

THE WESTERN KUKSU CULT

BY

E. M. LOEB

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A	Anthropos.
A'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	Bulletin.
-R	(Annual) Reports.
UNAE	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.
MAIH	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—
-O	Contributions.
-IN	Indian Notes.
-INM	Indian Notes and Monographs.
PM	Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—
-M	Memoirs.
-P	Papers.
-R	Reports.
PMML-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.

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INTRODUCTION

The data on the California tribes presented in this paper were obtained during the summer of 1930, through the financial aid of the University of California. My original purpose was to obtain further information on the religious cults of the Yuki and Wailaki, but the ramifications of the Kusu cult soon brought me to the Kato and the Northern Pomo. Professor Kroeber was interested in the Patwin at the time, and as an aid in solving certain of his problems, and some of my own, an inquiry into the religious practices of the tribes having the southern form of the Kusu cult was deemed desirable. Hence a second part, on these southern cults, has been added to the fuller data on the northern which constitute the bulk of the new material. The present paper, together with my previous Pomo Folkways,¹ describes all the western tribes having the Kusu religion.

In order to understand thoroughly the religion of any one group of people, an ethnographic sketch of the life of the group is desirable. This I have attempted for the Kato and Wailaki. Had I not done this, the entire significance of the sun-moon cult in reference to the Kusu cult would have escaped my attention.

Besides giving the results of my field work in the present paper, I have attempted to summarize for the reader all other published information regarding the peoples treated. Fairly complete citations have been presented from such portions of Edward S. Curtis' work on the North American Indian² as were pertinent to the subject in hand, since this work is so expensive and rare as to be non-accessible to many American scientists and to almost all Europeans.

¹ UC-PAAE 19:149-405, 1926. Cited hereafter: Folkways.

² Vol. 14 (Norwood, Mass., 1924). Cited hereafter: Curtis.

In my field work I used the following informants. For the Sherwood Pomo, John Bell and Aleck Steward of Sherwood; for the Kato, Martinez Ray and Lucy Ray of Laytonville, and for the Huchnom, I questioned Tony Metock. Metock was born on Tomki creek, a small tributary of Eel river in Huchnom territory. He now lives in Potter valley. My Coast Yuki informants were Thomas Bell and Tony Bell. The two men are unrelated; Thomas Bell was born in Westport and Tony Bell was born in Usal of an Athabascan father and a Yuki mother. He now lives in Laytonville. For the Yuki, Ralph Moore of Round valley aided me. For the Wailaki, I questioned John Tip, Julia Brown, and Mary Major. John Tip was born at Red Spring mountain and lives now in Round valley. Julia Brown is also in Round valley. Mary Major lives in Hull valley. For the Southern Pomo my informants were Henry Maximilian and his wife Josephine, both of Healdsburg. Henry Maximilian is a half-breed; his mother was born at Santa Rosa. For the Wappo, I questioned Mary Eli of Geyserville; for the Coast Miwok, Tom Smith and his half-brother Bill Smith. Tom was born in Coleman valley; his father was born at Fort Ross and his mother at Bodega bay. Bill Smith is younger, and a half-breed; both live at Bodega bay. For the Lake Miwok, I worked with Salvador of Middletown; for the Southeastern Pomo, with Tom Leon of Elem, Sulphur Bank. William Benson acted as interpreter at Sulphur Bank.

I have used the same phonetic system in the present paper as in Pomo Folkways, the only addition being that I write ng, as in sing, ñ. It must be remembered that c has the value of sh, and tc therefore of ch. I have simplified the spelling of native terms in my quotations from Curtis, *The North American Indian*, in order to make them uniform with my own phonetic system.

PART I. NORTHERN FORMS OF THE CULT

THE NORTHERN POMO OF SHERWOOD

In order to follow the course of the Kuksu cult from the Pomo north, it is necessary to give a brief description of the Sherwood Pomo. In my general monograph on the Pomo³ I assumed that all the Northern Pomo practiced the same general form of the Kuksu cult as that formerly found among the Ukiah Pomo. The present paper will show that the marginal Northern Pomo were very much influenced by the cults of their northern neighbors, especially the Huchnom and the Coast Yuki. Striking similarities are also to be expected with the most southerly of the Athabaskan speaking peoples, the Kato. Kroeber already foresaw this likelihood when he wrote, "It is likely that the most northerly border tribes of the Pomo approximated the Yukians more nearly than the main body of their kinsmen in their ritual system."⁴

The native name for the Sherwood group is *cebal deno poma*, close mountain tribe. The language spoken is, of course, fairly identical with that of the remainder of the Northern Pomo territory. The customs may also be presumed similar, with such exceptions as are here noted.

MYTHOLOGY

The creation story and the mythology of the Northern Pomo have hitherto remained unknown.⁵ Contrary to the Coast Central mythology, among the Sherwood people Coyote played but a minor rôle in the creation. The two creators of the Northern Pomo were Kuksu and Makila (Thunder man). Makila was thought to have been the father of Kuksu and the more powerful of the two. The full

³ Folkways.

⁴ A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 78:204, 1925. Cited hereafter: *Handbook*.

⁵ Father Schmidt (*Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, part 2, 227, 1929) is incorrect in assuming that a Coast Central creation story of the Pomo is actually a Northern Pomo creation story.

name of Kuksu, as furnished by Bowen, Northern Pomo of Willits, was Kuksu dasan matutsi, Kuksu powerful initiate.⁶ In Sherwood itself, however, the name Kuksu was apparently unknown and this famous "Big Head" character was called simply Dasan. Somewhere in the twelve miles between Willits and Sherwood the name "Kuksu" was lost, although the character itself was carried over to the Sherwood people and the tribes north. While among the Pomo in general Kuksu is said to have come from the south, and he is a god of the south, among the tribes north of the Pomo "Big Head" is said to have come from the north.

Only the barest outline of the creation story was obtained in my visit to Sherwood.

"Feather man" (Dasan) came out on the ocean and turned into a man. He intended to build the world. He talked, and by the power of his words, the world came into being. After this he made the first people. While he was engaged in doing this, there was an argument between Water-dog (salamander) and Coyote as to how the hands of the human beings should be fashioned. Coyote wished their hands to be made like his, but Water-dog won the argument and the new race acquired fingers. Dasan made the first man and woman out of tule roots.

Makila (Thunder man) was the father of Dasan. It was Makila who gave to the people all their arts and knowledge. He taught the people how to hunt and fish and he showed them how to dance and cure. After this Makila went up to the sky. He sailed right up and left Dasan to take care of the people. Makila built himself a new home in the sky.

The people at Sherwood addressed Makila in prayer as maenimo (father). They also prayed to Dasan and called upon him by name. The bullroarer, medim, was said to be the voice of Makila.

BOYS' SCHOOL

The school for boys was called dike meten (to swallow lying down). The ceremony took place about every seven years, and was held in the regular dance house. Women were rigorously excluded from this event and were not supposed to know anything about what was taking place in the dance house. Boys of about ten to twelve years of age were taken in for initiation and instruction, but not all the boys of the village were given the opportunity of attending this school. The chief and certain of the grown men (those who had previously undergone initiation) decided which boys should be initiated. Then the chief told the boy's mother's brother, basu, or father, be'e,

⁶ Folkways, 301.

to bring the boy in.⁷ When a boy was being taken to the school, it was not at all unusual for a mother to burst into a violent fit of weeping. From this fact, as well as from the name of the school, it seems evident that the ceremony represented a symbolic death and resurrection ceremony. My informants, however, were not conscious of the symbolism.

The duration of the boys' school was only four days, as among other Pomo, and not all winter, as among the Kato and Yuki. The director of the ceremony was the village chief. Four or five singers (kemea), an alternative firetender (laimoc), and the uncles and fathers of the novices remained in the dance house. The ghosts (djaduwel, night men) made their entrance once each night. There were no special clown performers, but the ghosts, after placing twigs in their ears and mouths, enact this rôle on occasion.

As soon as the boys were brought into the house they were made to lie down in a row and were covered with straw. Among other Pomo, this recumbent position symbolized death, but the original meaning was lost to the Sherwood and the northern peoples. For the entire four days of the ceremony the boys were denied food and drink, while the elders were probably only denied flesh and fish. As long as the boys were undergoing initiation they were not allowed to scratch themselves with their hands but had to use scratching sticks (hai makate).

Once every night the singers called the ghosts down from the hills. The singers mounted to the top of the dance house with their split stick rattles (hai kataka) in their hands. From this point of vantage they shook their rattles with their hands, and shouted, "Hu u u u." Then the ghosts ran down into the dance house, circling the fire in the approved manner, four times counterclockwise and four times clockwise. A mistake entailed a fine. The ghosts neither wore blazing headdresses nor did they conceal their faces with twigs. Their bodies were striped with red, black, and white coloring, their faces were merely blackened with charcoal. They wore eagle, buzzard, and condor feathers in their hair. Each carried in his hand a stick of madroña wood decorated on the end with feathers.

As soon as the ghosts came into the dance house, the boys sat up and watched them. First these visitors circled the fire. Then they

⁷ It was customary for the maternal uncle to bring the boy in. In line with the general Pomo tendency toward a matrilineate, the mother's brother was considered of more importance to the children than the father.

whirled four or five bullroarers. After this they picked up the boys, danced with them, and swung them over the fire. The dancing, as described, merely consisted in leading the boys around the fire, first four times counterclockwise and then four times clockwise. If the boys did not behave they were thrown through the smoke hole onto the roof. Other tricks performed by the ghosts were the customary playing with fire and the scattering of burning embers. Some of the ghosts also made themselves up as clowns, in which guise they would joke. If any boy laughed, however, he was liable to sickness.

The ceremony, as described thus far, is fairly identical with that found among the Coast Central Pomo. Two points of difference now appear. First, the fact that the ghosts gave the boys religious instruction; second, the giving of a permanent mark to the boys. It is because of the religious instruction that I have labeled the initiation a "school." Instruction of this kind was not furnished in any of the other Pomo initiations, and instruction by the ghosts is not to be found elsewhere in the Kuksu area.

Each of the ghosts took turns in teaching the boys about the nature of the world and its creation. The instructor shook his split stick rattle four times and then began his teaching. There was instruction every night for four nights, and in the daytime the boys slept in the dance house.

While the pupils were in sequestration they all had their noses and ears pierced (*la mita* and *cima mita*). This piercing was customary among the Indians of the region and made it possible for the native to don his prized earrings and nose plugs. But among the Sherwood people only those boys who had been through the school were allowed this privilege and therefore it ranked them above the unsophisticated non-initiated. A relative of the boy, while playing the part of ghost, performed the operation.

No benefit apparently was derived from the general education and discipline received in the school, except that later some of the boys were able to teach. All the graduates, however, were given the honorary title of *no kuwi* (ash boy). The conferring of this title was done rather simply. A ghost took each boy in turn, placed ashes on his head, and then blew them off.

After four nights had passed the school ended. The following morning the uncles and fathers washed the boys. After this the house was no longer "dangerous." Next the kinswomen came in bearing baskets containing all kinds of delicious foods, including meat, for

their starving offspring. The firetender had to shake and sing over every basket brought in, before its contents could be consumed. Then he took the first bite himself, elevating a morsel on the tip of an eagle feather to his tongue, but judiciously spitting it out again. After this the elders and the boys ate the contents of the basket.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

There were two varieties of puberty ceremonies for girls: one took place at the time of a girl's first menstruation, the other was held for a selected group of girls who had not yet menstruated. This second form was in the nature of a school, in evident imitation of the boys' school.

Girls' puberty ceremony proper.—At the time of a girl's first menstruation a ceremony called *ye ewon* was held over her in her house.⁸ The girl was kept on her bed for four days and covered with a deer or bear hide. An old woman sang and danced over the girl. The dance was called *yo'o ke*. The girl herself did not dance. Women relatives came from afar to join in the dance held over the girl.

A wooden scratcher was used and the girl was not allowed to eat or drink for four days. No fire was built under the bed. The girl was forced to conceal her face with a deerskin blanket when she went out of doors.

At the end of the four-day period baskets of food were brought in; they were sung over by a woman singer, and a big feast followed. The girl was washed and clad in new clothing. This feast served as a period of general license for the youth of both sexes.

A girl was not allowed to have sexual intercourse before her menstruation ceremony. Usually a long time elapsed after the ceremony before a husband was taken.

GIRLS' SCHOOL

Only certain girls were selected to go through the school (*dike nemon*). The women who had been through school were afterwards

⁸ Among the Northern Pomo of Willits menstruation was called *tsikadjo*, and the first menstruation *yeunemon* (*lay her down*). My Sherwood informant stated that his people made no distinction in nomenclature between first and subsequent menstruation periods, although the ceremony occurred only once. The Sherwood ceremony was somewhat different from the Northern Pomo ceremony at Willits, and more closely resembled the Kato. (See *Folkways*, 273.)

distinguished from the others by the fact that they had their ears and noses pierced. They were called *mata kol'e* (women who know). The ceremony took place in the wintertime, once every several years, in a small dance house, *yeu ca*, built for the occasion.

The mothers brought their daughters to the school, and remained with them. The chief of the village came in from time to time. A firetender was in constant attendance to take care of the fire and sweep the house. Female singers were employed to teach the girls songs. The chief instructor was one of the ghosts—he had to be a mother's brother or one of the girls present—who came in to sing over the girls. He taught his pupils about the world and its creation, and instructed them to be good and kind to people. The ghost used a cocoon rattle with his songs.

While the girls were in the school they lay covered with deer or puma hides. They were given no food or water for four days and four nights. They used a scratching stick. They did not dance in this school but merely sat up to repeat the songs which were being taught them. When a girl had to leave the house, she was taken out by her mother. In order that she should not gaze at the sun or moon, a deer hide was placed over her head. A girl who looked around might see something supernatural and become "fright sick."

The girls in the school were not subjected to any ordeals or punishments. They had their noses and ears pierced, but were not tattooed at this time. The bullroarer was taboo to women and was not swung in this school.

The girls' school, like the boys' school, ended in four days. The girls were washed, given new clothing, and feasted. If a girl began to menstruate while in the school, she was taken home and sung over there.

DOCTORS

The general word used to describe all kinds of doctoring, whether dancing, singing, or sucking, was *yomta*.⁹ A sucking doctor was called *maru*, while the outfit doctor was called *dja minawan* (person walk-over). The outfit itself was called *gula cuna* (tool boat). Every outfit doctor had to be a "school graduate," but the sucking doctor need not be. His art was derived from a vision, and the purpose of

⁹The word *yomta* indicated a member of the secret society among the Coast Central Pomo, and the head of the secret society among the Eastern Pomo. The root *yom* signified a doctor among the Maidu and Wintun.

the school was instruction in song, legend, and dance; not in fortifying the candidate so as to better enable him to acquire a vision.

Sucking doctors.—The vision of the maru came unsought. A man (or woman) might have been on the hills where he saw a supernatural object, as a ghost or a striped fawn. He then got scared and came home to be treated. In this treatment one or two sucking doctors danced with him. This dance was called the maru ke. The ceremony lasted four days. The novice doctor abstained from meat and fish, and ate acorn bread and pinole. He was allowed to drink water. No scratching stick was used. The doctors danced at night and slept in the daytime.

The test as to whether or not the novice was to become a doctor occurred in the course of the dancing. The instructor and his pupil would be dancing around and around, when suddenly the pupil would begin to bleed from the mouth and nose. As the blood came up, the pupil had to swallow it again. This blood was supposed to be regurgitated again as a "pain" when the fullfledged doctor sucked. If the novice did not succeed in vomiting blood in the course of the dance, he could not become a doctor. The elder doctor did not aid the pupil in any way to facilitate the bleeding. He did not, for example, thrust a feather down the throat of the novice, as was done among the Kato and Coast Yuki.¹⁰

The spirit which the sucking doctor first saw remained his guardian spirit and aided him in his cures. The pain which the doctor sucked out was called k'o'o detul (poison standing-up). The pain was always something alive, like a worm, and was never a mere piece of flint.

