967). *Ethnographic Atlas*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=nu79-001>
- Source 1 Description: Underhill, R. (1946). *Papago Indian Religion*. Contributions To Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Source 2 URL: <http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=nu79-002>

– Source 2 Description: Underhill, R. (1939). *Social Organization Of The Papago Indians*. Contributions To Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.

– Source 3 URL: <http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=nu79-000>

– Source 3 Description: Bahr, D. M. & Kozak, D. L. (2011). *Culture Summary: O'Odham*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files.

## General Variables

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### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: "Ever since the late seventeenth century, there have been Papago who were properly baptized Roman Catholics. Yet there was never a church in desert country until after the arrival of American priests in 1909. For over two hundred years, then, the contacts of the Desert People with organized Christianity have been intermittent and mostly of their own choosing. The result is some versions of Catholic ceremony which are of their own devising, but are cherished to this day" (Underhill, 1946:312).



Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

Notes: "At present every Papago, except the very old, has some church affiliation. Some attend all services occasionally, while also patronizing the shaman" (Underhill, 1946:324).



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1649, Frequency of Internal Warfare (Resolved Rating), indicates that "internal warfare seems to be absent or rare (original code 1)". SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that there is ambiguous or contradictory information. (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).



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

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare (Resolved Rating), indicates that "external warfare seems to be absent or rare (original code 1)". SCCS Variable 1654, Pacification, indicates that there is ambiguous or contradictory information. (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– No

Notes: Because religion is coterminous with the society at large, there is not a concept of assigning religious affiliation.

Does the religion have official political support

– No

Notes: Because the Papago do not have a centralized, formal political office, there is no entity to provide official political support to the religion (Bahr and Kozak, 2011). However, because the religious and secular spheres of life are not distinguished among the Papago, the religious group can be considered coterminous with the society at large.

## Size and Structure

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

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information for the focus date.

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

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information for the focus date.

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: "The Papago shaman (mákai) was primarily a diviner and prophet. He 'saw' the date of the first summer storm, the outcome of games, the whereabouts of the enemy, or the cause of disease. Subsequent action was often the responsibility of others. Still, the prophet-shaman could work various forms of magic, either to show his own power or to prevent sorcery" (Underhill, 1946:263).

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– No

Notes: There is not a hierarchy among the Papago shamans. Rather, there are different varieties including diviner/prophet, rainmaker, and war specialist. For a description of the varieties of shamanism, see Underhill, 1946:263-265.

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: Different types of shamans possessed different abilities. Some of these supernatural abilities include divination, sorcery, and weather magic. See Underhill, 1946:263-265.

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

– Yes

Notes: "Shamans did not always wait for a vision. The neurotic boy might receive one early and might or might not venture to follow it. The determined man would go to

seek it. The usual possibilities of scalping, eagle killing, and salt gathering were open to him, and shamanistic dreams are reported from all these experiences. Scalping, however, usually brought war power and the salt pilgrimage, though very effective, was too infrequent. The simplest expedient was the killing of an eagle" (Underhill, 1946:267).

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

– No

Notes: "According to the shaman, his power came entirely from dreams, unaided by human teaching. Sometimes he received his vocation very early and without his own volition" (Underhill, 1946:266).

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– No

Notes: Shamans are selected through dreams or the accumulation of supernatural abilities during ceremonies. "According to the shaman, his power came entirely from dreams, unaided by human teaching. Sometimes he received his vocation very early and without his own volition" (Underhill, 1946:266).

## 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 for the presence of scriptures. However, ritual oratory is present for most ceremonies. "Most ceremonies, whether for food or for power, include a set speech which describes the desired event in all its perfection and thus brings it about. The speeches recount an experience in the first person, and, say the ceremonialists, they must have been made by l'ittoi. However, since they seem often the words of some humble man, addressing powers unknown to l'ittoi, it is more probable that this is a ceremonial pattern to which different cultural scraps have been fitted. As a group, such recitations are known as s'hâmpatak (wise or perhaps, esoteric speeches), but each set has its own title, differing with the locality. Thus, there are mocking bird speeches, so called because of their eloquence and used at the rainmaking ceremony at Santa Rosa, wind speeches, used for the same ceremony at Pisinimo, salt speeches, war speeches, hunt speeches. All are in the custody of ceremonialists, who teach them only to selected individuals. Those for the food ceremonies belong to the village officials and are handed down, supposedly, to successors in the male line. However, the process does not always work smoothly. Officials have been known to put off the task too long and die ceremonially intestate. Some have refused instruction entirely, and some have instructed a favorite heir, whom the council later refused to sanction. As a result, some villages have a complete and elaborate set of speeches; some have fragments; some have none" (Underhill, 1946:32).

