



"Pimadaziwin": Contemporary Rituals in Odawa Community

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American Indian Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 3/4, Special Issue: To Hear the Eagles Cry:
Contemporary Themes in Native American Spirituality. (Summer - Autumn, 1996), pp. 489-513.

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American Indian Quarterly is currently published by University of Nebraska Press.

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**PIMADAZIWIN:
CONTEMPORARY RITUALS IN ODAWA COMMUNITY**

BY MELISSA A. PFLÜG

From ongoing fieldwork, I have learned that some Algonkian-speaking Odawa Indians in the Great Lakes region support actions aimed at reclaiming sovereign identity by engaging in traditional behaviors and values. Currently, people who call themselves Odawa "traditionalists" are acting to overcome a long-term process of socioreligious marginalization. This marginal social identity has been imposed on them by Euroamericans and largely derives from loss of land and language. To counter these severe threats to a unique Odawa identity, traditionalists look to a *corpus* of rituals as a powerful means to uphold the integrity of their community. We will see that rituals locate the attributes of religious actions and values in the practice of ethical cooperation among caring and sensitive people. This article articulates the theme that one way Odawa traditionalists enhance and reinforce social relations and sociocultural status is by enacting the value of empowerment contained in collective moral behavior and carefully considered acts of giving.

Traditionalists like Great Elk¹ aim for *pimadaziwin*, which A. Irving Hallowell identifies as the central value that organizes all Algonkians' lives and the core of their worldview. Hallowell defines *pimadaziwin* as The Good Life, "a long life and a life free from illness and other misfortune" (1955: 104), a life of longevity and well-being. *Pimadaziwin* counters such socially disapproved and collectively disruptive acts as inhospitality, stinginess, greediness, and, especially, ridicule. He tells us that achieving this goal requires constructive interaction on the part of each person with "dream visitors" who confer power on the individual to overcome personal adversity (1955: 121). Hallowell also relates that:

pimadaziwin [can] only be achieved by individuals who [seek] and obtain . . . the help of superhuman entities and who conduct . . . themselves in a socially approved manner . . . it is important to note that superhuman help [is] sought in solitude, that the "blessing" or "gift" [can] not be compelled, but [is] bestowed because the superhuman entities [take] "pity" upon the suppliant who, in effect, ask[s] for Life (i.e., *pimadaziwin*) (1955: 360).

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Important as this insight is, Hallowell does not address the significance of “superhuman” and human agents mutually interacting to uphold The Good Life. As a behaviorist, Hallowell locates the goal of *pimadaziwin*, and its harmonious state-of-being, within the self and as an individually driven motivation (1955: 174). By doing so, however, he overlooks, or at least underplays, how the value of *pimadaziwin* informs the interrelational nature of the Algonkian socio-cosmos.

Lone Wolf is informative about this interrelational nature of the socio-cosmos and the value *pimadaziwin*. When I asked him about how he approaches the world and identifies his place in it, Lone Wolf replied while sketching on the ground a kind of interpersonalistic cosmographic map:

I see myself standing here in the center, and immediately encircling me is my family. Surrounding them are all our family members. Out from them are those who share my clan dodem. In a wider circle are all Odawa.

Encircling them are all Indian peoples, then all people. Around them are all the ancestors. Out from them are the animals and plants. Then come A-ki [Earth], Mishomis [Sun] and Nokomis [Moon]. The next largest circle are the great powers, or *manidos*. It's everyone's job to keep these relationships held together, across all the circles, and from their own place as center.

When all are connected, that's what we mean when we say, *Mino gwayako pima'adizi*, “he lives a good and honest life.”

As Lone Wolf's cosmography suggests, ethical beings who make up the world—what Hallowell calls both human-persons and other-than-human persons, including the ancestors—give to the human-person and community, and the ethical person and community give back to them. This exchange maintains a continual connection among all ethical persons, human and otherwise.

We can see from Lone Wolf's description that the spectrum of relationships is ever-expanding. Thus, I suggest that for Algonkians, like the Odawa, the central purpose of each person is to behave morally in order to uphold *pimadaziwin* on a collective level of positive interpersonal relations. For Odawa traditionalists, *pimadaziwin* has much more to do with collective social identity and moral integrity than Hallowell seems to realize from his Ojibwe study. From Lone Wolf's statement, we can begin to see that Odawa traditionalists understand *pimadaziwin* as a state of being that every person, human and otherwise, ethically is charged with upholding. Each person doing so contributes to the goal of attaining a good, healthy and interactive moral life for the collective and, therefore, a unique and empowered sense of community.

Traditionalists underscore the relational nature of socio-cosmic life. Black Bear explained:

The gift has spiritual power, *gi-be manidoorwaadese*. Power is in everything through Ki-je Manido, Grandfather, the Great Power-Person. It is in the burning of tobacco that we offer Ki-je Manido and the many *manidos*, or little grandfathers. It's in the prayers for me and the food eaten for me while I'm up on the hill [vision quest]. There's power in returning food to A-ki [earth]. It's in my use of *mashkiki* ["medicine," or more accurately, "power of the earth"] in the pipe ceremony to heal. It's in the *wikonges* [feasts] that we have for our families and for members of other clans. It's also in the councils we have between our many Anishinabeg groups [the Odawa, Ojibwe and Potawatomi, plus the ancestors].

This statement suggests that showing Odawa ethical behavior through compassionate acts of giving empowers ethical people. Where unethical people withhold, ethical people become exemplary models for others, especially by their demonstrating the obligation (the "ought" of ethics) to give gifts, particularly the powerful gift of knowledge. Such displays of generosity diminish differences. Through the action of exchanging powerful knowledge between other-than human persons, such as the *manidos* and some human persons, the power of life is shared with humanity and, furthermore, ethical people giving back ensures the benefits of harmonious life: *pimadaziwin* in its most comprehensive and connotative sense. So, the Odawa ethical system can be understood as action-based instead of belief-oriented. It is not just an ideal, where a separation exists between ethos and worldview (as in some aspects of Christian belief). Rather, because of the immediacy of the interrelational nature of the Odawa's socio-cosmic life, ethos and worldview are fused. This perpetual union of ethos and worldview forms a system of ethical action wherein people are identified as ethical by their actions that benefit, invigorate and renew the community, and are not simply focused on the reward of the individual in the next life.

Renewed identity through expanded ethical relationships is possible for Odawa traditionalists because, as Brown Otter said:

All life is circular and continually changes. It has many phases. But everything, in all their different phases, is related and we must honor that relationship by giving to each other.

He went on to say that individuals acting together create a "circle"—which he used in the fullest connotative sense of the word—so that the connection between all ethical people is continually regenerated. Traditionalists contend that because life is in a constant state of motion, it is essential

for the person, the community, even the world, to ritually transform the present moment and emerge with a renewed identity; social solidarity that is accomplished through compassionate acts of giving.