The sucking doctors did not sing, unless it was difficult to raise the pain to the surface. In case of sickness they always were called in first. They diagnosed, and if necessary they called in an outfit doctor.

Outfit doctors.—The outfit doctor inherited his (or her) outfit from his uncle or father. Together with the outfit were given the songs and dances used in curing. A little knowledge was also acquired in the school.

The outfit doctor was peculiar to the Pomo. He cannot be described as a shaman in the proper sense of the word, either of the inspira-

¹⁰ Among the Willits Northern Pomo the test consisted in having the sucking doctor extract a feather from the head of his pupil. This is another distinction between the northern and southern ceremonial systems. (Folkways, 327.)

tional or non-inspirational variety, since he had no special contact with the supernatural.¹¹ He cured by soul recall, and yet even this fact was obscured by the elaborate method of treatment. A man was frightened and his soul left him; he was once more frightened, and his soul returned to him. The Pomo, unlike the Wailaki, were not conscious of this theory, because of the involved reasoning brought about by the Kuksu cult. Evidently the Indians of central California originally had two varieties of non-inspirational shamans. The first variety cured by sucking, and the northern form of the Kuksu cult developed as an aid to these. The second form were shamans who cured by sending out their souls to capture the souls of their patients. The Pomo Kuksu cult developed as a training school for these practitioners. With the use of the outfit and the peculiar method of curing employed in Kuksu treatment, the outfit doctor lost the art of soul capture; disease was no longer directly thought of as being caused by soul loss, and the doctor himself lost most of his contact with the supernatural. An outfit could be handed down in the family, but not a religious temperament. Yet it was the latter which was the essential attribute of the shaman.

The doctor's outfit among the Sherwood was rather simple. My informant once inspected one of them and described its contents as follows: There was a big bunch of feathers in it, called k'o'o kuse, poison feathers. Next there was a small whistle concealed in a chipmunk hide. This was called katagara. The hide was pressed over the various parts of the body, and when the pain was located the whistle sounded. Another whistle, a "mud whistle," was also carried in the outfit bag. This whistle was fashioned from clay, with a stick support. It was called mataka libu. It was also used to locate the pain. Finally, the bag contained various roots to be used as infusions for medicines.

The main function of the outfit doctors was the impersonation of spirits. Among the Sherwood people this was done only for the purpose of curing fright-sick people. A man or woman who had been frightened by the sight of a certain apparition had to be cured by a re-view of the same. The impersonators handed down their costumes to nephews or sons, and individually gave instructions, in the hills, regarding their use.

¹¹ All California shamans were of the non-inspirational type. They owned spirits, but were never possessed by them. A possible exception might be made in the case of the Wailaki bear doctor.

If a man had been frightened by a ghost, either an image of a ghost sufficed to cure the patient, or a "real" ghost was summoned from the hills. The man who was to act the part of ghost went up into the hills and dressed. As part of his regalia he had a long striped pole of madroña wood, with feathers on one end and flint on the other. The pole was called *hai detoi*, stick striped.

A singer summoned the ghost from the hills, shouting "Hu-u-u" four times. The ghost answered four times in the same manner. Then the ghost approached the patient going backward and forward four times. With his pole he pointed four times at the place in the patient's body where the pain was located. Then he laid the pole on the patient's body four times. Next he removed the feathers from the pole and left it standing upright by the sick man's house for four days. Then the ghost left. At the end of four days he returned and carried the pole back to the hills.

In certain cases clowns were brought down from the hills for the purpose of curing. I have no further information on this point other than that my informant had once seen it done.

The bullroarer was used for curing. When a person became frightened by thunder, an outfit doctor whirled a bullroarer over the patient's head, and touched the patient's body with it four times in four places.

Dasan was called in to cure people who had been frightened by some supernatural vision, such as a striped deer or a ghost. His costume, as described, consisted of a stiff basketry cap, with little feathered sticks extending in all directions from it. The basket extended down over the face. The performer's body was naked and painted with red, white, and black stripes. He wore no belt. In his mouth he carried a large elderberry wood whistle, which he blew constantly. He carried a stick, similar to that used by the ghost, but shorter.

Dasan came running chased by four singers. He entered and backed out four times. Then he went around the patient four times counterclockwise and four times clockwise. As he did this he kept blowing his whistle and shaking his throat with his hand, singing, "Ah ah ah ah, hu u u u." Dasan doctored with the stick, by laying it on the patient. Then he went around the patient four times and ran off. The people of the village threw dirt and sticks at the retreating figure, hissing, "Sh-h-h." By doing this they threw off disease from the village.

My informant stated that all the men of the village knew who Dasan was, but that the women and children thought the figure was the real god.

Makila, the thunder god, was never impersonated in order to effect a cure.

Among the Sherwood Pomo there was a belief that certain people, dressed in bear skins, roamed about and killed their enemies. Nothing concerning this was taught in the schools and no impersonations of bears were made either in the schools or in the curing practices.

COMMON DANCES

The number of common or non-dangerous dances performed by the Sherwood Pomo was very limited.

Acorn dance.—This was called *tuya ke*. It was performed in the wintertime in the dance house, and was more of a communal singing than a dance. All the men came together and sang. The purpose was to make the acorns grow.

Hoho ke.—This was the most important common dance. It could be performed in the dance house in the wintertime, or outside in the brush house in the summer. The dance was for both men and women and participants decorated themselves with feathers for the occasion. The women sat in front of the men. First they all sang, then they arose and danced.

The Salt dance was called *cie ke*. This dance was for women and has not been reported elsewhere. It was performed either in the dance house or in the brush house. The women wore yellowhammer-feather headdresses. The participants held one another's hands while they danced.

A sweating contest was called *holi*, fire sweep. Two teams fanned one another with heat in the dance house in order to see which side could stand the strain the longest. Only men participated. First all the men danced, then they lay down, and started the fanning. Finally one side acknowledged defeat and rushed out to plunge into the creek. The victors soon followed.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

Houses.—Conical: of redwood bark, packed around with earth at bottom. 3-8 inhabitants. Native estimate of Sherwood village: 300.

One large dance or men's house (cane). Boys' initiation in this. Girls initiated in smaller house (yeu ca, menstruation house) built for purpose.

Chieftaincy.—One chief (djakale) for village. Office from father, if son considered capable. Requirements: good nature, fluent speech. Duties: announcements and speeches from top of dance house, direct boys' initiation; in general, more as among Kato than Pomo.

No permanent war leader (cuma djakale, war chief); merely brave fighter.

Messengers (hai dicin, sticks take) carry invitation sticks from chief to neighboring groups (Folkways, 231). No substitute announcers or speakers for chief.

Burial.—Dead buried (other Pomo burn). However, cremation sometimes for chief, to prevent enemy digging body up; and for death at distance, ashes being carried home for burial (as among Kato and Wailaki).

Warfare.—War customs like those of Kato, Wailaki, Yuki, Huehnom (Kroeber, *A Kato War*, in *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt*, 394, 1928, cites pre-white war involving Sherwood). Armor (despised as cowardly by other Pomo) sometimes worn: "flat sticks tied to chest" (hai bital, sticks in-row). War dance before fight to "soften" (poison) enemy. Scalp dance (cuma-ke, common to all N. Pomo—Folkways, 203) over enemy's head after return, woman dancing with scalp between her teeth.

Calendar.—Moon names forgotten by Sherwood and Ukiah informants; but at Sherwood finger names for 10 moons of summer and winter, and 2 moons "left over." (Valley Nisenan also have only 10 month names: Kroeber, *UC-PAAE* 24:264, 1929.—Huehnom and E. Pomo have finger names.)

Sun called muta da (day sun); moon, duwel da (night sun), which identification is made by all Pomo. (E. Pomo, new moon unlucky because women menstruate then; men do not like to hunt; Folkways, 228. Cf. Kato below for more striking parallel.) At Sherwood, when new moon (da-cawe) seen, people run around house 4 times counterclockwise and 4 clockwise, then throw straw and chips at moon, "because happy to feel young again." Prayer to new moon: yo kudita samocon (yes be-healthy no-sleep), "may I be healthy and not lazy."

Dogs.—Pomo in general unacquainted with dogs, but Sherwood received in trade from north. Called cema duwi, ear coyote. Costly; had individual names; buried like persons.

THE KATO

The Kato are the southernmost Athabascans on the Pacific coast. They are wedged in on three sides by the Coast Yuki, the Huchnom, and the Yuki proper. They have as neighbors of their own stock the Sinkyone to the north and the Wailaki to the northeast.

The word Kato is a Pomo place name meaning "lake." This was also the name of the chief village of the people, where formerly, according to native opinion, there were four hundred natives.¹² The lake itself, now called Copper lake, was named SuntiL tobi (turtle water) by the Indians.

Powers also spoke of the Kato people as the "Kaipomo."¹³ This is another Pomo word, and means "valley people." The Kato call themselves To-kehañ, grass people, but, according to Curtis, this name was used only by the inhabitants of Long valley, where there were formerly six villages.¹⁴

RELIGIOUS TERMINOLOGY

"God," Teenes (thunder)

Ghost, nateik (spirit ?)

To die, yite celsuk (wind drop-out); yite cikase (wind thrown-out)

Shadow, beca kete (shade over)

Dead body, cuntuñ

Faint (now "drunk"), nesgule¹⁵

To be sick, kakle

To dream, na slale

Good luck (mana), cone

HOME OF DEAD

People after death became tai'i (those outside) or ghosts. The ghosts lived in the mountains. They slept in the daytime and worked at night. The tai'i gathered food, had children, and lived as the Indians lived. They had a dance house under the ground. Nagaitco stayed with the tai'i in the mountains.

¹² The last chief at Kato told my informant Martinez Bell that before the coming of the whites he had over four hundred people in his village. Since the Kato people as a whole are said to have had nearly fifty villages, this figure would seem very high. It is probable, however, that not more than fifteen villages were inhabited at this epoch, and that Kato was by far the largest.

¹³ Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, CNAE 3:148, 1877.

¹⁴ Curtis, 14:4.

¹⁵ When a person fainted a doctor was summoned.

Sometimes when people went fishing at night they saw the tai'i. The ghosts had red mouths and eyes. If the person who saw the ghosts was a "high school graduate," he sang Nagaitco songs and did not become sick. A man who saw a ghost never told the women and children about it.

Boys at school who would not follow instructions, accidentally saw ghosts. They became very sick and even fell down dead. The presence of the ghosts, appearing at the proper time in the two schools for the boys, made these schools very dangerous. If an initiated Indian spoke about these matters to women, children, or outsiders, he ran the risk of being literally frightened to death.

WARFARE

The war customs of the Kato, Wailaki, Yuki, Coast Yuki, Huchnom, and Sherwood Pomo were quite similar. This is to be expected, since in any major conflict any or all of these peoples might be involved. Warfare on a large scale, however, was the exception rather than the rule. A simple case of murder was doubtless common enough, and this would have been classed as warfare by the Indians, since they had not arrived at a degree of civilization high enough to distinguish between warfare and murder.

Weregild (kle djusi, things piled-up) usually settled a feud caused by murder. If a man from the village of Kato killed a man from a neighboring village, the two village chiefs had to take action, in order to avoid strife. The Kato chief took the first step by going to the chief of the neighboring village, who thereupon stated that the family of the deceased wished so much in beads, rope, deer hides, and baskets. The family of the Kato murderer then had to pay whatever was demanded of them. If they were not sufficiently wealthy, all the relatives worked hard so that the payment could be made at the end of the year. Even inmates of the village, although not related, often helped with the work, so that the debt might be paid at the stipulated time.

I was told by the Kato, that the same amount was demanded, whether the murder was accidental or perpetrated on purpose. The Wailaki, however, claimed that a distinction was made on this point among their people.

If a murder was committed within the village, payment had likewise to be made. If, however, a man killed a blood relative there was no one to demand payment.

At the end of a war, payment had to be made for everyone killed on both sides. If two people had been killed on one side and two on the other, first one side received the payment, then the next year the other side received an equal payment.

The peace chief (*nunkatinen*) had nothing to do with actually conducting a war. He went with the army and if his side retreated, he talked to the chief of the enemy and tried to make peace. At the end of the war, the chiefs of both sides talked together, and compounded for the deaths. The actual leader in combat was the war chief (*klanantin kut nunkatinen*, war chief), who appears to have held a permanent position among the Kato. In time of peace he could substitute for the peace chief, and, mounting the dance house, address the people telling them to be good. In the town of Kato the last war chief and the last peace chief were cousins.

Special attire was worn for war. The Kato painted themselves with red ochre and put black charcoal across their foreheads. Fine white braided feathers of the eagle or owl were worn across the head. The customary double deer-hide aprons were worn and the deer-hide anklets and wristlets. Hair nets decorated with buzzard feathers were worn. The war attire was called *teulkai* (with white).

One or two of the warriors wore elk hide armor (*te naigatoñ*, clothes wear). These fighters ran up to the enemy and tried to frighten them back, especially after a man on their side had been killed. This was done in order that the body could be rescued unscalped.

Before engaging in combat the Kato held a dance (*nociañ*) to poison the enemy. For the poisoning a human arm bone was exhumed and the dry sinew of a coyote placed in it. The evening before the battle the warriors met and danced throughout the night. Two or three of the men pointed toward the enemy with the bone, and others with their bows and arrows. One man had an arrow with a wretched piece of flint attached to it. He also pointed at the enemy with this arrow. The dancers then joined in song, expressing their desire that the enemy on the morrow would have similar arrowpoints. At the conclusion of the song all held up their hands toward the enemy and shouted:

yo o o

e hau i no, e hau i no, he gwana eulgwaw cuña notintale, arrow poor stand in-front-of-me

yo ho he ni no, ni e.

Early the next morning stakes were placed at thirty yards' distance and shot at. After hitting these targets the band rushed off to combat.

Once the enemy was sighted, it was deemed essential to arouse their anger. All joined in taunting the foe, except the chief, who merely talked to his own people. A scalp was produced, tossed from one warrior to another, and exhibited to possible relatives among the enemy. The Kato would taunt, "He is here. He is all right. He has just come to see you." (cuncone conan tietee kanastiai ye, he good, he sees you, he has come back again.)

In fighting, the forces were ranged in two long rows, and surged backward and forward. Close combat was avoided. The only weapons used were the bow and arrow and the deer-hide sling (sintol). The warriors kept shooting and dodging sidewise as if dancing. If any one fell, his comrades tried to recover the body while the enemy rushed forward to obtain the scalp. Mortalities were never heavy; in the war recorded by Kroeber six men were killed on one side during one battle and three on the other.¹⁶

Surprise attacks were commoner than open battle among the tribes of this region.¹⁷ This is to be expected, for since the aim of warfare was to obtain a head, it seemed needless to employ two hundred men for a deed which could as readily be accomplished by one or two on a dark night. A surprise attack was called wanantuñ niyai (sneak up to them). One or two Indians entered a hostile village at night, obtained a scalp, and fled. The weapon they used was a flint tied to a long pole. The blow was delivered near the shoulders of the sleeper, so as to break through the ribs and tear the guts. This spear was named cuñ bul nantin yiai, stick for sneak up come then.

The scalp dance (kantai si bul yitac, dead-man head for dance), was the emotional climax of Kato warfare. Since the scalp had to be cut and prepared according to rigid regulations, the entire head was removed on the field of battle, or in the camp of the enemy. After the head had been brought home and partly dried, a man was appointed to take charge of the head and remove the scalp in some isolated spot where no one would bother him. This man was called swa bitceas (hair scalper). His office made him rigorously taboo, in the strict Polynesian sense of the word.

¹⁶ Kroeber, *A Kato War*, 397.

¹⁷ The Yuki-Kato guerrilla warfare is well described in *Handbook*, 157 ff.