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of monumental religious architecture.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of monumental religious architecture. However, various shrines are present (see Underhill, 1946:22-23).

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

Notes: "Papaguera has many local shrines, all very crude and some not more than a cave or a stone, marking the place of some supernatural event...Santa Rosa, Akchin, Archie.—These three places share the most elaborate of the shrines—a pile of stones surrounded by a fence of ocotillo stems, with openings toward all four directions. The stones, says tradition, cover a hole through which once the ocean water threatened to issue in a flood. It was stopped by the sacrifice of four children, a boy and a girl from each moiety. They were thrown into the hole, but remain alive underground; they are the patron supernaturals of the locality. At a little distance from their shrine is an olla that is said to have been put there for the first offering" (Underhill, 1946:23).



Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Yes

Notes: "Kaka.—A hole where a great wind once entered the earth. Poso Verde, Sonora.—A cave where the cannibal woman was suffocated by smoke, under l'itoi's directions. Baboquiviri Mountain.—A cave where l'itoi lived while teaching his people. Sikorhimat.—The spot where once a ceremonial clown fell dead, having run from Archie to bring a message. Topawa.—A white rock which receives an offering of eagle down when rain is wanted" (Underhill, 1946:23).

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

Notes: Salt pilgrimages were traditionally led by a recognized leader, called a siiwanyi, who directed the route as well as ceremonial acts throughout the journey (Underhill, 1946:212). Salt pilgrimages were not a strict religious affairs, but rather a ritual opportunity for purification, good health, and power.



How strict is pilgrimage:

– Optional (rare)

Notes: "All the Papago villages, in the old days, made the salt pilgrimage. Now, some have dropped it, and others may have dropped most of the ritual. Only Santa Rosa and Anegam have a full set of songs and speeches, and the others admit that 'they know how to get salt. The rest of us just do what we can'" (Underhill, 1946:212).

# Beliefs

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## 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: "The souls of the dead went to the east, escorted by their ancestors, who came for the dying man in the shape of owls" (Underhill, 1939:191).

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: "The souls of the dead went to the east, escorted by their ancestors, who came for the dying man in the shape of owls. This was true whether they had died of illness or of enemy wounds. The soul on its journey must pass through a gap, which was very dangerous. His owl companions went through it easily but the newly dead had trouble. Some turned back at this point and found themselves alive again. Beyond the gap is the town where the dead live, just as people on earth do. If the newly dead mingles with them and speaks to them, he cannot come back. If he does not speak, he may still regain life. In the town he will find his ancestors who 'bring him up like a child,' teaching him all their ways. The life is like the life on earth, except that there is plenty of rain, for this is in the east, whence the rain comes" (Underhill, 1939:191).

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for a belief of reincarnation in this world.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more detailed information on the treatment of corpses.



Cremation:

– Yes

Notes: "Those who had died on the warpath or at home, from enemy wounds, were cremated, without ceremony. Only purified Enemy Slayers were competent to touch the corpse or his effects, because 'it would make them sick'. The officiants followed no ritual. They placed the weapons with the body, piled what wood they could find over and under it and burned it as quickly as possible. The kindred wailed but not at the cremation site, 'because they were afraid.' Cremation was definitely for the purpose of destroying enemy magic, for it did not take place after accidental shooting at the hunt, nor after murder by a fellow Papago. Only enemy wounds made it necessary" (Underhill, 1939:190).

↳ Mummification:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

– Yes

Notes: "In deaths other than those from enemy wounds the corpse was interred. In the foothills, where digging was difficult, it was placed in a cave or a cleft in the rocks, any openings being filled up with stones. Where no cave was available, a rudimentary cliff dwelling was made, one side of the hill being used as a wall while a complementary wall was built up out of dry masonry, so that the whole formed a circle four feet or so in diameter. The corpse, with his effects was seated inside it and the whole roofed over with boughs and brush, weighted down with stones" (Underhill, 1939:188).

↳ Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– Yes

Notes: "The body was placed in the sitting position used in life: a man had his hands around his knees; a woman had her knees to the right" (Underhill, 1939:188).

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

Notes: "It should be mentioned that all Papago now have Christian burial...Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east" (Underhill, 1946:323).

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of cannibalism.

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

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of exposing corpses to animals.

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of feeding corpses to animals.