GIFT AND SOLIDARITY

Odawa traditionalists stress ritual acts, especially of gift exchange, as the primary medium to create relationships, establish social solidarity and carve a collectively determined identity. For them, one must enact the value of gift to maintain proper ethical relations. Individuals have been, and are, respected for their knowledge and achievements that reflect and create their ethical being. Gift-giving, or what the Odawa refer to as "gifting," is the primary social act that lends respect and prestige; it also reflects power.

As a continuum of sharing and reciprocity, gifting follows rules for bonding the giver and receiver. On one end of the continuum, personal survival often depends on sharing between kin. On the other end of the continuum, reciprocity is one form of gifting that can dramatically enlarge family units to include clans, other tribes and "foreign" others such as Euroamericans. As a continuum of sharing and reciprocity, gifting extends to include exchange within the family group, between groups, among the ancestors and, ultimately, to relations with all ethical people.

In their rituals, Odawa traditionalists enact the ethical value of gifting to unite groups through the socio-religious duty of exchange. What is exchanged does not have to be goods and wealth, real and personal property, or things of economic value, such as lands and rights through treaties (see Mauss 1967). Because traditionalists establish intragroup and intergroup bonds, as well as bonds with the *manidos*, or power-persons, through acts of exchange (associated with the value of gift), such institutions as marriage, initiations and the *dodem* system unite, cement, and expand interpersonal alliances. For these Odawa, all such activities include ritual gifting, so that gift exchange becomes the main social means to create solidarity. Traditionalists clearly understand that failing to engage in socially building reciprocal exchanges results in the individual's loss of status and dignity and, on a larger scale, deteriorates alliances as well as communities, social organization and collective identity.

For Odawa traditionalists, to establish proper interpersonal relationships, contracts and alliances, receiving is as important as giving. They regard a person's or a group's refusing to either receive or give as slamming the door on friendship, which annihilates social relationships and, therefore, introduces danger. For traditionalists, gifting enacts proper ethical and social justice in a most immediate manner. They see it as their most significant way to create bonds between human persons as social groups, and between human persons and other-than human persons, such as the *manidos* and the ancestors. Gifting is the source to powerfully reduce the distance between

ethical people and others who are unethical—we versus they—and to mediate the potential hazards of social distance, such as competition and hostility.

Examples of powerful actions associated with the value of gift are the traditionalists' healing rituals. Elders explain that curing is a process of gifting: The person to be healed gives the religious expert a gift, such as tobacco or silk, to honor the religious expert's position as initiating donor. The religious expert acts as the mediator between the person and the *manidos* in times of personal crisis. The gift exchange between the person seeking guidance in healing himself or herself and the religious expert differs only slightly from the religious expert's ceremonial gifts of prayers and tobacco to the *manidos*. Using the healing event as an example, the function of gifting can be illuminated by applying Marshal Sahlin's (1976) theoretical model as a heuristic device to show how social distance conditions the way persons interact and how the range of interactions drives aspects of the traditionalists' lives.

"A" (the person in need of spiritual or physical guidance for renewed health and empowerment) gives to "B" (the religious expert), who acts as the mediator to transform the gift into something else (knowledge, revelation and guidance transformed into profoundly realized power) in exchange with "C" (the *manidos*). The power given by "C" through "B" stems from "A's" initial gift, so that it acts as something of a catalyst. The benefit of this power, therefore, is transferred to "A." This process of exchange creates a closed loop (A ↔ B ↔ C). The presence of an intermediary party, "B," or the religious expert, is necessary to maintain interpersonal equity and ensure that the gift is used for powerfully benevolent acts. "The use of power can become harmful," warned Black Bear, if this closed and circular relationship is not reciprocal in its purpose. He continued:

A person's gift cannot be allowed to become another's power to do bad things. Life has to have balance—male/female, human/*manido*, person/person and among our many groups. When things get out of balance is when we're in trouble. This is why I honor you for your gift, I honor Ki-je Manido—Grandfather, the Great Power-Person—with my gift, and we're both honored by Ki-je Manido's gift of power [to us].

It is also why we seek the Red Road: the right way of living that Ki-je Manido set out in the First World. The Red Road keeps things in balance if one accepts the calling and uses well the power of what Ki-je Manido has given. This is the path toward a good life [i.e., *pimadaziwin*].

Conceptualizing the exchange process in the healing ceremony through the above model suggests that degrees of empowerment and solidarity result from different types of exchange. In this type of exchange,

gift-giving itself provides an initial act of social organization. For traditionalists, gift exchange structures relationships between human persons and other-than human persons ("A" to "C" through "B"). Sharing and reciprocity are the ethical acts of interpersonal exchange that concretely organize the traditionalists' internal community and external relationships.

Sharing proper, or pooling, are purely intragroup activities associated with kinship solidarity (Sahlins 1976: 188). Pooling is when clan segments come together and amass needed resources within the kin group without the expectation of return. Family members simply gather and share resources for the common good and survival of the group. An unspoken understanding exists among traditionalists that the current "have not's" eventually may become the "haves," so not having is never held against anyone. Having something and withholding it is regarded as the most abhorrent behavior. The ethical duty of kin is to take care of each other with equality and altruism.

Reciprocity expands the personal level of exchange (sharing) beyond family relations to the broad collective level. While sharing solidifies and reaffirms kin relations, reciprocity extends these in-group associations to include non-kin members. Reciprocity has the power to mediate differences between disagreeing people—for example, between traditionalists and others who oppose them—because it reduces hostility and averts dissension. By giving with the expectation of a return, traditionalists use reciprocal actions in ritual to mediate conflict. But, enacting the value of gift through reciprocity introduces tension into the system, for always the question exists, "What if the recipients withhold the expected return?" Because withholding undermines the ability to expand the social sphere and maintain solidarity, traditionalists expect positive or balanced reciprocity (Sahlins 1976) to alleviate, at least temporarily, tensions between groups, individuals, bands, clans, tribes, or Euroamerican "foreigners." Positive or balanced reciprocity mediates greater social distance between groups than sharing or pooling resources. Reciprocity creates alliances through a contractual agreement and addresses the structural tension felt between non-kin groups. Both sharing and reciprocity are equated with the value of gift and define ethical personhood.