The scalper, when engaged in his occupation, built a fire some distance from the dance house, and camped in the locality for some time. The scalp had to be removed while partly fresh. It was cut down to the neck, and all the fat was scraped off. It was this grease (sis'ka) which rendered the operator unclean (ce'e). Until the scalper was properly purified, it was believed that he had the grease all over himself and was ghost contaminated. The scalp itself was taboo as long as it was fresh and had a particle of grease adhering to it. While in this "green" condition it could not be taken into the dance house, but as soon as it was properly dried it was brought in and handled, nay man-handled, by the men and women.

After the scalp was dry it was fastened to a stick by the skin of the neck. Bead earrings were attached to it and a string of beads placed around the forehead. The scalper arose early in the morning and performed rites for the purpose of wringing the hearts of the relatives of the deceased. The scalp was turned facing its home country and the scalper shouted "lil lil lil lil," at the top of his voice. No matter how many miles away the wife and near relatives of the deceased were, they were certain to hear this sound and grunt in grief, "hu hu."

Next the scalper poured pinole on the ground and got down on his hands and knees to lick it up. But even this pleasure was denied to him, for in the course of his meal another Indian rushed in and covered the food with dirt. It was felt that the scalper was so contaminated by his office that he deserved ritual abuse. While the scalp, however, was outside of the dance house it was neither conciliated in any way, such as by being fed, nor was it molested.

When the time arrived for the scalp dance, the scalper took the trophy into the dance house. A woman who had lost a relative in the war first took the object in her teeth, bit it, and danced with it dangling from her mouth. After this all the relatives who had suffered bereavement danced with the scalp, tossing it from one to another while they danced. They sang a taunting song:

ha no a, no hi ya, ha no hi ya, ho hanen.
 nañ ciñcone, your mother is well,
 ta ciñcone, your father is well,
 nonuñ ciñcone, your brother is well,
 tece ciñcone, your sister is well.
 nahitac tele hi anintele, you-are-going-back soon you will-be-all-right.

After the dance the scalp was hung up in the dance house. Sometimes two scalps were kept hung up. Scalps with long hair were

especially appreciated. Scalps were neither sold nor given away; when worn out they probably were discarded. When a new dance house was built the scalps from the old building were transferred into the new one. After a war the neighboring allies were invited to join in the scalp dance.

The actual killer of the scalped enemy suffered but little inconvenience. He purified himself as soon after the event as possible. Then he was able to rejoin his group and engage in the usual occupations of hunting and fishing. As a precautionary measure, however, he continued to sing purifying songs each morning in the dance house for a winter's time.

It was upon the cleaner of the scalp that the full burden of the taboo rested. He was forced to remain isolated in the sudatory the entire winter. Other people fed his family while he atoned by means of purification songs. During this period he abstained from eating fish and meat. He made use of the scratching stick. He ate from the ground at all times, avoiding the use of his hands. Naturally, it was impossible to eat acorn soup in this manner, so a stick spoon (*sak*) was provided for the purpose. Every morning the scalper rubbed himself with pepperwood leaves, and he kept a pepperwood switch bound around his head. During this period he was not allowed to approach his wife, and if he were unmarried he was distinctly *persona non grata* to mothers of eligible daughters.

At the end of the winter the scalper came out of the dance house and bathed with pepperwood and angelica. He was very careful to clean his nails, ears, and nose in a thorough manner. After these rites he was permitted to return to his family.¹⁸

¹⁸ Curtis, 14:7, obtained some information concerning Kato scalping customs. I believe, however, that he is incorrect in asserting that the war dance always took place in a brush house.

"When the Kato killed an enemy, whether man or woman, they cut off the head and tore off with it as much skin from the shoulders and the back as possible. After their victorious return, an old man whose business this was prepared the trophy by removing from the skull all the skin except that of the face, reversing it over his knee and so scraping out the fleshy bits that still adhered to it, and stuffing it with dry grass. He placed skewers in the skin to keep it stretched while drying, and finally tied it to a stake which he set up in the ground.

"The war-dance always occurred at the same place, and inside a brush enclosure. When all the inhabitants of the neighboring villages had assembled, there was a feast in which the custodian of the scalp had no part until all the others had eaten, after which a portion of food was thrown to him. He sat there all greasy and filthy, laid the food in the dirt, and devoured it like a beast. Then he danced, and uttered threats and insults directed toward the enemy. The ensuing performance of the warriors was of the usual kind, and during its progress the scalp was turned toward the enemy's country, while its custodian spoke insultingly to it and to the enemy as a whole."

CALENDAR

The Kato did not reckon the years by moons, but by winters. Thus, the term for a year was Laha' kai, one winter. Another term for the year was u kai, winter roots. The seasons were designated:

Winter, kaihit (root time)
 Spring, ko tiañ tancit (fire gone gone time)
 Summer, djiñhit (hot day time)
 Fall, tañ ku hit (leaf on top time)

Like the Mountain Maidu, the Kato named only the fall, winter, and spring months. The summer months were nameless.¹⁹ Kroeber has suggested that since the people had sufficient food in the summer they saw no need for naming these months. The Kato started counting in September when the buckeyes (laci) began to fall.

laci' kaic, buckeye white, September
 ges na', kingfish eye, October
 konk tolis, fire throw-no-heat, November
 ca nes tco, moon long big; December
 culeik, bush red, January
 tañ tuk, leaf budding-out, February
 To tiltuk, grass popping, March
 nuñ nalut, head burning up, April

Another name for December was cañ nai nulgico (excrement eat up). The moon was supposed to be so hungry at this time that it ate all the excrement lying around on the ground.

Both the sun and moon were called ca. The moon was also called te nagai, night traveler, while the sun was called djiñ nagai, day traveler. The morning star was called koldac, sun up, and the evening star go yane, worm eating. The Pleiades were called katcuñ ce, throw up a bundle.

The day was divided as follows:

te ha, early in the morning
 te tanet, late in the morning
 djiñhit, midday
 ca cenonyai, afternoon (sundown)
 ulgulit, getting dark
 ca kulgel, night (dark)

The month was divided according to the phases of the moon:

nagai kinyane, traveler grown, first quarter
 nagai seundie, traveler old getting, second quarter

¹⁹ Kroeber, *The Valley Nisenan*, 264.

nagai cunas late, traveler floating together, full moon
 nagai begutele, traveler going to die, third quarter
 nagai ca betene, traveler moon dead now, last quarter

The new moon was called *ca yaic uñane* (moon new born). The people prayed at the time of a new moon: "In the same way as you have come back again, so may my life return with you"; literally, *kea naic melca kuc na naic melca dja*, behind-you come-back-again I-must life-my come-back-again I-must yes.

At the time of a new moon in winter, a special prayer and ceremony were held. The rite was called *tje kwa toc* (pitch give blazing). Boys and girls went out of doors and threw blazing pitch at the new moon as it rose. They prayed at the same time, *natai konk natabund*, blazing fire carrying. The people wished to give the new moon fire, so that the month would be warm. Only boys and girls who had been born in the warm summer months were allowed to participate in this ceremony.

The first of every month, that is, at the time of a new moon, there was a rest period of four days. These days were considered unlucky. At the beginning of the period the chief went around the village and called out "nailyic, nailyic" (rest, rest). During this time the people were not allowed to hunt, fish, or gather food. They lay around and patched up twine and buckskin. They ate, rested, gambled, and danced if they wished. There was no taboo on sexual intercourse.

It is evident that neither the Pomo nor the Kato knew why the new moon was unlucky or sacred; among primitives the two words are synonymous. The very vagueness of the new moon concept leads me to believe that here we have the trace of a moon, or more likely, sun cult, which spread to central California from the Pueblo region. The rite of strengthening the new moon (sun) with fire confirms this impression. Among the Karok and neighboring Klamath peoples the "New Fire" ceremony had a less specific object, that of world renewing,²⁰ which leads me to suppose that their fire ritual lay at the end of the chain. The Kato then had a remnant of the "New Fire" ritual, which, according to Radin, may have come from the Toltec to the Aztec, and from the Aztec to the Pueblos.²¹ The jump from the Pueblos to the region of the Kuksu religion was a long one, but other Pueblo traits shared the diffusion.²²

²⁰ Handbook, 104.

²¹ Paul Radin, *The Story of the American Indian*, 249. New York, 1927.

²² The sacrifice of meal, the use of the pole-climb, and the rattlesnake ceremony (*Folkways*, 399).

The confusion among the Pomo, Kato, and Wailaki of the sun and the moon was a natural one. The sun, to a non-agricultural people, was more dangerous than helpful. It brought no crops, but it might bring sickness in the heat of the summer. The moon, on the other hand, was a definite messenger of hope to primitive people throughout the world. For just as the moon died and came to life again, so might they. Because the sun was incapable of undergoing changes of this nature it was thought to lack the therapeutic attributes of the lunar orbit. It was indeed no accident that caused "Big Head," the healer on earth, to be identified with the moon, the healer in the skies, among the Kato, Yuki, and Wailaki.²³

It may finally be added, that my Kato informant told me the new moon was unlucky because women menstruated at that time. This rationalization was the same as that given by the Pomo.²⁴

An eclipse of the sun was called *ca tulcut*, sun catch-him. The belief was that a bear had caught hold of the sun. A long time ago, when the earth was still new, the people could hear the sun crying for help when it was seized by the bear. Then everyone got up and shouted in order to drive the animal away. After the eclipse blood could be seen dripping from the sun.

The rainbow was called *nana concit*, hanging on-air. It was also called *tceenes ailage*, thunder-god did-it. The Kato were afraid of the rainbow and were warned at "school" to keep away from it. A rainbow was also a sign that a woman had given birth to a child.

An earthquake was called *ne tli*, ground shaking. The shock was thought to have been caused by a big deer moving under the earth. The deer was called *intce teloñ*, deer soft. Upon feeling the ground shake, everyone picked up an acorn pestle or stick and pounded the earth. Men who had received a "secondary education," having been through the doctors' school, hit the ground, danced, and sang, "He yo wi o."

The customary central Californian belief prevailed concerning the whirlwind (*natis nosya*, wind walk-around). The people thought that the whirlwind was a ghost who had returned to earth. Some Kato were afraid, and some glad to see the whirlwind.²⁵

²³ This point will be discussed in connection with *Ketanagai*, "Night Traveler" of the Wailaki.

²⁴ *Folkways*, 228.

²⁵ An interesting parallelism to this belief is furnished in Semitic religion. "The mediaeval Arabs associate a definite class of demons with sand-whirlwinds and apply the name *zawābi* indifferently to these phenomena and to the jinn that accompany or cause them." (See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* [London, 1901], 134.)

MYTHOLOGY

The Kato creation legend refers to two original beings, Nagaitco (Great Traveler) and Teenes (Thunder). Thunder is, however, represented by the Kato as distinctly the more powerful of the pair, and the actual creator of men, many animals, mountains, trees, and springs. In spite of the subordinate position of Nagaitco, he is constantly trying to get the better of Teenes, and this fact, according to Kato belief, is the origin of all trickery and rivalry among people.

The creation story was taught in all the schools. In spite of this fact, it seems to have had many variations. The best rendition so far recorded is that recorded by Curtis from Bill Ray.²⁶

In the beginning there was nothing but water. All alone in the upper world (yapini, ya sky) lived Teenes. One day he heard the sound of crying, and beside the trail he saw a baby wrapped in white leaves. He carried it home, and the infant grew so rapidly that in a few days it was full grown. This was Nagaitco.

One day Nagaitco looked down and beheld the world of water, and he said to Teenes, "What are you going to do about this? How shall we travel about?"

"I do not know," replied Teenes. "But you have been talking about what you can do." So he took Nagaitco down, far away in the north at the edge of the water. No sooner had they touched the ground than there stood beside them a woman. Teenes had caused her to be there.

"Where did this woman come from?" asked Nagaitco.

"I give her to you as your wife," was the answer.

In a little while there stood with them a dog, which also Teenes gave to his companion. He told Nagaitco to train the dog. This was the beginning of that custom.

In the north they lived for a time, while they pondered what to do. One day Teenes said, "Well, you have been talking about what you can do. Now what are you going to do?"

"Well, what can we do? Here everything is covered with water. We cannot walk on water. I do not think that you would know what to do."

Said Teenes, "Watch me."

[Teenés is able to walk on the water, but Nagaitco sinks.]

In that place, unknown to Nagaitco, was Intce tanan (deer soft), a very large deer with enormous horns. To this animal Teenes said, "Walk southward. When you get far enough, I will stop you." So the deer went toward the south, and in some places the water was so deep that only the tips of its horns were visible, but in other places its whole body stood out.²⁷ Far in the

²⁶ Curtis, 14:165.

²⁷ In the text given by Goddard, no mention is made of the deer. Bill Ray then avoided the name of the sacred animal by use of the demonstrative "di" (this). The omission led to the translation of "the earth getting up and walking." (P. E. Goddard, *Kato Texts*, pres. ser., 5:74, 1909.)

south it stopped and lay down, and in that instant Teenes was beside it. Though there had been in the world no trees nor stones nor soil, Teenes had a pine tree and two stones. He laid the tree down and told the animal to rest its forehead on the trunk, and he placed a stone on each side of the deer. Then gradually the creature turned into soil and rock, and became the earth, and in time all the water sank and left the earth dry. Earthquakes are caused by this deer turning on its side.

Teenes had disappeared, and Nagaitco with his wife and dog were still in the north. After a time the woman ran away to the south, and Nagaitco with his dog followed her trail, for he wished to take her back. They traveled nearly to the middle of the world, and then Nagaitco said to the dog, "I want to catch that woman. You must hurry to the south ahead of her and stretch Cus-nes (rattlesnake long, the feathered serpent) across her path and stop her. I will follow you as fast as I am able." This snake was of immense length, with horns like those of an elk. So the dog went ahead. After a long time Nagaitco was coming close upon the woman, when the dog returned and met him. He asked, "Have you seen the woman?"

"Yes," said the dog, "she is not far from here."

Soon Nagaitco came upon her, lying there dead. He looked at her and drew from the back of his hair a long feather. He waved it over her, and prodded her gently with his foot four times, and she got up. He took her back to the north, and lived there with her and the dog. Thus it was ordained that women should be foolish and run away from their husbands.

There was no one else in the world except Nagaitco, his wife, and the dog. He never spoke of their solitary condition, but his wife thought about it, and at length she said, "It seems as though we ought to have a baby here." They discussed the subject, and after many days of talk Nagaitco said one night that they should lie in their bed feet to feet. So thus they lay all night and toward morning Nagaitco crept over his wife's body from her head to her feet, and thus she became pregnant. This is the reason children are born head first. After that they had many children. Nagaitco continued to beget children, but because they did not come fast enough, Teenes made many people at one time. Soon the earth was populated, and the people spread over the entire land.

In both the stories recorded by Curtis and by Goddard, mention is made of three forms of competition between Nagaitco and Teenes. The first test was that of walking over the ocean. Teenes succeeded in this, but Nagaitco failed. The second test was the creation of springs of fresh water on the land, for before this there had been only salt water on the earth. Both Teenes and Nagaitco were able to produce springs of fresh water by digging into the ground with their heels.²⁸ The third test was that of shattering a large rock. Teenes was able to do this with a thunderbolt, but Nagaitco failed.

The fragments of the creation story which I obtained from my Kato informants (the wife and daughter of Bill Ray) are of interest, chiefly because they usually represent other versions of the creation than those thus far published.

²⁸ Teenes alone created fresh water in Goddard's texts.

Nagaitco said, "How can I make the earth?" Earthworm (Konetco) got up and said, "I can make it." Nagaitco said, "Well if you can make it, then go and do it. I cannot." So Earthworm started to make the earth. He had dirt inside his stomach. He began spitting it out. He kept spitting. He had with him a bone awl (tsuñ) and he kept sewing up the earth at the same time he spat it out. He had started from the north and he finished in the south.