↳ Secondary burial:

– No

Notes: SCCS Variable 1850, Secondary Bone/Body Treatment: Original Scale, indicates that

"secondary contact with the body or bones of the deceased does not occur" (Schroeder, 2001; Retrieved from Divale, 2004).

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of co-sacrifices in tomb/burial.

Are grave goods present:

– Yes



Personal effects:

– Yes

Notes: "Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now" (Underhill, 1939:93).

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: See Underhill, 1939:188-190 for a detailed description of funerary practices among the Papago.



Family tomb-crypt:

– No



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

– No



Other formal burial type:

– Yes [specify]: Cave/cliff-side cemetery

## Supernatural Beings



Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: The Papago have a variety of supernatural beings including I'ittoi (a supreme god figure), Earthmaker, Coyote, and other key figures from their origin myth. Other supernatural beings include Naviteu (healer and seed bringer), the rain beings in the four directions, and the guardian spirits. These supernatural beings mainly figure into myths and ceremonies, but not daily life. There is limited ethnographic descriptions of these beings.

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 238, Religion: high gods [note, identical to Ethnographic Atlas column 34] indicates that among the Papago, "a high god [is] present, active, and specifically supportive of human morality" (Murdock, 1962-1971; Retrieved from Divale, 2004). "The name I'ittoi, however, is in every mouth. All know that he instituted the ceremonies, and often they know the story of the local shrine where he performed some exploit. The influence of Christianity has had its effect in raising I'ittoi's status as the supreme supernatural, and many now speak of him as 'the Papago Christ'" (Underhill, 1946:14).

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– Yes

Notes: "The earth spread until it reached the edge of the sky dome, then it spun around until the edges were joined. From this union sprang a being who leaped up and down four times, shouting: 'I am the child of earth and sky.' Earthmaker named the new being 'I'ittoi.' He was a small man with a beard and white, or golden, hair" (Underhill, 1946:8).

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

– No

Notes: The Papago do not have a monarchy.

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

– No

Notes: The Papago do not have a monarchy.

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

– No

Notes: "I'ittoi, in his old age, became hostile to his people and assaulted their maidens at the girls' puberty ceremony. The people decided to kill him. I'ittoi was killed three times, but always came to life. Finally Yellow Buzzard, after consultation with the sun, shot I'ittoi with an iron bow (gun). I'ittoi was dead for four years, after which he came to life and revived himself by means of the four winds" (Underhill, 1946:8).

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

Notes: The Papago have a variety of non-human supernatural beings. "Other supernaturals who appear in ceremony, but not in myth, are the rain beings in the four directions. These are not impersonated or, in fact, even named. They are spoken of as 'he, my guardian,' the word being the same as that used for a ceremonial father. It is not used for other supernaturals and applies only to these nameless beings, who live in 'rain houses' on the mountains and are approached by means of tobacco smoke" (Underhill, 1946:15).

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

– Yes

Notes: "The slightest waste or cruelty will cause them [the guardian spirits] not only to withdraw the food supply but also to punish man himself by disease. The way to cure disease is to please the animals by virtuous living and thus acquire power to overcome the evils they send" (Underhill, 1946:15).

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

– Yes

Notes: The Papago have a variety of supernatural beings including I'itoi (a supreme god figure), Earthmaker, Coyote, and other key figures from their origin myth. Other supernatural beings include Naviteu (healer and seed bringer), the rain beings in the four directions, and the guardian spirits. For a full list of the supernatural beings, see Underhill, 1946:6-17.

## 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: Ethnographic evidence indicates that supernatural punishment is meted out for offences such as incest, sorcery, and menstrual taboos. However, it is not stated if a specific supernatural being is meting out this punishment. (Underhill, 1939:116, 163).

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– I don't know

Notes: There is evidence of supernatural punishment, but this punishment is not meted out by specific beings. "Menstruation was regarded with horror. The touch of a menstruating woman could weaken a man and take all power from his weapons. The taint of it would cause the deer to avoid a hunter,

cause a shaman's crystals to rot and tobacco plants to shrivel up. Therefore, for a menstruating women not to segregate herself was a crime against the community. Men were urged nightly in the council meeting to see that their women obeyed the rule. The punishment for disobedience was usually a supernatural one: lightning or flood would destroy the family of the offender or, possibly, her whole village" (Underhill, 1939:163).

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence of messianic beliefs.

Is an eschatology present:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence of an eschatology.

## Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: For a detailed description of Papago social norms, see Underhill, 1939:113- 116.