For these Odawa traditionalists, giving creates proper relations between ethical people and ultimately is empowering by identifying "friend" versus "foe." Ritual acts of giving, with other-than human persons and between human persons, powerfully mediate the differences between ethical people and others who threaten social solidarity. The danger that others present is a problem primarily because it results from distance between people. As a central theme of the Odawa traditionalists' ritual activity, the problem of social distance and relation is mitigated through giving. Individuals and social groups invoke the value of gift to mediate the many and often chaotic forms of "otherness," and to transform its potential dangerousness by

abolishing distance. Gift exchange automatically creates a bond between people because doing so is to give part of oneself, as the gift is part of one's personal identity; to receive is to take part of another's being (Mauss 1967). Thus, gift-giving is a perpetual exchange of power in the form of social solidarity. Odawa traditionalists insist that a person does not "own" things like eagle feathers; they are a gift. By giving them to someone else, the person shows compassion and generosity, which is interpersonally empowering.

For Odawa traditionalists, the value of gift is the umbrella under which all acts of exchange on a continuum of giving and withholding derive. Ritual acts of sharing and reciprocity define, maintain and reinforce the traditionalists' social and cultural orientation. A model for ethical exchange behavior is revealed, for example, in such ritual acts as greeting each other with "*Bozho!*": that is, in an abbreviated form of the name of the Odawa culture hero, culture bringer and Great Transformer, Nanabozho.

For the Odawa, gift exchange always has been the central means to practice the model for ethical behavior associated with the organizing principle of gift. For traditionalists, gift is not impersonal: It is *very* personal. To enact the value of gift through exchange behavior heals and empowers because it mediates the sense of danger created by others' interpersonal distance. Exchange shows that compassion, an enactment of gift, is a responsibility that perpetuates interpersonal solidarity and, therefore, generates an empowered sense of community identity.

RITUALS OF COMMUNITY AND EMPOWERED IDENTITY

We can begin to explore how two types of rituals create a community with empowered identity: personal prayer and communal ceremonies. In these performances, traditionalists diminish, or annihilate, differences between individuals and groups. For them, ritually interacting with the *manidos*, or power-persons, produces a profound metamorphosis: They regard the presence of the *manidos* and their powerfully acting on these encounters as the source of dramatic transformation. Such religious attitudes and values give the traditionalists' social action its real salience and power. Lone Wolf affirmed this:

Personal prayers and ceremonies are very important to us. They show commitment to our ways of being Odawa. I wake up every morning and go outdoors to a little place in the yard and, facing east, give thanks and offer tobacco to the *manidos* for the good morning. People forget to give back. It's just like cooking and eating. I only prepare what I can eat, and should there be anything left, I bury it with tobacco. I do this because it's proper. Everything we eat has been sacrificed for us and has sacrificed itself for our gain. It's only right that thanks be given for that

sacrifice and that the remains be treated respectfully. I return it to A-ki with thanks and make a sacrifice of my own of tobacco to Ki-je Manido and all the powers to show my appreciation.

This statement suggests that Odawa traditionalists look to the *manidos* as a source to create powerful interpersonal relationships. The *manidos* supply ways to establish ethical relations through ritual: Their purpose, according to Odawa religious experts, is to show how ritual actions restore right relationships. The goal of ritual to establish right relationships raises questions of how traditionalists do this and, perhaps more importantly, why. For these Odawa, interactions with the *manidos*, coupled with their own ingenuity, powerfully reconstitute and reaffirm tradition, which allows these ritual encounters to be personally and collectively transformative and (re)vitalizing.

Ritual empowerment through encounters with the *manidos* demonstrates the individual's commitment to community solidarity. Through ritual ceremonies, encounters with the *manidos* establish a bond between the person and others so a community emerges. The community in turn demonstrates responsibility to its members. Traditionalists approach rituals as the most significant way to mediate interpersonal distance that threatens collective identity with social division. They regard ritual—personal and collective action directed toward communication with the *manidos*—both as an ahistorical act tied to the classic practices of religious experts, and as a contemporary practice with vital social, economic, and political effects.

Ritually seeking the guidance and constructive intervention of the *manidos* reflects the older, historical Odawa social pattern. In winter, the larger group splintered to pursue subsistence, separating the individual and leaving him/her with a me-and-the-world-at-large orientation. In summer with the reuniting of clan networks, this individual orientation shifted to we-and-the-world-at-large. With these shifts in personal orientation and social organization, ritual established proper relationships between human persons, and between human persons and other-than human persons, such as the ancestors and especially the *manidos*.

Ritually enacting the value of gift is a medium of empowerment between persons, human and otherwise. It allows participants to transform ordinary time and space, and to mediate disagreements and misunderstandings stemming from interpersonal distance. Interaction with the *manidos* through ritual is a traditional way to affect proper relationships between all ethical people, and to transform others who are unethical to being more benign. Interactions with the *manidos* are sources to re-create right relationships because they mediate the relations between human persons and other-than human persons, and between human persons and other people who are hostile. An essential means to counter threats of social disruption, ritual encounters with *manidos* perpetually work to restore the unity of all persons,

human and otherwise.

Traditionalists use ritual as a channel to direct the power gained from encounters with the *manidos* for benevolent acts to achieve *pimadaziwin*—and so create an identity that is collectively determined. For these Odawa, rituals are events that address a reality that is ontologically and phenomenologically organized as I/You and We/They, where actions confirm who I am to You and who We are to Them. A world structured by a duality between ethical people and unethical others calls for a system to guide proper behavior and mediate conflicting disagreements. The problem of “otherness” dictates a rationale for traditionalists to use ritual action to mediate personal forces of good or ill. Traditionalists comprehend the nature and challenge of “otherness” through ritual encounters with others and the *manidos*; a repeated announcement of one’s moral responsibility to others.

CONTEMPORARY PERSONAL RITUALS

Odawa religious experts understand their special skills as powerful gifts gained from communicating with a *manido*. Fulfilling his or her responsibilities to exchange the powerful knowledge gained from these encounters, the acts of pipe-carriers and “medicine-people” benefit the group. Above all, religious experts are the master interpreters, the allegorists. Charged with this responsibility, they are the ones who identify spiritual and physical empowerment and healing as the prime source of *pimadaziwin*. Thus, these religious experts invigorate Odawa identity.

Those Odawa who call themselves, or whom others call, elders complement the religious expert’s physical and spiritual healing. Elders are identified as having the primary responsibility to work to unify the community through their assigned significance as the keepers of traditions, especially oral history. Like religious experts, elders are empowered by special and astute knowledge gained from direct encounters with the *manidos*. Lone Wolf, a pipe-carrier and elder, remarked that: “The elders teach things. I’m Anishinabe, even though I grew up believing that Indians were ‘dirty, drunk, and worthless.’” When I asked if he was an elder, Brown Otter said: “I’ve been called that. I just keep learning and sharing this with others.” Grey Squirrel said: “The elders are the keepers of traditional knowledge and the teachers of how to use that power. Their life experience, not their talk, and their willingness to share with others make them elders.” Instead of writing down their knowledge, religious experts and elders pass it on orally because as Lone Wolf said: “I like to see what people are hearing from me. If it’s important, they’ll remember.”