It was Yaintañ (a big spider with hair on its back) who made the sky. He built it up in every corner. He first fastened it in the north. He tried it, and it was firm. Then he built it in the south, west, and east. Then suddenly the sky dropped in the middle. Spider shouted, "ya natcuñka, yani! (sky drop, they-say!). Mole jumped up and caught the sky with his two forefeet and held on to it until Spider was able to pick it up again. This is why Mole has flat hands now. It is because he held up the sky.

Nagaitco found Tcenes in the south, and they traveled together coming back, both walking on top of the ocean. Tcenes said to Nagaitco, "You are a powerful man, you should be able to walk on top of the water with me." Nagaitco tried, but he sank in the water. Tcenes, however, was able to walk on top without sinking. Tcenes said, "What is the matter? You said that you were very clever, and yet you cannot walk on the water." So Tcenes took the hand of Nagaitco, and they went north together over the water. Tcenes said, "You will sink no more, for I will always be present to hold you up."²⁹

After Nagaitco and Tcenes had gone north together, Nagaitco said, "I would like to make people, but I do not know how to make them come to life. I can make the images of people, but I cannot put life into them." Tcenes said, "Go and make the people, and I will put life into them."³⁰

Nagaitco taught his people everything. He taught them how to hunt and fish, and gave them all their songs and dances. He taught them how to cure, and it was he who instituted the schools. After this Nagaitco prepared to leave. His youngest son asked, "Where are you going, sta' (father)?" Nagaitco replied, "I am going into the mountains where I ought to be. When you need me you can call for me." The boy said, "You may die out there, you may starve to death." "Do not worry about me," said Nagaitco, "I lived before you. I made this earth. I shall never die." Then he left.

Even though Tcenes was considered more powerful than Nagaitco, the people usually turned to Nagaitco when they needed aid in sickness. And it was Nagaitco, and not Tcenes, to whom the people prayed and whom they addressed in their prayers as sta' (father). It was taboo to speak of Nagaitco by his proper name, so his nickname was used, Ketaltnes (sharp heels).

²⁹ Cf. Goddard, *Kato Texts*, 186. The meaning here is that Tcenes is the stronger of the two, and that Nagaitco owes all his curing powers to the aid rendered by Tcenes. Modern informants call Tcenes "God" and Nagaitco "Devil." It is interesting to note that according to legend Tcenes is an older god than Nagaitco.

³⁰ My informants did not know the story of the making of the first man and woman. See Goddard, *Kato Texts*, 185.

TRIBAL INITIATION

Among the Kato all boys about the age of twelve were put in the dance house, and kept there all winter. This was the "elementary school" for boys, and it was called keate.⁸¹ Every male member of the tribe, but no females, went through this school. There were about twenty or thirty boys in the school at the same time. It is not known how often the school was held among the Kato, but the last was about sixty years ago, at a place called totelukbi.

The chief directed the school. Before it began he presented a little stick to every boy who was to attend that year. If the boy failed to appear at the school, he would experience life-long bad luck. The father, or some other male relative, escorted the boy into the dance house and left him there. Then the father returned home. After this his sole duty was to take food for the boy to the dance house.

There seem to have been but four adults who remained in the dance house to watch the boys and four ghosts (*tai kehañ*, outside people) who came down from the hills every night. The chief was in attendance every evening and personally gave the boys instructions in the morning. Two firetenders (*konwanesañ*) took turns in caring for the fire and the dance house. Two men in the dance house acted as clowns before the ghosts came down from the hills. These men were called *yiteo wanesa* (dance house watchers).

The boys, after they had been received in the dance house, were made to lie down on the right hand side of the fire and were covered with straw. For the first four days they were not allowed to drink any water. After that they were given only a little water at a time; this they consumed together. They were given very little acorn soup and pinole during the first four days, but after that their ration of these foods was increased. The boys were kept blackened and painted up, and were compelled to make use of the scratching stick. They were allowed to leave the house at night only to satisfy their natural needs. In the course of the six months they became very weak, "like dead people." The chief had to turn the row of boys over every morning.

The clowns and the ghosts enacted their part every night during the six months. The clowns painted themselves in the dance house, and stuck twigs in their noses and ears. They danced, sang, and made

⁸¹ Keate, perhaps a contraction of *ki beate*, boys begin.

jokes. If the boys laughed at them, they were liable to become sick. The song of the clowns was: *heu gi hola gi, gice gice, hola ge.*

Next the chief called for the ghosts from the roof of the dance house. The four ghosts on the hills whistled to him in reply. The chief kept calling a long time. He cried, "haiyancin, haiyancin" (come over here, come over here). The clowns kept calling at the same time, in a peculiar manner, from inside the dance house.

Finally the ghosts set up a mighty halloo and rushed down from the hills. They were painted red, yellow, and black, but wore no twig masks. They had no torches or fire on their body or hair. The ghosts entered the door of the dance house, where a man picked each of them up and passed them inside. They had to first dance four times around the center post counterclockwise, and then four times clockwise. If a ghost made any mistake, he had to pay a heavy fine. The ghosts picked the boys up, one at a time, and danced with them. They did not, however, carry the boys on their shoulders. Then they sang songs to the boys and made them dance.

After the ghosts had entered, the bullroarers were sounded. The women at home believed that the bullroarers were the voices of the ghosts. While the ghosts were dancing the chief rattled his split-stick rattle. Cocoon rattles were also shaken. Everybody kept quiet in the dance house while the rattles were being used and the sound of them could be heard a long distance away.

Finally the ghosts laid the boys on their beds and sang to them. They sang good luck songs in order to keep dangers and sickness away from the youths. At midnight the ghosts returned to the hills. The chief then washed the boys' faces and fed them.

The morning was the time for instruction. The chief told the boys about Nagaitco. He warned them against all dangers. He told them that if they sickened from any of the dangers, such as the big snake or the poisonous mountains, they would have to send for Nagaitco to cure them. He told the boys to be good, to be good to their families, not to tell lies, and to keep away from girls.

None of the pupils in any of the schools were allowed to sleep in the daytime. If a pupil had slept in the daytime he would have had bad dreams and would have become sick. All teaching by the chief was done in the morning. The afternoon was considered unlucky, as the sun had gone down into a bad place.

The boys remained in the dance house until about May. Then some one picked spring wild flowers and brought them to the school

in order to show the boys that spring had arrived and that their trials were at an end. Manzanita berries were brought to the dance house. This was the first fruit which the pupils received. One man brought the berries to the door and another man carried them four times counterclockwise around the fire. Then the boys ate them.

At the end of the school the dance house was cleaned. The boys were washed and given new clothing. All the relatives of the graduating boys, including the mothers and female relatives, came in. They brought baskets of food, including meat and fish, and there was a big feast.

No tribal mark was given the boys in the primary school, and, as far as is known, they were not subjected to any ordeals other than those of confinement and scanty diet.

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

This school was a strictly professional one, and had as its purpose the making of doctors. Only certain boys went through this secondary school, after they had finished their primary education. The boys were about seventeen or eighteen at the time; some of them were already married. The school was called *beate*, and the graduates were called *tienañ* (doctors). The school was held all winter in the dance house, in years when neither a primary school nor a girls' school was being held.

The crux of the matter was as follows: All the men and women from the better families were supposed to go through high school and receive knowledge of the more esoteric side of the Kato religion. All then became doctors (*tienañ*). Both the boys' high school and the girls' high school (the girls had no primary school) were called by the same name, *tienañ buL beate*, doctor for school (*begin*). The boys and girls who showed special talent for religious matters were made sucking doctors (*etien*) by the elder sucking doctors, while the others merely assisted at sacred performances and cures. Only the *tienañ* could wear disguises. Individuals learnt the art of disguising themselves in private in the hills, from their relatives. The *tienañ*, in other words, were members of a limited secret society composed entirely of men and women doctors.

The chief, advised by the other members of the society, picked out the young men who were to go through the doctors' school. Only healthy young men were chosen. These men were handed little sticks by the chief.

The chief also directed the ceremonies of the school. He had his forehead marked with black coal stripes. He wore a short chain of beads and also a bunch of angelica (sale) around his neck. A fire-tender was always on hand. Male doctors might come and go as they pleased, but no women, doctors or otherwise, were allowed in the dance house at the time this school was being held. During the school period Nagaitco, escorted by four doctors, came down from the hills and entered the dance house. He paid several visits, and always remained four nights. Four ghosts (tai'i) made four visits to the school toward the end of the term. They made their entrance from the fire, and not from the hills.

The boys in the high school wore a short apron covering their privates. They ate only pinole and acorn soup, and drank water. They were kept lying on the straw, as in the primary school and they made use of the scratcher.

It appears probable, from information received by Mr. Gifford from a Coast Yuki man named Tony Bell,³² that the Kato boys at high school were put through several ordeals, and that not all the boys remained for graduation. Those who failed to pass the tests not only never became members of the learned society, but they also "lost face" in the community. One torment, specifically mentioned for the Kato, was as follows: The boys were laid on their backs in a row outdoors. Then a bull snake was drawn by its tail over their naked bellies. If any of the youths started up, he was considered lacking in the essentials of "manhood" and was ejected from the fraternity in the dance house. Another test was to cause a spirit to appear—one of the doctors sang for this apparition—and lay hands on each of the young men in turn. The youths were not supposed to flinch, although, in their weakened condition, this ghostly touch was hard to bear. This last test, however, was mentioned only for the Coast Yuki and may not have been used among the Kato.

When the time came to call Nagaitco down from the hills, everyone in the village became afraid and went to bed early. The chief, as usual, did the calling from the top of the dance house. Four doctors went out to the hills to meet the "Big Head." These men wore feather coats and feather headdresses. Condor feathers were stuck through their hair nets.

Nagaitco, himself, was said to be about twelve feet high, and he seemed to come swimming along, as though walking on air. He had

³² From a Coast Yuki manuscript which Mr. Gifford allowed me to see.

two long canes, one on top of his head, and one in his hand. The canes were called tuts. Nagaitco was very strong. It is said of him that he was able to pick up two men, one under each arm, and dance around with them. He talked a peculiar language which no one but the doctors could understand. He also made use of a peculiar bull-roarer (telbut) of his own, made of the shoulder blades of two deer. He swung this in the dance house at the time of the high school.

During the times Nagaitco was present in the dance house, doctor dances (natclkle) were held. The boys were made to encircle the fire at an ever increasing pace. Once in a while a boy fell down and blood began to pour from his mouth and nose. Such a boy was destined to become a sucking doctor, and the older etien at once began training him. Often the doctors aided a boy to vomit blood by sticking an eagle or condor feather down his throat. Tony Bell, a Coast Yuki, told Mr. Gifford that one man held the boy upright and revolved him four times, while another stuck the feather, tip end first, down the throat of the youth. It was essential that the boy swallow some of the blood, because this came up again as a pain (dontsia) in curing. A boy who became a sucking doctor also had a dream in which his guardian spirit appeared. The dream could come before or after the blood test. Among the Kato, Coast Yuki, and Wailaki, as among the Sherwood Pomo, the bleeding was the essential requirement for the sucking doctor. All sucking doctors, both men and women, were able to play with coals of fire.

During the course of the school the chief gave daily morning instruction in mythology and religious custom. The sacred songs and dances were taught the boys, some of whom were destined to become singing and dancing doctors.³³ The chief also taught the boys how to distinguish dangerous foods, and songs for every kind of sickness.

The ghosts (tai'i) made their four appearances toward the end of the school term. The chief and four doctors were present in the dance house for each appearance. The chief commenced singing at about ten in the morning. One of the doctors watched at the smoke-hole and one at the doorway. The other two sang inside. A big fire was burning at the time. Suddenly the four ghosts emerged from the fire. Their faces were speckled with white clay. Their long hair hung down over their faces and bodies.

The ghosts first danced for the boys. The former seemed to fly into every corner of the dance house, squealing and whistling like

³³ Only three or four boys became sucking doctors.

gray squirrels. They pounded the foot drum and scattered coals and fire with their hands. At times they lay in the fire and rolled around in it. They did not hurt the boys, but merely frightened them. When herding the boys together for a dance, they chased them, making a noise much as cowpunchers do when driving cattle. The ghosts sometimes picked up the boys and danced with them, and at other times they caught hold of the boys by their penises and led them around the fire.³⁴

Next the ghosts dressed as clowns by bending sticks into their mouths and noses to disfigure themselves, and played jokes while dancing around the fire. They tried in every way to make the boys laugh. If any of the youths succumbed to mirth, his mouth remained paralyzed in a grin for the remainder of his life.

Finally the pupils were thrown one by one out of the dance house. A ghost first picked up a boy and filled his mouth with straw. Then he tossed him to the doctor guarding the smokehole. This man passed his burden to the doctor guarding the door, who in turn tossed the youth back into the dance house.

There seems to have been little or no conscious symbolism of a death and resurrection of the boys in this rite. The purpose was to give the boys good luck and to teach them the ritual so that they would be able to perform it on the next generation when the old men who were now conducting the ceremony for them were dead.

It is not known how the ghosts made their exit. While they were in the dance house they threw ashes all over the place, even smearing the ceiling. After the ceremony all this had to be cleaned up, the old straw piled into a corner, and new bedding laid down.

At the end of the six months of school, the graduating young men were washed and given new clothing. The dance house was also made faultlessly clean and prepared for the entrance of the villagers. Men, women, and children arrived, and a big feast with common dances was held. Food of all kinds was brought in baskets. Before the contents of a basket could be eaten, a singing doctor had to sing over it, moving the basket the while from side to side. Then the chief dipped a feather into the basket, put some of the food in his mouth, and spat it out again. After this the food might be eaten. The graduating class of doctors were not allowed to eat meat or fish at this time.

Two years had to pass before the young doctors were allowed to eat meat and fish. At the end of two years a big feast was given for the

³⁴ This whole ceremony is very similar to the Yuki Hulk'ilal woknam, or Ghost initiation (Handbook, 187).

class. This feast was called *ba no naiyakac* (for you put-down). The young doctors first tasted the new food ceremonially and then partook of it. This two years' abstinence from meat and fish was also prescribed for adolescent Kato girls, who were not even allowed to mention the names of these foods.³⁵ If the girl went through the girls' school, her period of abstinence dated for two years (winters) from her graduation. This taboo was found among the Wailaki, in connection with the doctor making, and also in connection with the puberty ceremony for adolescent girls. The custom probably was original in the northern doctors' initiation, and later became a part of the adolescent ceremony. Wherever this temporary taboo diffused south, it took the place of the typical Pomo taboo which forbade members of the secret society ever eating the flesh of certain small game, such as squirrel, rabbit, and trout.³⁶

The boys' high school was very dangerous, and women and children were not only not allowed to witness it, but women, even women doctors, were also not supposed to know about it. An occasional middle-aged man, however, who was not a member of the society, was allowed to enter and witness the ghost ceremony. The outsider was forced to pay for this privilege by depositing a handful of beads at the center post upon entering. It was strictly understood that the non-initiate witnessed these dangerous activities at his own risk. If he so much as smiled his mouth remained permanently crooked. After the visitor returned home he at once purified himself with pepperwood leaves and angelica. The Indian who dared witness the ghost ceremony did not do it from idle curiosity, but in order to obtain good luck for himself and his family. After the purification he went to his children and shook their hands, saying *ch ch ch ch yane*. This communicated the blessing to the children.

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

The chief, probably with the assent of the other doctors, picked out good healthy girls to attend the high school, and gave them each a stick. The school was held in the dance house. The girls were selected in the fall of the year in which the school was to be held. The girls

³⁵ Goddard, *Kato Texts*, 199.

³⁶ The Huchnom combined both taboos in an interesting manner. All men were prohibited the flesh of small game for life, after they had undergone tribal initiation in the Ghost ceremony. Women were prohibited meat and fish for two years after puberty, and at the time of every menstruation. (*Handbook*, 205.)

were about twelve or thirteen years of age, and had not as yet menstruated. If a girl began to menstruate in the school, she was sent home, and an individual ceremony held over her. The purpose of the school was to make doctors out of the girls, although only three or four at the most became sucking doctors.

