

# Natchez

Data source: eHRAF

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

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

Historically, the Natchez occupied the area around what is now the Old St. Catherine's Creek and the city of Natchez, Mississippi. The Natchez have had contact with Christian Europeans beginning with Spanish conquistadors as early as the sixteenth century, followed by the arrival of the French in the late seventeenth century (Lorenz, 2020). This entry focuses on the Natchez around the time of 1718, before significant cultural change and the end of autonomous authority. Natchez religious beliefs center around a supreme high god or spirit known as Coyocop-chill who is described as a creator deity and is associated with the Sun. Other spirits and supernatural beings are present and ultimately ruled by Coyocop-chil. Natchez beliefs state that a man and woman, as earthly manifestations of the supreme high god, came to the Natchez and brought with them fire from the sun as well as customs and rules of governance and descent (Lorenz, 2020). The descendants of these godly individuals comprise the royal class, and the hereditary position of paramount chief is passed through this lineage. The paramount chief, or Great Sun, is both the political and religious leader. The supreme spirit is said to reside in the Great Sun. A temple contains the sacred fire brought from the sun; the Great Sun and temple guardians are tasked with ensuring the fire burns eternally. Because religion is bound with the functioning of Natchez society at large, this entry considers the religion to be coterminous with Natchez society.



Date Range: 1710 CE - 1730 CE

Region: Natchez Territory ca. 1718

Region tags: North America, United States of America

Natchez Territory ca. 1718; located along what is now the Old Saint Catherine Creek, near Natchez, Mississippi, USA

## Status of Participants:

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

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Murdock, G.P. & Wilson, S.F. (Jul., 1972). Settlement patterns and community organization: Cross-Cultural Codes 3. *Ethnology*, 11(3), 254-295.
- Source 2: Divale, W. 2004. Codebook of Variables for the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample. *World Cultures: The Journal of Cross-Cultural and Comparative Research*.
- Source 3: Tuden, A. & Marshall, C. (Oct., 1972). Political organization: Cross-cultural codes 4. *Ethnology*, 11(4), 436-464.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=no08-003>
- Source 1 Description: Swanton, J. R. (1911). The Natchez group. In *Indian tribes of the lower Mississippi and adjacent coast of the Gulf of Mexico*: Vol. v. 43 (pp. 45-274). Govt. Printing Office.  
<https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=no08-003>
- Source 2 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=no08-008>
- Source 2 Description: White, D., Murdock, G. P., & Scaglione, R. (1971). Natchez class and rank reconsidered. *Ethnology*, Vol. 10(no. 4), 369-388.
- Source 3 URL: <https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=no08-000>
- Source 3 Description: Lorenz, K. G. (Karl G. (2020). Culture Summary: Natchez. Human Relations Area Files.

## General Variables

### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

Notes: The Natchez have had contact with European Christian groups. "Natchez relations with early Europeans goes back to the proto-historic period (1500-1680) when reference was made in the narratives of the Spanish conquistador, Hernando de Soto, to the great province of Quigualtam located along the banks of the Mississippi River in the vicinity of people historically known as the Natchez" (Lorenz, 2020). Lorenz (2020) notes that the earliest contact between the French and Natchez to be 1682.



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

– Yes

Notes: SCCS Variable 1650, Frequency of External Warfare, resolved rating, (Ember and Ember, 1992; Retrieved from Divale, 2004) indicates an original code of 4.5 for the Natchez, which is between original code 4 (external warfare seems to occur every year, but usually only during a particular season) and original code 5 (external warfare seems to occur almost constantly and at any time of the year).

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

– Yes

Notes: Because Natchez religion is coterminous with Natchez society itself, membership is automatically attained at birth.



Assigned at birth (membership is default for this society):

– Yes

Notes: Because Natchez religion is coterminous with Natchez society itself, membership is automatically attained at birth.

