

ETHNOLOGY OF THE NISENAN

BY

RALPH L. BEALS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY

Volume 31, No. 6

pp. 335-414, plates 40-41, 3 figures in text, 1 map

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

1933

ABBREVIATIONS USED

A	Anthropos.
l'A	L'Anthropologie.
AA	American Anthropologist.
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.
ArA	Archiv für Anthropologie.
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications.
AGW-M	Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen.
AJPA	American Journal of Physical Anthropology.
AMNH.	American Museum of Natural History—
-AP	Anthropological Papers.
-B	Bulletin.
-M	Memoirs.
-MA	Memoirs, Anthropological Series.
-MJ	Memoirs, Jesup Expedition.
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology—
-B	Bulletins.
-R	(Annual) Reports.
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology.
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology.
FL	Folk-Lore.
FMNH	Field Museum of Natural History—
-M	Memoirs.
-PAS	Publications, Anthropological Series.
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
ICA	International Congress of Americanists (Comptes Rendus, Proceedings).
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
MAIHF	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—
-C	Contributions.
-IN	Indian Notes.
-INM	Indian Notes and Monographs.
PM	Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—
-M	Memoirs.
-P	Papers.
-R	Reports.
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
SAP-J	Société des Américanistes de Paris, Journal.
SI	Smithsonian Institution—
-AR	Annual Reports.
-CK	Contributions to Knowledge.
-MC	Miscellaneous Collections.
UC-PAAE	University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
UPM-AP	University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum, Anthropological Publications.
USNM	United States National Museum—
-R	Reports.
-P	Proceedings.
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE NISENAN

BY

RALPH L. BEALS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY

Volume 31, No. 6, pp. 335-414, plates 40-41, 3 figures in text, 1 map

Issued March 29, 1933

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introductory remarks	335
Principal informants	337
Definitions of phonetic symbols	339
Material culture	340
Manufactures	340
Stone work	340
Weapons	340
Pipes	341
Textiles	342
Rabbit-skin blankets	342
Baskets	342
Nets	342
Tumpline	343
Houses	343
Types and utilization	343
Dwellings	344
Dance-houses	344
Special structures	345
Clothing and personal adornment	345
Moccasin	345
Snowshoe	345
Hair and beard	345
Ear and nose ornaments	346
Tattooing	346
Animal foods	346
Invertebrates	346
Fishing	347
Deer hunting	347
Bear hunting	348
Rabbit hunting	348
Hunting dogs	349
Traps	349
Bird hunting	349
Distribution	350
Cooking and preserving	350
Plant foods	351
Storage	352
Cooking	352
Paddle, mortar and metate, brush	352
Salt	354
Food ceremonies	354
Games	354
Money	355
Tobacco and smoking	356
Musical instruments	356
Calendar, astronomy, numbers	357
Social organization and practices	358
Political units	358

	PAGE
Social organization and practices—(Continued)	
Chiefs	360
Property inheritance	362
Division of labor	362
Land usage	362
Crimes and punishments	364
Functional families	364
External relations	365
Trade	365
Warfare	366
Festivals	367
The "reporter"	367
Social relations and observances	368
Birth	368
Names and name taboos	369
Menstruation	369
Marriage	370
Kinship terms	373
Personal conduct	375
Berdaches	376
Disposal of the dead	376
Mourning ceremony	378
Religion	379
General concepts	379
Creation	381
Bear ceremonials and beliefs	382
Religious experiences and personal beliefs	382
Shamans	385
Foothill shamans	386
Mountain shamans	388
Bear shamans	390
Spirit shamans	392
Other shamans	393
Miscellaneous beliefs	393
Ceremonials	395
Ceremonial gatherings	397
Ceremonial regalia	397
The dancers	398
The dances	399
The 1872 dances	399
The "second stratum"	403
The "lower stratum"	404
The place of the culture	406
Supplementary vocabulary	409
PLATES	
40. Cradle	411
41. Basketry	413
FIGURES IN TEXT	
1. Salmon harpoon	341
2. Knot used in netting	342
3. Snowshoe	345
Map 1. Nisenan territory	336

ETHNOLOGY OF THE NISENAN

BY
RALPH L. BEALS

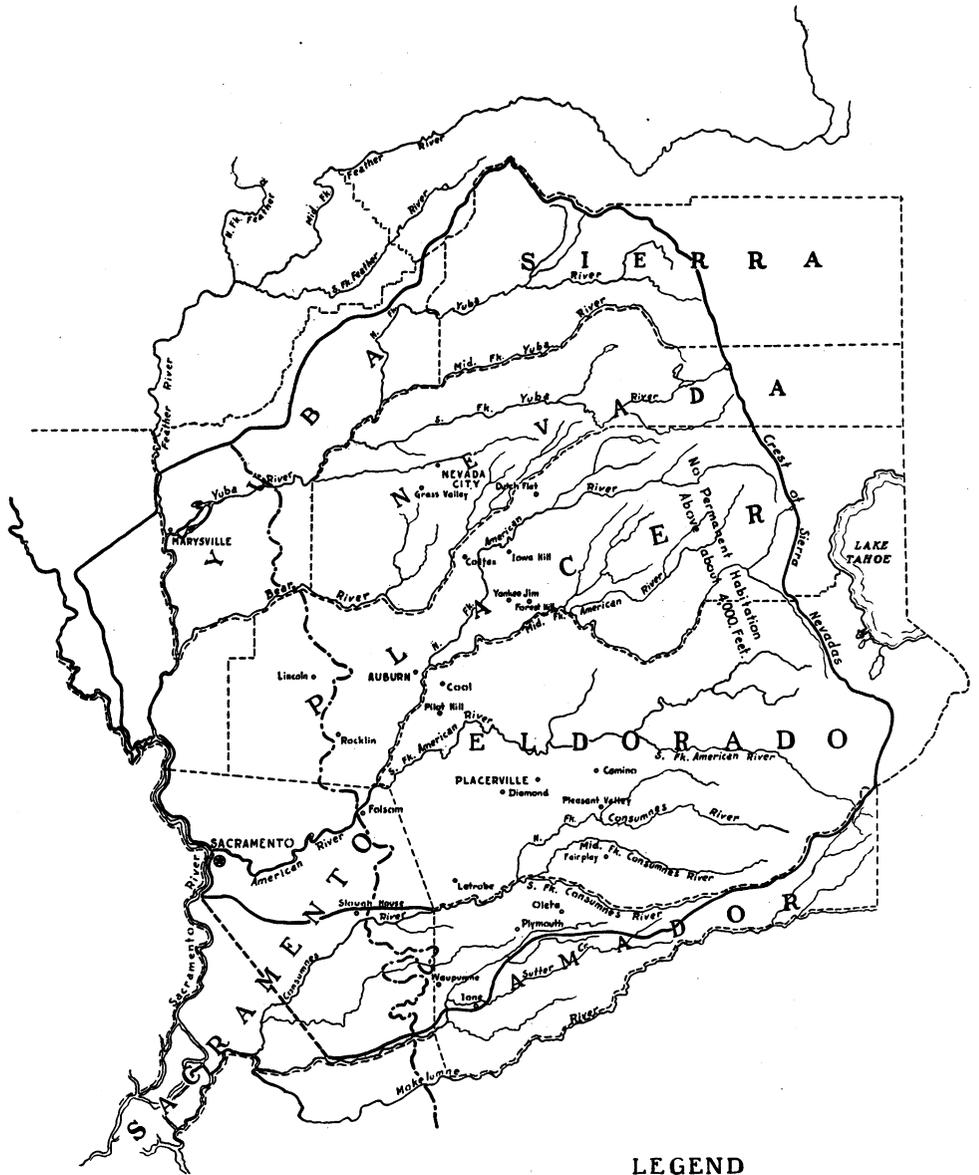
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This paper gives the results of three months' field work during the summer of 1929 among the Nisenan, or, as they are more widely known, the Southern Maidu. The field work was financed partly by the University of California and partly by the Smithsonian Institution.

Despite the fact that the Nisenan are one of the most numerous Californian Indian groups at the present time, they offer considerable difficulty in securing accurate data. Counting mixed bloods, there must be in the neighborhood of a thousand or twelve hundred survivors, but the number of full bloods is very small. They are not located on reservations, for the most part, and are scattered widely through their territory. As they receive no government assistance, they are dependent for their subsistence upon work done for the whites. Their principal occupations are farm work and woodcutting. There are no Nisenan alive at the present time who remember the period before the American occupation.

The Nisenan are located squarely in the middle of the gold country. Coloma, where gold was first discovered, is near the geographical center of Nisenan territory. Consequently the impact of the gold rush was hardest on the Nisenan of any of the California tribes. Their numbers were terribly decimated at the start and all native life had practically vanished within thirty or forty years of the American occupation, save for a few religious and ceremonial observances and the occasional resort to native food supplies. It is only because no attempt was made at Christianization or Americanization that there is today any possibility of recording data on their primitive customs.

The hill and mountain Nisenan, from whom the information in this paper was secured, are still scattered over most of their original territory, comprising the major portions of El Dorado, Amador, Placer, and Nevada counties. The number of informants in the various places varies considerably.



LEGEND

- Tribal boundary. Broken lines indicate disagreement in data.
- - - County lines.
- · - · Geographical edge of valley, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Irrigation Map, 1922.

Map 1. Nisenan territory with principal Indian and white settlements.

PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

William Joseph, Amador county. Claims to be full blood but may not be. About 75, lived native life until 15. Has traveled considerably and spent some weeks at Department of Anthropology of the University of California in connection with practical linguistics course. Supplied Paul-Louis Faye with material for paper, *Notes on the Southern Maidu*. Most intelligent and willing informant.

Sam Kessler, Placerville, El Dorado county. Full-blooded, perhaps 60. Lived more or less native life until about 20. Still thoroughly imbued with native viewpoint. Willing informant with good intelligence but lacking critical faculty distinguishing William Joseph.

Andrew Jackson, Camino, El Dorado county. Oldest informant (possibly one exception). Unsatisfactory because feeble and obviously inaccurate.

Jim Dick, Auburn, Placer county. About 60, active, energetic. Was chief at Auburn. Difficult informant at first. Lived native life to considerable extent in youth. Statements checked well with other informants.

Jane Lewis, Auburn, Placer county, of great but uncertain age. Difficult informant because of deafness; gave some valuable information on ceremonials having been a dancer since youth.

J. Porter, Forest Hill, Placer county. Largely Americanized. Gave some important information.

Frank Suehead, Colfax, Placer county. About 65. Nothing on ceremonials but possessed best information about material culture. For example, is only man still knowing technique of net-making.

Dick Childs, Nevada City, Nevada county. Well preserved; 60. Linguistic material indicates is Northwestern Maidu by birth, but gave some useful information on Nisenan culture.

Dick Jaime, Nevada City, Nevada county. Probably about 80. Very slow informant, information limited, memory failing; nevertheless extremely careful in statements. Assisted by his wife who is younger, better preserved.

Other informants interviewed briefly were of less value. Of informants used by other workers, some were dead, some ill, others inaccessible. Many young people gave valuable assistance in establishing friendly relations with older people.

The Nisenan are referred to by Dixon as the Southern Maidu.¹ The term Nisenan seems more desirable for reasons given by Kroeber.² Save for a few points indicated in the text, the information in this account is almost entirely from the hill and mountain Nisenan. The hill and mountain Nisenan differ as much from the valley Nisenan as they do from the Maidu and Miwok to the north and south of them.³ The mountain Nisenan have been described by Powers⁴ and Faye.⁵ Both accounts are inadequate because of brevity and Powers' because of its lack of specificity

¹ Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, AMNH-B 17, 1905. Cited as: Dixon.

² A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 78:1-1392, 1925. Cited as: Handbook.

³ For a description of the valley Nisenan see A. L. Kroeber, *The Valley Nisenan*, this series, 24:253-290, 1929. Cited as: Nisenan.

⁴ Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, CNAE 3, Washington, 1897.

⁵ Paul-Louis Faye, *Notes on the Southern Maidu*, this series, 20:35-56, 1923.

as well. Faye's excellent data were secured from a single individual with whom I also worked and found very good. Faye, however, apparently did not distinguish between the various regions within Nisenan territory and so gives details which are true for some parts of the area and not for others. In working with me, Faye's informant denied that some of the practices given by Faye existed in his own particular territory, and attributed them to other districts. Where his information as to locality was checked it proved correct. This is particularly true of shamanism, Faye's informant having described to him as being general all the types of doctor's initiation among the Nisenan, whereas there is in fact considerable regional variation. Faye's paper is particularly good, however, in describing specifically the foothill dances of the 1872 dance revival (see p. 399). For the most part he secured more detailed descriptions than I was able to obtain.

In organizing the material, so as to facilitate comparison, Dixon's treatment of his Maidu material was followed as closely as possible, although the logic of his arrangement is often questionable.

Most of the geographical data secured by me were turned over to Hugh M. Littlejohn, who is preparing a paper on the ethnogeography of the Nisenan, and he was kind enough to make available to me his ethnographic data. His data are indicated by his initial, L. No special effort is made to discuss the boundaries of the Nisenan. It will be noted that the boundaries differ somewhat from those given by Kroeber.⁶ (See map.) The general geographical discussion, however, awaits publication by Mr. Littlejohn.

There existed among the Nisenan two or four subdivisions, depending on the viewpoint. In point of outlook and cultural interests, a sharp line should be drawn between the valley Nisenan and those of the hills and mountains. Dwellers in Waupumne near Ione, for instance, appear to have been much more cognizant of and friendly toward those people living in Auburn or Colfax or even on the Bear river than toward those living in the near-by plains.

Viewed from the standpoint of linguistic differences there were probably four main groupings although apparently every political unit showed slight dialectic differences. The valley people again should be set apart, while the hill and mountain people were separated into three groups by two east and west lines indicating sharper breaks than existed between the political groupings. One of these was somewhere in the neighborhood of the Bear river. Another must have been approximately

⁶ Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 37.

along the middle fork of the American river. It is impossible to locate them exactly as the people in many of the intervening regions have vanished. This division is based largely on the statements of surviving Indians at such places as Nevada City, Auburn, Colfax, and Placerville.

This fourfold division would hold in very similar fashion if the viewpoint were cultural rather than linguistic. In other words, there were very definite breaks between the culture of the various regions, although these were primarily differences in minor features only.

Another division running across this fourfold grouping must also be recognized between the hills and the mountains. In general the culture of the mountains appears merely to have been a less complex version of that of the foothills.

A few geographical terms used throughout the paper should be defined. A village is a unit of permanent settlement. The word community refers to a political unit under one chief.

DEFINITIONS OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

k', a glottalized form of English k, which is also used.

c, used for English ch; almost always preceded by t, representing approximately English tch.

sh, same value as in English.

ai, sound of English i in pine.

e and i represent the closed form of vowels as in English pay and pea.

E and I indicate the open forms as in English met and hit.

Umlauted forms are approximately as in German.

L, where recorded, indicates surd l. Probably used more frequently than it was heard.

au approximates the beginning sound in English awful.

Glottal stops represented by apostrophe (').

Diphthongs not heard, but to ensure clarity hyphen used to separate vowels which in combination have other values in English.

Length of vowels indicated by raised period following.

r may occur more frequently than written but apparently rare; uvular when it occurs.

Other sounds approximately as in English.

Because of dialectic differences each word is localized by giving in following parentheses the first letter of the county from which it was recorded; e.g., po (A) means the word is from an Amador county informant. Words in general usage are not so indicated. The word Nisenan among the foothill peoples has a definitely open e but to avoid orthographical confusion the form used by Kroeber is retained without the symbol for the open vowel.

The material secured is presented in compacted form of expression, but without omission or curtailment of any data. It is hoped that brevity of statement may be equally acceptable to the reader after his first impression of unfamiliarity.

MATERIAL CULTURE

MANUFACTURES

In general, Nisenan technology paralleled closely that of the Maidu. Outstanding or special features are: sinew-backed bows of yew except in the mountains; primary arrow release; absence of armor; smoking pipes chiefly of stone; frame for weaving rabbitskin blankets different from Maidu; import of finest basket materials; a limited number of forms made in twining.

Stone Work

Practically same as Maidu (Dixon, 134). Following items are different: No Nisenan informants remembered hafting. Prismatic quartz knife struck off by single blow (one informant). Sample found at old campsite identified by informant. Shape triangular, cutting edge on long side, other sides square and flat. Handy, efficient tool. Held between thumb and forefinger; sharp enough to cut hide or meat.

In private collection near Applegate, a mace, crudely polished stone head, somewhat oval cross-section, wood handle, possibly willow withe, poorly made. Bought near Forest Hill, almost certainly Nisenan. Grooved axe described by one informant; unknown to other informants.

Weapons

Bow sinew-backed, always of yew wood (one informant, cedar). Only heart wood of young shoots used, scraped and rubbed into shape. Sinews pounded in water or soaked and chewed until soft, hung over head after separating, pulled off and glued onto bow singly but interlaced, whole bound with sinew cord. Glue made by boiling salmon heads or soaproot (?). Bow string of sinew rolled on thigh.

Higher mountains: small game bows of cedar or maple without sinew backing; unstrung bow straight (L's informant). Bow kept dry, unstrung, in deerskin quiver with arrows.

Arrows usually have 6-in. hardwood foreshaft. (L's informant: made of "shrub which has blue berries.") Main shaft of light hollow wood growing by rivers (alder ?—one informant: "whistles of same wood"). Pith removed with sharp stick, foreshaft inserted, glued with melted pitch; joint wrapped with sinew.

In part of higher mountains only war arrows stone-tipped, usually with reddish quartz-like stone. Elsewhere hunting arrows usually stone-pointed. Bird arrows generally blunt or have wooden points with guards to prevent point penetrating far. Guard sometimes two crosspieces lashed on.

Grooved arrow-straighteners described similar to Maidu (Dixon, 135). In mountains secured by trade from near Rocklin.

Arrows always 3-feathered; yellowhammer, grouse, pigeon, chicken-hawk feathers for hunting arrows; eagle (sometimes chicken-hawk) feathers reserved for war ar-

rows. Feather split down middle, tied with sinew near nock with quill side out. When sinew dry, turned back along shaft, reversing position of quill; other end tied carefully with fine sinew thread by rolling along thigh. Feathers made uniform by trimming with hot coal. (L—sinew for tying feathers, from back of deer; for bow string, from legs.)

Many considered certain colored stone points especially lucky; would trade 4 or 5 to 1 for their lucky colors.

Arrows poisoned. Rattlesnake teased with liver (any animal) until struck several times. Liver decomposed, point and foreshaft coated with it. Spears sometimes poisoned.

Stripes indicated ownership of bows, arrows.

Bow held horizontally, thumb opposed to fingers on side toward user, palm up. Arrow shot between fore and middle fingers of left hand, drawn by holding between thumb and second knuckle of forefinger of right hand. Pull all on arrow.

Armor unknown.

Spears stone-pointed.

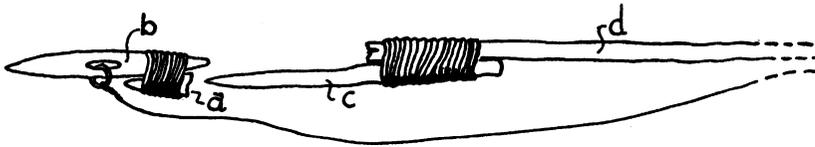


Fig. 1. Salmon harpoon.

Harpoons bone-pointed (fig. 1). Large quill butt (a) tied to bone point (b) with sinew, into which fits point of foreshaft (c). Latter usually worked from leg bone of deer, lashed to main shaft (d). String attached to main shaft and wrapped around it tightly when weapon thrown.

Words referring to weapons:

Yew wood, yolilip (E); yokolok (P)

Bow, pa'ndok (E, P, N); pandok' (A)

Arrow foreshaft wood ('California hickory'), 'kewe (E)

Arrow-shaft wood, budukumdu or budukumtea (E)

Chicken-hawk feathers, su'yumye (E)

Eagle feathers, bu'klokamye (E)

Quiver, bo'hop (E)

Arrow, pu'nan (P); pa'nan (N); o(r)la'-ü (A)

Spear, se'.basau (P)

Harpoon, k'ok'o (A)

Harpoon point, k'ok'omnok' (A)

Harpoon shaft, k'ok'omtea (A)

Harpoon foreshaft, büm (A)

Harpoon quill socket, k'ok'omoho'mit (A)

Pipes

Pipes, o'nk'ula or k'ula, bowl on end, about foot long, usually of stone. Wooden pipes occasionally made. Bowl large so single filling passes around large company. Occasionally found but also made. No veneration attached to it as among Maidu (Dixon, 138). Manzanita and pine used to make wooden pipes, soapstone for stone pipes (L).

Textiles

Rabbit-skin blankets.—Woven: prepared skin strips wound about 2 horizontal poles, one near ground, other higher; then strings woven in horizontally (L). Maidu do same but poles vertical (Dixon, 148).

Baskets.—Materials. Finest baskets from roots, *dök'on*, *lök'on* (P) and *pitaw* (P) from Sacramento valley. Are important trade articles. Soft bark of *pitaw* rubbed off, stalk split. For decoration *lül* (probably redbud); red decoration, *lek* (P) used; black decoration, fern, *ta'tat* (P), used (mostly L).

Technique and patterns. All coiled except burden baskets and seed beaters; coiling clockwise (viewed from top; no flat baskets seen). (See Kroeber, Handbook, 414.) Informants say always done thus. Coiling on 3-rod foundation of willow, peeled, scraped to uniform thickness. Sewing element generally redbud. White gathered in spring and peeled; red in fall or winter and not peeled. In part of lower mountains and valley, and sometimes near Placerville, fern or other roots used for coloring.

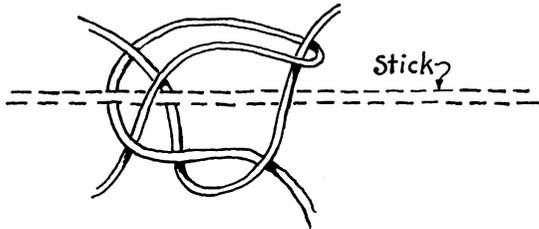


Fig. 2. Knot used in netting.

Ground of baskets practically white when new, quickly changes to pleasing yellowish white or cream. Pattern generally reddish brown. Modifications of pyramidal forms most common design elements. Designs simple but bold, pleasing; shapes generally good. Feather ornamentation once used (some informants); most present Indians have never seen it. No specimens known. Water bottle, similar to Shoshonean, described as a regular form (1 informant); no specimens found. Edges of baskets bound. Large baskets, made for chiefs, measured about 4 ft. across, from 2½ to 3 ft. high; used in "big times."

Carrying baskets and seed beaters made in plain or diagonal twine.

Every woman made baskets; few made fine ones. Designs probably property of maker as it is said stolen baskets could always be identified. Designs named, but forgotten now.

Making of close-woven seed-tight burden baskets considered unlucky; done only by woman who is *yu'hup* (lucky person). Mountains: special grass gathered for these baskets. If certain noise heard when pulled, entire party goes home at once, otherwise rattlesnake would bite someone.

Preferred awl: deer's lower front leg bone.

Tule mats made only in valley.

Nets.—Nets made many sizes, shapes including 100-foot rabbit nets, fish seines, netted caps. Technique always same except for variations necessitated by shape. String (and rope) of wild hemp, *pu* (E), *po* (A), or kind of milkweed. That of wild hemp called *k'uk* (E, A).

Hemp stalk stripped of leaves, dried, chewed, split, dried again, broken up, outside peeled off with stick. Twine spun on thigh. Finished string wound on two-piece wood shuttle about 12 in. long. Knot made on stick (fig. 2). After 10 knots, then slipped

off, another series begun. Width of mesh measured by fingers. 18 in. of large fishnet daily average (cf. Dixon, 142-3).

Ownership. Rabbit nets generally bought by chief for welfare of camp. Informants felt nets really community property despite chief's ownership.

Tumpline.—Tumpline used for packstrap; perhaps woven; no specimens or accurate descriptions secured. Netted where passed over forehead (1 informant). Mountains: tumpline of buckskin; breast strap more common (1 informant).

Words referring to textiles:

Basket, do'nte (N); u'nte (E)

Big platter, do (N)

Tight-woven carrying basket, wa'ulo or wo'lo (N); wo'lo' (P)

Bowl or drinking basket, mu'spu (A, E, N)

Ordinary carrying basket, ko'yo (E); ko'yo (A); k'o'yo (A); bu'hu (P); koiyo (P); ulhu (P)

Acorn sifter tray, tɛ'le (E); te'u (A)

Foundation rods, teup (E)

Sewing elements, pa (E)

Platters, pa'tai (E)

Seed beater, pa'tai (A)

Storage basket, pu'lus (A)

Small basket, pula'i (A)

Pan-like cooking basket for cooking meat, clover, acorn bread, u'lit (A)

Sifter tray of chaparral, pati. (A)

Basket for drinking acorn soup, pe'la.s (A)

Net, bin (A, P); bin (E)

Tumpline, sisik (P)

HOUSES

Types and Utilization

The Nisenan made two kinds of permanent structures, the dwelling house, hu, and the semisubterranean earth-covered dance-house, k'um. The dwelling house seems to have been used exclusively for living purposes, but the dance-house might sometimes be used as a dwelling house, though not as a regular thing. This differs from the Northern Maidu practice.⁷ It might also be used to accommodate visitors. At Nevada City there were at one time five round houses or dance-houses. Only one of these was used for ceremonial purposes. The others were for the accommodation of visitors who became weather-bound. The dance-houses belonged to the chiefs, although around Placerville there was some evidence that they might also belong to other people of wealth and position. A true sweat-house was in use only sporadically.