The chief instructed the girls during their six months' sojourn in the school. Two middle-aged women doctors were there to assist him. These women were called *tokañ wanyani* (long-ago old-teachers). A firetender was in constant attendance.

This school was not considered dangerous, because neither ghosts nor Nagaitco visited it. The people from the village were allowed to come in the evening and watch the girls dance.

The girls lay in a row in the dance house and were covered with deer hides. They were not allowed to sleep in the daytime. They had to use the scratching stick. The usual food was furnished the pupils; that is, scant quantities of acorn soup, *pinole*, and water. The mornings were devoted to lessons given by the chief. In the evenings the girls were either given further instruction, or else they were made to get up and dance the doctors' dance. They were allowed to sleep only from midnight until morning.

When a girl was forced to leave the dance house to satisfy her needs, she was led by one of the women doctors. She wore an acorn pounding basket over her head at such a time to prevent her looking around.

While in the school the girls wore the customary double apron. In the evening when they danced they had their foreheads blackened.

Some of the girls in the school obtained dreams from the spirits (*nacik*). These spirits answered the doctors when they called to them in the school. After such dreams the girl had the power of putting her hands in the fire and playing with coals. Then she got up, as if in a spell, and ran around the fire singing the songs the spirit had taught her. Finally she fell down, and blood poured from her mouth and nose. If a girl failed to obtain the proper dream, a feather was sometimes stuck down her throat to induce the blood to flow. The dream could then come to the novice sucking doctor.

The girls in the school were given instruction concerning the world and its creation. They were told about Nagaitco and the ghosts. They were told not to drink water from deer licks or they would turn into deer. They were told not to break any of the menstruation taboos or to look around when they were on the lake. If they did they would

see a giant snake with horns and feathers (cusnes). The snake would kill them. He would seize the girl, have intercourse with her, and she would die. The girls were told that when they were out of doors they should not look south, or they would see the big deer. They were also taught many kinds of songs for curing and for averting danger.

The graduates from the girls' schools were sucking doctors, or singing doctors (cele). They sang at the time of a sucking cure. Others were taught to dance with the cocoon rattles at the time of a cure (nacil nakut cele, dancing for singing). All graduates could assist at the time of a cure. Certain of the girls in the school were taught to be bear doctors, if there were bear doctors in these girls' families. The construction and use of the costume, however, was something taught by a relative outside of the school.

At the end of the term there was the usual feasting and dancing.

[Curtis, 14:11, on boys' high school (abstracted): Annually, midsummer, initiates (tienañ), 12-16 years old, led by teacher (kaçguni) and another man to solitary place where bodies smeared with charcoal. Remained 3 days; instructed in mythology, origin of customs (mortuary, shamanistic, puberty). They returned to village; marched single file into ceremonial house, sat right of door. People assembled; teacher exhorted pupils. After, at river, boys washed off charcoal; returned to house, feasted. In winter, boys stayed in ceremonial house 4 months; instructed in tribal lore. Last day people assembled; each boy recited bit of learning; feast.]

The preliminary training in the hills is of interest, as it corresponds with the method of training doctors among the Wailaki. I did not obtain any information of this kind among the Kato, but I have no doubt it is correct, for such customs are similar to those of the Coast Yuki.³⁷

Curtis failed to obtain a good account of the actual proceedings which took place inside the dance house at the time of the high school. The only value of the following abstracted rendition is merely as a check on my material.

[Curtis, 14:10. Society of old men performed Teunigulsin ceremony in winter in ceremonial house. Initiates remained inside 4 months; members came, went as pleased. Tricks (like materializing man out of smoke; throwing member out of smokehole; dragging man into embers of fire) performed; women not admitted; some men paid admission.]

It appears from Curtis' account, that the Northern Maidu and Central Miwok "Creeper Dance" made its way to the Kato. The diffusion occurred through the Pomo, and I have already given a description of this ceremony, the damaxai, for the Eastern Pomo.³⁸

³⁷ As recorded in Gifford's field notes.

³⁸ Folkways, 388.

Among the Kato, the performance occurred as follows:

[Curtis, 14:10 (abstracted). Society of magicians performed Chustinpulpateg (chustin, lounging about) ceremony in summer in ceremonial house; initiates (usually 10 annually) remained inside 6 days, after which people assembled for exhibition: Initiate danced on hollow half log, 10 feet long, convex surface uppermost, making resounding noise; another, sang; third went to center post which was slippery (had been smoothed, rubbed with soap plant), climbed feet foremost, drawn upward by unseen ropes; at top hung, head downward, in air; suddenly dropped, turned in mid-air, landed on feet.]

DOCTORS

The three kinds of doctors among the Kato were the sucking doctors, the singing and dancing doctors, and the bear doctors. All the doctors had to be graduates of the high school. Spirit impersonation, which was practiced only for therapeutic purposes, was entirely in the hands of the singing and dancing doctors. The only spirits impersonated were Nagaitco, Teenes, and the ghosts. The impersonation of Teenes was of rare occurrence.

Sickness was divided into two main categories: outside sickness (fright sickness) and inside sickness. The singing and dancing doctors attended to the first variety, and the sucking doctors to the second. While the two varieties of doctors worked together, the sucking doctor always attended the patient first to diagnose the case. If possible, he, himself, effected the cure by sucking. He first cut the aching part with a piece of flint, then sucked out some blood and spat it into a basket. The basket was carried away in order to remove the sickness. The "pain" removed was sometimes alive, like a little worm. It was sometimes a piece of flint which had been shot into the patient by a ghost or a poisoner.³⁹

Doctoring was called yatekinolos (bring-him-down) when it was a matter of spirit impersonation. Spirits were summoned only for severe sickness or in case of an epidemic. Nagaitco was the chief spirit called upon in curing. In order to effect a cure by means of spirit impersonation, the patient was either taken into the dance house or into a brush house. The women were not supposed to see Nagaitco at work. Twelve men, called kuleut, went up into the mountains to look for Nagaitco. These men were all doctors, and wore black stripes across their foreheads. Four of these doctors continually kept singing

³⁹ There are no doctors left among the present-day Kato. Martinez, my informant, lamented the fact that she could no longer call for a sucking doctor when she was ill, but had to depend on the white medicine. "When an Indian doctor came," she said, "he laid his hand on the aching spot and called on Nagaitco, and the pain stopped then and there. The white doctor comes and does nothing. He just stands and looks at you."

Nagaitco songs, and dancing. The Nagaitco song went: ha ino, ha ina, yo ha, ha ino. The other eight men devoted all their energy to looking for the god.

Finally Nagaitco answered from far up in the mountains. Then he came down, surrounded by the twelve doctors. He seemed to be walking on air, and he kept revolving and flitting from place to place. Sometimes he turned around so quickly that the wind he created knocked one of his escorts down.

Upon entering the dance house Nagaitco circled it in the proper manner and then approached the patient. He walked over the patient straddling him, and going from head to foot four times. After this the god removed the stick from his head, and walked around the patient with this four times. Nagaitco talked in a secret language and made a queer noise, u u u u, in a thin high voice. Finally he retreated to the mountain with his escort of twelve men, who later came back singing. After Nagaitco had taken his departure, the sucking doctor entered the house, and sucked. Then the patient was carried home.

The next day, if the sick man was no better, he was again carried into the dance house, and the sucking doctor sang the Nagaitco song over him. Then he was returned home.

If the patient refused to recover, after all this treatment, Nagaitco had again to be summoned from the hills. This time he picked up the sick man and danced with him.

Four days after the final appearance of Nagaitco the patient's family gave a big feast. They then paid the sucking doctor as much as they could afford, there being no set price. They paid the doctor in charge of the case even if, in the meantime, the sick man had died.

Sometimes Nagaitco was not called in personally for a cure, but an effigy of Nagaitco was used. This, however, was done only in an emergency. If twelve doctors were not available, and an Indian was near death, three or four doctors undertook to cure him in the following manner. A stick with condor feathers on the end was used. This stick was called *ketaltnes*, sharp heels (the nickname of Nagaitco). The doctors carried the stick around the patient four times, and up and down him four times. They called out, "haña ye, haña ye" (that is he, that is he!). The cure was said to be effective only if the person actually believed that the stick was the god Nagaitco in person.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ In all the impersonation cures the adult male patient surely must have known that the god was not a real spirit, and sometimes he must have known the actual name of the impersonator. Yet, if he wished to be cured, he *had* to believe that he was in touch with the supernatural. My informant, Gill Ray, gruffly refused to even discuss the matter. "It is like your Christian Science," he said.

One of the last summons that Nagaitco received occurred just before the Americans came into California. An epidemic of whooping cough (*kastes yaye*, cough gone) prostrated the elder children among the Kato. When Nagaitco arrived from the mountains a long feathered basket was obtained, and the children were pulled through it. After this the basket was taken to the mountains and beaten to pieces. This was thought to destroy the disease.

When a ghost was brought in to work a cure the performance was carried on in the open. All the people in the village were allowed to witness it, and the performance was said to tone up their general constitution. Thus, there was but little difference between a four-day dancing ceremony, such as was held by the Eastern Pomo, and a doctoring ceremony of the Kato.

Four doctors went out in the woods and secretly dressed up a fifth doctor as a ghost. They put feathers on his head, and striped him yellow, red, and black. Then the four doctors came back to the sick man or woman. They took the patient out of his house and sang and danced around him, shaking their cocoon rattles. Then they yelled for the ghost, and the ghost answered from behind the bushes. Next the ghost peeped out from behind the brush, and then slipped back in again. He then came all the way out, but immediately ran back. He did this four times. Finally he emerged, and danced up to the place where the patient was lying. He ran around the patient four times, and then he straddled him as Nagaitco did in his treatment. The ghost had a little white switch with feathers on it, and he waved this over the patient. The stick was called *cuñ bul nacinak*, stick for doctors. Next the ghost clutched the patient and shook him. Then he ran back into the brush.

Teenes, as already remarked, was but rarely impersonated. If a person became frightened by a dream in which he had seen Teenes, this god had to be summoned. A doctor was painted red and white to represent the rainbow. He wore no clothing and used the bullroarer (*telbut*) to simulate the noise of thunder. It was bigger than the bullroarers used in the ghost initiation, and made a deeper hum.

In general, the method employed to cure fright sickness among the Kato, as among the Pomo, was to make an image of the object which had frightened the patient, and by another and similar shock, to effect a cure. If a person had been frightened by a strange fish or squirrel, a copy of the fish or squirrel was made, the sound of the animal imitated, and the sick man brought to his senses. The image of the feathered serpent was likewise used for this purpose. A person could also

become sick when he heard someone whom he believed a ghost, singing. In such a case the doctor had to repeat the song. Whatever frightened the Indian got inside of him and worked its way through his system. When the doctor showed the patient the image, he sang the Nagaitco song at the same time to work the cure.

Curtis gives a very full account of Kato shamanism, which I give in summarized form:

[Curtis, 14:14. 3 classes shamans: etien (removed disease by sucking; supernaturally-acquired power), nachuLna (cured illness caused by imaginary creatures by dressing, acting grotesquely), chgalyic (not healers, but restored victims of "outside people"; foresaw future in dreams); last 2 acquired power through dreams. When village old men wanted new "sucking doctor" (because shaman's death; waning power), active, retired shamans took young man (with his consent) to retreat in hills where he stripped; shaman, chosen as his instructor ("father"), covered him with charcoal paste, thrust quill end of buzzard wing feather far down his throat (tip visible); prayed. Other shamans sat in row, listening; after some time, said, repeatedly: "It is growing hot in the stomach. You had better take it out." Initiator drew out feather. Sometimes blood trickled from throat; this good sign because when sucking, diseases from patients unable to enter throat; otherwise sickness might enter stomach. All returned home. Advertised new medicine man who was called at first when sickness not serious; instructor accompanied. In doctoring, shaman beseeched spirits of various mountains, Nagaitco (called by shamans C'ta'cuñ, my father of all), and Tcenés for assistance.]

I cannot agree with the statement that "the etien became medicine men by instruction, not by supposedly supernatural agencies." Among the Kato, as among the other tribes of the region, the older medicine men merely aided the candidate to acquire supernatural power. The singing and dancing doctors, however, acquired their profession by instruction and not through supernatural power, and Curtis has stated the reverse. According to my accounts, the first doctors' dance took place in the school, and not in the hills. However, further instruction might have been given in the hills.

Curtis has obtained some very interesting material on the use of spirit impersonation by the tienañ, or high school graduates.

[Curtis, 14:16 (abstracted). When nachuLna summoned, several went to forest; dressed grotesquely (large baskets on heads, strange objects hanging from ears, slabs of wood instead of clothes); returned to patient. Head shaman pointed to each in turn; asked patient if that was the one who frightened him sick. Patient indicated one; believed to recover then because he saw creature, realized its harmlessness.

If shamans said Nagaitco caused sickness, following performed: Incantations by shamans, answering call from forest, appearance of Nagaitco impersonator (confederate of shamans) walking backward so not to see people (death resulted from his glance). Impersonator approached patient, walked 4 times around him, each time feeling patient's head; shamans grasped sticks, drove him back

to forest where supposed to imprison him in hollow tree, admonish him not to molest, frighten villagers. Shamans returned to patient; feasted. Beads, other valuables, hung about as Nagaitco's reward, taken by head shaman. During such performances villagers enjoined not to walk in forest lest Nagaitco encountered. Patient exposed under brush shelter at forest edge; women, children kept away. Medicine men sang; one, blackened face, kept time with split-elder baton.

Sometimes person had insane fit which attributed to encounter in night with taikheñ ("outside people"; black, small stature). NachuLna summoned; cured by singing, shaking rattles, beseeching taikheñ. Several taikheñ appeared (or it was pretended); shot at by shamans; one fell, others disappeared. Shamans leaped upon taikheñ, covered it with brush, carried it to secluded spot. Patient recovered, but subject to fit recurrences when wandered about at night, shouting, singing; dreamed of future.]

POISONERS

Not much information was received on this subject. It is probable that poisoning was one of the subjects taught in the high schools. Doctors were able to shoot "pains" into their enemies. It was always considered dangerous to pass behind a doctor. A doctor once swallowed my informant, Martinez, because she had passed behind him. After the doctor had swallowed her (her soul) he was seen to be strangling. Finally he spat up a little soft doll. The doll had hair, and arms, and legs, and was waving its limbs in the air. The doctor restored the doll to its rightful owner, but if he had wished he could have crushed it.

It was thought that if a doctor killed the "pain" which he had extracted from the patient, he also killed the poisoner who had shot the object in.

As among the Pomo, poisoners sometimes dressed up as ghosts in order to frighten their enemies and give them "outside" sickness. They came upon their victims unexpectedly in out-of-the-way places. Men, women, and children were made sick by this method.

DREAMS

If a person dreamed (naslale) it was usually considered a misfortune. If the dream was a bad one, the dreamer got up and sang when he awoke. This method of treatment was taught in all the schools. Other people avoided the dreamer for the time being. The dreamer, after he had sung for a sufficient length of time, gave a feast to the spirits he had seen in his sleep. If he did not do this, some time later he would have encountered the spirits, sickened, and perhaps have

died. The Kato had a special verb designating the act of seeing a harmful spirit: *gusan*, to see bad luck. The feathered serpent was very dangerous to dream about. To a lesser degree, ghosts, peculiar lizards, large snakes, etc., were dangerous. It was also bad luck to dream about bears. If a person had dreamed about a bear, when he awoke he sang bear songs and acted like a bear. He threw fire around, grunted, and walked on all fours.

Sexual dreams were not at all dangerous. If a young man dreamed about a woman, he felt proud of the fact and went around telling people of his dream.