The community acknowledges religious experts, especially “medicine-people” of the Bear clan and other elders, generally, as having a profound relationship with and understanding of the *manidos*. These religious experts and elders are the spiritual leaders of the community who retain essential

shamanic features and, therefore, are regarded as "vision people" with special power. The pipe-carrier, particularly, has had a revelatory message from the *manidos* of the nature, substance and destiny of the world, and of the individual's and community's *place* in the world. Elders, together with pipe-carriers and people of the Bear clan (who specialize in knowledge of herbal healing), teach how to keep the community intact and comprise the social category of "medicine-people" or religious experts.

As a specialist in healing, the pipe-carrier's responsibility is to protect the sacred pipe, a religious symbol that empowers persons, human and otherwise. During communal gifting ceremonies led by the pipe-carrier, the power that results from "knowing" the *manidos* is transferred to the community. Through the vision, the pipe-carrier facilitates religious expression to address community problems, and to adapt to a world in constant motion.

Elders believe the ability—or honor—to teach results from knowledge, or the power to heal and renew identity, solidarity, and empowerment. Elders retain traditions through ritual endeavors when knowledge and, therefore, power is given by the *manidos* to them and religious experts, and through them to the community. These agents-in-society are vital critics of social relations who find their strength and inspiration from the entire Odawa religious sphere, a framework they use to challenge people to renew socio-cosmic harmony. Traditionalists contend that renewal may be personal spiritual and physical healing, or it may be community regeneration.

Prayer for Odawa traditionalists includes dreams and visions. From an early age, they learn to remember dreams, which are interpreted by religious experts. The *manidos* revealed in dreams guide the dreamer to wisdom, which is a means for personal empowerment. Dreams are freely discussed among traditionalists, and often people faced with an important decision will say, "I'll have to dream on it." Ritual dreams are understood as a direct interpersonal link with the *manidos*.

Vision quests or fasts, what the Odawa call "going up on the hill," also create a link to the *manidos* and with one's personal *dodem*. Today, individuals of all ages and both genders "go up on the hill," often repeatedly, and they emphasize the need to be trained in this rite by a religious expert. This teacher prepares the person to communicate directly with the *manidos* and to find more succinctly one's own source of power so as to attain *pimadaziwin*—the good, healthy, and moral collective life. Before going up on the hill, a person must uphold the "Seven Ways of Being Odawa," so enhancing his or her power that will contribute to collective *pimadaziwin*. The "Seven Ways" are: to be pure in heart, in body and in soul; humble; honest; loving; and, respectful—a state-of-being that may take months, even years to achieve. As reassurance, the teacher may accompany the person on the hill, which is always held at a power place dreamed of by the questor. "Many things can happen," said Lone Wolf, who was preparing for his own vision.

You have to have seven things purified and in balance: mind, heart, and body, plus be humble, honest, loving and respectful. If one's out of balance, Ki-je Manido will know. Grandfather will show me something, even if it's that my life isn't together yet. I may have some subconscious stuff still there that I haven't reconciled yet. And if so, Grandfather will show me that I've got more work to do. I may have to meditate some more on the proper ways to be Odawa and live a good life [i.e., *pimadaziwin*]. This is what we think about when we go up on the hill.

Lone Wolf explained that the person on the quest abstains from all food and often even water for several days (usually four), although the teacher may bring along "medicine-water" in case of emergency. He also emphasized that one cannot anticipate or direct the result of the fast: if an attempt at impure manipulation happens "the *manidos* will not speak through the dreams."

The form a *manido* may take when encountered during a vision quest is uncertain and often surprising. While preparing for his quest, Lone Wolf told about a friend who went up on the hill because he was unsure of the direction his life should take.

This man was sitting quietly when suddenly a little yellow finch flew into the branch of a tree in front of him. The two began to talk and they understood each other perfectly. It wasn't as if the bird spoke English, or Odawa, or the man spoke the bird's language, or anything like that. They suddenly just had absolute knowledge of each other. And, the little bird told my friend that he must prepare himself to be a great leader and go back to his people and guide them. And, you know, he did. He's now a very important elder and pipe-carrier. But it was funny to think about a little bird talking to this guy. He's a big, huge fellow. Bear I might have expected, or Elk. But, not a little bird.

This description underscores that the contact with the *manidos* during vision quests and the message gained are powerful sources of transmutation and empowerment—two paths toward *pimadaziwin*.

Vision fasts essentially are purification rituals that re-create a connection with all-powerful dimensions of life through the religious experience of suffering, "death," and renewal. The *manidos* encountered in a vision produce a powerful transformation through this ritual. Traditionalists see that a person has been "ill," because he or she is impure of heart, mind, soul, and not humble, honest, loving and respectful. Therefore, each person

must be trained to purify himself or herself, a state-of-being crucial to successful communion with the *manidos*. Paraphrasing Lone Wolf, traditionalists also understand that before direct communication can happen, the individual must "suffer" (fasting for many days is a form of self-sacrifice); through the dream, the person "knows" (knowledge = power) and "sees" the *manidos* so that this power is transferred as a gift; and, the person is renewed in the sense that the individual's identity is transformed.

Thus, when traditionalists say the person "died up on the hill and a new person came down," they mean that the individual re-emerges with new strength and wisdom gained from the *manidos*. He or she, then, is spiritually charged with taking this power back to morally benefit the community. Traditionalists regard the knowledge and power gotten from vision fasts as one's ethical duty to apply for the benefit of society. For example, knowledge of the power of herbal medicine to cure, *midéwiwin*, originally descended through the *manido*, Medicine Bear, (Midewiwi Makwa, an other-than human person who is one of the great persons of Odawa mythology). One who has had a powerful vision is charged with ethically applying it for beneficial purposes.

Unlike religious experts who ethically act with powerful benevolence for the sake of community welfare, especially through contacts with the *manidos* in dreams and vision quests, pipe-carriers and elders indicate that some unethical people use knowledge for harm, which disrupts socio-cosmic harmony. The most widely known example of people who act with powerfully intentional malevolence are bear-walkers (*me'coubmoosa*). They constitute one sort of socially internal "otherness." Most people know who bear-walkers are and try to avoid crossing them. They often express real fear of the bear-walker's power to harm, and their ability to change from human form into a malevolent bear. Great Elk insisted that I not study bear-walking too intensely, as he feared for my safety. Lone Wolf described having been bear-walked when he was a teenager, "way before I began to follow the traditional ways."

One day, I became seriously ill and spent several weeks in the hospital only to have the doctors scratch their heads with confusion about what was wrong with me. I couldn't move my whole right side, and I had trouble breathing. So, one of the elders in the community, after hearing I was sick, visited me in the hospital and reported that my problem was that I'd been bear-walked.