↳ Assigned by class:

— Yes

Notes: There are two general classes--the nobility and the general population--which are hereditary. The noble class is said to have descended from the earthly representation of the supreme high god. See Swanton, 1911:105.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

— No

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

Does the religion have official political support

— Yes

Notes: "In other words, the Natchez state was a theocracy. The supreme being resided in the Sun; the son or near relative of the supreme being, having come to earth, taught men religious customs, and established their system of government, had retired into or taken the form of a stone, which continued to dwell with them in the innermost sanctuary of their temple; and his descendants ruled in his place, acted as mediators between him and the supreme deity on the one hand and the common people on the other, and were revered either as gods or demigods" (Swanton, 1911: 175).

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

— Yes

Notes: Swanton, 1911: 175

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— I don't know

## Size and Structure

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

— Estimated population, numeric: 3500

Notes: "The historical Natchez villages were scattered along St. Catherine's Creek, which empties westward into the Mississippi River below the present city of Natchez, Mississippi. They comprised a population, in 1700, of about 3,500 persons in nine villages (Swanton 1911: 39-44)" (White et al., 1971:369).

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: "The Sun clan or caste was considered to be descended from him [the high god], and hence had a divine right to the unusual honors and regard lavished upon it, while, as head of the Sun people, the

great chief was the representative of the deity on earth and was to be treated accordingly" (Swanton, 1911:174). "The Natchez have two war chiefs, two masters of the ceremonies for the temple, two officers to regulate what is done in treaties of peace or war; one that has the inspection of works, and four others who are employed to order everything in the public feasts. It is the great chief who appoints persons to these offices, and those who hold them are respected and obeyed as he would be himself" (Charlevoix, in Swanton, 1911:101).

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

Notes: The Great Sun (paramount chief and religious leader) possesses the supernatural quality of a kin relationship to the supreme god. The Great Sun is a position inherited through the female line, which descended from the earthly manifestation of the supreme god. See Swanton, 1911: 168 and 175 for more information.

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in past lives:

– No

Notes: Supernatural qualities are inherited.

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

– No

Notes: Supernatural qualities are inherited.

↳ Powers are inherited:

– Yes

Notes: See Swanton, 1911: 168

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

– No

Notes: Supernatural qualities are inherited.

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– No

Notes: The position of paramount chief is hereditary.

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– Yes

Notes: "The submissiveness of the [Natchez] to their chief, who commands them with the most despotic power, is extreme. They obey him everything he may command them" (Dumont, in Swanton, 1911:104).

— No

Notes: "Nevertheless, the Sun also had a council to advise him, and sometimes his authority was considerably curtailed by it, as well as by the more prominent and energetic village, chiefs...It appears that the great Sun and the great war chief could also be controlled by them..." ( Swanton, 1911:107).

## 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).

— I don't know

Notes: No reference to scripture is found in the principal ethnographic texts.

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

— Yes

Notes: According to column 6: Large or Impressive Structures (Murdock and Wilson, 1972), "the most impressive structure (or type of structure) is a temple, church, commemorative monument, or other essentially religious or ceremonial edifice." Swanton (1911:158) notes, "most of the tribes of the lower Mississippi had buildings set a part for purposes of a religions character which may properly be called 'temples,' and among these that of the Natchez was the most conspicuous and the most famous."

Is iconography present:

— I don't know

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

— Yes

Notes: "The supreme being resided in the Sun; the son or near relative of the supreme being, having come to earth, taught men religious customs, and established their system of government, had retired into or taken the form of a stone, which continued to dwell with them in the innermost sanctuary of their temple" (Swanton, 1911:175).



Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

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

— No

Notes: Swanton, 1911:175

Are pilgrimages present:

– I don't know

## 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: "...after this life they will go into a much better and more abounding country than this, that there they will never lack anything, that they will have bison and game there in abundance, and that they will there enjoy all kinds of pleasures" (Dumont, in Swanton, 1911:181).



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

– I don't know

Belief in afterlife:

– Yes

Notes: "...after this life they will go into a much better and more abounding country than this, that there they will never lack anything, that they will have bison and game there in abundance, and that they will there enjoy all kinds of pleasures" (Dumont, in Swanton, 1911:181).