PRAYERS

The Kato were in the habit of making frequent prayers. They prayed before rising, before going to bed, and before eating. A simple form of grace was:

cunka nadic cuñ sta', I-wish eat good father.

Before rising the correct formula was:

cunka ictake dja, I-wish get-up I-wish.

A sneeze meant good luck. It also meant that someone was talking about you. When a Kato sneezed, he prayed:

kuena dja sta', let-me-live I-wish father.

BEAR DOCTORS

Both men and women were taught in the high schools the art of traveling in bear skins (*noni cesbi tulac*, bear-skin travel). The actual fashioning of the bear-skin, however, was taught by an elder relative who was a bear doctor. The use of the word "bear doctor" is perhaps incorrect for the Kato, since the skin was worn for the sole purpose of killing enemies. Yet it was only doctors who could acquire the magical powers—rapid flight and invulnerability—imparted by the hide.

In order to make the bear disguise, the hide was first removed from a grizzly bear. A yew stick (*goc*) was used for the backbone, and the ribs were fashioned from wild plum berry (*kiñ*) sticks. The skin was sewed up at the belly. The tongue of the bear was made of abalone shell. A string was attached to the tongue in order to make it movable. One nostril was kept clear, and one filled with pitch. When the bear doctor became angry he made a grunting sound through the open nostril. The feet of the bear were made of sticks woven

together so that their imprint left bear tracks. The bear doctor carried a basket full of mixed manzanita and pinole. He dropped some of the mixture from time to time. Indians were supposed to mistake this for bear excrement.

Bear doctors killed only the enemies of the Kato and were therefore held in high repute among the people. They had sharp pieces of flint sticking out of both sides from their elbows and noses. When they forced a man down they kept him pinned with their forefeet and ground him to pieces, grunting the while. They usually worked in pairs.

The hide disguise was always kept in a secret place, on a tree or in a bush far from the house. The bear skin had magical powers in itself, and it was this magic which was communicated to the wearer. While the skin was hanging on the tree it kept making noises, sometimes imitating the cry of a baby, and again the hoot of an owl. Before a man or woman could put on the skin he had to purify himself by swimming and rubbing himself with pepperwood and bay leaves.

The bear dance (*noni bul nitac*, bear for dance) was performed in the brush house before the bear doctors went out on a war expedition. This dance was taught in the high schools. It could be witnessed by everyone in the village. One or two doctors first pranced around in their bearskins. They waved their legs in the air, and grunted *hu hu hu*, like bears. Then one of the pair rushed out and obtained a huge log which he brought back under one of his arms. He allowed this to fall upon the floor of the dance house, where he worried it and pounced upon it as if it were an enemy. Finally the "bears" went outside, deposited their skins, and came back to join in the general dance.

In the war expedition the bear doctors were accompanied by six or seven warriors. Such an expedition could last for two or three months. When the bear doctors were men they often took their wives with them.

Once two bear doctors went out, taking their womenfolk. One night one of the doctors, very tired after a hard day's work, forgot to take off his bear skin before approaching his wife. Shortly afterwards the woman gave birth to a child, but it was a bear cub. The expedition made use of the cub as a decoy. When the enemy heard its whining they approached in order to capture it and were killed. The mother of the cub was ashamed to appear with her offspring in the village, so the parents deserted it in the north.

Curtis has the following account on Kato bear doctors, which I have abstracted:

[Curtis, 14:7. Swiftest runners given bearskin outfit; skins cut to fit, stitched, stiffened with yew slabs as protection against arrows. For tongue, abalone shell on deerskin thong (imitation of grizzly bear's shiny tongue) used; sometimes long obsidian flint pieces stuck in eye sockets to pierce enemy. These men carried long knives, also crooked yew staffs (to catch ankles of fleeing enemies). Sometimes accompanied war party: sent scouts to listen outside enemies' houses to learn where they would be next day; lay in wait there. Wherever deer snares, waited.]

Summer after their training, bear men, two women, war party invaded enemy's land, remained long time. Old man rubbed bear dung over abdomen of women before they left; quick birth of cubs followed. Cubs tied in brush as bait for enemy who, approaching to capture, seized by hidden bear men. Probably pair of cubs captured, used this way. Bear men (nonilsai, bear dry—allusion to drying rawhide suit ?) feared, eluded rather than resisted because of impossibility piercing armor; ate roots of plant (nonicpageco) for strength.]

DANCES

According to Curtis, common dances were held at the time of a tribal, or intertribal, feast.

[Curtis, 14:19 (abstracted). Tribal, intertribal, ceremony (Nocugukan; Cagayilcin) held in ceremonial house in winter, brush house in summer. Man, able to feed large number, notified chief who sent messengers inviting neighboring villagers. Dancing, by men, women, for nearly week; admonitory speeches by headmen (last day lengthiest. Host chief recounted creation story, institution of various customs; advised people how to live; announced grass game at which intervillage gambling contest; hunt, after 2-3 days). Both sexes wore yellowhammer tail feathers across forehead, crow feathers at back of head. Men wore feather coat, deerskin breechcloth, deerskin about waist, hips; women, deerskin skirts. Men, sometimes women, used whistles of jack-rabbit leg bones.]

Acorn dance (cintañ ene, acorn sing). By men, women, children in dance house in winter; held tanbark oak leaves, danced, sang; did not paint. Purpose: plentiful acorn crop. Chief told when dance to be held. Children taught dances at such time by chief who held out stick to each in turn; taught him steps.

Feather dance (buncbit tekot). Six men, wearing braided yellowhammer feathers, danced opposite six women carrying shredded tule; with blackened faces.

Natlos ("leading one another"), ordinary dance, held in dance or brush house by men, women, children; donned feathers around fire, singing hone e ya hu; joined hands, danced around fire. Main singer, œle, used split-stick rattle.

Necuñ by 6 men, one side of fire, 6 men or women, other side; women danced from side to side in row; men similar first; ended hopping around fire. Sang: hai hi yo, hai hi yo, hi yi hi.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Houses.—Dance house (yiteo) similar to Pomo sudatory. Used by large villages for ceremonies, dances, sweating. Certain times taboo to women, children. Neighboring villagers help construct; torn down, rebuilt after 3 winters. Center pole (banate, stand in center); smokehole (yiteo tokit, the fire konk lit; fire burning there); footdrum (djustin). Feather costumes, split stick rattles (cuns telegal), cocoon rattles (iwanto) kept under footdrum; bullroarer (telbut) in dance house.

Small brown birds (tebul), red beaks, hatched young under footdrum.

Family house (ye), small, "conical," of redwood-bark. 1 fireplace. 8-9 occupants. Average number per village, 10; village of 20 considered large. Located surrounding dance house.

Projection from doorway (tceltai) for keeping firewood dry in winter; smokehole (yunatuñ) covered with bark in rain or snow; floor, except near fireplace, strewn with dried grass which changed every 2 months because vermin; "beds" (biutiñ, of dressed deerskin hides (sometimes bear or puma skin), only furniture.

House rebuilt after 2 winters, because feared hazel rope bindings had rotted. House burnt after deaths.

[Curtis, 14:5. Circular excavation, 2 feet deep; 4 forked posts in square, front pair higher than rear to obtain slight pitch of roof, are main support. Timbers: usually drift or freshets; cut for use—no other preparation . . . 1 plate timber across rear, another across front, both supporting rafters across which lie pine or spruce slabs (split with elkhorn wedge, stone hammer); pine or spruce bark layers applied; sometimes final covering earth. Erection of sloping walls: poles leaned against small, square, smokehole roof; bases inside excavation; result similar to frustum of cone. Long grass bunched between openings of framework. Doorway: narrow opening, ground to roof. Up to 3 families inhabit, but single fireplace; 20 persons could assemble.]

Stored in house: food; fishnets, ckak (after dried); harpoons, belke (2-pronged bone barb kept detached, polished, reattached with pitch); bows, ka' sultiñ (sinew-backed war, hunting, target practice varieties), arrows, ka'; pokers (konk bul taicit, fire for poke)—kept near fire—; special sticks, cuitel, to stir acorn soup; elkhorn spoons, sak' (for men; women, mussel shell spoons, banco sut; children, same but small). Eating utensils of simpler type than Pomo; affiliations with north.

In house also: cradles, tsak; water baskets, tjungstañ; sifting basket (for acorn, pinole meal), cgac; small handled basket for scooping seeds into other baskets, bultulci; mortar hopper basket, djust, stone slab mortar, sekat, pestle, o'est (used by women pounding acorns); small rocks for cracking acorns; small blue stones (heated in acorn soup); little basket water dipper, sniet tiling; baskets storing acorns (hulled in winter, husks thrown in fire), dried fish (tunaisai), dried venison (intce), buckeye dough (lacid), clover (cestañ), soaproot stems (gosteo kwats), peppernuts (uncifi), manzanita berries (tunnue).

In winter people made bows, arrows, nets, baskets, tanned hides in ye. In summer camped outdoors, built brush houses, tsiye (4 posts erected; brush piled on top, around sides).

Brush fences at strategic positions on path to camp. Guard changed at intervals at night.

Clothing, adornment.—Men, deerhide apron (cat) front, back. Front tied in back; vice versa. In winter deer hide (cat) tied around neck; shifted to shield wearer from wind. Summer clothing dehaired; winter, hair left on. Boy started clothing about 12–13 years.

Women, deerhide apron (cayaite), long deerhide cloak (ca), tied around neck, shifted to shield wearer from wind. Apron: tassels, fringed mountain grass borders.

Girls first clothed about 4 years. Similar pattern to adult women, but fawn skin.

Sense of shame absent; men, women bathed naked together.

Before using, hides tanned: scraped with rocks until soft, then with flint; soaked; dehaired; greased with deer brains to make soft, pliable.

Tule not worn nor otherwise used because food of Cugusnes (feathered serpent).

Rabbit-skin blankets (kontaic suts yitong, rabbit-skin tied-together) spread over bed (not worn). Made: skin cut into strips which tied across 2 poles; braided with iris string; fur fabric smoothed over (weft beaten in ?) with little sticks to hide string.

Moccasins never worn (even though snowing).

Men, women wore hair long; both used iris string hair nets (cibisañ). When boy began deer hunting received first hair net from father along with bow. Hair net placed in position then 2 bones (sung si walkuts, bone hair stick-through) stuck through net and hair.

Both sexes wore deer-hide bracelets (gane yetsits tai, arm on-it around-it) and anklets (culkai, white). For dancing, love making hairy side exposed; ordinary work, smooth side out.

All had nasal septum and ears pierced in childhood. Not puberty ceremony but so nose and ear ornaments could be worn. Nose bones (bunc bista, nose in-it) decorated on both ends with abalone shell. Ear decorations (cwe bista, ear in-it): carved bird-leg bones. Wealthy used crane's (acwo) leg bone.

Shell bead necklaces worn by men, women at dances; by chiefs on trading expeditions.

Quivers, tasuts (common, deerskin; finer, otter-skin), slung over back. Beads kept in quivers in house. Deer-hide sack (tele), for bow strings, flint knives, harpoon heads, dried buckeye fire-drill (bul yulagos, to bore fire), dried moss, carried on back; sews with native twine.

Men, women tattooed (yultats). Girl tattooed end first menstruation. Marks differentiated villages; considered tribal mark. Tattoo: 1 line on forehead, 5 each cheek, 3 on chin, 2–3 on chest extending to shoulders. Also lines on wrists, legs. Process took about week; deer-bone needle. Some adult men tattooed; lines much simpler; no ceremonial importance.

Utensils and technia.—Canoes not used; log raft (cung kleulits, sticks tied together), 5–6 logs lashed together, propelled with pole, for creek fishing.

Elkhorn wedges (djustcote) pounded with stone maul (bul nonyilsil, for hitting), in felling trees, stripping bark (similar to other Calif. Athabascans).

Rope (betL), string (nunteut) made from iris (catsi) fiber by men in ye, wintertime. Fresh iris scraped with smooth mussel shell (having 2 holes for fingers); fiber extracted, immediately wound around little finger. Continued day; spinning next 2 days. Operator placed fiber over knee, assured all strings straight, taut; simple twist. As many strands as desired spun together. Deer

sinew spun into thread if for war or hunting bow. Rope utilized: nets, deer rope, rabbit traps, bird snares, tree snares (gray squirrels).

Only elderly men smoked pipes (bi tlu tanañ, in smoke drinking); in dance or living house; doctors did not cure with tobacco smoke. Tobacco, tLutanañ, grew wild by rivers.

Money: Clamshell (yo), flint (sali), magnesite (yolteik). No dentalium (but found among Wailaki). Shells collected at Shelter Cove and Westport. Old men working outdoors in summer, at home in winter, perforated shells with deerbone (tsuñ), put on stick, ground down on sandstone. Bead strings measured (hai te ye cit, to yard out) from nose to length of arm. Purchased deer, bows, arrows, etc.; no set prices (Pomo set prices). Flint, magnesite valued by size, quality.

Musical instruments: whistles, footdrum, split-stick rattle, cocoon rattle, acorn string, musical bow.

Whistles (tulnik) dangerous; doctors used in singing, dancing; carried around doctor 4 times before used. Double whistle (tulnik kleyulit, whistle tied-together), 2 bones fastened together, hole in each on top, each side different tone, pitch used to stop up ends; Nagaiteo's (Big Head) whistle effected cures.

Split-stick rattle (cuñ telegal), cocoon rattle (iwanto) used in dances; doctoring. Former emblematic of chieftaincy; chief (nunkatinen) carried when on business (directing women to carry food to dance house, etc.). If chief away from function because sickness or wife menstruating, gave rattle to substitute.

Flute (telbul), of elderberry, 6 holes, end stopped with pitch, 1½ feet long; end whittled down for mouthpiece. Used by lovers.

Acorn string (tabi telbul, rattle in mouth) held in mouth, struck with fingers; musical bow (cele, singing), only 1 string, which struck with small stick; informant claimed known before whites. Both toys used by anyone.

Food quest.—[From Curtis, 14:6: animals not eaten: predaceous birds, serpents, most carnivores (grizzly bear, coyote, wolf, weasel, mink, otter). Eaten: black bear, fox, wildcat, puma. Staple foods: dried salmon; soil products.

Food plants: 5 species oak: 8 nut, fruit trees; 12+ root-bearing, 17+ seed-bearing trees.]

Deer (canaseec; venison, intee) chief meat supply. Hunted: bow, arrow; trapped. Dogs used. Sometimes deer chased into lake, shot with bow. Trap: sapling bent over, attached to noose. Deerhead disguise (cenuñ) aided hunter to approach. Singing night before hunt. Elk (djesteo) hunted like deer. Belief: angelica put in elk's footprints hampered speed.

Deer meat, fish, dried in summer; stored in house. Never salted. Venison either smoked in sun or dried in racks over manzanita wood fire in house.

Bears (noni) hunted in fall because fat then. Grizzly bear (cilkeco) hunted because skins necessary to bear doctors. War leader, chief grizzly bear hunter, first to enter cave; drove bear out with club; other hunters shot emerging bears (cf. Yuki, Handbook, 174). Cinnamon bear (tole); black bear (noni so, "blue bear.").

Puma (witco), beavers (cun tiac, tree chew) not hunted—avoided; mink (sate) valuable; killed with club, arrow, fishnet; eaten; fur wrapped around head at dances.

Raccoons (tetau) tracked into cave, tree, hollow log; smoked out; clubbed; eaten. Skunks (sliigiet) obtained likewise; hit over head to forestal odor. Gray squirrels (dataits) snared on trees; sometimes shot with slings, arrows; clubbed. Ground squirrels (tloñkai), rats smoked out; clubbed. Moles (yai in tañ) shot

with arrows as emerged. In winter men jumped on gopher (dastcañ) holes; clubbed animals as emerged.

Snakes not eaten. Rattlesnakes (cas) killed whenever met; clubbed because lameness result if shot with arrow. Unlucky to mention rattlesnake name. Rattlesnake songs in winter to stop rain; songs forbidden in summer. Gopher snake (seco); grass snake (nateoc); water snake (toltele).