It is probable that the dance-house was used most of the time. In the winter it was very warm so that even in the coldest weather it was possible to sleep naked in the house with a fire going. In warm weather, if

⁷ Dixon, 168 *et seq.*

there were no fire, it was often very cool. Consequently it was probably used even more than accorded with the native theory of its use. But throughout most of the area it was built primarily as a ceremonial house with not more than one to a settlement, except at Nevada City.

Dwellings

Dwelling house, hu (A, E, P), 'hu (P); several houses or village, hu'pu. Built on ground surface or sunk few inches. House sites now visible show only slight depression. Frame: green oak poles erected, first 4 in pairs, one of each pair forked; 6 or 8 others laid against these. Mountains: large slabs of cedar or pine bark laid vertically against frame; 2 thicknesses usual. Where bark scarce (foothills), grass, brush, or wormwood tied in bundles with wild grapevines and laid on poles "like valley people used tules." Door: no particular orientation. Usually covered with bark slabs (laid back when open) or pile of brush pulled before opening. Smokehole at top. Floor thickly covered with pine needles or leaves. Fire in center. Earth sometimes banked part way up outside for warmth (cf. Maidu practice, Dixon, 172 *et seq.*).

Ground plan round (also for dance-house). Camino informant insisted houses there rectangular, of "double lean-to" type. Discounted, as form unusual; other informants from near-by denied. Possibly referred to hunting blinds or temporary camps, though even latter generally round.

Smokehole, wr'ndo (P); door, ya'wæ (P, ya'we, N); fireplace, sa'mhm (P); wall side of fire, hungman (P); door side of fire, yawman (P).

Bedding: rabbitskin blankets or deerskins; some said only good hunters had. Many sleep on ground (on pine needles ?). Fire burns all night when cold. Mountains: people sometimes sleep between two fires.

If death, injury, illness, or snake bite to house occupant, move few feet and rebuild to avoid further misfortune.

Dance-Houses

Dance or ceremonial house (round house or sweat-house in English), k'um (sometimes ne'mhu in N, particularly when most important k'um meant; ne'm, "principal"; "head"). Nevada City people call Auburn round house, ne'mhu, but others in district k'um. Indicates Auburn dominance over North Fork country.

Chief and assistants supervised construction. 3-5 ft. excavation; forked oaks used for center posts; young pines or buckeyes for rafters, outer ends at edge of excavation, tied with wild grapevines. Buckeye rafters preferred in foothills; considered rot-resistant. Rafters in Nevada City covered with bark slabs and dirt; elsewhere with successive layers of brush, grass, pine needles, dirt. Round smokehole at top. Door always faces east; closed with bark slabs. Diameter 30 ft. up. One, near Latrobe, reputed largest (70 ft. diameter).

2 to 4 center posts according to size of house. No post directly before drum. Latter always opposite door. Post to left of drum (facing door) specially sacred, called ho'kumsidok' (A). If 2 rows of posts before drum, one nearer fire sacred, treated with respect; if not, might break or bad luck result. Main post in Ione reservation round house whittled by disrespectful young men; as result cracked from end to end. No other post cracked.

K'um used for ceremonial gatherings, assemblies, local feasts, reception of visitors. Floor usually covered thickly with pine needles, but lacks regular bed (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 176).

Special Structures

Huts for rattlesnake victims or girls' first menstruation usually temporary brush structures. Character probably depended on weather. Built like dwelling houses. No regular names for these or widow's mourning hut.

Sweat-house proper: vanished early but apparently existed. Held at most 4 or 5, usually 1. Frequently, perhaps always, temporary structure of brush or bark, leaves, dirt. Part of time sweat-house conical like dwelling house. No special name. Construction directed by doctor. Apparently used only for curing certain diseases (e.g., formerly much used for smallpox, followed by cold plunge).

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

In general, clothing was scant, adornment moderate. Moccasins were known, but not much used. Buckskin seems to have been little employed. Ear and nose ornaments and tattooing were the principal adornments.

Men and women practically naked winter and summer. Men generally wear loin cloth of deerskin or sometimes of wire grass pounded soft and twisted (L—maple bark). Women wear sort of apron of wire grass or maple bark pounded soft (L). Occasionally single deerskin tied over shoulders as cloak, or rabbitskin blanket worn. Women oftener than men wear deerskin cloaks, hair inside, skin scraped or rubbed soft.

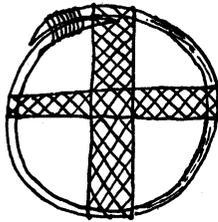


Fig. 3. Snowshoe.

Moccasin

Of soft deerskin, sewed with awl; shape not remembered. Rarely worn, because little use in mountains, worthless in rain. (See Maidu, Dixon, 156, for different viewpoint.)

Snowshoe (tcu'-ai, E, tsu'-ai, P)

Round Californian type resembling Maidu (Dixon, 162). Frame: 1-2 bent willow (or hazel) sticks. Netting, see figure 3. Foot laced tight, no heel play. Use: mainly packing trails around villages.

Hair and Beard

Men wore hair to shoulders; women, long. Cut with sharp rock against stick. Netted cap worn hunting or traveling to prevent catching hair in brush. Pine burrs after stripped by squirrels used as combs. Beard plucked customarily after evening meal, lying on back by fire. Pitch sometimes put on fingers. Not all face depilicated at one time. Neither sex removed body or pubic hair.

Ear and Nose Ornaments

Considerable difference in ear ornaments. Elaborate ear piercing ceremony of southern foothills described (p. 371). Mountains: men habitually wore bone ornaments, usually feather decorated, called monomtea (N). Ears pierced in infancy. Nasal septum of some women pierced (Maidu men only, pierced nose, Dixon, 166). Lower mountains: only dancers' ears pierced after learning to dance. Abandoned practice before 1872 revival (1 informant).

If person piercing ears has "good hand," healing more rapid. Men operate on boys; women on girls. Mountains: man's ear holes enlarged gradually by inserting progressively larger sticks. Large ornaments not worn until adult. Men wore small bone in nasal septum. Women same, and sometimes small ear ornaments. First hole made with oak leaf (1 informant).

Tearing out man's ear ornaments, insult. Abused wives avenged selves thus, ridiculing husbands.

Tattooing

Frequently practiced. Punctured with bunch of pine needles, juice of blue flower squeezed in (L). Some denied practice, including old men. Two Washo women married into tribe are tattooed.

ANIMAL FOODS

Nearly all available foods were eaten. No insect or invertebrate is mentioned as having been avoided; nor any edible plant. The Nisenan did specifically avoid eating the dog and the grizzly bear, possibly also the wolf, coyote, and reptiles. Birds known not to have been eaten were the buzzard, eagle, and northern pileated woodpecker. The last two were feared. The buzzard was not feared as it is by the Maidu, but nevertheless was not eaten by the Nisenan. Salmon seem to have been of some importance in diet. Hunting was much more often by groups than by lone hunters. This applies to the taking of deer and bear as well as rabbits and squirrels. Nets are mentioned for rabbits and various birds. Dogs were definitely prized for their help in hunting.

Used nearly all available food resources. Dog, grizzly bear, probably wolf, coyote, reptiles not eaten. Buzzard not eaten; not feared as in north. Eagles and northern pileated woodpecker feared, not eaten. No edible plants avoided.

Invertebrates

All classes eaten, including grubs, earthworms. Latter brought to surface of damp spots at certain seasons by pounding ground with club. Roasted by shaking on trays with hot rocks.

Yellowjacket (epen, P) larvae roasted similarly. Nests found by men or boys with unusually keen eyesight who followed insects on clear, cloudless days. Lizard meat exposed to attract yellowjackets and leg of grasshopper, colored white, inserted in their jaws while eating to make it easier to follow them to nests. Hunter waited until

all insects in nest at twilight, placed ignited tuft of pine needles in hole, blowing smoke down. When insects stupefied, nest dug up. Sometimes whole nest roasted over coals, eaten with acorn soup. Some specialized in this work.

Hornet nests burned at night with pine-needle brush on stick. Man near Forest Hill attempted by daylight; died of stings.

Grasshoppers, *ɛ-ni'* (P) caught by driving toward narrow-mouthed pits dug in open place. Each man dug own. Around each, straw or pine needles scattered for 6-8 ft. Grasshoppers driven by beating up brush; hide in grass and pine needles. These ignited. Some grasshoppers killed and roasted by fire; others fly in holes, removed into fine mesh bags, each handful squeezed to kill insects. When roasted at home in basket with hot rocks, turn red. Dried, usually saved until winter when pounded fine, mixed with acorn soup.

In mountains large area sometimes covered with about 3 in. pine needles in which insects hid, which then fired, killing, cooking them.

Grasshoppers considered healthful food, acquiring virtues of medicinal plants eaten. As more plentiful in valley and foothills, traded to mountain people for black oak acorns.

Fishing

Salmon.—Salmon, *mai* (P), *mai-i* (E), (and lamprey eels) most prized water food.

Spear and harpoon used. Former simple pole 10-20 ft. long. Latter described (p. 341). Salmon nets, *ma'ɛmbɪn* (P) (fish net, *ho'ɛmbɪn*, P), used extensively. Bars, falls, *dsu'dülu* (L-P) best fishing places. Nets of willow (*xia*, L-P) hung from 2 long poles in V formation at end of large shallow pool. Fish driven into nets which closed. Sometimes 2-3 villages joined for this. Ran nets around smaller pools or place under falls, one end higher than other so salmon falling back from attempt to jump falls, slid ashore.

Foothills: set gill nets with floats above, spring pole at bottom. Fish jaws hung from pieces of tule attached to floats made ringing noise when fish entangled, spring pole released by watcher; fish removed, pole set again.

At falls in lower mountains salmon taken with bare hands during heavy runs. One at Mumford bar belonged to Chief Hunter Bill; inherited from father, also chief. Another at Folsom owned by chief there. Not clear if falls owned by virtue of chieftainship or private property. In both cases considerable trade in dried fish for acorn flour, hazel-nuts, *mānzanita* berries, other articles.

Dip nets used in quiet water, lakes. Fishhooks unknown.

On most streams salmon range above limit of permanent habitation. Ascended S. fork American r. to Strawberry near summit.

Mai-i' pom osto'k (E), "I eat the salmon."

Lamprey eels.—Brush (or willow) basket about 5 ft. long, balloon-shaped, 6-in. mouth, tied under fall with wild grapevines. After week, untied, several men hauled rapidly ashore.

Fish poisoned with soaproot and "weed growing flat on ground" (L's notes).

Deer Hunting

Deer, *du'pɛ* (N), *k'ut* (A, E), rarely hunted by individuals unless good hunters with "luck." Mountains: hunters have medicine for hunting which shared at "big times" or lost virtue. Commonest hunting methods: run deer down in relays or "play dog" and drive toward hunters on ridges near known runways. In fall brush burned toward center of large circle where frequently several hunters stationed in clearing who shot animals as driven in (deer primary object but other animals also taken).

Fire drives called t'otsik (E), tötshik (L-P). If animal killed and partly cooked, meat wrapped in fir boughs (mountains). If water drunk during drive someone might be burned up.

Deer-hunting parties usually accompanied by doctor making "medicine." Not paid but received share of kill. Parties stayed out week unless deer killed before. First person to reach deer had choice of meat.

Individual hunters used deer-head disguises; particularly during rutting season. Sometimes head worked out of wood, burned Douglas fir pitch simulating eyes. Antelope hunted similarly in valley. Abandoned because whites often shot by mistake.

El Dorado county: deer sometimes caught in snares "like quail snares" but larger (L's informant). Deer fences not used (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 192).

Deer cleaned where killed; entrails saved; stomach cleaned and filled with blood.

Phrases referring to deer hunting:

sa ti' di'li-e', we go drive (deer) with fire

homo o'pe di'a, let's go hunt (deer)

mu'se, hit him! or I guess he killed him (it)

Bear Hunting

Bear, ko'pa (N, E), ka'pa (A); several bears, kapamlok (A); hunted, particularly in mountains. Ordinarily grizzly bears, ta'kapa (A), avoided; believed wounded one killed in revenge. In planning hunt, word "bear" never used, otherwise animal forewarned by quivering muscles; used instead k'uton (E), animal, and held up hand with fingers bent forward at second joint, representing bear foot. Talked much to bear on all occasions (L).

Brown bears, notokapa (A), often taken hibernating. Say can cut throats before awaken. Are believed to store pitchy pine knots which eat while hibernating. Sometimes one man enters den with narrow passageway and shoots bear; then stands with feet on rocks on each side of passageway; bear rushes out between legs; other hunters shoot outside. Only good runners hunted bears. Bears sometimes driven out of lairs with burning oak logs (L).

Spear also used. If bear charged, is impaled on spear with butt planted in ground. When bear, but not other game, killed, hunters shout 4 times to inform people. Nevada county: only old people eat bear.

Rabbit Hunting

Jackrabbits, bo-ye (E), boiye (N), boye (P, A); cottontails, palal (P); brush rabbits, sewe (P). Most frequently driven into nets belonging to chief who purchased from makers. Are about 100 yds. long., about 5 ft. high. Join nets to make fence up to mile in length. Rabbits killed with clubs. If 3-4 strike net at once in same place, sometimes break it, escape. Foxes sometimes caught also. Use of net was denied by L's Placerville informant; but claimed by older informants, same region.

Cottontails driven out of burrows with sticks. During mating season, hunters, hidden in blinds like bird blinds, call rabbits with whistle of green leaf between 2 pieces of buckeye bark about 1 in. square.

Foothills: rabbits often driven out of brush patches; men stationed on knolls watch and show burrows to hunters.

Squirrels.—Gray squirrels, cambau (P), prized; usually several men hunt together. Older man climbs tree; scares it to ground where others shoot or run down, catch by tail and hit against tree or rock. Each man gets squirrels caught, less division with older man. Consequently much rivalry, shoving, and tipping. Recrimination and abuse only redress. Half-grown rabbits and ground squirrels also run down.

Hunting Dogs

Used extensively in hunting; carefully trained for different game. Worthless dog not kept. Valued up to \$100 for good hunter (1 informant); no doubt exaggeration.

Traps

Used to some extent. Gopher trap, silē (A): noose attached to bent sapling, trigger forgotten. Seen all over in valleys. Traps visited every evening, emptied, reset. Gophers, hime' (A), hē'me (N), cooked in hot ashes without cleaning, skinned when cooked.

Names of some animals:

- Wolf, lola' (A)
- Coyote, ole'' (A) (More common name—dape)
- Wild greyhound (?), pikilipice (A)
- Mountain lion, he'lit (A)
- Fox, how (A, E)
- Bobcat, tuluku' (A)
- Dog, su'ku (E)
- Lynx, toloma' (A)
- Mouse, bu'se (N)
- Mole, yutdudr. (N)
- Meadow mouse, yo'so (N)

Bird Hunting

Quail (most hunted), ducks, geese, grouse, even blue jay and woodpecker eaten.

Quail fences.—Quail hunting practically profession for some men who trade quail and bird flesh for other meat and acorns. Quail fences (most common hunting method): low barriers only 8–9 in. high running diagonally up open hill slopes (quail habitually feed uphill). Snares of women's hair hung in triangular openings every few feet. Long-haired women considered fortunate, sold hair to owner of fence. Sometimes several built fence; shared proceeds. Quail hunters usually prosperous. Snares also used for rats, other birds.

Snares emptied early morning. Between 9 and 10, again at 4 slowly beat up brush below fence, emptying snares afterwards. With mountain quail frequently take whole flock as don't take alarm, but valley quail often fly when one caught. Meat dried.

Bird blinds.—Pine or fir branches leaned against horizontal pole or several poles leaned against each other, covered. Birds attracted by imitating their calls, especially yellowhammer. One or 2 pine burrs, feathers stuck on them, placed on pole which often set near-by as bird rest. Blue jays particularly attracted this way. Blinds used especially in fall. Hunter has several blinds, not using same blind for several days.

Birds, especially quail, hunted at night with torches.

Foothills: used arrows with crosspieces to prevent from entering deeply in flesh. *Mountains:* used special arrows about 5 ft. long without feathering, presumably with guard (notes not clear).

Nets and snares.—Snares of hair set low near water where birds drink. Nets set to drop over hillside springs; catch quail, in particular, this way.

Ducks caught at resting places by nets set on 10 to 12-ft. poles. Ducks returning from feeding at dusk enter nets which are "drawn up like a tobacco sack." Also

caught by cracking water oak acorns, burying in mud in about 2 ft. water; semicircular net arranged to fall across place; song sung to bring ducks. In week or 10 days ducks find acorns; many congregate. White-fish crane-skin waved by man standing on distant knoll when all ducks under water; man in near-by pit releases net.

Bird nests robbed. If fledglings small, not taken but nest watched, birds taken just before flying.

Woodpecker nests located, holes stopped up at night. Flesh eaten, crests sold.

Seeds soaked in manzanita cider used to attract quail. Say birds become intoxicated, but this doubtful as all informants seem agreed cider not fermented aboriginally.

Names of birds:

Valley quail, hunpi' (A), ha'npai (N)

Mountain quail, yuhui (N)

California woodpecker, panok (N), pana'k (P)

Northern pileated woodpecker, wa'mukmuk (N)

Grouse, hu'k(u)wa (N)

Chicken hawk, tæktæk (N)

A large hawk, bukla (N)

Buzzard, hus (N)

Eagle, bon (P)

Yellowhammer, waulok (P)

Blue jay, tea'i-it (P)

Duck, poiye (E)

Bird, tütin (N)

Distribution

Large game generally shared with camp regardless of killer; small game generally property of killer, but no rigid rules. If acorns abundant, surplus picked and given to oldest man in village, who subsequently gives to families or other villages without supplies. Game always divided among whole village (some informants). Such certainly case when whole village or several villages combined in hunt. (Other informants: man does not divide game if hunting alone.) Probably division based largely on size of game and actual needs of village. If food abundant, division unlikely.

Hunter's breakfast: little acorn soup, perhaps bit of meat in early morning; no more until return, often late night.

Cooking and Preserving

Meat, ku'su (E), and fish broiled over coals or cooked in hot ashes.

Flesh dried without salt; placed in sun, turned every 2-3 hrs. Brought inside at night to keep off dew. When dry, pounded fine, stored in baskets; meat with pieces of fat. Nothing else mixed with it, except possibly little salt, but this not general.

Dried meat or fish kept in house or buried under acorns in storage bins. Animal and fish bones pulverized; eaten for strength (L).

PLANT FOODS

The utilization of plants for food was of the general central Californian type and offers few peculiarities except of detail. Both first-acorn and first-salmon ceremonies were observed among the more northern Nisenan. Details unfortunately are scant but suffice to indicate that the rituals lacked elaborateness.

Acorns.—Staple as elsewhere in California. Black oak acorns most prized, water oak least. 6 or 7 varieties recognized and named. Foothill and valley people trade with mountain people for black oak acorns.

Gathered by women although men often "shake down" limbs. Hulled and pounded in portable mortars or rock cavities, flour sifted, i.e., fine flour separated from coarser particles by tossing on tray with slight circular motion, working coarser particles to one side.

Leaching: flour put on cleared hard ground, water poured over until runs off clear (warm water in later stages hastens process). Water poured on bunch of pine needles in one corner to prevent meal or dirt being washed up. Process as observed in 1929 took about 3 hrs.

Usually thick mush made of meal, in large quantities; eaten cold with fingers. Sometimes thin gruel or "soup" made; drunk from basket. Mush keeps long time; diluted to make soup. Cakes or round masses baked among hot rocks after covering with leaves. In winter, during sunny weather, women pound acorns all day.

Pinenuts.—Important food source. Digger-pine nuts most prized, sugar-pine nuts close second. Sometimes small nuts of yellow pine used. Cones knocked down while green, heated in fire, raked out, split open quickly before cooling. Sugar pines climbed by hooking young trimmed sapling over lower limb. Cones pulled loose with stick with projecting branch at end. Very young cones sometimes gathered and eaten in July and August before begin to harden. Nuts usually hulled, sometimes pounded, before cooking.

Buckeyes considered good food. Sometimes buried in ground, cooked when sprouted. Then put in fresh water, shells picked out, nuts broken finely and placed in basket which set in running water overnight; next morning ready to eat "like potatoes." Other times made into flour, leached with boiling water poured on intermittently for 24 hrs., mixed with water, and drunk.

Grass seeds, greens, berries.—All sorts grass seeds, including wild oats (introduced weed), gathered: Grass beaten, seeds caught in finely woven carrying basket, then pulverized and used for mush, soup, sometimes bread. Some required leaching. Many hulled by beating on ground; rocks, dirt, chaff separated by manipulation of basket tray. "Chillingwood tree," da'laka (L-P), berries half-cooked, eaten.

Hazel-nuts gathered in quantities.

Variety of clover, pea-like vine, "sour grass" weed, other grasses gathered green, cooked, dried for winter. Foliage of California poppy gathered before blooming, leached in running water, cooked.

Mushrooms and tree fungi dried; stored for winter to flavor acorn soup. (This also principal use of preserved grasses.) Fungi dried on sticks; sometimes cooked first.

Manzanita berries gathered half-ripe, dried, broken up, placed in porous basket, water poured through into tight basket; after standing few hours makes pleasant

drink. Mountains: berries cooked before cracking, left in liquor; pine needles placed in bottom of basket. Beverage not intoxicating aboriginally; now sometimes fermented.

Roots and bulbs: Fairy Lantern bulb, one "like camas" (description from informant who had visited Oregon); others of onion family. Cooking: piled up, covered with earth, fire built on top for 2-3 days. Some (e.g., Fairy Lantern bulbs) eaten raw or cooked. Roots dug along rivers made into cakes size of plate; stored for winter.

Two kinds wild plum and other fruits eaten.

Storage

Acorns stored in long cedar-bark tubes, more commonly in woven granaries: 4 upright posts set in ground, sides twined with willow closely at top, loosely at bottom for air circulation; round shape, 4-5 ft. diameter; required ladder of young pine to reach top. Top made to shed rain. Bottom sometimes wood or bark slabs. Acorns put in at top, removed from hole near bottom; hole closed with grass.

When temporarily leaving camp, acorns often stored in concealed underground caches with bark and leaf lining. In good years caches used to store reserve supplies.

Pine nuts, hazel-nuts kept in sack-like containers. Other food stored in baskets.

Cooking

Basket boiling commonest for vegetable foods. Use only soapstone rocks. Hot foods considered unhealthy.

Paddle, Mortar and Metate, Brush

Mush paddle remembered by two informants. Cooking rocks picked up with two sticks.

If known, metate disappeared very early as no informants remember. No evidence for basketry hopper. Mortar is natural hole in bedrock or boulder with cavity worked deeper from use. Suitable stones, found mostly in stream beds, carried many miles. Polished stone mortars occasionally made. No awe or fear of mortars (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 136-7).

Acorn-meal brush (used when grinding) made of successive layers of soaproot leaves glued on stick with pitch.

Names of some food plants, food products, implements used in gathering and in preparation:

- Acorns, u'te (P), u'ti (A, E, P)
- Black oak acorns, pa'ha (A)
- White oak acorns, pi'ki (A)
- Live oak acorns, babaku' (A)
- Scrub oak acorns, pispis
- Water oak acorns, pala (A)
- Acorn flour, bot (A)
- Acorn mush, pusu (N)
- Acorn soup, uti'mtuye' (E)
- Acorn dough after leaching, uautok (A), k'amok (P)
- Acorn bread, sulo'i or utimsulo'i (A), mat (N)

- Sweet cakes made from water oak acorns, pi'pa (A)
 I wish to eat acorn soup, de'mos u'tem tuye' (E)
 Digger-pine nuts, ton (P), taun (A)
 Sugar-pine-nuts, su'mu (A, E, P, N)
 Wild blackberries, dokdok (N)
 Chaparral-brush seeds, hebi (N)
 Hazel nuts, kao (P)
 Fairy Lantern bulbs, mu'ku (P)
 Another bulb, t'u.in (P)
 Buckeye balls, polo' (A, E)
 Clover, tci'u. (A)
 Mushrooms, wa' (P), yu'wa (A)
 Fungus, bobol (A), tea.ngwa' (P)
 Seeds, tsis
 Flowers, yo.
 Flour (from seeds), atu' (P)
 Sour berry of some sort, walum (N)
 Manzanita berries, k'o'rtau (P), ko'rto (N), k'o'rto (P)
 Poppy, pük (A)
 Wild plum, mokolkol (E)
 Another variety, k'as (E)
 Black oak, utimtea (N, P), pahatea (E), pahamtea (A)
 White oak, pikimtea (A), teakaumtea (N)
 Live oak, babaku'mtea (A), waiya (N)
 Manzanita bush, k'o'rtomdu (P)
 Digger pine, tonimtea (P)
 Buckeye brush, polo' mdu. (A, E) or polo'mtea
 Sugar pine, sumu'tea (N, E), sumu'mtea (A)
 Cedar, mani'mtea (N, E, A, P) or man (A, P)
 Cottonwood, wilil (N)
 Yellow pine, inimimtea (E), inimimtea (A), enemimtea (P), tonimtea (P)
 Red fir, nono'tea (E)
 Alder (?), sutumtea (E)
 Douglas fir ("spruce"), nonok (A), titrumtea (P)
 Young Douglas fir, lu-m (P)
 Fir, tutuk (A)
 Yew wood, yolilip (A), yolilipemtea (E)
 Wood, tea
 Bush, du
 Seed beater, pa'tai (A)
 Pole used to shake down pine cones, la'k'u (P)
 Soapstone cooking rocks, ku'leman
 Sticks to pick up cooking rocks, su'su
 Bedrock mortars, a. (A)
 Portable mortars, pu'lu (P)
 Pestle, bi i (A), bi.' (P)
 Round rocks used to shell acorns, pu'lulu (A)
 Brush for acorn meal, ba-ha (A)
 Acorn bin, tcipu (E)

SALT

Traded from communities owning salt spring or salt marsh. Solidified in baskets, bits broken off as needed. Best springs near Rocklin and Lincoln. Others south of Folsom belong to valley Nisenan.