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

– I don't know

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of a belief in reincarnation in this world.

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes

Notes: See questions below for more detail. Note that the most substantial ethnographic detail is provided for the burial of the elite class. Burial customs for the general population are discussed in limited depth.



Cremation:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of cremation.

↳ Mummification:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of mummification.

↳ Interment:

– Yes

Notes: "...all either bury them [the dead] or place them in tombs and carefully carry fowl to them for some time..." (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:139).

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

– Yes

Notes: "...[the relatives of the deceased] carry him [the deceased] to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:138).

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of cannibalism.

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

– Yes

Notes: "The principal servants of the great chief having been strangled in this way, they strip the flesh off their bones, particularly those of their arms and thighs, and leave them to dry for two months, in a kind of tomb, after which they take them out to be shut up in the baskets which are placed in the temple by the side of the bones of their master. As for the other servants, their relatives carry them home with them and bury them with their arms and clothes" (Swanton, 1911:139).

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating that corpses would be fed to animals.

↳ Secondary burial:

– I don't know

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– I don't know

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

Notes: "The body of the Tattooed-serpent [great war chief, brother of the great Sun] was placed in a great trench to the right of the temple in the interior. His two wives were buried in the same trench. La Glorieuse was buried in front of the temple to the right and the chancellor on the left. The others were carried into the temples of their own villages in order to be interred there" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:149).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists



Human sacrifices present:

– Yes

Notes: Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:149

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists



Out-group humans are sacrificed:

– No

Notes: Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:149



In-group humans are sacrificed:

– Yes

Notes: Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:149

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists



Other humans are sacrificed:

– I don't know



Animal co-sacrifices present:

– I don't know

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

Notes: "...[the relatives of the deceased] carry him [the deceased] to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:138).



↳ Personal effects:  
– I don't know

↳ Valuable items:  
– I don't know

↳ Other grave goods:  
– Yes

Notes: A kettle and provisions. "...[the relatives of the deceased] carry him [the deceased] to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:138).

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

Notes: For a description of burials for the general population see Swanton, 1911:138. For a description of burials for the elite population see Swanton, 1911:139-158. "...all either bury them [the dead] or place them in tombs and carefully carry fowl to them for some time..." (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:139).

↳ In cemetery:  
– I don't know

Notes: The location of burials is not specified.

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):  
– I don't know

Notes: The location of burials is not specified.

↳ Other formal burial type:  
– Yes [specify]: In temple

Notes: Chiefs are buried in the temple (see Du Pratz, in Swanton 1911:139).

Specific to this answer:

Status of Participants: ✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: "...the Natchez believed the universe to be filled with spirits in human forms, and that there were differences in power among these, the most powerful of all being a sky deity resident in or

connected with the Sun" (Swanton, 1911:174).

↳ A supreme high god is present:

— Yes

Notes: "They agree that there is a supreme being, author of all things, whom they name Coyocop-Chill" (Dumont, in Swanton, 1911:167).

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

— Yes

Notes: It is stated that man was created in God's image (see Du Pratz in Swanton, 1911:168).

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

— Yes

Notes: The supreme high god is discussed in reference to the sky; prayers are cast upward (see Dumont, in Swanton, 1911:167 and Du Pratz in Swanton, 1911:168).

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

— No

Notes: The supreme high god is discussed in connection to the sky. See question above.

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

— No

Notes: Although the paramount chief is believed to be descended from the high god, the high god is not equivalent to the paramount chief (see Du Pratz in Swanton, 1911:168).

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

— No

Notes: The paramount chief is an emanation of the high god in the sense that the paramount chief has descended from the earthly manifestation of the high god (see Du Pratz in Swanton, 1911:168). However, the paramount chief is not a royal monarch.

↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

— Yes

Notes: "The Sun clan or caste was considered to be descended from him [the high god], and hence had a divine right to the unusual honors and regard lavished upon it, while, as head of the Sun people, the great chief was the representative of the deity on earth and was to be treated accordingly" (Swanton, 1911:174).

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

— Yes

Notes: "...he [God, or Coyocop-chill] was so good that he was not able to do harm to anyone even if he wished it..." (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:168).

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

— I don't know

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

— I don't know

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:

— Yes

Notes: "Other deities, as we are in fact informed, were addressed in prayer and were supposed to answer such prayers, no doubt without consulting their master at all. In case, however, the master interested himself actively in any cause his dictate would certainly have been considered final, overriding the wills of all his inferiors" (Swanton, 1911:175).

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

— I don't know

Notes: The Sun clan is said to have descended from the supreme high god, and the paramount chief is the closest to this god (Swanton, 1911:174). However, it is unclear whether the paramount chief has the ability to communicate with the supreme high god.

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— I don't know

Notes: The Natchez have a belief in the afterlife, but previously human spirits are not discussed in depth. See Swanton, 1911:180.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

— Yes

Notes: "...they [the Natchez] called these little spirits Coyoop-téchou, which signifies free servant, but also one as submissive and respectful as a slave; that the spirits were always present before God, ready to execute his wishes with extreme diligence..." (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:168).

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

— I don't know

↳ 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: "...it is a religious custom among these people to fast and to invoke the spirits of the air in order to have rain or fair weather according to their needs" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:169).

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

Notes: "...the Natchez believed the universe to be filled with spirits in human forms, and that there were differences in power among these, the most powerful of all being a sky deity resident in or connected with the Sun" (Swanton, 1911:174). "...they [the Natchez] called these little spirits Coyoop-téchou, which signifies free servant, but also one as submissive and respectful as a slave; that the spirits were always present before God, ready to execute his wishes with extreme diligence..." (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:168).

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:  
– No

Notes: Organized hierarchically. See question below.

↳ Organized hierarchically:  
– Yes

Notes: The supreme high god is ranked highest, followed by all other beings. See Swanton, 1911:168-174.

## 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: It appears that supernatural monitoring is not present, but ethnographic information is insufficient to form a conclusion.

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– I don't know

Notes: It appears that supernatural punishment is not present, but ethnographic information is insufficient to form a conclusion.

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– I don't know

Notes: It appears that supernatural rewards are not present, but ethnographic information is insufficient to form a conclusion.

## Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The Natchez ruling descent line is said to have derived from a male and female descendant of the supreme high god. When the original male descendant came to the Natchez, the people asked him to govern the society. It is said that before accepting the position, the man stated "...in order to live in peace among ourselves and please the Supreme Spirit it was necessary to observe these points: To kill no one except in defense of one's own life, never to know another woman than one's own, to take nothing that belongs to another, never to be or become drunk, and not to be avaricious, but to give freely and with joy that which one has, and to share food generously with those who lack it" (informant, in Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:169).

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The Natchez ruling descent line is said to have derived from a male and female descendant of the supreme high god. When the original male descendant came to the Natchez, the people asked him to govern the society. It is said that before accepting the position, the man stated "...in order to live in peace among ourselves and please the Supreme Spirit it was necessary to observe these points: To kill no one except in defense of one's own life, never to know another woman than one's own, to take nothing that belongs to another, never to be or become drunk, and not to be avaricious, but to give freely and with joy that which one has, and to share food generously with those who lack it" (informant, in Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:169).

↳ Honesty / trustworthiness / integrity:

– Yes

Notes: See Swanton, 1911:169

↳ Generosity / charity:

– Yes

Notes: See Swanton, 1911:169

↳ Selflessness / selfless giving:

– Yes

Notes: See Swanton, 1911:169

↳ Fidelity / loyalty:

— Yes

Notes: See Swanton, 1911:169

## 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 that required castration is present.

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

— No

Notes: It appears that fasting is present, but not required for membership. "In order to bring about certain results or accomplish certain undertakings the Natchez often fasted" (Swanton, 1911:177).