He went on to say that a pipe-carrier, responding to his need, went to the hospital and conducted a series of self-empowering rituals. Lone Wolf said of the experience: "I've never been the same. I really changed. It was then I stopped drinking and started to think about people other than myself. I

started to respect the traditional ways again. I discovered my own center of power." Although he did not die physically, he died metaphorically and was reborn.

When bear-walked, one is guided to self-curing by a religious expert. This agent-in-society consults with the "patient," meditates on the source of the problem, and conducts a pipe-ceremony to communicate with the *manidos* and ask for guidance in addressing the problem. The process enables the individual to heal himself or herself through a series of powerful actions. Smudging is the first step: opening two windows and smoking out the house, especially the corners, beginning at the lowest level in the southeast and proceeding clockwise. Smudging is the key: burning certain substances in a bowl and letting the smoke emanate. Smudging with sage drives out malevolent spirits; smudging with tobacco invites in benevolent beings. The second step is to hang a piece of red willow tied with red yarn over an entry way. Third, one puts salt around all windowsills and doors leading outside; another effort to keep malevolent spirits out. The fourth step is to place four branches of cedar tied together on each of the four sides of the house. If the bear-walker's malevolent purpose is particularly powerful, an individual may require stronger measures and "medicines," including "shooting" the bear-walker and then reviving him or her in a purified state. The bear-walker epitomizes powerful malevolent acts: the religious expert, or pipe-carrier, "medicine-person" and elder, exemplifies the ethical obverse.

CONTEMPORARY COLLECTIVE RITUALS

As presently practiced, the central aim of collective rituals is twofold. First, they preserve healing traditions, especially as they perpetuate collective *pimadaziwin*—the good, healthy, and moral collective life. Second, they are used to transmit knowledge and the initiation into a powerfully renewed identity. "Medicine-people" retain their responsibility as master interpreters of this sacred knowledge, and they heal by keeping and using sacred water-drums and medicine-bags to re-create the connection of the person and the community with the *manidos*.

The pipe,² one of the contents of the *pinjigosaum*, or medicine bag, is a central component in most Odawa communal rituals. Laying down or burning tobacco or sweet grass extends the pipe ceremony. The ritual participants smoke the pipe while all are joined in a circle. The pipe-carrier chants a prayer and holds the pipe up to the *manidos*. As the pipe passes to each person, he or she absorbs the many powers called on by the pipe-carrier: combined powers from collective social identity, the ancestors, the environment, the earth and the plethora of *manidos*. The pipe passes around the circle in "the direction of the sun" (to the left). After each person has smoked and silently prayed, he or she swings the pipe in "the direction of the sun" and passes it to the next person. Pipe-carriers are special people with enhanced

power but the power of the ceremony does not directly derive from them; its source is the *manidos*. The pipe-carrier simply is charged with keeping and protecting the pipe. "Ki-je Manido, the Great Power-Person, and the other grandfathers speak through the pipe," explained Soaring Eagle. Pipes usually are made of cedar and have stone bowls with decorations that, according to Soaring Eagle, "represent the four vertical and horizontal directions of space" and eagle feathers representing "*manidos* associated with the sky and earth, like Mishomis [Sun], Nokomis [Moon] and Animiki [one of the Thunders]." Soaring Eagle continued:

The pipe represents the unity of heart, mind, and body that is possible within each person. The bowl is Grandmother's, Nokomis', heart—just like the drum-beat. It creates a center, the bond between A-ki [Earth], and Nokomis [Moon] and Mishomis [Sun]. Each section of the pipe points to each section of the person, and smoking it guides them in purifying themselves; unifying their body, mind and heart. Each grain of tobacco put in the bowl represents all forms of life. Add fire so a person smokes the sacred tobacco and, while praying, the breath of Ki-je Manido enters them.

Here, we can see clearly that in effect, Aki is equated with the body, Nokomis with the heart and Mishomis with the mind, and that the "breath of Ki-je Manido" is power: powerful knowledge gained through ritual interactions.

Like the pipe-ceremony's purifying purpose, sweat-lodge rituals are for collective purification and empowerment. During the ritual, the participants chant: "Bathe in the breath of Ki-je Manido [the steam] and be reborn." Brown Otter said:

Sweats are held for spiritual purification. The problem in this community today is two things. People have strayed from the Right Path, they aren't living a good life. They've been indoctrinated into Catholicism, and they think that we who practice the Old Ways are practicing magic—voodoo or something. Also, it's hard to have a sweat, or any other ceremonies, without having land to build the lodges on and conduct the ceremonies.

Despite these worries, religious experts and pipe-carriers lead two types of "sweats." A person may take part in a sweat-lodge for either spiritual or physical healing; officiants specialize in one type or the other. Also sweats are for an individual's or a group's empowerment.

In group sweat-lodges, men and women generally participate separately. Laughing Gull said: "Many people think women don't need to take

sweats at all because they're purified every month." For a sweat-lodge ceremony, the religious expert builds a round lodge covered with cedar with a central fire. People enter the lodge through an east door and sit in a circle around the fire, with four people named as the "Keepers of the East, South, West and North Doors." Tobacco passes to each participant. Lone Wolf described his first sweat-lodge ritual.

When I entered the lodge, I could feel incredible power coming both from all the people there and from somewhere else. When the pipe passed to me however, I couldn't see anyone else in the circle except for the Keepers of the Doors. Suddenly, there was a green light that radiated from the ceiling over the hearth. When the ceremony was through and I came out of the lodge, it was very dark, but I looked up into the trees and could see every branch, every leaf. I suddenly looked down at my side and saw a bright concentrated light right along side my leg. I thought I was hallucinating, maybe from the heat and being dehydrated. I said to the guy standing by me, "Hey, you see this?" He said, "What?" I said, "Up there; the lights in the trees. This, by my side." He said he didn't see it, but it must be very powerful and I should go and talk to the healer about it. So, I did. He said this kind of thing didn't happen very often, and it may never happen to me again. But, this is exactly what the sweat ceremony is all about. He told me, "You have been shown that you can harness great power. The light by your side is your spirit-helper."

This powerfully describes how sweat-lodges lead to the religious experience of transmutation and, ultimately, empowerment.

Through the sweat-lodge, the elders and religious experts simultaneously guide the person and group to encounter the benevolent *manidos*, or power-persons. "Bathing in the breath of Ki-je Manido" is an empowering ritual that effects a rite-of-passage: a transition from one moment to another, as well as a change in being. Sweat-lodge rituals cleanse a person's impure state. Personal power is enhanced through group solidarity. Each person emerges from the lodge with a changed state-of-being and identity. For those who receive a vision during the ceremony, solidarity is established with the group and directly with the *manidos*, sometimes in the form of light as we saw in Lone Wolf's description. The group comes together and establishes a proper relationship; not only is the individual empowered by other individuals, but more importantly by the *manidos* to the person through the community. The ritual concretizes power as a gift that transpires between a community of ethically empowered persons. The community of participants itself, therefore, becomes an organizing center, a virtual lightening rod for empowerment.