FOOD CEREMONIES

First-salmon and first-acorn ceremonies known north of middle or s fork American r.; lacking to s. First salmon divided, eaten by everyone. Then all right to catch salmon. First acorns dislodged from trees with hooked pole. Everyone gathers at house of principal man in settlement, eats mush made from them. Then acorns can be gathered. No dances or ceremonials. Shamans apparently had no part (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 198).

Offering apparently made formerly before eating or drinking. In youth informant (born, Forest Hill) saw old people always put something in fire before eating. Said were feeding something but never told what.

GAMES

To the Nisenan a game is anything on which he may wager money or property. Consequently any test of skill or agility, as well as play with apparatus, may be considered a game. Of intercommunal contests the most important was the guessing or grass game, and the next the football game. Both of these were regularly played after some of the larger dances and the arrangements, including the betting, were in the hands of specified individuals.

Grass game, he'lai, of N California most important. Always played between villages at "big times" and other occasions. Stakes large. Intravillage contests primarily for practice. Informants not agreed but majority think no wagers on latter. Intertribal contests with Maidu and Miwok villages played. Unknown whether antedate white contacts.

Each player had 2 bones, hot (of California lion or deer), one marked with black thread. Bones concealed in grass and held in each hand; opponents guessed hand with marked bone. If correct, won bones; wrong, paid counter from pile of 8-10 in middle. When all bones lost, other side hides. Side taking all counters wins. Leader directs each side.

"Medicine" used to help players (e.g., man has medicine to make opponents sleepy). Cheating common, usually by substituting unmarked for marked bone. If suspected, leader seizes bet, demands to see both bones; if both white, he keeps bet. If cheating discovered, even 2-3 yrs. later (cheaters brag), restitution of losses required if demanded. Both sexes play; man and wife may be opponents.

Acorn game, ha., primarily woman's game; men sometimes play for amusement. Acorns thrown by hand on basketry tray. Winning throw: 2 up and 2 down, winner taking 1 tally stick. Dice passed to opponents after unsuccessful throw. Unknown to Maidu (Dixon, 209). Women played other men's games, but this only one on which wagered.

Stick game, tau' (A), ba· (P); handful of sticks, 7-8 in. long, divided, one portion put down, other counted off in threes. Opponents bet whether come out even or with 1 or 2 over. Foothills (Amador county): sticks counted in fours. Unknown to Maidu, though found to north (Dixon, 217).

Football, lumu (P, A), important intervillage game. One goal of 2 upright posts about 3 ft. apart. Field 200-400 yds. long. Balls: rabbit fur or soft grass wrapped with string, buckskin cover, diameter 5-6 in. Each side has ball made with care by man of good luck, who abjures to go straight while making. Players also talk to ball. 4 players on side. Side to put ball between goal posts first wins point. Ball ordinarily kicked or pushed with short stick; touching ball with hands forbidden. Not allowed to molest opponents' ball. Head man on each side does gambling; bets placed at foot of betting post in center. Ball, po'sko (P), po'sko' (A); goal, tau (A).

Lu'mu played after yomuse dance (foothills). Play first round before breakfast morning following dance. \$200-\$300 property may be bet on best 2 out of 3 runs. After breakfast dance a little. Speakers preach, telling people how to behave, reviewing rules of game. Then small bets placed on each round.

Strategy often plays part, e.g., one side hopelessly outclassed; first day made small bets, played easily, while opponents wore selves out so on second day were very tired; weaker side then made big bets, played hard, won back losings plus \$400. Chief's mother from opposing village seized ball, put in sack, stopped game. Frequently done when men became reckless. (Informant played often.)

Variant played between men and women, using 2 goals, 1 ball. Women use hands, men only feet. Wagers made. Called tikili (A).

Pebble games.—Su'to (P): 2 men sit 15 ft. apart; gradually approach, deriding one another, acting angry until quite close when one guesses in which hand opponent holds pebble. Woman's game among Maidu (Dixon, 216).

Du'kulto (P): opponent guesses under which finger small pebble hidden. (Informant doubtful on name.) Women's and children's game among Maidu (Dixon, 209).

Games of skill.—Pitna'lto (P): throw rocks at stick; each player has own special rock, picked carefully; keeps from one contest to next.

He'uto (A) (form of snow-snake game): stick, li'utau (P), 3-4 ft. long, one end flat, other pointed, held with thumb and little finger on one side, other fingers opposing, palm down, whirled about "like a sling," bounced on ground; longest throw wins.

Boys make small bets on jumping over large rock. At first usually all jump over, but as they tire, stumble, are eliminated. (Forest Hill.)

Shinny, tik'il (P), woman's game; goal, a big tree, each side throwing heavy rope 18 in. long with sticks; race to goal. (Cf. tikili above.)

One informant recalled "wrestling match" between two men, but football also kicked. Details, name forgotten.

Gamblers.—At most important gambling games each side usually has gambler, pomuse; does betting for side. At football game called lumu'pumuse; at a grass game, hepa'ipumuse, etc. (Amador county informant.)

MONEY

Shell beads were wealth and came nearer than any other possessions to constituting true money. They were counted in twenties or measured along the arm (not around the hand) or around the neck. All shell beads were imported, the cutting and grinding of them from shells not being practiced by the Nisenan.

Shell beads basic form for Nisenan; most important index of wealth. Shells, baskets, bearskins, yellowhammer feathers, few other objects, also indicate wealth. Abalone shells most prized.

Beads ordinarily cut square. Strings measured around neck or from end of fingers to point of shoulders. All values measured in twenties. Thing is worth 1 twenty, 3 twenties, etc. In counting ordinary beads, 5 beads equaled unit. He'no (P), to count, i.e., measure beads; tci'teit (N), shells; ho'wok (N), ho-ok (P), beads in general; haut (N), kind of small bead; teu'kut (N), another. Yellowhammer bands from chin to tip of fingers worth \$5.00 (Forest Hill).

Shells never made into beads; technique unknown (cf. Dixon, 141). Beads traded from west. Besides purchasing power, shell money used in compounding injuries, paying shamans; thrown away to avert misfortune or drive away evil spirits; destroyed at funerals.

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

Perhaps the most distinctive Nisenan traits concerned with smoking are the planting of tobacco and the tendency for smoking to be done in groups.

Tobacco, pan, often planted; wild tobacco also used. Burn ground clear in winter, scatter seeds in ashes in spring. No preparation of soil or cultivation, except weeds removed; plants thinned, only best left. Grows 18 in. high. No distinction between wild and cultivated tobacco. Best leaves picked as turn yellow; dried.

Tobacco ground fine between palms just before smoking. As ground, one hand placed in ashes from time to time. Pipe filled, lighted with coal placed in bowl. After 2-3 puffs, wipe stem with hand, pass pipe to next man. Usually single filling goes around circle; then pipe returned to owner. After about hour, pipe called for again; owner fills. Smoking largely group occupation.

Women, young men not allowed to smoke; only men 30-40 and older smoke.

Pipes described p. 341.

Give me tobacco, panemenik (P)

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The only independently used musical instrument of the Nisenan was the flute. It was also the only one that could carry a tune. The musical bow as distinct from the shooting bow is somewhat doubtful. Most musical instruments are for the accompaniment of dances or ceremonial singing: the foot-drum, split-stick rattle, shaman's cocoon rattle, whistle.

Foot-drum and split-stick rattle most common. Foot-drum originally section burned from hollow log, placed over hole in ground. Rattle of alder wood, about 1 ft. long, with pithy center removed, split about 9 in. of length. Burned ornamentation, on specimens examined, consists of spirals of lines $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. apart. Shaman's cocoon rattles, whistles, and flutes of bone, only other instruments. Only flute used outside dances. Deerhoof rattle not used.

Musical bow occasionally played. When mentioned, 1 informant laughed, shrugged shoulders, made remarks indicating clearly that making music with bow is just amusing "stunt" and that purpose really is to test if bow properly strung. 8-10 other

Indians at hand, including older men, held similar viewpoint. According to descriptions, good bow properly strung emits musical sound if one held in open mouth (string toward face) and string tapped. Quality and pitch of sound altered slightly by changing mouth opening. Informants tried ordinary bow this way, passed to owner saying it was improperly strung. No supernatural connection (cf. Northwestern Maidu, Dixon, 222-223).

CALENDAR, ASTRONOMY, NUMBERS⁸

The Nisenan calendar names only 6 winter moons. It differs at a number of points from that of the Maidu.

Numerals differ considerably locally as well as from those of the Maidu, especially for the values between 8 and 20.

Summer months not counted. 6 winter months recognized. Record kept by 3-in. green oak sticks in charge of old man. Every night he stirs fire definite number of times (3 or 4). When stick burned certain length, month is over and new stick secured. At "big times" old men argue about month. As beginning point depends on climatic conditions, each month supposedly characterized by natural phenomena, obviously calendars of higher mountains and foothills never agree. Violent arguments, blows, frequent.

Amador county months:

tomas: po'mbok (tomas, winter; pombok, month)

nempo'mbok, big month (birds go north ?)

manir mkano, smaller month

k'alala, green leaves on trees

yo'menpombok, flower month

tu'menpo'mbok, ripe seed month

Calendar differs from Maidu. Division into 12 moons absent (though mountain [NE] Maidu also leave June to August nameless); little similarity in names. Starting points different (Dixon, 217-218).

Stars little known. Generic name, pokoduk. Dipper, ku'le yo'tik, represents 3 girls and boy. Auto, molomolo, evening, morning stars; sky, po'gatuk. As stars move must be people (1 informant). Formerly a song to stars; now forgotten.

2 numeral series recorded, one from s (Amador county), other from N (Nevada county), also short lists. Divergence of longer lists indicates considerable dialectic division. First 6 digits, number 10 virtually same, remainder shows slight resemblance in words or systems.

Amador county: combination of elements begins with 7, penimbo (pen, 2; mbo, suffix apparently meaning 5); 8 is literally 2 fours (pen, 2, teui, 4); 9 is teumbo ("four-five"). Nevada county: 7 and 9 entirely different; 8, penti, possible corruption of Amador pentui.

Nevada system: 10 to 20 based on 10; 15 is literally "ten-five." Amador county: suffix il apparently means 10. If this true, 13 and 14 follow Nevada system, being "three-ten" and "four-ten" respectively. In Amador system 20, k'um maiduk or witem maiduk, differs considerably from Nevada wikte-apa. From 20 to 30 are same. Above 30 another difference; maiduk, kum or k'um and huye in Amador system apparently mean 20. With all subsequent numbers based on 20, system appears vigesimal, while Nevada system from 30 on is based on 10. Thus 40 (Amador) is literally

⁸ Classification under Material Culture follows Dixon.

“two-twenties,” while Nevada 40 is “four-tens.” (For further discussion of numeral systems see R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *Numeral Systems of the Languages of California.*)

In following list last forms for first 10 digits from Powers, 313:

- 1, wite (A, E), wētēm (N), wi't-ti
- 2, peni (A), pen (E), penim (N), pen'
- 3, saphu'i (A, E, N), sa'-phui
- 4, teui (A, E, N), chu'-i
- 5, ma'-u (A), mau-uk (N), mâ'-wek
- 6, tu'mbo (A), tumba (N), tum'-bo
- 7, penimbo (A), tophe (N), pe'-nem-boh
- 8, pentcui (A), pēnti (N), pen'-chu-i
- 9, teumbo (A), pēlau (N), chu-im-boh
- 10, matcam (A), matam (N), ma'-chum
- 11, hu'wauta (A), nante (N)
- 12, pe'noto (A), matcum or matunapēn (N)
- 13, sa'phuini (A), matum saphui (N)
- 14, teu'inil (A), matumteu-i (N)
- 15, hu'el (A), matunamau (N)
- 16, o'iseto (A), matunatu'mbok (N)
- 17, penikim maiduk (A), matunatophu'i (N)
- 18, saphu-im kum maiduk (A), matunapēnti (N)
- 19, teuinim kum maiduk (A), matunapēlau (N)
- 20, k'um maiduk (A), wikte-apa (N)
- 21, witem maiduknwite (A), wikteaptawikte (N)
- 22, witem maiduknpeni (A), wikteaptapēni (N)
- 30, saphu'i matun (N)
- 40, pe'NEM huye (A), teu'imatum (N)
- 50, mau'-kum matun (N)
- 60, saphuimhuye (A), tumba matum (N)
- 70, tophematum (N)
- 80, pēnimatum (N)
- 90, pēlēmatum (N)
- 100, maukumhuye (A)
- 400, huitēm maiduk huye (A)
- 800, penekēm maiduk huye (A)
- 1000, huitēm maidukēm huye (A)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICES

POLITICAL UNITS

The prevalent political unit was the community group, a number of settlements or villages under a chief, or two chiefs, and owning a definitely bounded tract. Each village or settlement in the community was generally composed largely of blood kin. Except in minor matters it did not attempt to function independently of the other settlements in the community. In the foothills the units or groups were named after the principal village. Even this more generic name was used chiefly in

the immediate vicinity: In the mountains, group or unit names were not employed. The territory of the unit communities may be estimated to have been on the average perhaps 10 miles along each boundary, or 100 square miles, with those in the foothills tending to be larger than those in the mountains. Under the influence of strong personalities or the pressure of wars, several communities might habitually act together.

Chiefs possessed little direct authority, but often possessed much influence, depending on their support by public opinion. They were also official hosts at gatherings and superintended all accumulation and distribution of food. The chief's food supply and his wealth depended upon his people's and especially his relatives' pride in his position. Chieftainship was hereditary in certain lineages, but by choice of the community among the hereditarily eligible individuals. In the same way a chief might be *de facto* deposed by being generally disregarded.

In 2 cases fairly definite data secured on boundaries from divergent areas. Oldest man acts as head of village, never functions independently of unit except in minor matters.

Names of units apparently taken from principal village, at least in foothills (cf. Maidu where village has name because is principal place in region, Kroeber, Handbook, 397). Waupumne illustrates point; name of both political unit and principal (chief's) village. When leading village shifted several miles, took different name; old site and political division still called Waupumne.

Higher mountains: no names given unit as whole. Even in foothills, name ordinarily used only by residents and near neighbors, others referring simply to "north" or "south" people, etc. Placerville informants know Waupumne only as village name.

No organized boundary patrols (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 225). Residents act as unit, though living in distinct villages or settlements.

Several Amador communities act together in wars with Miwok or valley Nisenan. May represent earlier Placer county situation where occurs political development unique in NC California. Auburn chief exercised influence over unusually large area, suggested result of white influence. If so, dates from very early times. Jim Dick, present Auburn chief, exercises similar influence (since writing, Jim Dick has withdrawn owing to trivial reservation quarrel; now have no chief). Dick's father was chief at Cool (E of Auburn). Dick says father worked for Captain Sutter; indicates knowledge on Dick's part of times when white influence slight. Dick's father acknowledged superiority of Captain John Oite, Auburn, reputed chief when whites first entered country. Amador and Placerville informants recognized situation as different from own, considered Captain John chief over all region N of middle fork American r. to Bear r.

Indian viewpoint also favors prewhite origin for Auburn chief's extensive influence; say Captain John visited subchiefs and "told them what to do," but no compulsion involved. This precisely native attitude toward all chiefs. Captain John's successor also regarded as chief over entire region.

Auburn chief's territory from Colfax, Iowa Hill, and Forest Hill (E) to Rocklin and Lincoln (W); from the middle fork American r. (S) to Bear r. (N). Latter people less directly influenced. Jim Dick mentioned but 1 camp there. Captain John visited Bear r. twice yearly, other chiefs monthly.

Cooperation and frequent interrelationship of other Nisenan chiefs illustrates how Placer county situation might arise from native conditions. Chief of unusual personality probably made influence felt over considerable area. This particularly likely as good chief one who "talks well," i.e., gives good advice, is careful of people's welfare without exerting authority.

CHIEFS

More important than preceding remarks indicate. While chief without actual authority, making no important move without approval of leading men, actual influence great. Good chief advises his people, restrains them from trespass, takes initiative in holding "big times," tells people when to begin gathering acorns, make fire drives, other large community activities, arbitrates disputes, sees generally to their welfare. Informant saw last Colfax chief "walk right up to trouble makers and tell them to stop and behave." Directs "fire drives" in fall, exercises a final veto power on all important actions, particularly war. Is considered owner of round house; in charge of building new ones. Is official host, particularly at ceremonial gatherings, superintends food accumulation, preparation, distribution.

Chief when supported by public opinion very powerful. Individuals refusing obedience or disrespectful to him considered "bad"; sometimes forced to leave community. May be killed attempting to establish elsewhere, unless having relatives there. Chief, more commonly, might hire shaman to kill them. Close contact between shamans and chief frequent; chief occasionally powerful shaman.

Chief always wealthy man (most wealthy—1 informant); has many bows, arrows, shells, baskets, bear hides. Some people give things to him; trades for others. Always has much food supplied by relatives and people; feeds anyone visiting village. If liberal to visitors, acquires good name, as does community. Relatives and neighbors help in food preparation. One reason chief has plural wives is work of entertaining guests. Community attitude summed up in expression, "everyone wants their chief to have a good name." Chief often receives special share of food, owns certain sources of food supply—group of oak trees, etc. (L).

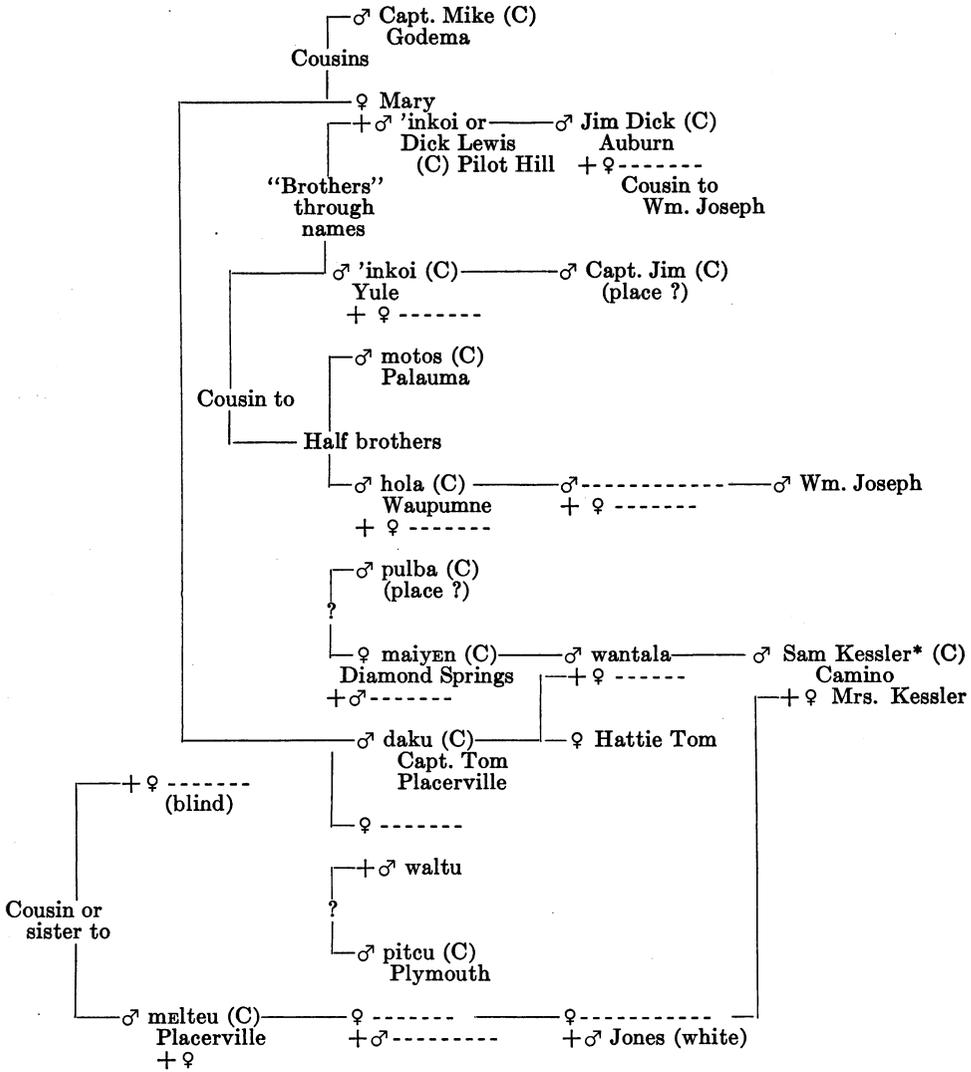
Chieftainship primarily hereditary, not necessarily in direct line. Brother or nephew may succeed; if no competent male relative available, widow, daughter, niece, or son-in-law succeeds. Inheritance by widow more common than by daughter or niece. Chief generally names successor, often makes him assistant before death. Particularly if successor young man, old men advise him. If does not listen to advice and "acts foolish," is deposed. Sometimes chieftainship shared by 2 men, usually close relatives, brothers or brothers-in-law. (E.g., Pilot Hill, near Fairplay [Miwok territory ?], Enden House near Nevada City: separate round houses and settlements mile or so apart for each chief.) If wife dies, old men may appoint another. Apparently distinct chiefly lineages. Genealogy shows present idea of relationships formerly existing between chiefs.

Chief deposed if unsatisfactory and new chief installed without ceremony. People decide to disobey old chief and "listen to someone else." Sometimes chief resigns if not accorded proper respect.

Sam Kessler of Placerville made chief by relative, Captain Tom. Tom talked lengthily about way chief should talk, act, stressing quietness and kindness. When Sam was 25, Captain Tom built him round house; Sam gave big time; there were several brawls; man killed. Sam saw authority not respected. Previously realized coming of whites changed conditions, so never attempted to be chief again.

When chief deposed or resigned, new chief chosen on basis of popularity, wealth, ability to "feed the people," i.e., to see that people find and gather acorns, hunt, etc.

GENEALOGY SHOWING INTERRELATION OF CHIEFLY LINEAGES



* In addition a relationship claimed through mother with William Joseph, but character unknown.

Chief generally has 1 or 2 managers (captains), who in Amador county, perhaps elsewhere, chosen by people on basis of popularity; often is relative who succeeds to chieftainship. Takes messages from chief to people; vice versa. Cares for round house. If chief cannot go to "big time" to which invited, to avoid hard feelings he goes with excuse. Auburn: Jim Dick was manager for Captain John, his uncle; succeeded to chieftaincy on John's death. Chief Kusule, Wokodot, Nevada City, appointed his brother-in-law, Usdun, manager; Usdun became chief on Kusule's death. Placerville: chief has 4 assistants called ha'nduku e'tatai ma'iduk (1 informant).

Chief and captain both usually called huk. Amador county: captain, huk, chief, ne'mhuk. Placer and Nevada counties: hu'kemmaiduk, headman, sometimes used. Huk also denotes any prominent man. Every permanent camp has huk, usually oldest man. In case village wishes "little big time," huk in charge. Nevada county: ne'mmaiduk another term. Wife of either chief or assistant called ma'iyen; same for chiefess ruling in own right.

Chiefs wear distinguishing headdresses. Auburn: stick covered with woodpecker scalps, piece of shell at end. Higher mountains: quail topknot. Amador and El Dorado counties; in foothills: band of yellowhammer feathers running from forehead back. Valley: duck head. Nevada City: 2 grouse feathers. Similar insignia worn by Maidu chiefs (1 Nisenan informant; Dixon does not record). Most chiefs wear such symbols all time; always away from home or at big time. Common man who sees chief approaching fixes seat, prepares food. Chief eats little away from home, fearing poison.

PROPERTY INHERITANCE

Fishing places occasionally owned; inherited in direct male line. Theoretically same true of privately owned trees and quail fences, but these rarely property of single person. Disuse always alienates rights.

DIVISION OF LABOR

Follows obvious lines. Same as among Maidu except men do no basket-making; occasionally knock down acorns or pine-nuts, dig roots (Dixon, 227).

LAND USAGE

Ownership of land rested in the political group or community, rather than the individual. Within the boundaries of the community the individual could hunt, camp, fish, and gather food anywhere, subject to the restrictions of privately owned trees, quail fences, or fishing places. Trespass by one of another community was punished by assassination, if taken in the act.

This apparently did not hold true of the region north of the middle fork of the American river, where informants say there was no restriction on hunting or gathering acorns. Nothing was said if an individual or a small party trespassed. If a chief went with a large party, he asked permission. Then the people of both communities hunted together and held a feast afterwards.