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Minor offenses (such as fights or violations of sexual taboos) are distinct from major offenses (such as incest, violation of menstrual taboos, and sorcery). These offenses are dealt with in different ways. "Such a fear [of an evil shaman], together with public opinion, took care of many minor offenses which other societies deal with by law and even of some major ones. For the other major offenses, there were various methods of discipline: admonition by the authorities, banishment; supernatural vengeance, and, finally, whipping" (Underhill, 1939:116).



What is the nature of this distinction:

– Present and clear

Notes: "Such a fear [of an evil shaman], together with public opinion, took care of many minor offenses which other societies deal with by law and even of some major ones. For the other major offenses, there were various methods of discipline: admonition by the authorities, banishment; supernatural vengeance, and, finally, whipping" (Underhill, 1939:116).



Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: Specifically moral norms include the major offenses (such as incest, violation of

menstrual taboos, and sorcery). (Underhill, 1939:116).



Specifically moral norms are implicitly linked to vague metaphysical concepts:

– Yes

Notes: "supernatural vengeance" (Underhill, 1939:116). "The woman who did not segregate herself [during menstruation] brought on her community the danger of flood or lightning and therefore her relatives, and particularly her parents saw to it that she did her duty. If she deceived them, calamity could be averted by her confession and then she was not punished for confession removed the evil influence. But if she did not confess, a supernatural doom would overtake her and some or all of her connections" (ibid).

## 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 for required celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating a requirement of castration.

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Yes

Notes: "All who took part in a ceremony, or at least the important officiants, observed continence, fasted, and finally took a cold bath to remove the supernatural influence...Fasting was raised by the Papago to extreme importance. During food ceremonies the officiants abstained from meat, grease, and salt in the Pueblo manner, but the power ceremonies demanded self-denial amounting almost to starvation" (Underhill, 1946:27).

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 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 of human sacrifice.

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

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence 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.”

– I don't know

Notes: Communal ceremonies are present, but it is unclear whether participation is required.

Speeches are used to instruct proper ritual procedure for these communal ceremonies. See Underhill, 1946:41-153 for a full description of Papago communal ceremonies.

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

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

– A tribe

Notes: The Papago 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). "Aboriginally the O'odham [Papago] had no centralized regulation of production, exchange, war, or diplomacy. Each village was autonomous but joined with other villages of the regional band for war and ceremonies. Villages had headmen (Keepers of the Smoke) who were at the center of local public life. The headmen ideally were generous, soft-spoken, and humorous. Synonyms for the headman were the 'Wise Speaker,' 'Fire Maker,' 'Keeper of the Basket,' 'One Above,' 'One Ahead,' and 'One Made Big.' Other offices were War Leader, Hunt Leader, Irrigation Ditch Leader, and Song Leader" (Bahr and Kozak, 2011). Additionally, Murdock and Wilson (1972; Column 10:Descent) indicate that the Papago have bilateral descent with nearly function-less patrilineal sibs and moieties. Further, the Papago have agamous communities without localized clans or any marked tendency toward either local exogamy or endogamy. Neither patrilineal nor matrilineal kin groups or exogamy are present. Source of information: Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1967) columns 19, 20, 22. Because there were pan-O'odham patri-moieties and patrilineal sibs, the Papago society is best characterized tribe.

### Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of formal education. "Papago youth were taught the tribal traditions by listening to the official narrators who told them as often as asked during the

winter months, but always during the 'four days' of the winter solstice" (Underhill, 1939:126).

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of formal education.

## Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of taxation among the Papago.

## 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."

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– No

Notes: "Traditional society operated with a minimum of overt control. Conflicts were glossed over in an attempt to maintain order. Peaceableness was a virtue. For minor offenses, the fear of gossip was a control, as was the fear of witchcraft or sorcery. (One never knew who might be a shaman, at least a bad shaman.) Major offenders might be banished by council decision and bad shamans might be executed, allegedly after village council discussion. Mystical punishments for the violation of taboos were also believed in, and many native sicknesses were said to result from such violations" (Bahr and Kozak, 2011).

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– No

Notes: Because justice and social control are not institutionalized (see previous questions), it follows that punishment is not institutionally forced.

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Notes: Because there is no formal social control among the Papago, it can be assumed that there is no formal legal code. Additionally, no ethnographic evidence indicates that a formal legal code is present.

## Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes

Notes: The Papago rely on intensive, irrigated agriculture for subsistence. Hunting and gathering provide additional sources of food. 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)

– Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Notes: The Papago rely on intensive, irrigated agriculture for subsistence. Hunting and gathering provide additional sources of food. Source of information from Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.