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 indicating human sacrifice is required for group membership. Note that funerary customs for principal chiefs would include the co-burials of the chief's wife(s) and retainers, who would be strangled by relatives. However, it appears these deaths are voluntary. See Du Protz, in Swanton, 1911:149, and Lorenz, 2020.

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 indicating the presence of required sacrifice of children.

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

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence indicating the presence of required self-sacrifice.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– No

Notes: "He [informant] did not speak to me of any sacrifices, libations, or offerings, because they make none. Their entire cult consists in maintaining the eternal fire, and it is that for which the great Sun [paramount chief and religious leader] watches with particular attention over the chief of the guardians of the temple" (Du Pratz, in Swanton, 1911:171).

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– I don't know

Notes: Private and household rituals are not described in depth within the principal ethnographic source.

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: Participation in large-scale rituals is not explicitly required for membership. However, the religion is coterminous with Natchez society, and community-wide ceremonies and festivals are important features in Natchez cultural traditions. Lorenz (2020) provides an overview of ceremonies: "Natchez ceremonial ritual...usually took place around three principal mounds and the large dance plaza in the Grand Village. The first mound held the sacred fire [within the temple] and was the temporary ossuary of recently deceased Sun chiefs. Rituals associated with communication with the Sun ancestors by the Great Sun (paramount chief) would have taken place there, as well as any funeral ceremonies involving members of the Sun matrilineage...The second mound held the residence of the Great Sun, and it is from this location where the Great Sun greeted the sun in the sky each day...The third mound was the burial mound that was the final resting place of the bones of past Sun chiefs after having been kept for a time in the temple of the sacred fire. Although mound-building ceremonies were never witnessed by the French, ceremonies held atop the mounds were witnessed, like the war feast...Additionally, large, ceremonial, village-wide feasts and alliance feasts were held in the large dance plaza flanked by the three principal mounds." For additional information on Natchez ceremonial practices, see Swanton, 1911.

↳ 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

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

– Yes

Notes: "Although mound building ceremonies were never witnessed by the French, ceremonies held atop the mounds were witnessed, like the war feast in which warriors and the

war chiefs would gather in the Sun chief's house at the initiation of hostilities...A war drink of *Ilex vomitoria*, an intoxicating emetic known as the black drink, was ingested to commemorate this feast" (Lorenz, 2020).

## Society and Institutions

### Levels of Social Complexity

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

— A chiefdom

Notes: The Natchez have one level of jurisdictional hierarchy beyond the local community (Ethnographic Atlas column 33, Murdock, 1967; retrieved from Divale, 2004, column 237). "Supreme decision-making authority is concentrated in a singular authoritative leader, e.g., a paramount chief, king, or dictator, however much he may in fact be influenced by advisors" (Column 5: Executive; Tuden and Marshall, 1972). "The Sun matrilineage was the highest ranking lineage; its members held the hereditary right to leadership positions of the nation based on their close genealogical relationship to the mythical founding ancestor, Thé, who came down from the sun" (Lorenz, 2020).

### Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— I don't know

Notes: Insufficient ethnographic information.

### Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

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

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Notes: According to SCCS Variable 14, Routes of Land Transport, unimproved trails are used (Murdock and Morrow, 1970; Retrieved from Divale, 2004). Presumably, transportation infrastructure is not present.

### Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

— No



Notes: Ethnographic evidence suggests that warriors are gathered when needed; there does not appear to be an institutionalized military (see Swanton, 1911:123-133).

## Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes

Notes: The Natchez rely predominantly on agriculture (extensive or shifting agriculture), with hunting as a secondary form of subsistence. Fishing supplements the diet. Source of information: 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]:

- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards

Notes: The Natchez rely predominantly on agriculture (extensive or shifting agriculture), with hunting as a secondary form of subsistence. Fishing supplements the diet. Source of information: Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock, 1962-1971), retrieved from Divale, 2004; Variables 203-207, 232.