The large uninhabited region between the three thousand-foot contour and the summit of the Sierras was considered open ground, perhaps largely from the fact that only the people living in the communities along the edge ever penetrated into it, and it was so large that parties would rarely come in contact. Only in the summer was this territory occupied, then only by hunting or gathering parties which might spend four or five days in one spot.⁹

Permanent villages in the mountains and foothills were usually located on a knoll or on a bench of the mountainside on the high ground between the rivers. I secured no record of a permanent campsite even close to the rivers, although Kroeber lists one at Koloma.¹⁰ One informant said the choice of high ground was so the water wouldn't run into the houses.

All the village sites I saw personally were either on hilltops or knolls or had a definitely southern exposure on slopes or benches. In the valley mounds were usually raised for village sites, according to foothill informants.

The land was apparently burned over with considerable regularity, primarily for the purpose of driving game. As a result there were few young trees and all informants were agreed that in the area of permanent settlement, even so far up in the mountains as Placerville, the timber stand was much lighter than at present. That region, for example, is almost completely timbered except where clearings have been made for orchards. The Indians insist that before the practice of burning was stopped by the whites, it was often a mile or more between trees on the ridges, although the canyons and damp spots held thickets of timber.

That such a considerable change in the flora of a region may take place in a relatively short time is illustrated near Nevada City. The major portion of the ridge on which Wokodot is situated (north of Nevada City) was an open grain field about forty years ago. Today it is largely covered by timber fifty or sixty feet high. There is also a thick underbrush, largely of ceanothus and manzanita, that is said to have all grown in the last ten years.

Trees, such as oak and pine, were privately owned independently of the land. Ownership, was said by some, to be established by picking them regularly. According to others, they were marked in various ways. One way was by cracking acorns and placing them on a bare spot under the tree. Some said ownership lasted for one year only. All were agreed

⁹ Littlejohn disagrees to some extent with these two paragraphs.

¹⁰ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 394.

that unauthorized gathering from owned trees meant a fight. Permission would be readily granted relatives or some unfortunate family to pick one limb or some definite portion of a tree.

Conflicting evidence was secured on fishing rights but it seems clear that certain spots were definitely owned. Limitation of fishing rights was probably rarely, if ever, exercised against one's own group, but might be rigidly enforced against others.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS

Offenses seem to have brought chiefly two reactions, a sense of personal hostility generally resulting in nothing more than avoidance; or killing, either outright or through shamanism.

Lying or mistreatment in mild form never forgiven; rarely leads to more than avoidance. Theft never punished if restitution made; if not made, killing might result. Food thefts bring no punishment. Ordinarily no effort to find guilty party. Thefts usually from caches left when family makes extended visit to other village.

Adultery was ground for divorce. Tradition demands husband kill lover on spot; proper if kills wife also or some of her family in rage. No revenge for such killings.

Murder followed by retaliatory killing of murderer or close relative. Foothills (Amador county informant): murder led to feuds lasting until one side or other wiped out. Children taught from infancy certain men to be killed as murderers. No payment ever made.

Mountains: one retaliatory killing settles matter. Even this avoided by murderer offering payment (beads, new baskets, bear hides, etc.), which usually arranged by chief. If injured side (through spokesman) refused payment, murderer's family attempted to kill spokesman. If succeeded, his death then revenged but not original murder.

Chief attempts to compose differences. Murderer's family also for peace, even after retaliated against, providing blood score even.

If person cannot avenge murder (women, cripples, etc.) hires someone to do it, sometimes shaman. Person hired not accountable providing makes employer's name public immediately following killing.

Murder of wife or husband sometimes considered justified (e.g., adultery). Chief usually intervenes, ascertains causes. If justified, attempts to convince victim's relatives. If not satisfied, they kill guilty person.

Kill disobedient sons; no penalty. Daughters never killed; not considered dangerous. If man kills relative, family may hire shaman to kill as dangerous person. Chiefs 'Inkoi and Melteu killed wives without retribution.

FUNCTIONAL FAMILIES

There evidently existed some family specialization, which was more developed in the foothills than in the mountains. The presence of chiefly lineages seems quite certainly established. The exact nature of the family specialization is difficult to determine at this time, for the system was evidently never strong and has long since disappeared.

The technique of making good baskets was apparently a family affair. Some women could make all patterns to order; others specialized. Women learned to make good baskets from their mothers or grandmothers on either side. Not everyone who had the opportunity learned the technique. All women could make ordinary cooking baskets.

Only a few men could make bows and arrows, learning the technique from relatives. It was often done at night when everyone was asleep. Much the same was true of net-making. Sons in general learned their father's work such as quail hunting, deer hunting, etc., there evidently being considerable specialization even in hunting pursuits. In any occupation supernatural aid in the form of medicines, charms, or even simple "good luck" was desirable and frequent.

In so far, the data square with McKern's interpretation among the Patwin.¹¹ Except for the chiefly lineages, however, no such formalization as McKern found can be made without stretching the data to the breaking point. By such stretching, a very similar picture could be produced, except for the lineage names. Particularly is this true of certain trade occupations such as quail hunting. Nevertheless it must be considered that the functional family in McKern's sense did not exist among the Nisenan.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The average Nisenan had few contacts outside his community. They were limited to trade, war, and visits to ceremonial gatherings, the latter being much the more important. Chiefs and important people were more apt to have relatives outside the community and so to make social visits outside of those connected with big times.

Trade

Trade important because gathering and hunting restricted to community residents. Black oak acorns (most desirable variety) and sugar-pine nuts monopolized by mountain people who traded these with foothills for salt, game, fish, roots, grasses (types rare in mountains), beads, shells. Feathers (particularly yellowhammer, scalps of California woodpecker) important trade articles. Salt springs carefully watched; community with salt spring apt to have favorable trade balance. Most important salt sources for hill and mountain people: neighborhood of Roeklin, and near Cool on Knickerbocker ranch.

Foothill people traded with valley Nisenan, but less freely than with mountains. Trading almost entirely by those with relatives in valley. Trading parties always large, 100-200 men. Traveled by night; never stayed in valley overnight if possible. Principal trade articles acorns, salt, beads.

¹¹ W. C. McKern, *Functional Families of the Patwin*, pres. ser. 13:235-258, 1922.

Little trade with Miwok, Washo, Maidu. Exception in case of Washo of s fork, American r. where considerable intercourse dating to earliest white times, probably earlier. Captain Tom had friends among Washo, especially with chief Washo Ben from near Myers' Station. Had "big times" together, near present Kyburz and Myers' Station. S. K's grandfather, MElteu, friend of Washo Ben's father. K. thinks there was intermarriage aboriginally; at least, some mixed bloods in early period of white settlement. Nisenan called Washo mo'nasa.

Warfare

Wars were usually caused by trespass and ranged from desultory feuds between a few families to organized raids and surprise attacks. Formal battles tended to be replaced by duels between champions.

Usual cause: trespassing. Real wars, i.e., organized raiding parties, apparently rare between foothills and mountains. Pleasant valley people once fought Placerville people (circumstances not known); traces of ill-feeling. Nevada City people massacred many during big time at Rocklin. Many people from other places present so Nevada City people now widely disliked and mistrusted. Say fight arose from brawl at Nevada City during mourning ceremony in which man killed; others attribute to Nevada City people stealing salt near Rocklin. Nevada City war leader later killed near Ophir; war dance performed.

Two Nevada City Indians once shot several through smokehole during "big time" at Iowa Hill. 1 captured; denied complicity. Was offered freedom if told accomplice's name, so did so; was promptly shot. Other man ambushed several weeks later. No general quarrel resulted.

Nevada City brawl (mentioned above) caused by 1 child shooting another in eye with toy bow and arrow, while playing. Fighting lasted all day but only one man killed.

Several hundred people once assembled at junction of n and middle forks, American r.; engaged in sham fight with slings, people of n fork against those of s. Place chosen because many small round stones for slings in river bed. Use of extra large stone broke man's leg; nearly had real fight, but old people stopped it. This only time informants knew of sling.

Placerville people went at night to steal salt from small lake belonging to Knickerbocker; discovered; several people killed, mostly from Placerville, but Placerville people apparently hold no grudge.

Aside from these examples, most fighting result of feuds. These arose between families just as within community, but little community action in avenging death. Matter for relatives of deceased. Sometimes war parties avenged slayings by other communities (L's informant); this probably more true of foothills than mountains.

With other groups, status different. Washo theoretically not allowed over summit, but even after white occupation attacked small hunting parties. Never molested permanent settlements.

Between valley and foothill people and foothill and Miwok, warfare more organized. Amador county settlements acted as unit against both. Besides killing trespassers, both sides undertook organized raiding parties, in which subterfuge and surprise attacks the rule. Attacking Deer Creek village in open near Slough House, valley people covered selves with grass bundles, crept within striking distance through long grass. If raiding party seen, runners carry word all over hills; warriors hasten

to drive out, pursuing only to boundary between hills and valley (end of trees or brush). If pursuit close, tell to stay away and never come back, shout insulting remarks.

If raiding party successful, everyone killed except good-looking women. Latter carried off, raped by men of war party. Later generally included in captor's household; someone eventually marries.

Raiding parties not led by chief but by bravest man, *ya'timmaidu'k* (A). War party, *k'a-i* (A), distinguishable from trading party by paint, *k'at* (A), worn (description unobtainable). Red paint and white clay secured by Waupumne people from near Ione. War signal of valley people, coyote cry; of hills, hoot-owl cry.

Bow and arrow principal weapons. Spears little used as fighting rarely at close quarters. Club, *malü'* (A), used to kill wounded, women, children.

In more formal warfare 2-3 arrows sent to indicate number of days before battle. Both sides collect allies, meet on appointed day at regular spot for such encounters.

Miwok and Amador county Nisenan fought at Cakanusuk', site of old Ione China Town. Miwok assembled on level place on s (town) side Sutter creek. Across creek, 150-200 yds. away, Nisenan assembled on level shoulder of hillslope (since washed away by mining operations). Near-by downstream was a knoll on which chiefs of both sides met.

Champion and second for each side. Last fight, Yo'lok, Yu'mhui (Slough House) chief, represented Nisenan, father of present Miwok chief, Frank Powell, the Miwok. Each side shot alternately at opponents' champion who stood before followers. Claim possible to dodge arrows; in view of distance may be true. After each discharge, second gathered up enemy arrows. Miwok champion first wounded. Miwok ran (including chiefs), pursued by Nisenan, who killed several.

Strangely, quarrel not settled if one side victorious. Peace made only if following outcome to fight: If neither champion wounded or runs, after several exchanges of shots, one chief proposes cessation of hostilities, say each side proved bravery; could henceforth be friends. Peace lasted until new killings or trespasses caused new challenge. Evidently "saving of face" important. Side defeated would never declare peace because feeling of inferiority would result.

Similar duels fought with valley Nisenan. This type fighting apparently peculiar to Amador county.

Festivals

Most external relations through ceremonial gatherings. For dances or "big times" (*lu'mai*) Indians in 15-20 mi. radius or more invited. Dances thus made familiar to other groups; some trading occurs; gambling and games afford social contacts; intercommunity marriages often have inception. Other communities also often invited to mourning ceremonies, *he-pai*.

The "Reporter"

A unique figure reported for Amador and El Dorado counties was the "reporter," *we'da bone'pe*. Each chief appointed one of these for his ability to talk and his power of observing conditions. This man traveled a good deal, principally at night, going from place to place. He was always welcomed and rarely interfered with. Arriving in the morning, he would present himself at the house of the chief. The chief would summon

the people to the round house. Two "preachers" sat across a fire and asked questions. While he talked no one interrupted him. When he finished, everyone clapped and shouted, ululating with the hand before the mouth. (This same cry was used in pursuing the enemy after a battle.) The "reporter" was given a smoke whenever he stopped talking. When a big time was planned a special invitation was always sent him in the usual form of a knotted string.

The "reporter" told all the gossip he knew, who had died, married, or been taken sick. He also told in what places he had seen many acorns or manzanita berries or other food products. Traveling as much as he did, he was frequently the one to see war parties and give the alarm.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AND OBSERVANCES

Birth, puberty, and marriage customs differed between the mountains and the foothills, between districts within each, and between common people and chiefs or notables. Normally the wife lived in her husband's settlement. Wife purchase may be said to have been lacking. There are some indications of marriage to second cross-cousins among the southerly Nisenan. Parent-in-law taboos were rigorous. The dead were universally cremated. Each larger village or community had its own burning ground. The ashes were then buried in cemeteries. Property was consumed at the cremation and those who actively assisted were under severe taboo restrictions.

Birth

Mountains: delivery in house; elsewhere probably outside or in special hut (definite information unavailable). No informant remembered disposition of umbilical cord, or treatment and observances for stillbirths or twins.

Child put in cradle almost immediately after birth; wrapped in wire grass, pounded soft. Some say baby wiped off with fox skin.

Duration of labor varies. Mother assisted by old women, usually relatives. Mountains: mother in bed 8 days; no sex relations for month. Husband fed by relatives until wife recovers.

Salt, meat, grease forbidden both parents until child's navel healed. (Cf. Maidu, Dixon, 229.) Neither works; avoid exertion. Father must not hunt, run, make bows, arrows, or work. If either parent combs hair, baby's hair splits, turns brown; if parents wash, baby has weak eyes. Neither parent rubs eyes or scratches head except with special stick, for same reason. At end of taboo period, both washed, given good food.

Foothills: mother, no salt, 16 days; no meat until baby sits up and waves arms. This for first baby; restrictions for shorter time for subsequent children. After 16 days, big feast given; child shown to relatives (previously only parents, midwife sees it). No restrictions on father.

If feast after child's birth omitted, bad luck overtakes parents. s mountains, feast, husla (P), given 4 days after birth of child. If not given, woman apt to die in next childbirth.

Mountains: relatives must not leave knots in string if woman pregnant; otherwise delivery difficult.

Names and Name Taboos

Only 1 name bestowed, usually shortly after birth. Generally of slight meaning, usually natural object. Despite repeated statements that childhood names not altered later, probably were sometimes. E.g., old man called kopa, i.e., bear "because he had once been chewed up by a bear." Possibly this regarded as nickname, but evidence for assumption unobtainable.

Name of dead taboo about 1 year (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 232). People with similar name go by nickname. After 1 year, called by regular name. Names of dead relatives usually bestowed on child (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 230). Breaking of taboo an insult; apt to cause fight with relatives of deceased.

Names have place significance (some informants). Man's home told by name (1 informant). Nothing in names indicates this and same names often occur in different localities.

Following names some whose meanings still remembered: pulba, dove; piteu, red (?) ant; hola, worm, i.e., maggot (?) ("large worm in dead meat"); k'ok'-ok'tea, bird wood (k'ok is a particular bird; not remembered, however). Many name meanings forgotten or lacking.

2 persons with same name regard selves as brothers; share property and wives. 2 women of same name share husbands. If of different camps, allow freedom of each other's camps. Regarded as son or daughter by parents of namesake; accord same treatment as own parents.

Menstruation

First menses: girl fasts 16 days, abstains from meat, fat, salt. No special house for her (1 informant). My notes elsewhere refer to menstrual huts, so likely segregated in temporary shelter like sweat-house. Scratching stick use obligatory. Not allowed outside alone; may not step on log or stick for fear of snake bite (L's notes). Morning of 16th day girl bathed in stream; neighbors and outsiders invited to big feast (among Maidu after 5 days, Dixon, 232). Lole dance performed (cf. Maidu, Dixon, 234). Girl normally engaged at time of 1st menstruation. Probably whole ceremony more complex than indicated as has long been abandoned.

Mountains: women gather bundles of sticks; carry to camp on head; build fire. Singing, dancing all night. (But lole unknown in s mountains.) Repeated at intervals for some time after (L's notes).

Subsequent menses: girl fasts from meat, salt, fat for 4 days; sleeps in menstrual hut. If taboos not observed, tuberculosis results. If she touches or steps over husband he becomes paralyzed, perhaps dies. Cooks, prepares food for self, but no one else.

Husband under no food restrictions but if hunts, anything shot runs off and dies in inaccessible place. Woman must not touch man's gun or bow and arrow; may talk to husband. If male visitor, husband informs him of menstruating women in household so does not enter or eat food there.

Young people required to bathe early each morning year around. Sexes separated. Some older people bathe at same time; most old people only wash. Possibly connected with puberty.

See under Marriage for other possible puberty ceremonies.

Marriage

Differences between mountains and foothills; more significant differences probably between common people and wealthy and chiefs.

Child betrothal fairly common though not most prevalent marriage arrangement. Usually occurs when families friends. After arrangement proposed, usually when children quite young, boy's parents make presents, mostly game, to girl's family. Latter reciprocate with acorn meal, other vegetable foods. Children play together. When old enough to understand, told, are betrothed. When children 15-16 years old, boy's parents give husla (feast, "big time" without dancing). Later girl's parents do same and boy stays with girl, later taking to his father's home.

Variant of child betrothal: very young girl promised to older man whom parents liked (or good hunter). Man gives game to parents. Often given girl at early age, so is practically raised by him. Such marriages regarded as mercenary, ludicrous. Story (probably untrue but representative of native attitude) of El Dorado county man given girl still in cradle; placed cradle beside him at night; worked very hard to raise girl. Telling accompanied by much amusement.

Engagement between marriageable individuals probably most common. Man takes initiative, asks parents to address girl's parents. If both sides agree, engagement understood. Parents reciprocate presents for 1-2 yrs.; at least 1 big time given. In interval couple instructed in duties of husband and wife, housekeeping, hunting, etc., treatment of wife or husband, rules of hospitality.

Higher mountains: man dispenses with go-between (although young people often betrothed by parents without knowledge). Visits parents of girl. If he likes her and parents reciprocate, they ask him to spend night. Sleeps across house from girl. Parents of both exchange presents. During betrothal period, man takes game to girl's parents; if distance considerable, may dry meat first. After year or so, on one visit is told to sleep with girl; marriage consummated. Marriages arranged by parents more formal but similar. Usually each family gives feast.

Throughout territory customary for man to make gifts, generally of game, to prospective parents-in-law. No instances of shells or beads transferred except as presents between parents. No idea of purchase implied in gifts. Rather, man must prove ability to provide food for wife. Everywhere agreed that hunting ability first requisite in securing good wife. No evidence of repayment in case of desertion or barrenness, although gifts between parents frequently pretentious, particularly in foothills, where horses, dogs, money, shells, food, other things exchanged. Man, however, expected to help support father-in-law. (Powers, 316, states Nisenan did not purchase their wives.)

Bride rarely chosen from immediate residence group of male as usually closely related. (Does not check entirely with cross-cousin marriage statements, but these contradictory.) Most frequently wife taken from same community, at least among commoners. From wide interrelations existing among chiefs, they evidently married outside community, usually in chiefly families.

Marriage outside community more complex. Inception of such marriages usually during "big times" or visits to relatives. Permission of chief of woman's community necessary as well as consent of parents. After this secured, chief of man's community approaches chief of third community where one (or both?) contracting parties have relatives. Third chief ascertains if all parents agreeable. Then invites both families to next "big time," announces marriage publicly. At close of big time, both families go home, leaving young people at house of relative. This description from middle mountains probably applies to important, not common people.

Consummation of marriage generally casual affair. Following contradictory evidence given by 80-year old Nevada City informant as seen in boyhood: Engaged couple slept apart several days. Each night man permitted to sleep closer to girl. When finally allowed to put bed in touching distance, marriage consummated. This suggestive of Shoshonean practice. Aside from obvious symbolism, possibly represents waiting period expressed elsewhere by man sleeping on opposite side of fire when visiting parents-in-law until told to sleep with girl.

If girl dislikes parents' choice, when parents permit man to consummate marriage, she moves elsewhere. After 15-20 min., man goes home. This causes hard feeling; man's parents or other relative may hire doctor to kill girl because of insult. If girl's parents discover doctor who did killing, they kill him.

On betrothal man enters into special relationship with intended wife's brother, making gifts to him before and after marriage. If brother admires any belonging, must present it to him immediately.

When unmarried girl has several suitors, family makes choice, tells others to stop visits.

Sometimes man steals girl from another camp. If parents don't like him they bring girl back. Apparently no reprisal. Sometimes when parents object to man, and young couple like each other, they elope; parents rarely succeed in getting girl back.

Before marriage sexes carefully segregated except in case of child betrothal. Generally, young people associate little even with same sex, staying mostly with their elders; consequently, theoretically converse little (actually probably some at big times and, for older people, when visiting girl's parents). On whole, segregation fairly effective.

Foothills: annual dance ceremony (yomuze, A) in round house for unmarried young people to choose mates; resembles shaman's dance in name, song. Young people dance in ring about fire, dance manager starting, stopping them. Only time men talk to girls. Sex relations in connection denied.

When ears pierced, i.e., when person of marriageable age (about 16 here), another ceremony, 'tos, held for same purpose. Possibly puberty rite, but joint character makes this doubtful, especially as same informant described puberty observances for girls. Also doubtful ear piercing has close connection with puberty as is definitely performed in early childhood elsewhere.

For 'tos, girls and boys gathered in dance-house; ears were pierced, stick put in hole (for men only one ear; sometimes only nasal septum which always pierced); sang for 16 nights when hole healed. While singing shook heads until sticks finally fell out; then inserted ornamented bones (pelican bone with feathers preferred). All unmarried joined in singing even though ears already pierced.

Residence.—Usually patrilocal. Some specific exceptions. Puya, chief's son, lived with wife's family at Palauma where later became chief. Own house always regardless of residence.

Sometimes young people alternate residence between families. If families like one another, may move to one or other camp.

All examples, however, only set patrilocal bias in relief; are exceptions, not rule. Patrilocal residence more firmly established in higher mountains, deviations less numerous. One case: wife chiefess, residence matrilocal, children brought up by husband's parents.

Pre-marital childbirth apparently rare. When occurs child often killed by mother's parents, or they may seek father (usually parents tell if son connected with affair) and ask him to support baby. Must agree if "honest." May live with girl if wishes; usually does.

Remarriage.—Widows, widowers, divorced people remarry without engagement period. They “know how to act,” do not need instruction by elders. If desert good spouse without cause, difficult to secure another.

Widow, widowers may not remarry until end of mourning period. For women period varies—6 mos. to 3 yrs. (longer in higher mountains). Many never remarry, usually returning to own people. If stayed with husband’s family, shut up, not allowed to see men for time. After, could go about, pick another husband. Women may marry husband’s brother, but no other relative. Or husband’s family may advise her to marry particular man. In any case expected to secure husband’s relatives’ permission before remarriage.

Identical restrictions apply to men. Man permitted to remarry sooner after wife’s death, but supposed to secure approval of dead wife’s relatives or arouses ill-will. Marriage with wife’s sister optional. If good provider, some man may offer daughter by suggesting that widower become son-in-law. If widower agreeable, hangs head, says nothing. Should he not like girl, or plan other marriage, expresses regrets, says already has girl.

If man “looks bad” or has young children, his relatives, after asking dead wife’s relatives’ consent, let him marry before mourning period over. May pick wife if man shows insufficient interest. Often done with chiefs.

Widow shut up after husband burned. For 1 yr. in lower mountains. Lives in separate house, attended by old woman, usually relative. May leave house at night; no one may see face except attendant. After seclusion taken to mourning ceremony, traveling at night; stays in brush on arrival. When crying starts, joins, sitting with head bowed to hide face, and wailing until noon next day. Men do not look at her. Then returns into brush; not seen again. Old woman washes her, after which travels alone as wishes.

Both sexes: covered with pitch and burned acorns on death of spouse; washed off when mourning period is over.

Divorce.—At wish of either party. Adultery most common cause leaving wife. If wife discovered *in delicto*, husband kills lover or is killed. May also kill wife or near relative (e.g., brother).

If friends tell of unfaithfulness, husband merely walks out of house, leaving belongings behind. Never returns or speaks to wife unnecessarily. Always good to children; maintains same relations toward father-in-law, brother-in-law, but avoids sister-in-law, does not speak to her. If man angry with wife (e.g., she deserts him), he or relatives may hire doctor to kill. Separations formerly infrequent. Circumstances determine whether hard feelings between families resulted.

Woman, deserting husband, returns to parents.

Children technically belong to husband’s family in case of divorce or death. Actually, often adopted by grandparents, either side, who might also adopt while parents alive or living together; parents have nothing to say about such adoption. As result many children have closest relations with grandparents. Many older people have little knowledge of parents; can talk at length about grandparents. Apparently not recent condition (very rare now); can hardly attribute (as suggested) to many illegitimate children born during ’49 gold rush. No formal adoption ceremony.

If husband notoriously “no account,” wife’s parents may take all children remaining at home.

Husband’s family cared for children on death of either parent. But if widow remarried, new husband obligated to support them. Considerable feeling against this; usually cared for by first husband’s brothers or parents. Prime reason for marrying dead brother’s wife was to prevent children being raised by another man (1 inform-

ant). In society dependent largely on family unit for strength of individual, this affords functional reason for levirate. Becomes important that children's sympathies not be divided.

Plural wives.—Only by chiefs and wealthy men; 2-3 common; usually sisters. If marked difference in age, oldest usually does most work; younger one(s) cooked chief's meat only. Chief 'Inkoi, Amador county, had 3 wives; 2 youngest slept each side of him; oldest at his feet.

Wife loaning.—Common between friendly chiefs; e.g.: 'Inkoi and Jim Dick's father. In this case, additional element: Jim Dick's father also named 'Inkoi; two considered selves brothers, their children cousins (i.e., brothers, Nisenan terminology). In similar situation common men also trade wives. Wives also loaned visiting chiefs.