Other contemporary communal rituals are more visible than pipe-ceremonies or sweat-lodges. Probably the most widely held community ceremonies are dances, intratribal or intertribal, called powwows.⁴ They are get-togethers in which both dancers and traders interact to uphold the value of gift exchange to generate positive ethical relationships. Powwows are events that renew old friendships and invite new ones. Black Bear said: "The sound of the drum is the heartbeat of our Grandmother, and when you're dancing you try to get into the rhythm—get in harmony with A-ki." Grey Squirrel said: "Powwows are a strong spiritual event where you can show Grandfather and all your ancestors that you're doing what you can to keep traditions going." The arbor, an open-framed circular lodge made of cedar posts and covered with cedar boughs is in the center of the dance circle, where the drumming occurs.

Powwows that are open to both Indians and non-Indians, generally, include dances called "intertribals" in which everyone is invited to participate (except menstruating women, who "on the honor system" stay outside the dance circle because of their enhanced power). These rituals also include other dances in which only Indians may participate, such as honor-songs. Today, powwows play a key role in the maintenance of Indian traditions.⁵ Despite the fact that Odawa traditionalists seem open to the participation in powwows of non-Indians, they are, however, still guests: these Odawa understand the ritual as essentially Odawa and use it to assert a unique identity and create solidarity.

Although male "fancy dancers" and grass dancers, and female shawl dancers and "jingle-jangle" dancers, have become quite popular, these performances are not indigenous to the Great Lakes but to the Plains tribes. "Part of their popularity is the young people's attraction to the associated dress," explained Great Elk. Only what are called "traditional dancers and dance dress" are indigenous to the area.⁶ Those who are called, or who call themselves, "traditional dancers" are the pipe-carriers, elders, and "medicine-people." Their talent and skill are crucial to the success of the event. Each dancer's regalia is unique and usually stems from the person's dreams and *dodem*, which one's movements also express.

By consecrating the land, building the arbor, and lighting and tending the central fire, the powwow ritual begins well before the actual dancing: dancing starts with a Grand Entry early in the afternoon, with a second in the evening. Dancers line up and enter the dance circle through an eastern-facing opening, which reaffirms the east as the direction where life starts. They then dance "in the direction of the sun." The first dancers to enter the circle are the head dancers, whose positions are by invitation and are a gift from the group that acknowledges an individual's importance to the community. Head dancers always are traditional dancers who are charged with being responsible for ensuring protocol, solving problems, and resolving conflicts. They need extensive knowledge of specific dances and styles,

dress and protocol, such as the proper action to take when an eagle feather is dropped. For example, when an eagle feather is dropped, all dancing stops and the dancers leave the circle, except for a few male head dancers who perform a dance to ritually neutralize the feather's power. It is then picked up and given to the host dancer, who decides to whom it should be passed. The feather is never returned to the person who dropped it.

Invitation as a head dancer, who enters the arbor first, is both an honor and financial responsibility, as it calls for extensive gift-giving in exchange for prestige. After the head dancers come the veteran dancers, who represent all Odawa people who have died in battle, including veterans of U.S. wars. Then come the flag bearers, who carry the Canadian and U.S. flags (the U.S. flag sometimes upside down to honor the American Indian Movement), a veterans' flag and a tribal flag with eagle feathers honoring the *manidos* who guide Odawa life. Then come the male traditional dancers. Behind them come the male "fancy dancers" and grass dancers. The women follow and the children come last. The entire group makes a loose circle to honor the *manidos*, after which they stop to sing the flag song. After the flag song, an elder gives an invocation, then the dances begin.

The drum controls the dances themselves. A group of musicians and singers called "the drum" generally play one large drum in the center of the dance circle under the arbor. The songs and dances are structured, the order determined by the head singer. Drums must have an extensive repertoire. Not knowing a song, a prayer, called for by the head dancers causes an embarrassing loss of prestige and requires passing the right to another drum.

Different chants combine with the rhythm of the drum to determine the dancers' patterns of movement. While the women tend to be sedate and the men flamboyant, a visible transformation occurs in both. As Laughing Gull explained, power is transferred "through the energy of one person to another," which results in group enhancement, and it moves "directly from the *manidos* to the person through the energy of the dance itself."

As one type of collective ritual, powwows traditionally ensured successful hunting or victory. Today, Odawa traditionalists use powwows to express unity, solidarity, and social identity. Like all rituals, they happen in a concentrated and consecrated time and space, which creates a bond between human persons and other-than human persons, especially the ancestors and the *manidos*. Powwows establish proper relationships between all people. Being a place to both trade and dance, they enact and reinforce the value of gifting—sharing and reciprocity—to mediate social distance and disagreements between people. At powwows, ritual dances establish and maintain the life perpetuating connection with the *manidos*, which sustains collective *pimadaziwin*. The power of dance, the drums—"the heartbeat of the earth"—and the central arbor make real the concentrated creative power within each person and through which communal solidarity is voiced. The unity within each person extends out to the group, and it remains an active source of

solidarity throughout the year. Through dance, the person purifies himself or herself, changes his or her state-of-being, and unites with other people and the world at large. Power is amplified by encounters with other-than human persons, including the ancestors and the *manidos*, and between human persons. Through the power of the dance, the person, in harmony with “the circle of life,” momentarily separates from his or her everyday identity and becomes part of the identity of a unified and harmonious world, both social and cosmic. Differences are annihilated. The dancer “becomes” the “eagle” or some other powerful life-form. Each dancer creates a different image and identity through a different visual channel. Powwows teach the proper expression for a specific person and reaffirm group membership and kinship relations. This experience is crucial for young children whose attention spans may be too short to take part in other communal rituals and, therefore, the elders teach “the Old Ways” through dance with special enthusiasm.

Giveaways, as part of complex ceremonies such as powwows, are another type of community ritual. For example, at an annual powwow the group recognized a young woman who lost a child the previous winter. To honor the child and acknowledge the support of the group, this woman led a ceremony in which she gave gifts first to the host couple, then to a veteran dancer, next to all the dancers, then to the children. Before she distributed her gifts, however, she offered a prayer, a gift, to the *manidos*. She held tobacco out before her to the north, behind her to the south, to her right (east), and finally she swung her arm over her head to the west (reenacting the power of the pipe-ceremony). This action reaffirmed “the connection of the Four Worlds and Four Doors [cardinal directions],” as she explained, and both her own and the group’s central position in this cosmographic architecture.