Worms (konetco) never eaten (Pomo, Yuki on contrary regarded as delicacies). Creation story: Konetco made world.

Caterpillars (kulteine) eaten (by Pomo, also). Certain species collected on ash tree every 10-15 years; gathered on leaves, brushed into water, drowned, dried, cooked in sand, eaten. Surplus dried in sun, stored. (Pomo similar; Folkways, 164.)

Grasshoppers (atits) killed by burning grass (as among Pomo); large-sized reparched. Method caused war (Kroeber, A Kato War, 394).

Wild bees (se tusna, rock yellowjackets) driven from hive with torch. Honey (suntoske) scooped out with basket; eaten plain. Yellowjackets (tusna) smoked out; larvae eaten. Hornets' (tatlegaitco) nest submerged in water; broken, adults drowned; larva roasted, eaten in house.

Birds (takliñ) eaten (by Pomo also): quail (dict); robin (na' coka); bluejay (sustaicun); jailbird (sustaicun co; bluejay family); grouse (djustico); eagle (tisbil); young owl (bistloyeek); young chickenhawk (sectunc); yellowhammer (buncbil); pigeon (ki'int); woodpecker (tlalki); "woodehuck" (teunteLiko); young crane (seLewan). Turkey vulture (tecoyotun) not eaten because offal-eater. Hummingbird sacred (Pomo also); named "teenes" for thunder god; when hovered around person belief bird doctoring.

Climbed trees for young owls, yellowhammers, chickenhawks. Owls shot. Cranes flying low hit with stick. Small birds trapped: with string and pegs or basket set in snow.

Fish taken from lakes, streams, ocean. Salmon, most important, caught with dam, nets, harpoons; no first-rite. Two winter months named for salmon runs. Hookbill salmon (tacehel) spawned winter. Caught in spring: unknown species (klok); steelhead trout (cucik, bushes red); smaller variety of last (taltek, buds come out). Taltek ran March, April, but January, February named for them.

Angelica roots, soaproot thrown in streams to stupefy fish. Brook trout (kloyagaitc, white little fish) caught thus in summer. Lake trout caught: worm tied to long deer sinew; trout swallowed worm, pulled to surface. Lamprey eels (beliñ) caught: deer bone tied to crooked stick; eels thus hooked out; fire built side creek to aid in seeing eels under water. Before fishing men threw gravel, small sticks into water. Coyote when human being did thus; wished all to do likewise.

Surf fish (kloyac), redbags (walitciñ) caught with hand nets. Starfish (lakti), "abalone sausage" (cañtañ), seaweed (lat) gathered, dried, eaten in winter. Kelp (tekusli) valued for salt. Abalone (yot ciling, meat shell) valued for meat, shell. Octopus (toklonit) caught on rocks, washed ashore.

Bullheads (colo) cast ashore dead, eaten; claimed not harmful because salt preserved them.

Traded, fished on Coast Yuki seashore.

Acorns (teuntañ), chief food, made into bread (teuntañ tast) soup (teuntañ ske). Tree climbed, acorn knocked down with hooked pole. If difficult to climb, acorns dislodged with stones thrown from slings.

(Kroeber, Handbook, 156: Acorns, moldy, blackened by long immersion in water, used.) Common to N. Athabascans. Acorns charred in fire, soaked 2-3 weeks (1 week if moldy), shelled. "Chestnuts" charred in fire, shelled. Acorn meal leached with hot water in sand bed; buckeye similar, more thorough because of poison.

Pinole (cala) made chiefly from yellow "sunflower" seeds; sometimes manzanita berries (tunnuc) mixed with pepperwood nuts (anciñ). Seeds roasted over coals in basket; sifted; fanned in another basket to rid of chaff. Eaten: mixed with water or dry.

Clover (cestañ) gathered in baskets by women in spring; flowers, leaves eaten. Made pinole from seeds in summer. Clover varieties: eltiñ (carrot seed taste); tanel (flat leaves; peppery); nakontol (salty); salco (parsnip taste).

Many tubers gathered in fields: "wild potatoes," minyetau (*Ammosia esculenta*?) roasted in ashes; wild onions (butlats) eaten raw; wild carrots (kucines) cooked or eaten raw; wild parsnips (sauldilbai).

Eaten: strawberries (gic); elderberries (gonso); raspberries (nonaklite); blackberries (koc); huckleberries (saltel); manzanita berries; madroña berries (when sweet); various mushrooms (acwe).

"Black" or impure "salt" (kletok) obtained at Westport (Coast Yuki territory). Kelp (tekusli) dried, burned, residue: salt. In winter kelp taken home, dried, chewed. "White" (moist rock) salt obtained north of Westport; probably in salt deposits; carried in baskets on camping trips where baked hard under sand.

Sugar: sugarpine (natil) bark scraped, sap trickled into attached basket.

Like Pomo and other Californians, never extreme famine. Intervillage sharing, esp. when crops poor; persons overlooked felt insulted.

Cooking.—Broiling over hot coals (only acorn soup boiled). Meat broiling (tee'elnai); fish (detunac). Tough fish broiled *between* hot rocks. Insides of large fish cooked separately, eaten afterwards; small fish, uncleaned, cooked in hot ashes. Meat broiled on coals or with spit; never in ashes. Bird eggs (takliñ wecit) cooked in hot ashes.

Rabbit, hair scorched off, pounded with acorn pestle on flat rock; meat, intestines roasted.

Entire deer carcass eaten. Even bones, hoofs, head, ears pounded, cooked, spread out, eaten with acorn mush; suñ gusut (bone pounded-up). Fish skin and bones pounded into meal; eaten with acorn soup.

Dogs, pets.—Dogs (naLgi) valuable—\$40 in beads before whites—used in deer, raccoon, bear hunting; present to girl's family entitled her as wife. All named: example, seL kai naitilyaik, rock white went-around-its-neck. Death: wrapped in deerhide, buried with shell money (more if female), own eating basket; family wept.

Pets (ta incoñ yulciñ, mouth good make): cottontail rabbits, birds, coyotes (bred with native dogs). Not kept: fawns because bad luck; bears because attracted bigger bears.

Hygiene.—Bathed morning, evening with soaproot (gosteo); dried body with pepperwood leaves, hair with deer hide. Usually no previous sweat-bath. Soaproot crushed with rock, sap used (previous to whites, Wailaki used soaproot to wash corpses only). Mouths rinsed, ran fingers over teeth. Fingernails, toenails cleaned with small sticks, cut with flint, filed with sandstone. Fingernails, long to scratch out animals' eyes; helpful in quarrels. Pepperwood nuts chewed, spit into hands, rubbed on face (removed dirt, preserved com-

plexion), hair (added luster, kept in position). No skin diseases. Hands washed before eating. Baskets washed frequently at creek.

Native medicine.—Considered unnecessary to call doctor for ordinary sickness. Every Indian knew many cures; some specialized in surgery, midwifery, medicine. Gill Ray (informant) skilled in setting bones.

Headache. Hazelswitch basket coated with pitch, placed on patient's head, set alight; removed, broken on ground. Sometimes head cut with flint; bled.

Rattlesnake bite. Bite cut with flint, bled; angelica poultice; rattlesnake songs.

Toothache (cwo go yetwite, tooth worm bite). Hole made in gum, warm stick inserted to make bleed. Cause: redheaded worm inside tooth; sometimes crawled out through hole.

Stomach trouble (butbi tuncat, stomach hurts). Doctor sucked stomach, back above kidneys; if no relief gave water mixed with blue clay (klete batau) as emetic.

Arrow wound. Doctor sucked out flint (if inside); covered wound with pitch. Fine feathers put in wound to draw together. Infected cut poulticed with wormwood leaves.

Broken arm, leg. Set, bandaged with deer sinew on splint.

Earache (cwe yetlat ear shoot). Doctor sucked behind ear; pus ran from ear; cleaned with stick.

Rheumatism (neta tuncat, legs hurt). Cures: cutting; bleeding; sweating on hot bed (like for girl's first menses).

Diarrhoea (teyecit). Infusion of manzanita leaves tied up bowels.

Gas on stomach (butilyol). Infusion of wormwood (cufitan) drunk; beneficial for colds. For boils, leaves mashed in water, boil poulticed.

Eye trouble. Lacking, formerly.

Epidemic. Survivors purified with ceremony (cena silsas, sickness sweep out): decorated houses with beads, ornaments for Nagaitco to see; ate outside; left food on ground for Nagaitco; extinguished fire, strew hot ashes, fire around house (scare off sickness), prayed: tec nona baic acteye, coals roll-out roll I am here ("I am the only one left here, all the coals have rolled out," i.e., sickness everywhere in village, petitioner wishes to remain well). New fire of pepperwood made on hearth; house swept.

Property.—Village owned dance house, doctor's paraphernalia; family owned living house; men, their bows, arrows, flints, deer hides, hair nets, bracelets, anklets, harpoons, nets, ropes; women, their clothing, pounding baskets, soup rocks, water baskets. Some deerhide beds owned by men, others, by women. House inhabitants owned food, dogs (sometimes killed, buried with deceased). No private ownership songs, stories. Children owned their toys, clothing, decorations. No information on privately owned trees. Hunting by visiting tribes allowed; brush burning resented. Kato, Yuki both claimed Black Rock flint deposit; caused strife (Kroeber, A Kato War, 396).

Division of labor between sexes.—Men, hunters, fishers, fighters, house-builders; carried hides, baskets, food when traveling; made string, rope (also by-products), fish traps, storage baskets, all clothing, rabbitskin blankets; dried, roasted meat, fish. Old men drilled money. Women, cared for children (old men if women seed-gathering); made baskets, acorn soup; carried heaviest burdens on travel; gathered bark, covered houses with it; held fishing net strings while husbands speared (childless wives only); gathered pinole, seed, clover, wild potatoes. Everybody gathered acorns. Two scouts, with bows, arrows, preceded travelers.

Division of labor within tribe.—Men holding special offices also did usual work. Scouts (wanisan, watcher) took turns at night; some traveled ahead, guarded boundaries. Artificial boundaries (brush fences) constructed where land intersected hostile territory (as Yuki). Black Rock served as natural boundary.

Messengers (cuñ natsis, stick bearers) carried news of dances; wars; snake, bear victims. Carried bundle of sticks, delivered to neighboring chief; each day 1 stick removed; when exhausted, time of feast, dance, etc. (likewise among Pomo; cf. Folkways, 342).

Fast runner both messenger and scout. (Examples: Sines (long hair), informant Martinez' grandfather, both grizzly bear fighter and war chief; Natin cilcos (faces make), Martinez' father, both scout and messenger.

All hunted, fished, except sucking doctors, chiefs (no information about chief's livelihood; cf. Pomo, Folkways, 236).

Unusually skillful deer hunters (culwe), fishermen (coget).

Trade (telga yileiñ kle yotcekit, things across pay one another).—With Athabascans (N.), Sherwood Pomo, Coast Yuki at Westport, Rock Port; reciprocal basis. When with Yuki proper, chiefs arranged time, place because not friendly enough. Messenger, bearing sticks, sent to Yuki chief; day before arranged time all village (except few middle-aged men left to guard site) took manzanita berries, acorns, tarweed, pinole, traveled to Yuki to trade for salt, abalone, mussels, surf fish; short distance from Yuki camp met by chief who removed long string beads from neck, placed on Kato chief. (This initial payment not clear; since informant certain that trading was by barter, not bead payments; cf. Pomo, bead payments, Folkways, 193.) In camp, chief welcomed visitors thus: nun sat, nun sat ne ince e, "sit down, sit down (even though) no good-place."

First evening, all went outdoors, tribes sat facing. Yuki chief said: First trade, then games; cautioned his people to behave (gambling; molestation of women caused strife often). Kato chief replied: haicuñ geniyai e, heu heu, cone, cone, "this come-out yes yes good good" (We have come here for this purpose, it is well.) Yuki chief said: kosbi telagal ocibut, "tomorrow trade much."

Next morning two villages lined (30 feet apart), faced. Visitors placed trade articles in row halfway between; likewise Yuki. Trading began, each conducting own.

Second to fifth days, games, dancing. Athletic contests between teams of both villages.

Games.—Arranged to promote contact.

Grass game, To naiueai, grass carry-around (see Pomo section).

Dice (cuñ naldel, stick throw), woman's game. 6 flat, marked, sticks, one side white, other black; thrown; fall all same side 2 points gained; 3 black, 3 white, 1 point; otherwise, dice to opponent. Pot, 6 points.

Cunkla (variety of grass game; similar, Wailaki). Bunch sticks in each hand, 1 stick marked. Opponent guesses hand holding marked.

Shinny (nadjai), played with L-shaped stick (cumasolgal), ball (butt end tan oak, knocked off; smoothed; rounded in fire; seasoned); family against family or men against women. 2 goal posts each end; 1 goal wins. Sometimes women use cumasolgal with net on end.

Throwing stick (nacilgai). Plain, stout stick; thrown overhand, allowed to run on hard ground. Men, women play.

Forked stick (betcolgec). Pierced bone, attached to stick by string, thrown, caught again on stick.

Bark spinning (diste nailots). Bark with 2 holes; string through. String pulled, bark whirls, hums.

Stone filliping (nateil toñ). Small stone thrown for distance; index finger used.

Athletic contests:

Running races (tLa ya uts, youths run together); by men, sometimes women.

Target practice (tLa djo uts, youths shoot together): shooting at stick for distance, height (alongside tree for measure).

Wrestling (cilcut). Men versus men; women versus women. Throw not necessary on back.

Swimming (tLa naheyil le, youths swim one-another): racing, diving (to ye naheyil le, water under swimming one-another). Swimming on back for speed (nirik ke nahele, back your swim). Holding breath under water contests (yite acañ cetañ, breath in-you keep-it).

Young boys shot with small bows, arrows. Girls made dolls (se cki, rock child): rolled deer hide over stick; carried them on back in cradle made by mother. Boys, girls played "going camping," imitating elders; played with acorn tops (nuntacilci, make it dance), skipping rope (belciñ kwetis no ultac, rope over jump); hopped on one leg for distance (kLa naiya hulcak, for-you along hopping).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Chieftaincy.—Requirements for chief (nunkatinen): good-natured: opposed fights, quarrels; fluent orator; doctor's school graduate. Duties: instructor in elementary boys' school, girls' doctoring school; arrange dances, feasts. Each evening from dance house roof told people to be good to one another; not fight. No one talked then; 2 old men applauded, chimed in: "hu, hu" (yes, yes).

Chief supervised dance house etiquette. Person entering had to circle fire counterclockwise, then clockwise. If mistake made, chief jumped up, down on footdrum; culprit paid chief (at center pole) beads; if did not have beads, other property (clothing); if refused payment, objected chief's orders, handed stick (si ke teutsik, to punch a little stick off); then obedience certain because bad luck (bitten by snake, clawed by bear) to keep stick.

Chief's family esteemed. Chief's absence, daughter advised, gave orders. Wife supervised village women: when to bathe; how to fix hair; making baskets, gathering food; wartime, led women to obtain pinole, clover, wild potatoes.

[Curtis, 14:9. Each village 1 chief; some 2. Patrilineal succession; if no sons, people by common consent, without voting, selected best-fitted man of band. He, people's adviser . . . when planned anything important consulted elders who expressed opinions. Chief yielded if majority opposed.]

Childbirth.—Pregnancy known by menstruation ceasing. Intercourse discontinued; usual work continued. No food taboos (father or mother). Old woman assisted childbirth; sucking doctor, if complicated. Woman lay, arms extended, held, for delivery. Umbilical cord cut with flint knife; cord, placenta buried in ground. Mother placed over coals (like for first menses); child washed, warm water.

After childbirth: mother stayed in bed one month, no meat, fish 2 months, did not sleep with husband until child weaned; father went to another house, could not hunt, fish, gamble, war, one month, no food taboos.