Because men of same name considered as brothers, traded wives, suggests brothers do same but this not so by evidence. Namesakes were more than brothers, sharing wives, also all property. This certainly not common among brothers.

Relationships and cousin marriage.—Only marriage bar: relationship. Opinions differ about degree of relationship constituting incest. In n and foothills, marriages with 2nd cousins regarded dubiously. First-cousin marriages still considered bad by older people who criticize recent cousin marriages by young people; say not permitted in old days; but preventive steps unknown. Probably persons defying public opinion forced out of community or possibly doctor hired to kill. Nevada City: some approved of cousin marriage; others did not. Informant unable to distinguish first and 2nd cousins.

Second cross-cousin marriage considered most desirable form in s and c mountains, lower mountains (several informants). J. D., Auburn, claims first wife second cross-cousin; unable to give genealogy. S. K., Placerville, called wife second cross-cousin, but relationship is more distant.

No evidence secured for artificial groupings, e.g., moieties, totemism.

Marriage customs differ little from Maidu. (Exception: wife purchase idea lacking.)

Terms dealing with marriage:

Married woman, ku'lepemku'le (P)

Married man, ku'lepemma'iduk (P)

Widow, ku'lesemku'le (P)

Widower, ku'lesemma'iduk (P)

Wife and husband (i.e., married people), kulegudau

To marry (one's daughter to that man ?)—literally, giving to that man, me'dat ma'iduk (E)

Kinship Terms

Gifford (Calif. Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:1-285, 1922) gives Nisenan kinship terminology, so no comprehensive effort made to secure complete system. One nearly full system secured from brother of 1 Gifford informant, fragments of 2 others. First words listed (secured from brother of Gifford's Placer county informant) are same as Gifford's except where he has variant form which given with (G) following. (E) or (N) following means also recorded in El Dorado or Nevada counties; if letters follow variant forms, indicates variants from those counties. (G) following English meanings indicates variant by Gifford. Asterisk (*) indicates meaning recorded by me, not by Gifford.

PARENT CLASS

'te (E), te (N), se (G), father
 net, na (E, G), ne (N), mother
 te, tE' (E), son
 po (E), daughter

GRANDPARENT CLASS

ai' (N), father's father, man's son's child, man's daughter's son*
 sak (N), saka (G), father's mother, woman's son's child
 opa (N), mother's father
 pe, man's daughter's daughter, woman's daughter's child, daughter's child (G)
 korto, koto (N, G), mother's mother
 ton, tö (G), great-grandson
 ka, great-granddaughter

SIBLING AND COUSIN CLASSES

e (N), eyi (E), older brother, older male cousin
 ete, eti (N*, E), older sister, older female cousin
 ton, tut (N), tu (E), tü (G), younger brother, younger male cousin
 kat, eui (E), younger sister, younger female cousin
 kassi (E), sister

UNCLE CLASS

kuse (N), father's brother, father's male cousin*
 k'at, kate (N), kati (G), father's sister, father's female cousin*
 kaka (N), mother's brother, mother's male cousin*
 plikmutin, alternative for kaka
 omo, om (N), mother's sister, mother's female cousin*
 os, man's brother's child
 kole, woman's sister's child
 kole, kam (G), woman's brother's child
 kum, kam (G), man's sister's child

STEP-RELATION CLASS

(I did not secure any information on this class, but see Gifford, *op. cit.*)

SPOUSES OF UNCLES AND AUNTS

omo, father's brother's wife
 kaka, father's sister's husband
 mu-epe, epe (N), mother's brother's wife
 mumas, mother's sister's husband

SPOUSE CLASS

yep (N, E), yep (G), husband
 kule (N, E), wife
 eda, sister's husband (Gifford has eti, earlier co-wife)
 mas, brother's wife

PARENT-IN-LAW CLASS

peti, parent-in-law, child's spouse (man speaking)*, daughter's husband (woman speaking)*, sisters' or brothers' spouses' parents (man speaking)*
 peni, son's wife (woman speaking)*, sisters' or brothers' spouses' parents (woman speaking)*

SIBLING-IN-LAW CLASS

kedī, kude (N), sister's husband, man's sister's husband (N)
 mas (N), brother's wife, wife's sister (N), woman's sister's husband (N), husband's brother (N)
 epe (N), husband's sister, woman's brother's wife (N)

CHILD'S PARENTS-IN-LAW

kopo, an exclusive reciprocal term

Personal Conduct

Father-in-law, mother-in-law taboos rigidly observed. Man meeting mother-in-law on trail steps aside, looks away. If either leaves house when both present, must pass behind other. Avoid being alone together or addressing one another directly. Man failing to observe restrictions lacks in sense and in respect due mother-in-law. Man treats father-in-law like own father.

Woman observes same restrictions toward father-in-law; treats mother-in-law as own mother.

Special privileges, accorded brother-in-law during engagement period, continue after marriage.

Person with food must divide. Women supposed to address visitors; also prepare food for them which must not be refused, otherwise never invited again; considered "stuck-up" by women who spread fact around. Person invited from distance must appear or send excuse, otherwise ostracized.

Strangers watch preparation of food, suspicious of poison. If hostess gives food in old basket, mixes with stick which throws away, refuse food; old basket may indicate food poisoned, basket being no loss to burn. Good woman gives guest best basket, washes hands, mixes acorn mush with hand which, after scraping off on edge of basket, licks clean.

Man with erection in public curls up, lies on stomach, or runs in brush.

Cowardice disliked: must prove idle boasts if asked. Two incidents illustrate attitude (Placerville informant):

Huncup, chief, Fairplay (Miwok territory?). Sister's son boasted would kill rattlesnake with bare heel. Challenged, found rattlesnake, tried 3 times to kill. Each time bitten on heel, didn't kill snake. Huncup very angry, not because boy bitten, but because failed to make boast good; left party, went home, refused to tell what happened. Mother learned only when boy brought home dead.

Melte-u, chief, Placerville, boasted of bravery. "I am big man on top of people." At "big time" boasted would eat rattlesnake heart. Proof demanded. Caught rattlesnake under forked stick, took out heart, put where people saw it still moving, washed, swallowed, drinking water. Melte-u was half-doctor; after "got mad quick like rattlesnake."

Phrases used with visitors:

I meet him, hēse'nēmuhe (P) (muhe, him; hēse, to meet)

Come in, u'mit (P)

Sit down, no'skit (P)

Tell something, hueda'. bē'nē (P)

Take care of yourself (said on parting), si'te paio'mose (P)

Berdaches

W. J. saw 3-4 berdaches in childhood. Always dressed as, talked as, associated with women. Considered "made that way," never ridiculed, otherwise some doctor might kill mocker. Contradicts Maidu information (Dixon, 241). W. J. sophisticated, talks more freely on such subjects than most informants. Capt. Widduk', El Dorado county, had one as "wife" and was much attached to him. One now living, Buena Vista, Amador county (Miwok).

Disposal of Dead

Informants unanimous that Nisenan always burned dead until whites stopped. At burning (tanti, N; santi, P), all property except house of dead burned. House usually torn down, moved few yards (not always); never destroyed. Any animals belonging to dead, formerly dogs, later horses, killed and burned. Flesh of horses, mules, cattle eaten, only bones burned (1 informant).

Each village or community had own burning ground, but not cemetery (except s mountains). In n many dead taken to cemetery ('ustu) between Grass Valley and Nevada City from Auburn, Colfax, Forest Hill, supposedly because people there related to those of Nevada City, Grass Valley. Everyone's wish to be buried near relatives; for this reason people dislike traveling. Burial usually in cemetery of father's relatives; if father dead, ashes frequently buried at mother's relatives' cemetery. Waupumne: buried in own cemeteries, also Forest Home. Formerly cemeteries on high knolls. Later grave robbing became common when Indians began burying gold and money with dead so cemeteries moved close to villages. s also made cemeteries on old round house sites. Latter trait relatively modern. When population decimated were unable to keep up round houses; began burning them after chief's death. At first, until whites stopped it, chief also burned in them; afterwards, house burned, body buried in pit. Fifty years probably maximum age of graveyards on round house sites in s territory. Earlier, round house inherited by chief's successor.

People dying away from home taken back if near-by. Otherwise body burned, ashes taken home, buried. Chief sees is done.

Burning usually first morning after death. Chief in charge, although never touched fire or body. Deceased's property thrown on bit by bit. Attempt to keep some property on body. Those conducting burning use poles, work flesh off bones to facilitate burning. Friends, relatives sing, weep about fire. Also dance about. (Some informants said only those in charge of burning danced.)

When body nearly consumed, fire extinguished, remains placed in new basket or left in coals until all relatives, friends arrive. Then burning completed.

People in charge gather up bones, carefully scrape up all ashes. Bone fragments put in small basket, this inside larger basket containing ashes, take to graveyard, bury. Handled by same people doing burning. Grave dug by anyone, usually man.

If ashes carried distance for burying, person carrying (usually woman) not allowed rest or to touch pack strap with hands. When destination far traveled day and night without rest.

Higher mountains: burning done by relatives or neighbors; often by wife (husband), others assisting. Lower mountains: relatives nothing to do with burning. Foothills: 2 old women perform all burnings, relatives no part.

Those assisting in burnings under special restrictions. Higher mountains: helpers no special name; forbidden meat, grease, salt, water, while burning under way. First time assisting, oldest helper offers basket of water which assistant simulates drinking but water thrown away; second basket also thrown away after passed about head;

third, drunk. Food same; feed with long stick. Afterwards when assisting, performed for self. Relatives dig grave.

Lower mountains: Widow may scrape up ashes; customarily done by old people "appointed" to position. Observe fast 4 days and nights, eating only acorn soup. New person fasts 8 days, nights. At end given feast (husla); village spends previous day hunting, preparing food.

Foothills: same 2 old women appointed by chief always; no special name; not paid; perform all burnings, bury ashes (grave dug by anyone). Place wormwood in nostrils; also chew, rub over face, hands, often entire body. Always done after handling body; sometimes before. Wash thoroughly before eating. Sprinkle wormwood on fire to extinguish after body consumed. Meat, salt, taboo 4 days. Dance with mourners about funeral pyre.

Funerals of chiefs and commoners different (foothill information only).

Ordinary people: only near-by neighbors, friends, relatives informed of burning. Chiefs: notify all chiefs and people "long ways round" (15-20 mi. ?); body not burned until all present. Everyone weeps, dances about pyre; chiefs console widow, advise as to conduct.

Same region: observe special ceremonies for singer, drummer, dancer; probably relatively modern, connected with Kuksu cult. Healing involved essentially that in Hewi dance (introduced, Kuksu revival, 1872). No older dances contain this concept.

Danced over dead dancer (singer, drummer) 4 times, usually in round house, before burning. Chief makes speech over body, tells dancers to dance. Danced again over ashes before burial. Dance may be any danced by dead person. Feather regalia, dance equipment belonging to the dead person buried, not burned. Contrasts with usual practice; again suggests intrusive element.

If member of dancers' group feels badly over death, lies on grave, head dancer "presses" on head, body, particularly back; each operation 4 times. "Presses" dead person's entire family.

2 old women in charge of burning similarly, on death of ordinary person, lay relatives on grave, press with wormwood. Possibly also Kuksu influence; found only where influence penetrated. These women must not touch children. If do, children may shrivel up, die.

After burial, relatives start 8-9 o'clock, cry all night; continue, often months. Pitch, burned acorns, daubed over face, head of close relatives; not removed until public mourning ceremony. Lower mountains: hair cut, particularly by female relatives. Black streak painted horizontally across face between nose and chin. When cry, streak "runs," get "lots of sympathy." Children not blackened or hair cut.

Relatives, friends also burn property, especially shells, beads, at burning. Friends give their bead offerings to close relative who notes amount; later deceased's family pay back. Burning beads at funeral seals friendship with family. For avowed friend not to burn beads breaks friendship.

Large property display at funeral indicates family wealthy, adds indirectly to prestige. Failure of wealthy family to destroy adequate property talked about, condemned. People angry to see person burned without property destruction unless family known poor, when no criticism. No relation of amount destroyed to status after death, but apparently indicates respect for dead. Possibly also quiets ghost of dead, placates evil spirits perhaps attendant at burning. Money often used to placate supernatural.

If dead buried, believe animals (e.g., gophers) dig to bodies, evaporations escape, transmit disease of which died to others. Old people: "Disease now among Indians because bury instead of burning."

Specific differences in death practices from Maidu; basic concepts show similarity (Dixon, 241-259).

Mourning Ceremony

The mourning ceremony is considerably different from that of the Maidu. It is not held annually or at intervals of years, but a few weeks or months after a death. There are no images and there is no large-scale destruction of property. Actual wailing largely constitutes the observance. Until a "cry" or mourning observance has been performed for a recently deceased person, no member of his community would participate in any festivity or dance, on pain of giving mortal insult to his relatives.

Differs considerably from Maidu. Held some weeks, months after death, not each year. Until mourning ceremony, big times, gambling games, other festivities impossible in community. Rigor of observance probably depends on importance of dead. Unit such as Waupumne (1000+ population—1 informant) or larger Placer county group restrictions probably apply only in immediate village. Chief's death: neighboring chiefs must observe restrictions also or considered unfriendly.

Placer county: mourning ceremonies, he'pai (cries—modern parlance) held in cemetery unless individual died in round house which rare. Ed Dorado and Amador counties: held always in round house. (1929: Auburn Indians condemned by s visitors for holding "cry" in open instead of in round house.) No dances with "cry"; visitors fed by person giving "cry," usually nearest relative, sometimes chief. Relatives, friends usually gathered at cemetery or in round house, cry twice in course of 2-3 days.

"Cry" witnessed, Auburn, June 1929: first wailing held in evening; after, everybody ate at temporary camp by graveyard. (In older times graveyard ordinarily fairly close to village.) Next wailing scheduled for following morning before breakfast; owing to non-arrival of expected guests, postponed until about 11 o'clock. Everyone fed breakfast in early morning, dinner after wailing. After that everyone free to have good time.

Actual wailing done in cemetery. Everyone wailed, wept, comforted one another. Occasionally some stop, chat, walk about, begin again. Whole performance lasted about 20 min. Only 2-3 old people, who lost near relatives shortly before, genuinely affected.

Next day and following morning, captain or manager (born El Dorado county) fed remaining guests in round house on Auburn reservation, saying "afraid if did not, spirits of round house be angry because 'cry' not held there."

If "big time" scheduled, turned into "cry" in case of death. Presumably dances held after mourning over. Amador county: faces of deceased's relatives washed; washer paid (25 cents, or some similar sum) by each person washed. Exhorts to forget sorrow, reminds everyone must die. After, dance sometimes held, but insult to hold before this. Trait shared with Miwok (1 informant).

After death in territory, chief who holds "big time" without relatives' permission in danger of being killed. Sometimes consent purchased if people do not want to wait. Offer property until say are satisfied. Then dance held. If relatives persisted in refusing property, dance not held.

For big "cry," leading men gather beforehand in round house; man giving tells what to be done. Each one talks; pipe passes; sit on pine needles. If many people from different camps, take turns crying, keep up all night and all day. Same done at important burnings.

"Cry" normally 18th day after burning (1 informant; others agree approximately). But this informant gave "cry" at Auburn, 1929, 5-6 mos. after death of relative. Another informant: always in spring or summer, never in winter.

"Cry" for ordinary person, only near-by people invited; for chief, each neighboring chief expected to hold big "cry," attend all given; if did not, neighbors regarded him suspiciously. If person who knew deceased did not attend "cry," must send excuse or forfeit friendship of relatives.

Nevada county: property destroyed at both mourning ceremony and burning. Most destroyed at burning, but friends, relatives collect more for mourning ceremony. One informant told of girl who worked 6 mos. making large basket to burn at cry for brother-in-law. Nisenan practice has little in common with Maidu. No secret society, no images, destruction of property lacking (except Nevada City). (Powers, 329, reports effigies of dead for s Nisenan. Informants denied this.)

RELIGION

GENERAL CONCEPTS

In keeping with the considerable differentiation in Nisenan culture, no uniform ideas concerning religion could be secured. Owing to the relatively small number of informants it is also quite likely that individual differences, as well as regional, are represented in this account. Another cause of the lack of uniformity may be the disrupted state of Nisenan culture. There seems, however, practically no infiltration of Christian ideas.

To the Nisenan the world is a place where every object is endowed with potential supernatural powers. These powers may sometimes be taken advantage of or propitiated to bring "luck," or the possession of "medicines" may enable an individual to have "luck," which amounts to giving him more than natural powers in certain pursuits. A "lucky" individual differs from a shaman only in the degree of his powers and in not having been formally initiated.

One informant remarked: "It looks to me like that tree could kill us, the wind could kill us, if it wanted to." Another informant twice fell over a branch in front of his camp while carrying a heavy lumberman's saw, narrowly avoiding serious cuts each time. His comment is likewise illuminating. "What I call devil is after you all the time." In the case material are further examples of this point of view.

Whether the forces which might make a tree kill a person were inherent in the tree or existed impersonally outside are not clear in the native mind. The general impression given the observer is that the force resides in the tree and that the tree is in itself a sentient being of some sort. On the other hand, there is evidently some idea of a wider, more

impersonal force, although it is perhaps also to be personified. "Who's tending this sun, moon? Who moves them around? There must be somebody to look after this world," one informant remarked, indicating possibly a somewhat larger view of supernatural forces.

Far more important to the Nisenan in his daily life are the large number of supernatural beings and ghosts which have their being independent of any natural phenomenon such as a tree. Some of these do represent natural phenomena such as the wind, thunder, the whirlwind, and others, but most are semi-mythical beings of various sorts such as the *kuksu'i*.

Ghosts, to most informants, are the spirits of dead people, but they were occasionally confused with other classes of supernatural beings. At least three distinct ideas of the future of the soul were found among the Nisenan. In contrast with the Maidu,¹² the spirits of the dead never go to a sky land, although the existence of such a land is recognized. It is inhabited by supernatural and mythical beings who there lead a life similar to that on earth.

The most common idea is that the dead always stay around the country where they lived. There is a certain ambivalence of feeling as to whether they are benevolent or not, but it is plain that the Indians would prefer not to see them. Exactly how the dead live is not clear, but evidently they follow much the same sort of life as when living. One informant said a round hill west of Ione and southeast of Carbondale in Amador county was feared because people thought dead shamans had a round house inside in which they danced. A very powerful shaman had once visited the hill and looked inside. The hill was called *omsus*.

Sometimes when people died they were reincarnated as animals. Several stories are told in the case material which illustrate this attitude. The belief seems to have been widespread, but the circumstances and the manner of reincarnation differ considerably.

The third belief is that the dead go away to the west.¹³ One informant only was clear-cut in this idea, saying that those who had lots of children and were fond of them stayed where they had lived, while the others went away to the west. Another informant said that after four days the dead arose and jumped in the water. Then they went to the west. On the way, they had to go through a big river. If they were afraid, they returned to their old home and were turned into coyotes. This same informant at other times said categorically that all the dead stayed around

¹² Dixon, 260.

¹³ Cf. Northeastern Maidu, where the dead go east. Dixon, 261.

where they had lived. At other times he told stories which illustrated the fact that they went away. All informants were agreed that the land in the west was on the ground, not in the sky.

The dead are supposed to be able to see everything. They may themselves be seen by the living.

The many supernatural beings are considered by some to be the ghosts of dead people, but this is not the more common view. The most interesting of these beings, from an historical point of view, is the *kuksu'i*. This appears to be some sort of nature spirit, which lives among the rocks. In the foothills, where the *Kuksu* cult gained some foothold at a late date, the *kuksu'i* spirit was supposed to be the ghost of the dancer who represented the spirit in the *kuksu'i* dance. It was there believed to be found only about the places where the dancer had performed. It was occasionally seen and caused bleeding at the nose and sometimes ears. It often caused unconsciousness also. Elmer Faunee at Auburn saw one quite recently on the road east of the reservation. He lost consciousness and when he recovered was bleeding at the mouth and ears.

Other spirits:

Ka'kin, *k'a'kin* (initial *k* varies) usually means spirits as a class; occasionally denotes special type. Little information discoverable. Compare creator's name, El Dorado county, creator's assistant, Placer county. Possibly significant: relation between name and word *k'a'kin*, meaning both north and sky country (El Dorado informant).

Ai'got (P), *ai'kot* (E), live in caves or water (opinion differs). Drowned people held under water by them; also became *ai'got* (1 informant). *Ai'got* and *ka'kin* same (another informant).

Hu'ital, one-legged men, live in mountains in caves by lakes; also go in water.

Uma'i, fish-tailed beings, drown people; live in water.

Thunder, person, called *Yo'wau* (E); like big snake; lives in water of various lakes, always moving one place to another. Indians sometimes see him crossing sky during storms. Has wife, child. Hears everything so must be careful of speech. Particularly dangerous to curse him. Only kills wrongdoers.

Whirlwind, *Tu'kui*, may be propitiated.

Wind, *Mu'nu*, person. Runs around, goes home, lies down, grunting like sick person, all scratched up from running through brush. Some say dead are wind. Wind figures in all appearances of ghosts, spirits, also in sessions of spirit shamans.

Possession of anything belonging to supernatural being brings luck.

CREATION

No complete creation myths could be obtained. From scattered references by informants the following ideas seem fairly general.

World always here, but form different. Everything, man, animals, etc. made by someone. Birds, animals, once human.

Creator: *Yos*, Amador county; *K'aki'npemai'duk*, El Dorado county; *Be'temmai'duk*, with assistant *K'aki'nemmai'duk*, Placer county.

Coyote and animals made man of mud (some informants). Coyote wished them to have paws like own; Lizard wanted hands like self. Coyote went away (or slept ?) before finished; Lizard finished man with hands.

First people not good, hence a flood. One couple clung to buck-brush on top of mountain; survived to repopulate earth. Another tale: family survived by shutting up house watertight.

Eventually present world will be torn up; perhaps dead will inhabit earth. Will happen when all Indians die and flood to follow destroys all whites.

BEAR CEREMONIALS AND BELIEFS

Bearskins handled carefully; might bring bad luck. Anyone may kill bear, but only chiefs, sometimes rich men, keep them; ordinary man gives away. Grizzly bear and black bear skins most prized, brown phase not highly regarded.

Annually in spring (foothills) owner of bearskin hangs it on tree outside. Displays all his beads, baskets, etc., during which anyone may approach, point at him, demand gift (usually exorbitant). He must make trifling present (usually few beads; in modern times, cheap handkerchief most common). In lieu of gift, owner may carry man (woman, child) around camp on his back. Also gives big feast; no dancing, games.

When not displayed, skins wrapped in buckskin, treated with respect. While displayed, if skin falls or limb breaks on which hangs, cover with brush, leave 4 days before moving. This only in foothills.

Everywhere bearskins prized; valuable property. Aboriginally, burned with owner on death; later, body wrapped in for burial.

Believed bears once people. Captured bear cub understands everything, regardless of language. Must be fed clean food. When dies, buried (earlier, presumably burned) with shells, beads "like person."

Foothills: when bear killed, "big time" made. Skin left overnight covered with brush, meat eaten at time. After 4 nights, skin stretched, dried. When cured, another "big time" held. Then put away where no one can touch. Bear killer must pay everyone, give skin to chief, manager, or wealthy man.

RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCES AND PERSONAL BELIEFS

[Sam Kessler.] 4 days after burial, dead rise, go away. Jump in water first, then go west. Another country there (on earth). Must go through big river to arrive. If afraid, come back, become coyotes. "Looks like moon said right." (Reference to moon's part in origin of death myth.) [Another time: said same about going away, but don't go far, "not out of this country."']

Indian hanged for murder at Placerville said not going far away, coming back, choke Chinaman in jail, whom disliked. On night hung, Chinaman choked, not fatally. "Lots dead people make home around that jail. I believe dead people never go away. You hear them in wind."

[William Joseph.] If person has children, he becomes animal, coyote, deer, etc., depending on feeling has for his children. Sometimes, when meet in woods, they "mesmerize" one so can't shoot. Spirits, when seen, likely to be of shamans or dancers. Spirits stay around where lived.

[Sam Kessler.] Maybe dead listen to us here. When I was shot in arm, fainted (went to sleep); right away met dead cousin-brother. My companion thought I would die before he returned with help. When reached Placerville, he thought I was with him. I saw dead people I knew, went around with them. Then thought doing wrong to sleep so much, woke up.

My brother-in-law same way when shot. He saw father, who was well, wanted him to come with him; saw sister, other dead relatives.

One ought not sleep too sound lest not wake up. I talked with my people before dying. If sick man sleeps too long, he's gone.

[Jim Dick.] Somebody dies. Must be another world or dead would return. Sometimes return at night to see folks. People don't see, but hear them, think they are about. Sometimes return as animals. My niece's husband came back as skunk, came into house, crawled on her bed. Birds may be dead people come back, esp. woodpeckers, blue jays, night owls; also foxes, rabbits. When dog whipped and it howls, maybe says: "Just wait, you'll be dog yourself, get good beating some day."

[Frank Suehead.] Some people say have seen dead; I never have. Once heard my mother cry month and half after her death. After 2 mos. away I had come home, found my mother dead. I went to her house, my eyes, ears, all stopped up, then to burning place where little piece of her still burning. Stood there, looked at it, cried. Then went up mountain; started to eat piece of bread beside spring where water boiled up. Took bite, looked at spring, heard mother's voice, spat out bread; started to drink water but it looked strange (boiling), so didn't. Ran down hill, mother's voice coming after. Where trail turned around sugar-pine log, hid behind logs; looked out, expecting to see mother come around bend of trail. As voice came to edge of brush, it stopped; for moment big wind all over. But I didn't see her.