Another example of a giveaway, one of the first ceremonies in traditional weddings is for the “warriors to capture a tree to give to the wedding couple as a gift from the earth (A-ki),” explained the mother of a bride. The men find a young tree, dig it up, and give it to the wedding couple as a sign of their union with each other and with the earth. An eagle feather (a power sign associated with the *manidos*) is placed at the top of the tree, and the women cover the roots with earth before a pipe-ceremony begins.

An extremely popular form of communal ritual is the naming ceremony. Most traditionalists desire an Odawa name. Like giveaways, naming ceremonies occur in many circumstances, and a person may receive several names throughout his or her life. The community gives an Odawa name to honor special deeds. Most often the name results from dreams. In a community naming ceremony, the individual calls on a “vision person” to fast and confirm the appropriateness of the name, and to conduct the ceremony. People also may have secret names used in prayer to generate a direct connection with the *manidos*. Lone Wolf said he received his Odawa name, *Nazhikewizi Ma’iingan*, after his teacher dreamed it was his “proper identity.” This is a particularly noteworthy name, he explained, as it refers “to

the separation of animals and humans, but also to their continuing bond." Lone Wolf said that, besides this name, he has a Christian name, a family name and "two other names that I can't say but that I use in the mornings when I go out to pray with Grandfather." Today, there is particular importance put on naming ceremonies, which usually take place in the spring. Most people have Christian names on their birth certificates and driver's licenses. The gift of an Odawa name is a means of cementing one's position in, and identity with, the community. Accumulating names expands one's personal definition and social identity.

By far the most visible communal rituals are feasts. Various seasonal feasts stress the ethical importance of giving. For example, fall feasts commemorate the tradition of groups coalescing for the summer months and then sharing a harvest before separating for the winter. Similarly, summer berry feasts commemorate the tradition of groups rejoining and reconfirming kinship ties after separating for the long winter.

The contemporary *Gi-be Wiikonge*, or "Ghost Supper," a descendant form of the earlier Feast of the Dead (Pflüg, 1992a), happens primarily on the night of October 31/November 1 but also throughout November. The ritual begins before the actual feast with members of the community decorating the graves of relatives and friends. People go about to various cemeteries and burial sites, tidy up the general area, and place ribbons and boughs of cedar on the markers. Often, bits of food and tobacco also are left. Then, someone who has lost a relative, or simply wishes to honor the dead, announces that he or she is hosting a *Gi-be Wiikonge*, saying "I'm cooking . . .," and prepares food in enormous quantities. Word spreads rapidly through the community. In the evening, people from near and far attend. Everyone, including dead relatives and dead friends, "eats." "It's real important to have lots of people come," Soaring Eagle said, "because the more who come and eat, the more spirits are fed." "You feed the guests in honor of the dead," said Lone Wolf. "Each person represents someone who has died. So, it's real important to attend as many as your stomach can handle. Last year, I went to eight in one night."

Although the menu, which depends on one's financial means, differs slightly from house to house, typically the meal has various combinations of corn soup, wild game and fowl, potatoes, wild rice and squash. One feature appears on all menus: fry-bread. Laughing Gull explained that to share fry-bread is particularly important, "as it's something people can always give, despite how poor they are."

At the ritual feast, usually one large table is set where a group is seated and served by the host(s). There is no particular order to who eats when; that is, in terms of some rank by elders, gender, adults/children. Those people for whom there is no room at the table simply wait their turn, chatting, gossiping, telling family stories and milling about. When the first group finishes, another group is seated and served. This rotation continues until the food is

gone, which ends the ceremony. Considerable gaiety and few overt ritual components are present besides the consumption of food itself, except that the host quietly observes two additional ritual acts. First, feeding of the *Gi-be*, the host picks someone nearest the age of the deceased being honored and serves this person either tobacco or special foods the deceased particularly liked, thereby "feeding" the dead. Second, the host burns a plate of food and tobacco or places a plate of food out on a table all night. As hostess of a *Gi-be Wiikonge*, Laughing Gull said the plate is burned or set out for the ancestor who most recently died, and "if it's gone in the morning, the spirit of the dead person has received it. The power of the food is transformed and passed to the dead person, making their spirit strong." Lone Wolf explained his understanding of the *Gi-be Wiikonge*:

It's not only a time set aside to honor our dead, but the dead, the *Gi-be*, are here. Gaiety and eating are important. If the occasion isn't fun, it'd be solemn, and we want to give thanks for all we have by showing our relatives, and friends from other groups—both living and dead—that we're happy and prosperous, and we want to share that with them.

Grey Squirrel offered how she approaches these feasts:

The *Gi-be Wiikonge* is an Odawa get-together when we can all break bread together. Sharing our food, and exchanging our legends and oral traditions, lets us remember our dead, keeping them alive. Sharing our customs brings us closer to our ancestors and to each other. It's a very important dinner because it helps get us back on the Red Path, the way to live a good life.

Clearly, these Odawa traditionalists understand that their identity depends on an ongoing interdependence with the dead. Identity is religiously bestowed, culturally maintained and socially transformed. In this way, the living may substitute for the dead within the ritual context.⁷

The *Gi-be* feast establishes proper relationships between various subgroups: between the individual (human person) and the world at large; between the individual and other individuals (both human persons, other-than human persons, and the dead); and between the individual and other individuals as a group, thereby perpetuating *pimadaziwin*. The feast also cements human relations because it supplies personal and collective orientation and empowerment, and it establishes alliances through gift exchange, especially the exchange of food.

Today, among these other socially constructive and healing actions engaged in by Odawa traditionalists are Elders Councils and Spiritual Get-togethers. These collective activities affirm and strengthen traditional values

and ethics, especially *pimadaziwin*. They reserve time to recount oral tradition and provide a place for participants to remove themselves from their everyday lives and live the traditional ways. They generate a non-secular space-time for people to reassess their current lives, to become empowered through the guidance of the elders, and to return to their everyday lives with a (re)new(ed) collective identity. In other words, they consciously aim to restore right relationships, which makes them a powerful ritual event. During these gatherings, the elders speak, but they also demonstrate ethical behavior to create proper relationships through their ritual actions, and the setting allows all participants active involvement. Everyone receives attention, but the main focus is on young people and those struggling with substance abuse.