Another time with cousin from above Placerville were 9 mi. beyond Georgetown. He said: "It will be better if we walk in the evening." So traveled in evening. Once he said: "If somebody shouts we had better run to nearest house." How he knew, that I don't know. After 10-15 steps, heard someone shout about 2 mi. ahead. Cousin ran. I stood minute, then also ran. Heard horse galloping behind, being spurred. Ran to house, hid behind barn. Cousin slept; I not. Heard horse stop, someone get off.

In morning no sign of horse tracks. That afternoon, came to ditch with plank across but cousin jumped ditch. Then heard Indian voices talking, sound of breaking off dead manzanita sticks, gathering wood. Sneaked up, peeped behind tree, voices stopped, a big wind went all directions, stopped. Then looked all over, couldn't find where manzanita had been broken. Both of us heard that.

[Sam Kessler.] Dead people are same thing as God, about like Aikot, who must be dead people. Rarely seen. K'akin supposed to have built caves. Dead people are devils; maybe same as Aikot.

Jim Dick says never saw anything. He has no sense. If one has sense he can see something.

God here by you all time. Well, God is dead people, you see.

Some people think coyote devil, because seen dancing around graveyards. He looks like devil; I'm afraid of him.

Around Latrobe, Folsom, west of there, night time more dangerous. Something walks around at night, frightens people. Dead people, I think; their own people bother them.

Once followed strange tracks with uncle who said made by one-legged people living in woods, who left track like camel foot with human heel, took 16-foot long steps, whistled like man.

Thunder went after drunken man in s (round brush house there). Thunder rolled; drunken man cursed him, called him bald-headed, shot gun at him. Thunder hit him lightly, burned him a little, rolled him in dirt. Thunder covered by smoke when first seen; then smoke rose up like balloon and soon thunder banged away again above. Man (Jim Highglass) thus cured of cussing; afterwards hid from thunder.

Some Indians believed in God like dreaming. I used to make fun of things they told. Once was with grandmother in camp by river making bow and arrow. She said

go look for a deer shot but not found because dusk. I kept fixing bow and arrows, said: "I am going to kill fresh deer meat." That night she dreamed about dead man, Jim Highglass. Next day we found the deer; were going to roast. I wouldn't eat because didn't want dead deer meat. That night she dreamed Jim Highglass was looking, standing with one foot on rock above camp. In morning she called to me. A spike buck stood on rock looking at camp. Old man went out, saw nothing. Grandmother spread acorns in sun to dry, looked up where had dreamed Highglass stood. Next time she came out of hut, looked up again, there was two-point buck looking down. She called, old man and I came out, shot, but deer didn't move. Old man shot second time, wounded it; it ran. We followed all day. Late afternoon the deer walked up to me while resting. I shot it; it rolled down hill to oak tree. Dark when through skinning; 1½ mi. to camp over rough ground. They wanted me to pack but said: "I don't want to pack dead person. Are you going to eat dead person?" They angry, but we packed it home.

Sky once rested on rock on Sam Hoyt's ranch. Believe another country up there. Ka'kin, devils, dead Indians, making all this.

If man dead, can see everything.

Kuksu'i followed my father-in-law, white man. He saw it at night; heard whistle first, looked behind, saw looming over him big man with bear hide; hurried; kuksu'i followed close but didn't touch.

[William Joseph.] Hattie Thomas' father (or grandfather) saw being playing with ball of sinew. Scared it off, got ball, ran home. Being threw rocks at house. He went out, threw shells, beads around, finally thing let him alone. That's why had good luck in hunting, in everything. Could walk up to deer, back it right into camp. Said, before death, would return as deer. Became buck; stayed in front of Hattie's home. No one allowed to shoot it. [Andrew Jackson told same.]

[Sam Kessler.] On fire drive, after collecting meat my grandfather heard someone call. Count made of all, none missing. Captain Tom said dead person following. Second call was plainer, closer, like steam whistle approaching. Some climbed tree to see. Finally heard hollow footsteps. Tom said must be 1 of bad people living in mountains, to pay no attention. Shouting stopped, footsteps stamped past in brush about 100 yds. away, shouting started again. Tom said it was 1 of big one-legged men (hu'ital), who were good men and lived in water; dangerous to look for track. Supposedly many of these men, but no one had seen them.

People drowned because held down by beings like fish. In some places good-looking women (uwa'i) live in water (like white man's mermaids); bad luck to swim at those places; they drown people. Sometimes seen in afternoons on bank. If run fast to place see water boiling where have jumped in; can see where they came out of water.

Once, while catching salmon, young boys caught man in net who walked like man but had skin like old hog with hair off. They wished to take him home but an old man said if did would be no water in country, so they let him go; he jumped back in river.

[Frank Suehead.] Once, when mining, worked in tunnel, I heard noise like grunting. Came out, nose bleeding. That night dreamed big wind came from northwest. Next day wouldn't return to tunnel; worked outside with wife. Cyclone came tearing branches foot thick off oak trees. Old people said to throw dirt at it, speak gently, tell it not to hurt. Did this. It hesitated, divided in two parts, went behind us where came together, went off with big noise, tearing up bushes, etc.

[Sam Kessler.] While deer hunting stopped in cabin alongside river. In morning, while still dark, went to river for water, heard sound, like wind coming, whirling up leaves. Looked up, saw white figure like man but bigger, which looked and crackled

like starched white cloth. Ran for house, it followed. House was 4 ft. from ground on river side: figure bent over, went under house. Looked under with candle, saw nothing.

Yokteo was an old dancer from SE of Ione; also a doctor. He went to all big times; told people not to dance *kuksu'i* or sing certain song otherwise would get feathers in throats, die. Song went: *yokteo hapa ha* (repeated several times); other words also, but not remembered.

Jackson [a man] didn't believe, so sang the song, mocked Yokteo. Result: became very sick, fainted, but kept singing: *yokteo, yokteo, yokteo hapa ha*. His ghost went below to other country [i.e., out of mountains] where are dead people; found Yokteo inside round house singing song. Went to door but doorkeeper refused him admittance. Returned above, woke up, got well.

[Jim Dick.] *Betemmaiduk* [Creator] when making world started in south, traveled north. Said to companions: "You stay here, do this, you stay there, do that. Make river here, put a salmon fall there, etc." He put aigot in rivers. Whoever got salmon fall made first should shout. Up N finished first, shouted, so this one [Forest Hill] never finished; people dropped everything, went off.

Betemmaiduk god over everything. Old Kabe, Iowa hill, sang, told about *Betemmaiduk* and *Kakin* for 2 days, nights without finishing. Told how various people, things, made; how people and animals danced and sang.

SHAMANS

Except in the higher mountains, the average Nisenan shaman appears to have had little direct contact with the supernatural. For most of them, the term doctor, used locally, is far more accurate. Particularly in regard to curing, the Nisenan believed that for practically all ills there were medicines, *wenI*, which when properly administered would cure. If a man could discover the secret of a shaman's medicine for any particular disease, i.e., the herbs he used and the way of compounding them, he could then cure that disease himself. The learning of these medicines was the most important part of a shaman's training and it was only in this rigorous course of training and the learning of "medicines" which had a supernatural effect that the ordinary shaman differed from the person who might have a knowledge of herbs for curing ordinary ailments.

A few examples from the present may illustrate the point of view. One informant, William Joseph, is considered by some a shaman because he has a knowledge of two or three dangerous medicines. As head singer he has a medicine which, when rubbed on the dancers' legs, prevents them from getting tired. He himself does not consider he is a shaman and regrets bitterly that he did not become one. He insists that he knows far less about medicines than a slightly younger woman now living on the Auburn reservation who is actually curing people but is not considered a shaman. William Joseph has offered her as high as twenty-five dollars

for one of her medicines, but she will not sell. On the other hand, Sam Kessler of Placerville, who suggests that William Joseph is a shaman, has himself been initiated as a shaman, but didn't like learning to kill people so gave it up. He uses various herbs on himself and his family, but does not cure other people. He comes the closest by far to being the true shamanistic type in his character, but he does not consider himself a shaman, nor does anyone else.

It would appear that perhaps the criterion formerly was on the basis of supernatural knowledge or influence. But the line even in the undisturbed native culture must have been very indefinite. All informants agree that some shamans were dangerous while others were not. Even many of the dangerous ones received their power through their "poisonousness," which was caused by the constant use of powerful herbs. There was nothing most shamans did which an ordinary man might not do if he learned the necessary medicines and observed the proper taboos. While many of the things some shamans did were undoubtedly supernatural, their power to do them was not caused by any direct contact with the supernatural world through guardian spirits or visions. There were of course exceptions to this and some shamans did have dreams while others conversed with spirits. But, apparently, they were not the rule.

Foothill Shamans

Training period 6-7 mos. 4-5 boys taught together, each trained by separate shaman. Forbidden salt, meat, grease. Food brought by mothers, left near camp; no one dares approach within certain distance. Doctor inspects food to see if contains forbidden substances (can tell by touch of hand on bowl), eats best, gives novice remainder, keeping him half-starved. Excreta of boys examined to see if ate forbidden foods. If did, doctor mixes excreta in bowl acorn soup, gives boy to drink, afterwards dismisses him.

During training period, boys painted black with pitch, charcoal. Every night fire built, doctor presses boy against him, first breast to breast, then breast against boy's back, rendering unconscious for 2-3 hrs. After neophytes recover, dance, about 11 o'clock, sleep. At daybreak dance around fire 4 times, blowing whistle while doctors sing. During day shamans take boys in woods, show herbs.

After training boys try curing under instructors' tutelage. Often difficult first; takes 2-3 yrs. for shaman to become proficient.

Shamans not paid for training boys. Generally boy was near-relation.

Shamans never eat meat, salt, grease, otherwise die. Can't marry or have women because so poisonous kill anyone touched. Women shamans (also taught by male relative) were not dangerous; not taught poisonous medicines because might kill everyone, women "being very weak-headed." Good doctor jabs arm (first at shoulder, continues until reaches elbow) with oak stick each spring, puts powerful medicine in wound, covering with feather, to keep strength. Persons seized with that hand (usually left) die, become paralyzed, unless doctored immediately. If good shaman even looks directly at person, shake as with palsy.

Shaman carries cane; if poked, pointed at, touched person, or stepped on him, person must shout at once, "You take that out." Then doctor removes medicine put in, usually extracting object. No charge for this; required to remove medicine on demand. If person doesn't demand removal, shaman does nothing, person has chills, fever, dies.

If go before shaman, step over him, doctor "shoots" medicine. Breaking wind near-by great insult. Boy, Amador county, broke wind near shaman who mixed medicine, shot boy, paralyzing him on spot.

One shamanistic method of killing: follow victim until makes water, put stick treated with medicine in spot, say: "He shall die at such and such a time." Children told to make water over bush so urine scattered; this method then impossible.

Other methods failing, shaman enters man's camp with medicine making everyone sleep. Throws straw on fire in each hut until sees victim; shoots with bow and arrow. In this case relatives always know killer; seek revenge.

Shamans hired to kill enemies. Hired by chief to rid of trouble makers. Person hiring offers shaman what thinks worth. If shaman dissatisfied, doesn't touch. If something added to pile, shaman must take whether satisfied or not, but if thinks amount not enough, may kill man offering, rather than intended victim. If girl refuses suitor after accepting presents, his family hires shaman to kill her. If victim's relatives discover shaman responsible, kill him. No one cares if shaman killed, even own family; everyone afraid of him.

Foothills, part lower mountains: shaman's curing functions complicated by curing dance of Kuksu cult after 1872 revival. Exact times when shaman called in and when dance performed unobtainable. Sometimes evidently matter of convenience: if dance to be held, person cured at dance; if not, shaman called. Throughout area curing dances used when person dreams or troubled by spirits; shaman not called.

Head singer in kuksu'i dances handles costumes, puts them on dancers; frequently shaman, because shaman's services necessary in preparing dancers to wear medicine-protected regalia. Singer performs elaborate, standardized curing ritual of hewi dance of 1872 revival.

Foothill shamans affected by Kuksu cult ideas. Patient often taken to round house, laid on drum, feathers on. Shaman chews medicine, blows on patient and presses with medicine in hands until finds seat of illness, then sucks, spits out flint, lizard, frog, other object. Bowl full medicine also given; if effect violent, patient will recover. If no reaction, shaman hangs head, cries, goes away.

Curing by sucking, outside round house, not used by all shamans; only in certain diseases (what unknown). Location of "pain" determined, flesh cupped up with hands and sucked. Usually worms withdrawn, also grasshoppers, lizards, sticks, stones, other objects.

For medicines, diagnosis first made. Infusion of herbs cooked with quartz crystal; shaman always tastes, gives patient. If nauseated, faints, shaman delighted, if medicine no apparent effect, shaman tries another or more usually shakes head, perhaps cries, goes away. Another may be called.

Shamans paid only if cured. Patient decides amount, always shells, beads.

Some sickness, shaman uses sweat-house (conical brush structure built each time under his directions). Medicine poured on hot rocks, patient inhales steam through mouth. After sweating, sweat wiped off, patient washed in cold water, wrapped in rabbitskin blanket, drinks bowl medicine. In place of sweat-house, sometimes pile hot rocks were covered with wormwood and grass, medicine sprinkled over, patient laid on pile; after sweating, treated as above. Used only for chills, fever (1 informant).

Hunting parties usually accompanied by shaman who places medicine on stick in deer tracks to give animal cramps in legs so can't go far. When deer discovered feeding, shaman goes around with medicine to prevent running. No pay; receives share of game.

Some shamans knew very powerful medicines. One medicine, tawa'impau, from hills above Slough House, so powerful doctor holds stick to it from distance. If stick left on windy side of camp, everybody starts dying. Another, burns people without their knowledge if handled carelessly. Shaman kept it wrapped in soapstone dust; used it to press with for sores, rheumatism.

S, possibly Miwok, shamans know medicine which rubbed on legs to knee prevents rattlesnake bites. Similar medicine, known to Placerville shamans, makes snakes rattle when smell. If person ridicules crippled or deformed, shaman sure to kill or cripple him also.

If woman "wild," people may injure by lacing small lizard into miniature cradle which put under her bed; pregnancy results. Child dies at 2-3. If cradle of sinew, woman dies in childbirth; only child's head, shoulders out. Anyone can do. Only imitative magic noted.

Mountain Shamans

Three ways to become shaman; 1 occurs only Nevada county; other 2 coexist further s.

Method 1. Nevada county (only informant, D. J.): shamans rarer than to s and not poisoners. Once only one shaman, a malicious dwarf; was disliked, people sending to Colfax for shamans.

A man "knew himself how to be a doctor"; had no training. Dreamed how to cure, e.g., sucking worm out of arm. Continued dreaming, then called people to try him without cost. Before curing he sang. Unlike southern doctors, never gives herbs, medicines. Paid for successful curing.

Method 2. Farther s, doctor "made," sometimes against wishes. Other shamans decide man should be shaman. Dig 2 holes connected underground. In one put herbs, hot coals; blow to make smoke. Man selected seized, laid across other hole, made to breathe smoke. Man "as though dead drunk" for long time, sometimes nose bleeds. When recovered, could cure people. Initiation public. (L.—same informant: Young boys usually initiated; fast from meat, fish, grease, salt several days before initiation. Suggests more complex ceremony.)

Camino, El Dorado county: 2 young men initiated together. Smoke "killed them, they lay like dead." Shamans laid them in shade. After while, old shaman sprayed water over them from his mouth; they "woke up," danced, picked up hot rocks, rubbed on hands, placed in armpits, rubbed selves all over. Boys beaten on breast (or beat own breast ?) while dancing. Old shamans "shot" boys. They fell down, spat out bullet or medicine.

Informant very explicit on points at variance with initiation described later: i.e., that performance public, outdoors by day, in round house by night, no sequestration period in woods, initiation part of festival. Agreed with other accounts that only relatives were made shamans. Several features of this initiation occur elsewhere in shaman's dance.

Same informant: shamans cure primarily by sucking, paid whether they cured or not. (This last completely at variance with all other information; hardly to be credited; especially as informant unreliable.)

Method 3. Placerville, 11 mi. from Camino: initiation slightly different from above and some similarity with foothill initiation. Informant initiated, or partly so.

Anyone can be "fixed" to become shaman. 4 people at time trained by single shaman (2—same informant to L.). Novices and shaman camp far in woods, eat no meat, salt, fat. Stay 8 days learning doctor song. Shaman sings; 4 neophytes, naked except for loin cloth of wire grass pounded soft, dance around him blowing double whistles of alder wood. Shaman shows herbs, medicines, how to "shoot" medicine. Shaman really proficient in latter art can smash stone pestle $\frac{1}{4}$ mi. away. Informant had seen this done. Neophytes also practice killing people. After 8 days, shaman leaves, novices stay in woods several months, shaman visiting several times.

Same informant told following to L., possibly describing different initiation, but more likely giving different details of same ceremony. Certain points, however, contradictory. All other information informant gave L. and myself is in agreement.

2 old doctors gather 3 or 4 boys together; heat 2 quartz crystals in fire. Boys given medicine to spit on their hands; then had to pick up hot crystals. If unable, cannot become shamans. The ceremonies last 4 days. Boys must eat only cold food; if disobey doctors in any regard, will die.

If ordeal of crystal successfully passed, each candidate held over hole (as in method 2) until overcome by heat and smoke. Then lies on ground as if dead. Doctors dance over him, raise to feet, rub body, pass medicine over him. He groans and moans, slowly "returning to life." When completely recovered, is shaman.

Informant giving these last 2 accounts abandoned doctoring because he didn't like killing people. Said others gave up for same reason.

Took 2 shamans to kill a man (this must represent unusual conditions). My uncle visited friends at Colfax. An enemy there hired shaman to kill him. With another shaman, followed victim until he waded across a stream; then shot him dead with medicine.

Shamans' practices. Shaman's left hand so powerful that if puts over head of person, he becomes sick unless doctored. People fear shamans. If dogs bark at night, piece of skin (gray squirrel most usual) which always kept for this purpose, put in fire. If shaman about house, smoke drives him away, may kill him.

Shamans suspected of poisoning food. Ground bone of dead person a deadly slow poison. Cripple people who bother them. Lame Bob, Placerville, crippled because as boy jumped over shaman lying in sun, although warned. One of A. J.'s daughters went blind after shaman near Diamond Springs seized her by hair during altercation over eggs she was accused of stealing.

Barren women treated by shamans.

Sweat-house used. Curing sprained back in sweat-house described by S. K.: Back coated with hot mud, patient sweated all night. Patient white; curing by man not a shaman.

If 2 shamans pull sick man, is as good as medicine.

To kill person in own house, shaman shoots medicine over village so everyone sleeps, then proceeds as does foothill shaman. Killer can be identified.

Kill by placing medicine in urine (cf. foothills).

Old Tom (chief, Placerville) followed by "doctor." After urinating, he looked back, saw doctor doing something with foot at place. Tom knew was doomed. When reached home, unable to urinate. Called relatives together, told them must kill doctor. Another doctor hired to do; this led to general feud. Rival doctors poisoned all women and children in opposing camps. Feud stopped when no more doctors alive.

For some sicknesses, bitter substance from inside deer (gall bladder ?) cooked with hot rocks on piece of bark. Touch with tip of finger, what adheres, swallowed.

For headache shaman sometimes cuts skin over seat of pain with flint knife until bleeds. Good doctor makes better; poor doctor makes worse, cut place swells.

Good shaman diagnoses illness quickly. Sings, then sucks out rocks, worms, young woodpeckers, other things. If many people about, "big time" held when people recover. Shaman paid then.

Some shamans bad; kill people. Others think only of money. If shaman fails to cure expects no payment. Payment in beads, baskets, yellowhammer bands, etc.

Shamans marry, have children.

Public functions of mountain shaman about same as in foothills. When *kuksu* dances reached Pilot Hill about 1890, shaman required to make dancers immune from poison on dance regalia. Curing dance here became important.

If shaman poisons someone, family of murdered man hires another shaman to kill.

Shamans so strong that to get in their shadows caused sickness, even to shamans if other one more powerful. Food prepared by menstruating women will kill shaman: own medicine turns against. Can tell through fingertips if food all right. Avoids entering house where menstruating woman.

Various names for shaman: most common, *yomu'se*; *yomu'ze* and *yomu'se mai'duk*, Amador county forms; *yomemaidu*, Placerville county form (Amador county informant); *yomem maidu*, Nevada City; *eyu'm* or *eyu'mun'wak*, Forest Hill, Placer county. (Cf. *müsse* (P), *müsE* (N) "people off"; *yommüse*, shaman; *yo'm müssem küsse*, meat or animals. L's notes.)

Terms in connection with doctoring:

Poison, *shi'la* (E)

To shoot with poison, *shi'lamu* (E)

Sick, *po'loi* (N)

(Are) you sick down there?, *po'loi nuE'nte* (N)

Sucking, *mi'ce* (N)

Medicine, *wE'ni* (A)

Medicine steaming (sweat-bath), *wE'ni otata'i* (A)

(*wE'ni* plus noun gives name of any medicine.)

Bear Shamans

Despite Kroeber's skepticism,¹⁴ there seems good evidence that bear shamans, *kopati'* (*kopa*, bear), actually dressed as bears and in this disguise actually killed people. Among most of the old people living, there still exists the belief that the shamans actually turned into bears and in this form killed people. Among the majority there is no idea of disguise or deception. Those who knew of the disguise were emphatic in the point that people were actually killed. The bear shamans took the form of grizzly bears. Undoubtedly Indians were killed now and then by real grizzlies, but a lone Indian certainly would not provoke an attack, and the grizzly normally would not attack without provocation. But add to this the possibility that the bear, virtually invulnerable to a lone Indian, might not be a bear at all but an enemy in disguise, an enemy moreover that could not be killed, and there are present all the circumstances for a lack of discrimination in the victim, if he escaped, which would fail to

¹⁴ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 427.

report discrepancies in disguise and at the same time afforded the shaman abundant opportunity to do his killing. Against an ordinary enemy met in the woods, the Indian could generally pretty well take care of himself, if he were not ambushed. Consequently, with the aid of his supernatural appearance, the bear shaman was in a better position to commit an assassination if he so desired than an ordinary person. The belief in these bear-men must have been very strong, for it survives vividly in the minds of old people from whose memory many other things have faded. And one and all are agreed that many Indians were killed by these creatures. Nearly all had seen them in their youth in human form.

One thing more should be noted before giving concrete data: only two of the informants referred to the bear-shamans as "doctors." A "doctor" might have the power to become a bear, but a person with that power need not be a "doctor" in the ordinary sense of the term according to the other informants.

The most common belief about bear shamans is that they rub themselves with a certain herb, which, according to some, grows in the water. Almost immediately the individual grew hair and took on the shape, appearance, and characteristics of a bear. To become a man again one needed only to jump in the water, or, according to one informant, blow another medicine over oneself and the transformation back into a man was effected immediately.

In bear form, can converse with humans. Bear-shaman roped, chained to tree, by white cowboys, who left to hunt bull to fight with him. While chained, Indian happened along. Bear spoke, told him his story, persuading Indian to release him.

At "big time" near Rocklin whole family changed into bears. Although they, and other people of village, insisted were harmless, visitors all left.

Bear shaman not invulnerable. F. S. knew little old man with healed arrow wounds in stomach in which grew tufts of bear hair. Bear shaman must be killed 4 times before matter final. First 3 times, blood from wound whirls around and goes back into body, or whirlwind arises, bear jumps up, runs off.

One informant was told following by Henry Charlton (recently deceased).

Henry's grandfather had quarrel with wife, who went into hut in rage, Henry followed to door. Took dried rattlesnake, threw on fire, turning over and over until snake became alive. Rubbed snake all over body. Then lay down like bear, got up, walked around like bear, hair grew over body, looked like bear all over except his hands, which remained human. Finally rushed through back of hut, yelling like bear, chased, killed wife, leaving her all torn with marks as though made with awl. Then entered spring, came out like man. Returned to house, slept. Considering darkness of interior of Indian hut, excitement of young boy, Henry Charlton may have described what actually saw.

W. J.: Chief Holer when boy taunted uncle, saying not really bear shaman. Uncle went behind bush, rushed out as bear, growling frightfully, scaring children.

Brushed against Holer's chest and arms as he ran. Some of the medicine still fresh, so Holer grew up with hair on chest and arms like bear hair. When angry, couldn't talk, just growled like bear.

Bear doctor's costume: Knives, made from wood of coffee-berry bush, tied to fore-arms so points project back beyond elbow. (Cf. wounds described, Charlton's account above.) 3 or 4 hollowed-out oak balls hung underneath each armpit; when rattle sound like bear growling. Some say have hairy bodies; others say paint themselves bear color, tie something around head. If have grudge against person, ambush him, slash with knives on elbows.

Nevada county: claim no bear shamans but they come from Placer county, particularly Auburn. Have medicine to make bear hair grow, use sticks to make marks like bear claws. Killed many Nevada county people. Nevada county people complained; Auburn people found out shamans, tried to stop them; unable.

Spirit Shamans

Only two instances secured.

Held mediumistic seances with spirits (of dead, also of living distant people) in round house. If spirits of dead, tell how died, where lived. Both classes told what happening at various places. Spirits from San Jose, Oroville, Yuba City, Amador county, unknown places. Talk in "broken-down" language difficult to understand; sometimes when spirit gone, shaman has to tell what has been said. Seances last every night for 6 days.

During seances, bunch of feathers placed on ceremonial post where spirits come first. Pan or cover placed over fire, making house dark. Shaman sings at bottom of post, using cocoon rattle. Soon wind comes, house creaks, sometimes noise like thunder. Rattle seems to travel up post, rattles all time spirit talking. When spirit goes away, rattle drops to ground, shaman picks up, sings again. Some spirits cry, others sing, some say nothing. Occasionally coyote spirit comes. Hear howling far off. Then everyone sings, shouts to scare away. At intervals during night, cover taken off fire, audience smokes, talks. Kroeber, Nisengan, 272, gives version from valley which agrees closely.

Perhaps dozen people living who witnessed seances. Say new; introduced at Auburn by Sau'r'no or Sauhi'no, a fairly young man. This 40 or 50 years ago. Sauhino was wounded in quarrel, before dying apparently conveyed technique to relative, Oite (Captain John), next to last chief at Auburn. Continued seances until death with such success that considered poisonous. No one attempted to learn secret from him.

Indians of Placer, El Dorado, Amador counties believe Sauhino and Oite only two who held seances, but F.S. heard same done by K'akr'n pe, chief at K'ok'o'k'tea near Enden House, nw Grass Valley. Performances same, but K'akr'n pe better than Captain John.

F.S.'s impressions interesting: decidedly not mystic in temperament. Believes spirits talked in Captain John's voice. First time believed all a fake, but second time decided man couldn't possibly do all things that happened without supernatural help: spirits must actually have entered round house.

K'akr'n pe's name from k'akr'n, spirits; also applied to spirits who come to seances. K'akinpe maiduk, creator, El Dorado county.

If, as Kroeber suggests, this type of performance is old hill Nisengan, it was not common, at least in this elaborate form.¹⁵ At the same time its

¹⁵ Kroeber, Nisengan, 272.

presence at Enden House is fairly certain proof that it did not come from the valley Miwok in the 1870 dance revival, as I at first suspected.

Dreaming may have played a more important part in pre-white days. Some indication of this was given by informants. One said there used to be lots of people who could tell things by dreaming. Some could tell where to find deer, what was happening at various places, etc. Sometimes they sang and told stories while dreaming. This sounds like true possession.

The dislike for dreaming seems to some extent to be associated with the revival of the dances about 1872. At least it appears to exist only in the region affected by the revival.

The summoning of spirits seems to have been present in the higher mountains also, although not formalized as at Auburn and Enden House. An informant at Placerville said one night his aunt's father, a shaman, said: "Don't you folks get scared tonight. I'm going to sing all night." He sang and sang. Every once in a while there was a sound like people at the smokehole. This was in his dwelling house.

This may well have been the typical mountain simplification of the ordinary spirit seance of the lower mountains, in which case Kroeber's guess is certainly correct.

Other Shamans

No evidence could be secured for rain or rattlesnake shamans. Several knew of the latter for the Miwok, but insisted that the Nisenan had no medicine or doctors for rattlesnakes, except in the territory along the Miwok border where they had a medicine to keep snakes from biting.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Foothills: If person drowsy or sleepy all time, women who have charge of body and ashes at cremation, cure: Take to creek early in morning and strip. Burning stick thrust into water passed over body while still steaming. Then person whipped with wormwood, cold water thrown on him, women singing all time. Informant subjected to treatment while boy because disliked getting up in morning.

Practical preventative for poison oak offered; informant claimed had used often. Plucked leaf in spring, dotted milky sap around wrists. Pimples and then scab form. If this done 2 or 3 times, will not get poison oak, even if it burned.

Some old people tell things by quivering of muscles, *he'lok* (E). Old man carried grandchildren on back when little. They grew up. When they came to visit he always knew before by quivering of muscle in back.

My back quivers, *he'lokem bo'kut*.

"The Washo sing to sick. They don't give medicine. They are like Christian Scientists. With us, doctor knows disease by pressing and gives medicine" (1 informant).

When swans fly *e* and *w* in spring, will be no acorns. If fly *n* and *s* good crop assured; everyone claps hands, rejoices.

If owl, humhum, lights on tree or round house and calls is sign someone to die or has died somewhere. Some people talk to it. Answers in "broken down" language. If any bad luck in country, owl will tell about it. If mocked, stays around, brings bad luck, otherwise goes away. Auburn: whenever anyone going to be sick, get hurt, or die, 2 owls always visit chief's house, then reservation.

Grass Valley, Plumas county: fear large woodpecker there.

Bull snakes hatch from eggs, but rattlesnakes born through mouth.

Turtle once quail. Has same number of eggs marked same way.

Rattlesnakes and ground squirrels change back and forth. One killed once with snake body and squirrel head. Rattlesnakes formerly less plentiful. Wood dove is rattlesnake's niece. If you mock her, rattlesnake will bite. Rattlesnake will not bite wood dove. S. K. bitten by rattlesnake because mocked wood dove.

Bears wiser than other animals; almost like person. When caught in fire drive, go into open place, "work like hell" digging hole in which to hide until fire past.

Never use eagle feathers hunting. Eagle dangerous bird, never to be trusted. Catch when young, raise for feathers. Also trade and sell. After killing for feathers, decorate with beads like person, bury in graveyard. Think in old days burned, held "big time" and dance to avert bad luck.

Eagles: formerly caught when young: tied in cradle basket; fed, handled by owner only; when grown, released but always stayed about camp; looked intently in direction from which strangers coming; eventually killed, feathers sold.

Robin is girl; has song like girl laughing. Called for song, wistoktok.

If one drinks water, then steps on rattlesnake it will rain. (L's notes.)

While visiting Frank Suehead and son Ira, they killed rattlesnake, po'ima (E), near house; then burned it with live oak twigs, quartz rock and slaty rock that popped in fire so would not see any more snakes. Old people told Frank not to step over logs but always to go around, otherwise might step on snake.

Man bitten by snake put in special house, like menstrual hut, for 16 days. While there many snakes visited and scared him. After recovery had no bad luck, providing gave away everything had with him when bitten.

[S. K.] Snakes not good to fool with, should not skin or keep rattles. When 10-12 yrs. old I shot ground squirrel. Reaching into hole snake bit finger. Not given water or food for 4 days, then very little. Old lady chewed up plant, put it on wound, but hand swelled up so looked like big snake's head. When recovered told me to give away everything to stop bad luck. I wouldn't do it, but I should have. Have had bad luck ever since. If one person in family bitten, another sure to be also. My grandmother bitten before me.

W. J. told same about Sam, adding details of bad luck: put out eye with knife; shot self in hand; cut foot badly, etc. Now always snakes and animals hanging around him. (At a "cry" saw Sam sit on box out of which large snake crawled. Also mouse ran out when Sam stepped on foot-drum. W. J. later cited these examples to prove point.)

CEREMONIALS

The subject of Nisenan ceremonies has been treated by Gifford at some length.¹⁶ He postulates three groups of ceremonies, the one indigenous, or at least of very old standing, the others due to outside influence. All of these ceremonies or dances he believes to be "god-impersonating." This seems open to doubt.

Kroeber's interpretation of Gifford's data in the light of his material on the valley Nisenan seems more plausible. He says:

In other words, the hill Nisenan took over some Kuksu cult elements; and quite likely the Kuksu tribes now and then borrowed from them elements which they worked into their own system. It is only in this sense that it is possible to agree with Gifford's interpretation that the "oldest" stratum of hill Nisenan dances belongs to the "God-impersonating Cult."¹⁷

From the standpoint of the Nisenan themselves it is extremely doubtful if the earliest stratum of dances were in any sense considered god-impersonating, or that any of the dances of the later strata, except for one or two such as the peipaiyo and kuksu, were regarded as having any element of impersonation in them. Certainly the native viewpoint would coincide with what Kroeber says, continuing the preceding quotation: "These people evidently had neither true, disguised impersonations of spirits, nor a society, nor any system of relating dances into a scheme; they did have certain performances and paraphernalia that elsewhere formed part of such an organized cult."

The absence of a secret society renders an account of hill and mountain Nisenan ceremonies relatively simple. There was no regular dance calendar. Certain dances were performed at definite seasons of the year, but, for the most part, the time when dances were held was determined by factors completely divorced from a time element, save that large ceremonial gatherings were most likely to be held when food conditions were good. The weda and the shaman's contest, being always out of doors, were held in the spring or summer when the weather was good, but ceremonies held indoors seem to have been performed more or less at will.

No evidence of the sale of dances was secured such as occurred evidently among the valley Nisenan.¹⁸ The paraphernalia for a dance might

¹⁶ E. W. Gifford, *Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies*, AA 29:214-257, 1927. Cited as: *Southern Maidu*.

¹⁷ Kroeber, *Nisenan*, 267.

¹⁸ Kroeber, *Nisenan*, 269.

be purchased as is suggested in the account of a dance revival at Pilot Hill, given on p. 405. The costume for the *kuksu'i* dance, during the brief period it was practiced, was always purchased from the southwest, outside Nisenan territory.

Gifford seems to believe that dances other than those of the earliest stratum were imported by the Nisenan, even though he has failed to find parallels elsewhere. This seems to be laying undue emphasis on diffusionist principles and overlooking factors inherent in Nisenan culture which might have given rise to new dances without previous outside influences, although imported ideas no doubt figured frequently in them.

One informant specifically stated that dances were often "made up for fun" but were not kept up because the songs and steps were not usually intriguing and they had no particular significance. It seems reasonable to suppose that occasionally such a dance with a good song or pleasing steps might occasionally be repeated until it worked its way into the ritual, especially if the inventor claimed some supernatural sanction.

That such supernatural sanction was occasionally forthcoming is indicated by the part played by dreams. Whatever was the age of the idea that dreaming of spirits, ghosts, or dancing was bad, it at least goes back to the 1872 dance revival and the basic dreaming concepts may be much older. From 1872 on, at least, it was imperative that a dance be held immediately to offset the evil effects of such dreaming. Even a hunting party, should one of its members dream of any of these things, would make a brush circle and hold a dance the next day. Dreaming of dancing seems to have been most common and, while in the southern foothills the *hewi* seems to have been most commonly performed in such cases, elsewhere there is good, though not conclusive, evidence that the dance which the person dreamed was performed exactly as he had dreamed it. Moreover, one reliable informant stated explicitly that if a person dreamed a new dance, that dance would be performed exactly as it had been dreamed, for four nights or at least four times. While this informant knew of no dance which had become an established feature by this means, it is extremely likely that such may have happened.

At several points, mostly of small importance, my data do not check with Gifford's, although in the main they agree. These points have been indicated. There is some probability that in most cases of concrete fact Gifford's data are more likely to be right. He worked with a number of older informants who are now dead. Some of his interpretations are open to question, however, because he failed to take sufficiently into account the regional variations occurring.

CEREMONIAL GATHERINGS OR "BIG TIMES"

If plan "big time," lumai (also husla, big time without dancing), chief calls in men, feeds. After eating, he speaks: "Let's us 'big time.'" Others agree, decide what to do, what each should give. Then decide day, tie knots in strings corresponding to number of days before event. Call young man who was most frequent visitor at each camp they want to invite; he carries 4-5 strings to chief, principal men. Appears chief's house in morning, stays inside all day, leaves at night. Knot untied each day; or cut off, thrown in fire (informants differ). Strings (pun) must be from chief giving lumai; duplicate must not be used.

Visitors usually travel at night, although large parties may go by day. Arrive with weapons, men in front, women behind in case of ambush. Speaker stands on top round house, urges to approach, saying: are no enemies, everyone is friend, etc. Visitors then camp near brush; keep ready to leave immediately. Another speaker stands inside round house. When becomes time, visitors enter with weapons ready, crouch around door. Speaker talks, gets them to come farther. Finally seats them. Soon house packed tight, only little space for dancers.

Speakers (peda'pe, A, E, pe'amaiduk, P) chosen for ability to talk. To speak, peda'um (A, E), pe'a (P). Chiefs smoke, speak good words to assembly.

Previously chief had sent young men to hunt, wife had set women to pounding acorns. When invitations sent (mountains only?) sometimes tell what dances to be performed.

Nevada City: commonly keep visitors until weather good in case of storm. For this chief had 5 round houses. Chief said: if go in bad weather, get sick, might think my fault.

Chief has big baskets 4-5 ft. across to cook acorn mush for lumai. Assembles visiting chiefs, who distribute basket holding mush enough for duration of lumai to each family. Sometimes give mush to each chief; let distribute to followers. When division finished, chief speaks half an hour or hour. When finishes, everyone yells. No regular meal times during lumai; people go out, eat when wish.

Speaker calls people to dances; another 1 or 2 seat them inside. Visitors bring own dancers, dance in order in which arrive. Singers enter first, singing, followed by men dancers, then women dancers.

Foothills: rabbits hung on posts before round house. Evening of last day chiefs of camp break up wormwood sticks, one for each family. Then send smaller basket of acorn soup to each family with appropriate number of rabbits, not cooked. Distribution of meat is sign lumai over. Informant often saw distribution with 500-1000 (sic) present. Never overlooking any family. In mountains, meat distributed was usually deer; at Nevada City, lumps of acorn bread distributed to take home.

Hu'sla: generally gathering at which no dancing; food served, perhaps games played. Single settlement may have hu'sla but only group chief may give lu'mai. If only near neighbors invited, much of formality lacking.

In s hu'sla used in wider sense; lu'mai unknown to some informants.

CEREMONIAL REGALIA

Drum: hollow oak log burned out inside, split, laid hollow down over pit filled with finely crushed dry leaves.

Split-stick clappers now used 12-14 in. long, not over 1 in. through. Center hollow: split to within 2-3 in. of end, peeled; burned spiral ornament about 1/2 in. wide, 1/2 in. apart, entire length.

When worn out or broken, keep until certain time when new ones made; then old buried in mud or put in running water.

Medicine blown on all head feathers, cloaks so only dancers may touch. If ordinary person touches, gets chills and fever, dies unless doctored. Medicine put on fresh each time used. Shaman gives dancers medicine to chew so feathers won't injure. Head singer often does this, handles feathers before dancers dress.

Practice abandoned because so few people left (1 informant).

Feathers and dance equipment not burned when owner dies; bury or put where people will not find. All belong to head dancer.

Feather coat usually of crow feathers; also hawk and owl feathers. Hang feathers on net. Only powerful dancer may use eagle or buzzard feathers. (Same in valley.) When worn out, every feather put in cave with powerful medicine; people warned not to go to windward. Formerly feathers gotten underneath roosting places. Dancers make cloaks.

All male dancers wear cloaks; on head wear "horns" or sticks with tassels on ends.

Cloak for *kuksu'i* of yellowhammer-tail feathers; head of crow-tail feathers. Buy from elsewhere; high price paid.

Whistles: use in *wohile*, *k'amin*, *yomuse* only. *Kuksu'i* used much larger whistle. Split-stick rattle used in all dances, cocoon rattle only in *yomuse*.

Nevada City: each dancer wears two sticks with feather tassels on ends, many white beads, loin cloth. Feather cloak apparently not important; informant, a dancer, never used; had almost forgotten.

Words referring to ceremonial regalia:

Split-stick clapper or rattle, *wadada* (P)

Yellowhammer-feather bands, *ci'lak* (P), *tcilok* (A)

Feather coat, *to'lai* (A, N, P)

Bone whistle, *le-l* or *lel*

Cocoon rattle, *so'kot* (P)

Drum, *dudL* (E), *dul* (E), *kilem* (P)

Yellowhammer feathers, *wololok* (N)

Headbands, *wisok* (N)

Sticks with feathers attached worn on head, *wu'lumlum* (N)

Feather skirt, *tolai* (N)

Whistle (usually double or wood or bone), *ho'lemlel* (N)

Cocoon rattle, *sol* (N)

THE DANCERS

The following scanty information is all that could be obtained concerning dancers or performers.

Dancers generally "appointed." Usually lively young persons picked ordinarily by head dancer. Not chosen from particular family. Practice, instruction given in round house but apparently no confinement period, although certain ceremonial periods observable. Nevada City: person put outside by head dancer if does not know dances accurately.

If dancers refuse to dance, even when request came from distance, unless sick, people pray for their death. Forbidden to use bad language. Foothills: dance for member of group who dies. (See p. 377.)

Only old, experienced dancers may don dance regalia without using medicine. Others may sicken, dream all time. Medicine may be administered by anyone who

knows how, not necessarily shaman. Head dancer at Auburn has root which he passes 4 times about head, then chews. Sugar-pine pitch properly "fixed" will serve.

Head dancer: howape' (A), kami'nEM ma'iduk, or hu'kEM ma'iduk (P). Dance regalia belongs to him. Drummer: kile'mEM ma'iduk (P); singer: sol (P). Apparently head dancer for women, but name given, kami'nehu'kEM ku'le (P), sounds like coined word to satisfy question. Foothill dancers will not dance without head dancer; this perhaps true elsewhere. Nevada City dancers always leave round house, reenter in single file before each dance.

Head singer, Ione, has medicine, kuya, from valley; blown on dancer's legs, makes them light; blown on dance regalia, makes objects dangerous for people to touch. Never uses for latter purpose now.

THE DANCES

In the following description, for comparative purposes the various dances are discussed in the same grouping and arrangement, so far as possible, as used by Gifford (Southern Maidu, 229).

The 1872 Dances

These were introduced by Yokteo about 1872, presumably under stimulus of 1870 Ghost Dance movement. Did not reach farthest limit, Pilot Hill near Auburn, until about 1890. Performed higher in mountains, but only by visiting dancers.

Yokteo was old dancer from s of Ione (my informants). Gifford traces to Pleasanton (Southern Maidu, 231 *et seq.*) Yokteo considered by some a great shaman. J. D., age 60, heard of him when 4 or 5; never saw. Dances introduced into J. D.'s home, Pilot Hill, brought by big man named Pete, assisted by W. J. and Henry Charlton.

Kuksu'i.—Most sacred dance introduced; which had many medicines. (Every time *kuksu'i* moved, stank with medicine.) Everyone feared dance so not continued long. Known only in foothills, Palauma (Forest Home), and elsewhere. When danced valuables (e.g., beads) thrown away to quiet *kuksu'i*. Dance came from Pleasanton and San Jose (foothill informants); never reached Pilot Hill, although danced few times at Pe-uhu, formerly head camp, Auburn (7-8 mi. sw present town). Principal performer (*kuksu'i* dancer) wore coat of feathers from head to foot and big head. He dressed in brush, came into house about dusk, chasing people; everyone ran from him, fearing him even when he was not dancing. His assistant, motcel or mautcele, had legs painted black and white, long nose of tule, horse hair tail; was sort of clown; made people laugh. *Kuksu'i* pushed him about with club. When *kuksu'i* died, assistant succeeded. Always 2 people in dance. Singers stood by drum. Women did not participate; could watch unless menstruating. *Kuksu'i* detected menstruating women, pointed at them with cane, ordered out. Children could watch.

Dancers paid big price for coat and headdress (big basket with feathers on).

Purported *kuksu'i* performance seen at Oleta, El Dorado county (1 informant). *Kuksu'i* wore bearskin, ran about on top of dance-house scaring people. *Kuksu'i* spirit supposed to appear in bearskin in higher mountains; probably this a modification of original *kuksu'i* dance to accord with local ideas.

He'wi.—Of 1872 dances, *he'wi* (presumably same as Gifford's *hiweya*) most important today. Man dances on drum. While dance is supposed most efficacious for curing, may be performed without this purpose.

Method of curing: place patient on drum, press, and sing over. May use same method at any dance, but best done with he'wi. Head dancer ordinarily did pressing. At present, on occasions (infrequent) when native dances performed, customary to ask if anyone feeling badly. If patient offers self, is cured by pressing. Sickesses curable by dancing and pressing are those caused by ghosts of dead people (one informant). (Specific example in recent times given by Auburn informant: "It is pretty bad to dream—one has to be doctored. My nieces were sick—dizzy and dreaming. I told Alec Blue. After sundown we went in round house, sang hewi. Alec wore kerchief, carried yellowhammer band; put one girl on stomach with blanket over; danced around her, pressed four times with medicine, danced around her four times, made four sweeping motions over her with yellowhammer bands. Repeated four times. Same for other girl. Many saw this. Girls were all right after.")

Curing by pressing seems bound up with the cycle of dances introduced by Yoktco. There is no account of anything similar outside the area of his influence.

Tura (tula).—Danced with equal number men, women. Purpose: sometimes curative. Sick person sings, bathes face, head, body, takes part in dance. Men wear yellowhammer-feather band from forehead back, little horns on head, feather coat. Women dance and dress same as in tapaiyo. Dance came from Pleasanton and San Jose with kuksu'i dance.

Kilak (kilat).—Mentioned by several informants; no descriptive material obtainable.

Hewi, tula, kilat: performed only at night; people may not leave dance-house while being performed or will hear whistles, see big fires, hear women crying, have other hallucinations. Dances named for men who started them; other "common dances" (e.g., dape) possibly named same way, but doesn't know (1 informant). Children may not see them.

Tapaiyo.—Arrangement of dancers same as for lole. Women flex, unflex arms, bring hands up to shoulders, return to horizontal position in front.

Wohi'le.—Not mentioned by Gifford, but still performed occasionally at Ione, center for introduced dance cycle, and so presumably of this group. Feather band, coat, and horns worn. Women usually wear band with shell-bead fringe hanging over eyes, shells round neck, beaded belt. Danced in foothills from Auburn s into Miwok territory.

Lo'le.—Apparently introduced twice as Gifford suggests (Southern Maidu, 233). Everyone had it (foothill informant). Placerville informants: "didn't dance right"; only performed in burlesque of foothill dances. Another informant: lo'le an old dance; viz., revived rather than reintroduced in 1872. Evidently originally from north.

To perform, everyone called inside round house. Singing starts, women and children march around. Chief gives pointed stick to each woman. They start to dance. If woman doesn't wish to dance, must give up stick, pay 50 cents. If woman decides to dance and makes mistake, singers stop, shout; her relatives drag her out. Payment made to feed dancers, who always eat separately. Say this also done before dance died out first time, although payment probably in food.

Preceding account perhaps burlesque affair. Old woman dancer from Auburn differs on actual procedure. Evidently, when dance performed properly, men and women dance in 2 circles about fire, men inside. 5 women on each side of fire. Elbows were held close to body, forearm horizontal, palms down, body rotated at waist.

Amador county: one man dances in center of circle of women. He wears feather coat, either nothing on head or yellowhammer band around. Alder-stick rattle, no whistle, used. Danced in Amador county, Auburn, and Pleasanton, but not Grass Val-

ley. (Nevada City informant: 2 women from here went to Auburn, learned dance, introduced it here.) This dance performed after first menstruation.

Yomuse.—The shaman's contest was called by all my informants *yomuse*. This is commonly referred to as the "war dance" or "doctor's dance." Only the latter term is accurately descriptive. It is largely a shaman's contest held outdoors in mid-summer. The parties from other villages camped out of sight behind hills. They were told of the time of the dance and the order in which they were to appear. A big fire was built and the shamans from the home camp danced around, singing, one man in the center. Young men who were not doctors would sometimes join in singing and dancing to help make noise, but it was considered dangerous. When the visitors were thought to be approaching, the shamans would dance facing them with their chest thrown forward, arms extended at the side. They would go outside the circle and dance alone. The approaching visitors would "shoot" at the man outside. He would fall down, then get up, and cough out the medicine shot at him—a straw—lay it on a flat rock, and go on dancing. The visitors approached as they shot. The last shot would often be fired from only a few feet away. Then the visitors would join in the dance and the next party would start shooting.

Sometimes a very powerful medicine was used made from an insect's leg. Then the man shot would be "knocked out" completely. He would be laid in the shade to one side. After the dance he was carried into the round house and his friends called for the man who shot him to take out his medicine. At first he would laugh and make fun of the man, but finally he would do it. He would suck out the medicine and the man would get up.

The shamans wore a feather band on the head. The face and legs were painted black and white—a brave man would paint himself red. A whistle was blown and a bow and arrow carried (whence the term "war dance"). The cocoon rattle was not used in Amador county, but was elsewhere.

This is the only dance in which shamans as such took part. It was said in Amador county to be the same or similar to *lilik*'.

The dance started in the afternoon and lasted until sundown. Then they ate and danced again until midmorning. Much manzanita cider and quantities of sugar-pine nuts were prepared for this dance. According to one informant the shooting was to discover who was a doctor.

In *yomuse* seen by informant near Big Canyon, El Dorado county: doctors heated white rock about 4 × 2 in., took in hands, and passed around. So hot their hands smoked, but they apparently not burned. 5 or 6 sat singing, rest danced around, looked at sun, trying to "catch where sickness comes from." Visitors came from south. Their leader had sharp rock and stick full of medicine. He loosened some dirt; one shaman took medicine like pin off stick, shot by pointing left hand, kicking up dust with finger tips of right hand. Each time one home doctor fell down. One held up eagle feather and doctor "shot" from 100 yds. away, cut off feather, "bullet" going into man's mouth.

Medicine for shaman's dance carefully prepared; root scraped into hole about 3 × 1½ in., hot coal dropped in. When smoked, handful of short straws dropped in hole. When oak ball on stick held in hole; all straws stuck to it. All shamans of village made medicine together. Spider leg made very strong medicine. This "knocks out" until revived by doctor who shot. Strong doctors catch "bullets" with eagle wing.