Elders Councils and Spiritual Get-togethers that, generally, take place in the summer months, follow a common pattern. Various numbers of elders, pipe-carriers and people from throughout the community gather for four days, preferably in a secluded, wooded area. Resources such as food and firewood are pooled, tents are set up, and a cedar-covered arbor is built. One person is charged with building a fire in the center of the arbor and tending it for the four days and nights. Each morning begins with a sunrise pipe-ceremony, followed by breakfast. The day is spent on recreational activities, such as walking and canoeing, unstructured storytelling, one-to-one chats with elders and pipe-carriers, recounts of oral tradition, demonstrations of traditional crafts, and instruction in the Odawa language. Gossip is passed about what is regarded as the unethical behavior of other people, especially those Odawa who direct their efforts toward non-Indian "wannabes," and people who claim to be keepers of Odawa traditions who are not Indian at all. After dinner, everyone gathers under the arbor.

Each person enters the arbor through an eastern door, walks around the fire clockwise three times, places tobacco in the fire with a silent prayer, then sits down. The organizers of the Council pass a bowl of burning tobacco and sweetgrass to each person, who bathes in the smoke and is thus purified. Each person then receives a gift of tobacco, often in the form of cigarettes. Next, the elders pass an eagle feather, the powerful medium for both purifying the individual's thoughts and empowering him or her to speak honestly. Everyone present knows that the source of the person's voice is a *manido*; this power-person's knowledge being transferred through the feather to the speaker. No social pressure exists for any individual to speak, but those who desire to do so, get up one by one, go to the central fire, and while holding the eagle feather, present their concerns to the group. Most revelations are personal admonitions about transgressions from traditional ways of behaving. For example, at one Elders Council a woman told how she lost three children due to alcohol abuse. At another, a man just out of jail discussed how he beat his wife while under the influence of drugs. At a third, a person revealed that he had gotten drunk the previous night. Following these confessions are formal discourses by the elders and pipe-carriers that address

the people's problems and concerns. Afterward, the group disperses and smaller groups gather around campfires, talking informally, sometimes the entire night.

It seems appropriate to regard Spiritual Get-togethers and Elders Councils as ritual events that reaffirm a unique Odawa identity and sense of community. Like all rituals, they happen in a concentrated and consecrated time and space, when transformation of both the person and the community happens through insight. As a healing event—a call for *pimadaziwin*—they are a medium for restoring right relationships. “They’re a time of intense training,” said Grey Squirrel. “Many ideas are offered and the Old Ways illustrated.” The motive for holding these meetings stems from the deep concern that “traditions are being lost, and the loss of traditions means the loss of power and, therefore, our spiritual wellness and identity,” as Lone Wolf put it. Spiritual Get-togethers and Elders Councils are directed to young people, particularly, because they are “our community’s most valuable resource.”

In all these ritual contexts, one can witness how elders, pipe-carriers, and “medicine-people,” by showing more than telling, use special techniques of communicating with the *manidos* to guide people to proper relationships, which makes these gatherings of traditionalists a ritual, or religious, event. By sharing their knowledge of these powerful communications, in which the wisdom received is power, persons are giving gifts to each other. Thus, the setting is empowering for the entire collective. Such activities as Elders Councils and Spiritual Get-Togethers allow the group to discuss problems, issues and difficulties, and to use them as a means of both personal renewal and collective solidarity. The elders and spiritual leaders do not merely ask people to rid themselves of their problems and show them how through their own behavioral example, they also use the problems constructively as a means of total socio-cosmic renewal. They integrate the problem of alcoholism and social marginalization, for example, into the action of completely renewing their sense of community and empowered identity.

CONCLUSIONS

Odawa rituals suggest transformation and empowerment as important ritual events. Traditionalists use these experiences because they generate a collectively determined identity. This can be conceptualized as follows: Having overcome his or her “illness” through “death” and “rebirth,” the ritual participant transforms his or her human condition by “knowing” the concentrated power of the *manidos* through visions or dreams. Traditionalists regard personalistic dream-knowledge as powerful “medicine” that it is one’s duty to take back to the community to help it “heal” and empower itself. Traditionalists understand that this exchange contributes to *pimadaziwin*—the collectively good, healthy and moral life.

For many Odawa, dreams are the ultimate personal ritual, the principle means for human persons to directly elicit their own power. One's power is the basic source to communicate with, share the attributes of, and transmit power among all ethical persons, human and otherwise. Traditionalists stress that this communication between people keeps traditions alive because it illuminates or directs one to the "Right Path," *pimadaziwin*. Since dreams are the essential guide for personal life, they ultimately function to maintain a healthy community life that results from ethical tradition and action.

Elders stress that collective rituals such as powwows, the "capturing of a tree" at traditional weddings, pipe-ceremonies, naming ceremonies, giveaways, feasts, Spiritual Get-togethers and Elders Councils all "unite the vertical Four Worlds and the horizontal Four Doors," as Laughing Gull put it, placing the ritual participants squarely in the center of this cosmographic map. Although people hold giveaways on many occasions, the purpose is to enact the value of gift by showing generosity and compassion, to thank the human community for being part of it, and to thank the *manidos* for being a part of the larger community of ethical persons. Proper relationships are either reaffirmed or established through giveaways. As we have seen, the head dancers at powwows hold a giveaway in which they give all participants, whether actual dancers or supporters, token gifts: an act of exchange or thanks for participating. They give back something in exchange for the prestige they receive. The giveaway, therefore, is a process of mediation and social reciprocity. Receiving an Odawa name is like a giveaway. It collectively acknowledges a person as part of a traditional Odawa community: as with all of their contemporary rituals, the recipient's self-esteem is enhanced, personal power is increased and identity confirmed—*pimadaziwin* in its fullest connotative sense.

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NOTES

1. Because of the sensitive nature of their current social activism—especially in the eyes of non-Indians—to protect their individual identities, all names of consultants are pseudonyms; traditional Odawan translated into English. For extensive discussion of various aspects of the nature and sensitivity of some Odawa's social activism, see Melissa A. Pflüg, 1992b, 1996a and 1996b.

2. For a discussion of American Indian pipe-ceremonies, generally, see Jordan Paper, 1988.

3. After seeing many pipes for sale at powwows, I asked several people, including a pipe-maker, what they thought about just anyone—especially non-Indians—buying them. They assured me that the sacred and powerful pipes were never bought or sold. But, I also was told that people who buy the pipes at powwows do not understand their meaning: "Folks who buy pipes usually just hang 'em on the wall or want them as a show piece on their mantles."

4. See David Whitehorse 1988 for a concise general description of the pan-cultural role of these events. "Powwow" is an Algonkian word that early Euro-American explorers associated with the healing rituals of shamans.

5. Benjamin R. Kracht 1993, focusing on the Kiowa, has begun to explore this application.

6. The Odawa do not use the term "costume."

7. Fred Ettawageshik 1943 and Wesley Andrews 1984, offer further insight into the function of the "Ghost Supper."

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⁵ **Review: The Kiowa Ghost Dance, 1894-1916: An Unheralded Revitalization Movement**

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