The *yomuse* was reported for all the Nisenan territory. At Nevada City it showed some variations. There it was not exclusively a shaman's dance, men and women both taking part. One, sometimes 2 men stood in the center with a cocoon rattle and sang, the others dancing about, the women in the outer circle. When a doctor was shot he

would fall down and roll on the ground and the visiting shaman would pick him up. He would be "like drunk." The visiting doctor took long worms out of his mouth and soon he was all right and able to resume his dancing. Most of the dancing was at night, as it was too hot to dance in the day. At Nevada City lilik had been heard of, but never seen by my informant. The shamans took part in no other dance.

According to oldest informant from Camino, shaman's dance called lili'k'; danced outdoors, visiting doctors shooting as in yomuse. Informant had seen it at Fairplay, never at Camino. Required open level ground, not available around Placerville. Huntcup, chief at Fairplay, leader. Women participated.

Informant saw same kind of dance at Ione and Colfax but postures different.

Dance, called yomuse, was danced indoors at Camino. Similar to lilik but no "shooting." Placerville informant: yomuse a young people's dance; songs hard for old people to learn.

Amador county: dance reported having same name, nearly same song, but informant called "love dance" because for young unmarried people (described p. 371). Seen also at Colfax and Auburn; used by Miwok to Calaveras county.

A few facts emerge clearly from these data. One is that the shaman's contest went by the name yomuse and also lilik in different parts of the area. It is also likely that there were two distinct ceremonies known as yomuse, both possibly present in Amador county, one a dance, the other a shaman's contest.

According to Gifford's data yomuse was perhaps introduced twice (Southern Maidu, 233). From the data here given, as well as from the fact of its presence in the Placerville region, where it was one of the three dances performed, it is not altogether clear that the yomuse introduced by Yokteo in 1872, or perhaps reintroduced from elsewhere earlier, was the same dance as had previously been known by that name, as Gifford seems to think.

A reasonable explanation would seem to be that prior to 1872, or whenever the second introduction occurred, the shaman's contest had been known as lilik while yomuse was a young people's dance. With the shaman's contest reintroduced as yomuse, the original dance was displaced or forgotten, while lilik remained only a memory. In the mountains, however, which were outside the influence of the reintroduced shaman's contest, the dances continued in their original form and with their original names until they were abandoned. This would account for the fact that Gifford's older informants, particularly the mountain dwellers, called the shaman's contest lilik and why some of the foothill informants insisted that lilik and yomuse were the same thing.

The following two ceremonies were not recorded by Gifford. Whether they should properly be included in the first group of dances is not certain. They are placed here because of their character and because they

were reported only from Amador county, the center of the 1872 revival. The similarity, however, of the second of the two, the eagle dance, to performances elsewhere in California and the Southwest is striking.

Sweat-dance, c'apa.—Amador county informant: About April every year k'um was "warmed up" for summer by "fire fighting" ceremony. Everyone (small children, old men, women) rounded up, made to go in k'um. Doorkeeper allowed only children, old people who could not stand it to leave.

Fine twigs were made up in right size bundles to go through smokehole. One man throws bundles down: another stands with baskets of water to put out fires starting around edge of smokehole. Old people and children sit nearest wall, men, nearly naked, closest to fire. 2 or more men with deerskins attached to sticks take turns fanning fire. While one fans, other lies with deerskin over him. When can stand no longer, jumps up, fans fire over other man. When everyone almost overcome with heat and smoke, men above put out fire with water. Everyone bathes, say feel fine. Supposed especially good for rheumatism, but not primarily for that purpose.

Dance possibly connected with the Wintun hesi sweat-dance called *teuppa* (S. A. Barrett, *The Wintun Hesi Ceremony*, this series, 14:454, 1919). Fire, sweating, similarity of names, suggests this. One Placer county informant was present at similar ceremony on Bear river, in which the fire fighting feature was lacking. Tried to leave round house but not permitted.

Eagle dance, pe'ipaiyo'.—pe-i, eagle; pe'ipaiyote, he who makes eagle dance (1 informant; but from its nature dance would not be widely known or used). When kill eagle, skin; dancer wears wings on arms, feathers on back, shells on arms. Mouth filled with chalk; spat imitating eagle droppings. Fluttered wings, imitating eagle. Community affair in k'um, outsiders ordinarily not invited. Young people and children excluded because dangerous. Danced annually in spring. No other dances performed at same time; never performed away from home. Informant saw it at Forest Home (birthplace) and above Latrobe. Positive not brought from San Jose or Pleasanton.

Dancer must be great dancer and shaman, or have medicine to protect self. No one else dares touch feathers; are put away on dancer's death unless someone knows dance, has strong medicine. Anyone can kill and skin eagle, but dares not keep unless can perform dance. Usually chief picks performer; skin given him. Man chosen presumably shaman. Dance dangerous; piece of down, shaken loose from costume and inhaled, causes death.

Mamas dance not known to my informants (Gifford, *Southern Maidu*, 232).

The "Second Stratum"

Of Gifford's second stratum, it is necessary to express doubt. As stated previously, Gifford's informants were older and his work done several years earlier. Nevertheless, in collecting material for this paper, scarcely a shred of evidence was found to support his division into a second stratum and an indigenous stratum. If such a division exists, however, on the basis of the evidence collected I would be inclined to believe that the k'amin and the earlier yomuse would fall into the oldest stratum rather than the middle. K'amin and possibly the early form of yomuse seem to have been the only two dances of almost universal distribution within

the area. Both are found in the higher mountains where there was a marked lack of ceremonial complexity. Furthermore, while the informant with whom I worked at Nevada City said that k'amin had been introduced from the other side of the Marysville reservation, it is significant that from the American river north the word k'amin also has the generic meaning of dance.

K'amin and luhui (Gifford's luhuyi) are the only dances of Gifford's second stratum still performed.

K'amin.—Mostly women performers. Both sexes wear white feathers on head, feather coats. Mountains: danced inside about fire for curing.

Luhui.—Men wear netted cap with 2 horns, long feather above. Women wear yellowhammer headband, dance with arms akimbo but loose, move shoulders and arms forward and back, hold head slightly forward. Originally from around Willows and Santa Rosa (1 informant). Luhui and k'amin only dances to which northern origin attributed.

Lole and yomuse, of Gifford's second stratum, already discussed.

Dape.—Seen by one informant at Willow creek on Bear r. drainage near Clipper gap. Nature not remembered.

Wulu.—Same informant heard of but never saw wulu and omwulu. Contrary to Gifford's statement (Southern Maidu, 234), they did occur among Maidu. Dixon (307) mentions with first menstruation and puberty rite, so Gifford's oversight understandable.

The "Lower Stratum"

Of Gifford's lowest stratum, the bu, lumenwo, and yohohanup were unknown to my informants (Gifford, Southern Maidu, 237-8).

We'da.—Spring dance or flower dance, outdoors. Men and women dance separately. One or more old men go apart from others; men and boys circle them, shout. This repeated until circle village. Women do same, following behind men. Everyone wears flowers, some around head; others bandolier fashion. Women sing instead of shouting. Some dance steps.

After sundown everyone eats. Old man with carrying basket, and men and boys who dance, visit each camp; one dancer holds out hands for acorn bread. Sometimes people pretend to give it, then draw back, make dance long time. When bread given, dancer holds on head, dances to man with basket, drops into basket by inclining head over edge. After making rounds, all return where old men sit, divide food, eat.

This asserted to be primarily mountain dance. Evidently combination of yō'ng-weda of valley Maidu and we'da boyem and ka'udom sökō'ndom of the foothill Maidu (Dixon, 307 and 320; kauda as part of weda described for Bear river Nisenan—Powers, 324-5). Dance first at Auburn, then Nevada City in spring.

We'tem.—War dance, rare in memory of living informants; conforms closely to a usual western American pattern. One circumstantial account in connection with massacre at Rocklin in early days. Head man of Nevada City caught as leader, dragged behind horse until dead, scalped, war dance held. Effigy made of soaproot leaves surmounted by scalp on pole in open. Ropes attached; pulled to make effigy look as though dancing. Men, women, and children danced, shot at effigy with bow and arrow.

Claim scalped only white people as introduced custom. Washo, however, accused of scalping (L's informants); probably practice just as common among Nisenan who deny it because aware whites dislike custom.

It is perhaps significant in connection with Gifford's three strata that Powers mentions only the kamhin, yomuse, and weda for Bear river. He mentions lo-leh and an acorn dance, pai-o, for the American river and south of there. The yomuse of the Bear river he does not describe as a shaman's contest; in fact, no such contest is mentioned by him.¹⁹

The following dances were given by one informant along with wulu, omwulu, weda, dape, and wetem as being unimportant dances of the old days which he had never seen.

Acorn dance, utnkam̄n
 ———, he.yuyu
 Low dance, dasimkam̄n
 God's dance, betemkam̄n
 ———, wötinkam̄n

The northern part of Nisenan territory as far south as the Bear river seems to have been more closely affiliated with the Maidu. Here dancers were said to dream a great deal, although they never told their dreams. Elsewhere in the Nisenan territory this was considered very bad.

The following account of the dance revival at Pilot Hill was told by the present chief at Auburn, and is of interest in giving specific data on a number of features. This happened about 1890.

Chief looks after house, feeds people. House always semisubterranean; one at Pilot Hill put up by uncle, Captain Joe (blind—I led him around—, doctor, also best singer and dancer), and father; no one paid for helping build round house.

First my uncle and father held dinners, talked about building it; later Captain John, Auburn, others, invited to big dinner to talk over. Then "big time" given; all young people especially invited even from far away; they cut timbers and built house. Women and children cut grass for roof; men carried dirt. Uncle and father, one inside, one outside, watched construction, gave orders.

After house built, held big hunt for rabbits and deer; women fixed many acorns; first fire built in round house; food cooked on ashes; everyone ate inside. Later regular "big time" given; first dances in round house. Before dances began, captain stood inside, prayed "lot of things, I don't know what all." Prayed to S, N, E, W, to Betemmaiduk, and all big men. As people at Pilot Hill not ready to dance, dancers from elsewhere came, camped mile outside village, all entered together following morning. Much of outfit of Pilot Hill dancers bought from visitors. Visitors left one singer, one man and one woman dancer to teach dances.

At end of "big time," visiting chief announced "big time" in a month when Pilot Hill dancers would come and show how well had learned. Next day chief appointed dancers. He asked who would be drummer. Younger men all held back, looked to older men. One old man would say: "I will drum" or "I am too old to drum. Let someone younger do it." Or someone suggested one of older men; he would say: "All right," or "I am too old." Then finally picked some one willing.

2 or 3 days later held dinner, dancers had first try. Various men and women dancers imitated different visitors. Some went into brush to practice first, then tried

¹⁹ Powers, 324.

in round house. No rush to take places at drum or to sing or dance. All held back for old people who knew dances. At first tried with old people and young people mixed. Then picked out dance leader, Captain Joe. Father did speaking, etc., suggested try this dance or that dance. After half night, quit. Next morning went on feather hunt, killed chicken hawks, got turkey feathers from white ranchers. Took 8 days to make feather coats. All made in brush by Captain Joe so would all be same way. Meanwhile everyone practiced in round house with manager watching. After, people watched when held 4-day practice dances.

Captain Joe never wore feather coat; bossed dance. Told to "hit ground hard, do this way." Went around with boys 4 times; then 4 times around teaching women. Then looked on quietly by drummer, for long time, telling drummer to hit harder, hit faster; then went around again. First 2 or 3 nights he was "pretty sassy."

After, 5 dancers went to Colfax for first test. Later, all dancers went to "big times." Ate no meat, grease, or salt for 4 days when dancing, none put in fire either.

Always practiced 4 days before "big time," resting day before started. Arrived, went into brush, dressed, marched into round house singing when all people there.

When "big time" at Pilot Hill, father spoke fine, told everyone what to do. Someone threw wild grass seeds over everything, especially in fire. "My father's talking was good luck."

Twice visited Kutba beyond Placerville. First time had only brush circle, but second time a round house.

THE PLACE OF THE CULTURE

The culture of the Nisenan is marginal, but typically Californian, with a few unique specializations and a distinctness of outlook in many features. On the edge of the Basin area, it possesses very few, if any, distinctive Basin traits. The hill and mountain sections, though facing the valley with the natural lines of communication in that direction, seem to have their affiliations largely to the north and south rather than to the west with the exception of a few ceremonial observances, mostly of late introduction.

In material culture the Nisenan show few significant variations from the Maidu or indeed from the general central California pattern. Grooved arrow straighteners are of the Maidu "two piece" type rather than the Yokuts type. Stone pipes are occasionally made and perhaps also mortars, but no feeling of the supernatural was connected with them as among the Maidu. The metate and basketry hopper seem absent. Basketry was predominantly coiled, except for carrying baskets and seed beaters, and of the general Maidu type, except for some slight use of feathers.

Dwelling houses were of the conical bark-slab type generally, but the ceremonial dance-house resembled both the Maidu and Miwok forms, depending on the part of the area considered. The foot-drum was stand-

ard equipment for the round house. The deer fences of the Maidu are lacking, but in other respects there is little to differentiate their economic life from that of the Maidu or, so far as is known, the Miwok. The mush paddle was definitely reported. A first-salmon observance in the northern part of the area points to a northward affiliation and the idea seems to have been transferred to the acorn. A certain amount of family specialization in economic pursuits existed, but nothing approaching the functional families of the Patwin except possibly in the chiefly lineages. Games were chiefly of the northern California type, the grass game being the most important, but the central acorn dice game was known.

Nisenan society, on the other hand, seems suggestive of southern influences. The idea of cross-cousin marriage seems to have penetrated, at least slightly, so that such marriages were tolerated and in some districts may actually have been preferred. No trace of exogamous institutions or totems existed. Chieftainship and political organization approach Yokuts practice more closely than that of the Maidu or Patwin. This may be due less to southern influence than to the absence of secret societies which seem so restrictive of chiefly influence among the Maidu and particularly among the Patwin. The compounding of murders by payments seems to be a northern element, but the relations of the chief and shaman approach Yokuts practice. The most individual characteristic seems to have been the large political grouping on the north fork of the American river, and the apparent partial breakdown of the local boundaries, together with the elevation of the chief at Auburn into a sort of "over-chief."

Customs with regard to the dead follow the general central California pattern with an overlay of distinctive Nisenan elements. Chief of these is the universality of cremation, the large destruction of property at the cremation, and the general toning down of the mourning ceremony. The taboos imposed on close relatives of the dead seem more severe than is usually the case elsewhere.

Birth and puberty observances seem little differentiated and to have occupied a minor position in the culture. The idea of purchase marriage is either greatly modified or entirely absent from the area. In residence the bias was distinctly patrilocal as contrasted with the indefinite viewpoint or temporary matrilocal residence practiced by their neighbors.

In religion the Nisenan seem to represent a more or less generalized north central California aspect without the formalization of ideas or the viewpoints connected with the Kuksu and Hesi cults. Some recent influence from these cults may be discerned. In connection with shaman-

ism, the Nisenan seem rather unique. The enormous emphasis on "medicines" and the great formalization of the shamans' or doctors' initiation, the absence of inherited shamanistic power, and the infrequency of personal contact with the supernatural powers, or possession by them, seem peculiarly Nisenan traits, perhaps the most distinctive they possess.

The ceremonial situation is rather obscure. It is obvious, however, that the Nisenan are unique in almost none of their ceremonies. Most of the ceremonies are shared with either the Maidu or Miwok or both, and much of the present complexity is a quite recent development. Secret societies are lacking.

In summary, one may say that outside a few distinctive elements and the general flavor of their culture, the Nisenan resemble most closely the Maidu with numerous southern associations as well and a very few western associations. Resemblances to the eastern peoples are confined almost wholly to traits generic to both Basin and California culture.

SUPPLEMENTARY VOCABULARY

The following words secured do not occur in the text. Owing to the paucity of material on the Nisenan language they are here reproduced.

*Body Parts*²⁰

(all from Amador county)

Thumb, ne'ma.
 Index finger, su'kulima
 Middle finger, estoma
 Ring finger, ohe'paima
 Little finger, la'irma
 Wrist, ma'dukduk
 Palm, ma'tata
 Arm, yim
 Shin bone, lolo (E)
 Elbow, puk'us
 Shoulder blade, wr'ldep
 Armpit, k'owok'
 Mouth, si-m
 Lip, simebebe
 Hair of head, o'no
 Gray hair, lo'ko (N)
 Eyebrow, k'i'srwai
 Eyelash, hmisbuk'buk'
 Beard, ma'sau

Sicknesses

(all from Amador county)

Cold, hu'nk'oho
 Chills and fever, wa'k'woho
 Headache, tco'lek'ut
 Rheumatism or paralysis, lo-wa's
 Blindness, bu-sa''
 Cramp, tcopi'mweno'
 Skin disease, ta.polo
 Tuberculosis, teu'k'umwamai
 Swollen glands on the jaw, ma-loi'
 Rupture, waiyi'
 Gonorrhea, mastu'ru
 Head sores, teotcol
 Sore eyes, hr'nemwante
 Earache, bono'k'ut
 Toothache, tei'kek'ut
 Sore hand, ma'k'ut
 Stiff neck, ku'suk'ut
 Stomach ache, ela.k'ut

Sore knee cap, po'dokak'ut
 Sore chest, ho'ndalek'ut
 Sore back, bo-k'otek'ut
 Sore arm, imek'ut
 Sore jaw, yak'bak'ut
 Sore nose, kau.lk'ut
 Waist sore behind, mdalrk'ut
 Sore foot, pai'rk'ut
 Sore toe nail, paimbrtchik'ut

Persons

Indian, ni'senan (E, P, A)
 Man, mai'duk (P, E, N)
 Woman, ku'le (P), ku'le (E)
 Old man, o'skon (P, E, N)
 Old woman, tu'nus (P, N), tu'nis (E)
 Hunchback, pu'kum (E), hr'nbau (P)
 Cry (of a person), wa (A)
 Dead, wa'uno (E)
 Boy, ma'na (P), mo'nai (E), hu'na
 ma'na (N)
 Girl, ko'na (P), ko'nai (E)
 Young girl, k'onobe (E)
 North Indian, tosimen (E)
 South Indian (Miwok), kaune' (E, A)
 Indian man, nisenanen mai'duk (E)
 White man, wa'lsen mai'duk (E)
 West Indians, tai'nan
 Baby, pata (E), hu'namlai (N)

Kin

Brother-in-law, ge'ta (E)

Insects

Cricket, ki'lipki'lip (E)
 Katydid, nautnaut (E)
 Butterfly, waldupdup (E)

Plants

Oak bark, matem kopem
 Wood or tree, tea (E)

²⁰ Many parts are given below under Sicknesses by adding ending-k'ut.

Earth

Rock, au (E)
Dirt, k'au (E)

Directions

West, tawai' (E)
East, na'to (E)
North, to'sim (E)
South, ko'mo (E)
Up, hi'pin (E)
Down k'a'una (E)

Meteorological

Sun's heat, o'kom pidɛp (E)
Wind, munu (E)

Adverbs of Time

Dinnertime, tu'ka (P) (cf. Spanish to-
ca from tocar; explained as repre-
senting the sound made by a dinner
bell ringing); hr'nsebau (E)
Mid morning, o'ko hi'nte te'pin (E)
Mid afternoon, o'ke tawa'idi hi'nkit
(E)

Sundown, u'no (E)
Twelve o'clock (lit., "sun in middle"),
o'ko esto bu'ket (E)
Lately, hi'nsebau (E)

Houses

Indian house, nisenanen hu

Days

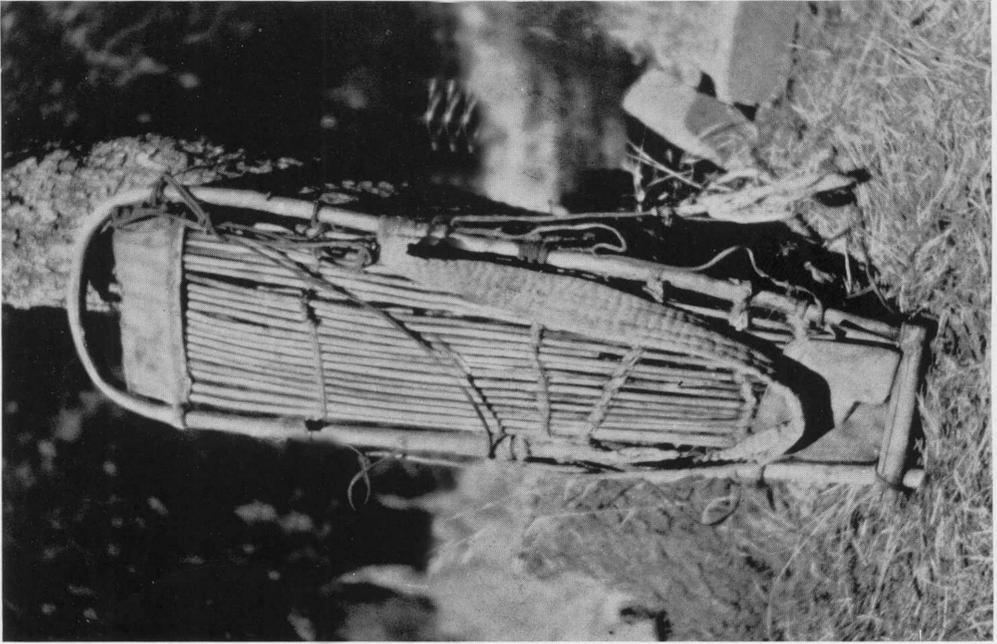
Saturday, sawa'lo (P) (cf. Spanish sa-
bado)
Sunday, pasa'l (P) (cf. Spanish pasar;
explained as meaning to go visiting)

Cradle

Cradle, tutu-i (E), tu'tu (N)
Hood on cradle, au'lu (E)

Phrases

Bad luck; osi'mbe (P), wa'sa (P)
Give me, me'nik (P)
What do you want, homa'beme (E)
To run after a woman, ku'le k'a'ne (E)
Come and dance, kaminpedawa (N)

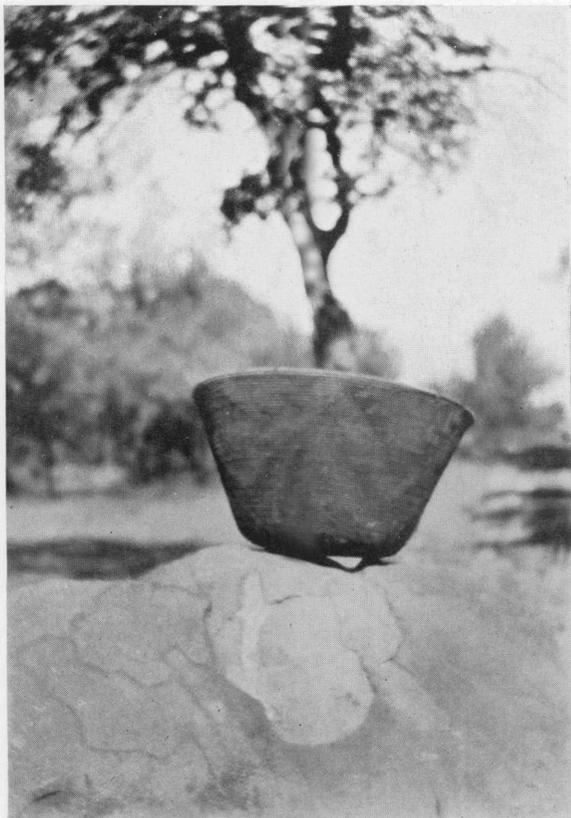


a

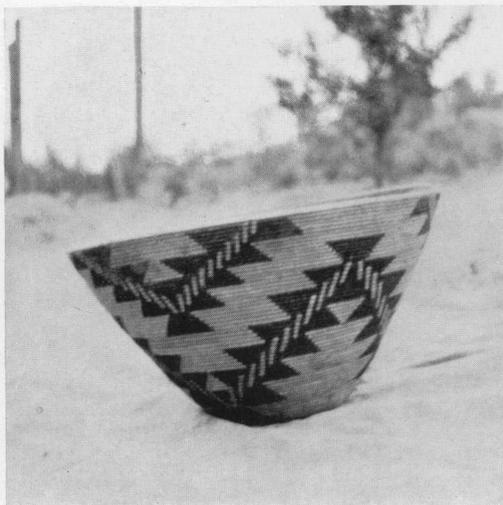


b

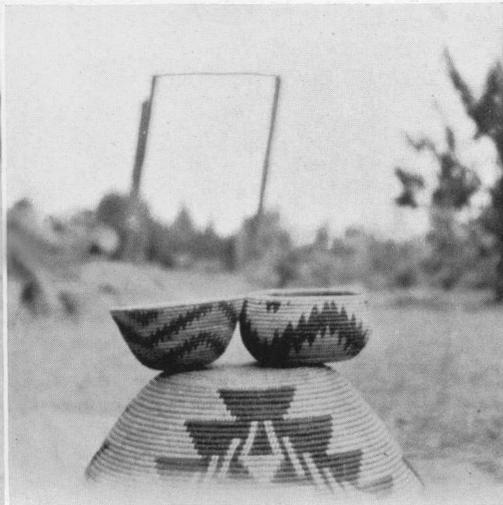
NISENAN CRADLE, BACK AND FRONT



a



b



c

SOME SURVIVING NISENAN BASKETRY