Leaves of plant having 2 seed balls rubbed on stomach of childless married woman for boy; white flowered plant used for girl. Birth prevention: drank water from abalone shell; or placed stick across stream, bent down on it, drank. Single women taught in school to avoid dolls, infants because contagious; might become pregnant. Boys taught to keep away from babies, in both schools; if baby wet brother rheumatism might result; caution not always observed.

“Big Head” (Nagaitco, Great Traveler) feared; made women pregnant by touching. His wife childless, so once lay opposite, feet touching; put his foot between wife’s spread legs; girl born. This told in girls’ school; impressed girls with need avoiding Nagaitco.

High school boy, noisy, disobedient. Nagaitco made pregnant. Gave birth through anus (suffering pain) to white feather bunches which rose up, some human, others dogs, named themselves (bear, acorn names), walked about with spears, vicious, anxious to fight; frightened, disturbed sleep of villagers. Father asked them to leave; went into mountains; 30–40 of them. [Curtis, 14:13. Man disbeliever in Nagaitco, took 2 boys squirrel hunting against village warning. Saw squirrel appear from under rock; killed it; others appeared; killed. Rock rose gradually; they walked under, killing squirrels. Rock fell, crushed. Villagers tried raising rock, failed; called Nagaitco who pried it up with end of creststick. Gathered remains; buried.]

Care of children.—Deformed or twins (naltiñ) killed at birth; latter by breast-stamping because ashamed of them.

Baby lay naked in cradle; washed daily, warm water; skunk grease (stigitc kwa) rubbed on to keep away sickness; seaweed coals rubbed on head for hair-growth. Rite: child held over fire, carried around it 4 times.

Cradle lined with fawn hide, filled with moss which changed readily; deerhide covering; deerhide strap, placed over head, or shoulders of carrier. Beads on stick (nak stañ, eyes rest-on), over cradle; plaything.

Larger babies tied by left hand to basket in house so could not fall in fire while playing. Child beginning to walk given rattle, stulgal (basketry framework; stone inside); if girl, clothed with deerhide cape, apron. Weaned now; semi-raw meat given to suck (raw meat also substitute when mother milkless). When doctoring going on in house, elders observed meat taboo; child did not. Charcoal mark across forehead as protection for him then.

Cradle songs:

un un un . . . soltcianc nabi nan tlaule nañ kuntelbi tesyaye, sleepy old woman eye sleep again your mother valley gone. (“Sleepy old woman, you have sleep in your eyes; your mother has gone to the valley.”)

soltci nabi nan tlaule, lizard eye sleep again. (“The lizard has gone to sleep in the baby’s eye.”)

Infant taught to be quiet when noise outside: mother said “abi, abi” (be quiet). When older, frightened into obedience with: “dico notlcutuk” (something will catch you). At 2–3 years taught not to wet bed; taken outside, regular intervals. Child-whipping by hand, switch; occasional. Older children not punished.

Children never allowed to see either dead or alive raccoon (called either tetau, around a creek, or lanes, long fingers) because would die.

Mana (good luck) idea not so pronounced as Pomo (Folkways, 306 ff.). Angelica rubbed on child gave good luck (cone).

Names.—Dead never mentioned; otherwise insult, relative demanded heavy fine—said: “Well, maybe it was you who killed him.”

Family names not known; possibly had them (like Pomo). Child not named before 2 winters old because if died name could not be used; named (family name ?; personal name transmitted in family ?) by family member, no ceremony; after, nicknamed, which based on looks, acts, peculiarities of self, of relatives (boy named "girl chaser" because uncle overfond of females).

Boys' names (nicknames ?): gicañ got besite (mash white acorns on knees), yotsal ta (cradle father), kacuñ (fat big), latein (hand black), lai olite (something burnt), lai kesineuñ (something standing on); girls': dabaña cets (around-mouth dirty), tolic (clover), wona kete (teeth weak), teenes naç (thunder eye), to elsaidj (grass dry).

Girls' puberty ceremony.—At first menstruation (te'nalduñ; menstruation, tnaktañ); hole dug inside house, hot stones placed in, deerhide blanket over; song first, then girl placed upon, left six days; family danced, sang, there nightly; girl raised from bed by elder women for this.

Girl used scratching stick; observed meat, fish taboos; drank water, ate acorn soup, pinole; wore coiled basket (ruptel) over head when taken outside.

After sixth day girl bathed, newly clothed; feast held, general license. Rite frequent either because enjoyed or influenced acorn crop (similar to Yuki, Handbook, 195). If no menstruating girl, one pretended (no taboos for her, however). [Curtis, 14:11. At puberty, girl began 5-months quiet, abstemious living; remained in, near house; no meat; little drinking water; did not work, fear catching cold. After period, neighbors invited to feast; women, incl. principal, danced. Final feast late night.]

Menstruating married women not placed on hot bed; ate from special utensils; could not cook for family; used scratching stick; no face-washing; no conversation with husband because bad luck in hunting, fishing.

Courtship.—Individual's affair, hence not always led to marriage. Love affairs usually with married women: gave woman 2 yards beads which she gave to own family so husband would not find out. More or less freedom with unmarried sisters-in-law.

Man, making advances, said: "Tikit?" Widow did not like to be bothered after husband's death; cried if man approached; brothers-in-law ridiculed her. Married one of them 2 winters after husband's death.

No embracing, kissing. Girls taught at school sickness results if man's breath touched faces. Women kissed babies (ta kultot, mouth kissing). Before intercourse (aciliñ; yateket) touched woman's organ (suñ).

Men's love songs:

he ni no ya he ni no

ye lentuñ cweyeki cweyeki, down slide sister-in-law

hai cuni na culktukuñ, only that-person-will-do-everything

yani, that-is-what-they-say.

Women's:

kayaye kayaye, come up come up

Yakcañtiñyi (a place name in the north)

hañ kwic, that-is-he perhaps. ("A man from the north is approaching. He may be my lover.")

Marriage.—Upon school graduation girl supposed to marry. This was before menses. Even girls not school graduates married before menses.

Boy, his relatives chose girl; boy's mother gave presents of baskets, beads, rope, bows, arrows, flint, deer hides, hair nets, shell money, pounding baskets,

pestles, to girl's parents; boy visited girl's home; crawled into bed with her in front of parents; married thus; girl's parents gave presents to boy's parents (as much or more as received); elder members of both families exchanged presents.

Marriage matrilineal; later patrilineal. Boy (kwandane), mother-in-law not allowed to look at each other because both naked; never conversed. Mother-in-law wore deerhide screen (intce suts, deer skin) on 1 side face; shield from son-in-law's glances. Boy conversed with father-in-law, however little ashamed; teased (about love affairs), joked with brothers-in-law; joked, wrestled with sisters-in-law until their marriages, then only when husbands present.

At boy's parents' home, girl (kiat), father-in-law (cantee) avoided (not so strictly as boy, mother-in-law); girl wore deer skin on side face.

Boy's parents-in-law given portion his hunting (deer), fishing efforts as return for board. After children came, couple lived alone.

Good hunters often had more than 1 wife, but not sisters; wives lived same house.

Widower supposed to marry older, or younger sister-in-law (kwetcek); if none, then sister-in-law's cousin (kwetcek). If married otherwise, deceased wife's family insulted; might kill him. Widow supposed to marry brother-in-law (kwetin) or cousin of brother-in-law.

Cousins addressed each other by brother, sister names (cf. E. W. Gifford, Calif. Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:26, 1922); never married.

Divorce.—Woman went home, took children; man did not follow, fear of being killed. If man left wife, supposed to leave her children; sometimes took few; fight resulted between him, in-laws. (Probable, certain marriages contracted, dissolved easily. Not my belief all marriages without parents' knowledge as Curtis, 14:11, claims: Marriage arranged between 2; no-one consulted. Accepted lover secretly sleeps with girl; dawn, steals away. Secret kept as long as possible (perhaps several days). Girl's parents learnt when secret out. Boy erects house. Either could separate for any reason; man kept boys; woman, girls. Children did not belong more to one side of family. Adultery caused bickerings; perhaps offender sent to new love.)

Greetings.—Upon meeting, one shouted to other, who replied: na ca i (I am walking around). First said: nanya kam, nanya kam (you have been walking around); munsut dicot cilkimut (sit-down something tell-me). Both sat, talked.

Man, returning after absence, spoke to wife: yuk nacai nani-tiai-ye (around way-around come-back). Wife: Wē (yes).

Death and burial.—After death, women smeared heads, bodies with pitch; put clay on top; cut hair. Men cut hair only. House burned. Family removed to relatives; supplied with new possessions, beads, deer hides, etc. Until after burial, mourning family used scratching stick; no cooking. After burial more distant kin could purify. Widow wore mourning tokens, sang songs, 2 winters; then could remarry.

Death away from home, body burned, ashes brought home, buried; death at home, burial with deceased's beads, blankets, deer hides, rope, flint, bows, arrows; other possessions burned with house.

[Curtis data similar, 14:12—Corpse washed, clothed in good garments, wrapped in deer skins. Men with sharp dibbles, shallow baskets, excavated on dry hillside grave (depth, man's height; even deeper); floored with poles, covered with bark, several deer skins. Corpse deposited (sometimes its trinkets, implements, too; never food), covered with bark, earth over. Entire

village present; wailed. Women, occasionally men, cut hair short: symbol, grief. Mourning ceremony for prominent held following year: on day some men built wood fire at grave; villagers cast in valued possessions (baskets, skins); token sorrow. Mourning period ended thus.]

Second burning (*nacoyilkLit*) 2 winters after burial. New baskets, deer hides, made by family, burned at grave; family wept, sang. Grave avoided for some time.

Undertakers (*coklut*, buriers), 3-4 men; received instruction in high school; considered unclean for 3-4 days before burial (watching over body). After burial, purified with pepperwood; bathed in creek.

Bereaved child jumped 4 times on grave at funeral for good luck (*cincon*).

THE COAST YUKI

The Coast Yuki occupy a position adjoining the Northern Pomo and the Kato. It is therefore to be expected that the Kuksu cult might have passed through them also on its way north. Kroeber, however, has implied that the Coast Yuki had no Taikomol cult,⁴¹ while Gifford, in a preliminary article on these people,⁴² has denied the former existence of all cults, although he stated that the Coast Yuki had the institution of the school—"a several months' confinement of young men for the teaching of tribal lore and in some cases shamanistic practices."

Fortunately both Gifford and I have been able to obtain more complete information from Tony Bell, one of the original Coast Yuki informants, and it now appears that an elementary school for boys, a high school for boys, and Kuksu curing rites existed.

BOYS' SCHOOL

The primary school, or tribal initiation, was called naclem. All boys had to go through this when they were young. The school was held in the wintertime in the dance house (hepin). The informant had never attended the school himself, and so does not know how long it lasted. Women and strangers were of course excluded. If it was true, as Kroeber writes, that very old women were allowed to witness the ceremony, the custom was exceptional to the region. The ghosts were called hulk'elel, and were painted black, white, and red. The informant saw the hulk'elel run into the dance house, and states that he was unable to see their faces. Perhaps they wore semi-masks of twigs. The bullroarer was not used in any of the Coast Yuki sacred ceremonies. The instrument was called tinem (thunder) and was openly twirled by boys to stop a thunder storm.

⁴¹ Handbook, 216.

⁴² E. W. Gifford, *The Cultural Position of the Coast Yuki*, AA 30:114, 1925.

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

The high school, or doctor's school, was called hempino (singing). Tony Bell assured Mr. Gifford that no girls were permitted in this school. He further added that women became sucking doctors through having dreams, and that they were never confined in the dance house. Individual girls, however, were taken into the dance house at the time of their first menstruation (the informant, no doubt, meant soon after this event) and were given instruction by the chief.

The purpose of the high school, which was attended by a selected group of boys and young men, was instruction in tribal lore and songs. Certain of the students were made sucking doctors (hetim). The duration of the school is not known. Probably a student could attend more than one term. At least a part of the curriculum was imparted in the woods, in order to avoid eavesdropping. The boys were also confined in the dance house or in the brush house (olemhen).

Gifford has obtained some information regarding the treatment of the scholars.⁴³ The chief (to'al) directed the ceremony, or, as the informant put the matter, "He was the leader of the jailers." The students slept on deer hides. If a pupil was unable to pass the tests of courage, or if the life in seclusion was too difficult for him to bear, he was released. Diet was very scanty, consisting of acorn soup and mussels. Other foods and the use of salt were forbidden. A big basket of water was kept in the house, but the students were allowed to drink only a little at a time.

The name for "Kuksu" among the Coast Yuki was Koyimkole (No head). Koyimkole was called down from the hills for the high school. The informant was not a member of the second school, but he saw Koyimkole come running down. The latter was painted with black and white stripes and had his face concealed in a large basket headdress. Two men chased Koyimkole into the dance house, shoving him along as though he were a chicken. Koyimkole was brought down from the hills in the same manner when he was needed to work a cure. The actual creator of the people was the thunder god, Keyumka. He was commonly called *re*. There was no impersonation of this deity.

According to Tony Bell, there was only one kind of doctor among the Coast Yuki, the sucking doctor. Gifford was told that a dream was unnecessary for the embryo doctor. The old practitioners stuck

⁴³ From the MS on the Coast Yuki.

a condor feather down the throat of the neophyte and drew blood. This was done in the high school. It appears therefore that the pupils were not in the custom of dancing rapidly around the fire until some fell down bleeding.

There was a name for the doctors' dance, hetimwok. But this dance was used only in curing a person. After the sucking, the doctor went out into the bushes and talked to his spirit. He then came back and danced and sang around the patient.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

The girls' puberty dance was called henemwok. The girl stayed in the house for five days and fasted. She used the scratching stick. No coals were put under her bed; she simply lay under a deer hide. When the girl went out of doors she wore a basket (tot) over her head. At the end of the five days the girl was taken out of doors, held up, and danced over by men and women. There was no sexual license at this time.

DANCES

The yihkimwok was a fire dance held in the dance house.⁴⁴ The fire dance was performed by men alone, although women and children could look on. The dancers, attired only in breechclouts, approached and retreated from the fire. After this they ran down to the creek and bathed.

The onwok (ground dance) was performed by both men and women, either in the dance house or brush house. The performers wore no feathers. They danced up and down in the same place.

The hilelelwok was a round dance. Men, women, and children joined hands and danced around the fire. No feathers were worn.

The kaukutwok was a feather dance. It was always held in the dance house. Men, women, and children took part. The men wore a band of wood-pecker feathers around their heads (maumel), and feather horns (yumel). They also wore condor-feather capes (balkut). The women stood in a row and joined the dance. There was nothing sacred about this ceremony.

The acorn dance (cokwok) was performed in the dance house in the fall. Men, women, and children danced around the fire. No feathers were worn.

A feather dance, the hokwok, was said to be a recent importation from the south.

Like the Pomo, the Coast Yuki had a fire-fanning contest (iwiswok). The north side of the dance house lined up against the south, and deerhide fans were used.

⁴⁴ Neither Gifford nor I found substantiation for Kroeber's statement that the yihkimwok was a ghost ceremony (Handbook, 216).

THE HUCHNOM

The information which I received concerning the Huchnom came from Tony Metock, an aged Huchnom sucking doctor. This account in some degrees supplements the fairly complete description of Huchnom religion given by Kroeber in his Handbook.⁴⁵ The Huchnom are at present practically extinct, and Tony is living with the Pomo of Potter valley. The census of 1910 recorded seven full bloods and eight half-breeds. In 1865 Tony was appointed chief of the surviving Huchnom by the white administrators and he took 117 of his tribal members to Round valley. The grandfather of Tony was a war chief and fought with the Potter Valley Pomo against the Yuki. The grandfather claimed to have had 900 Huchnom warriors under him at the time.⁴⁶

BOYS' SCHOOL

All of the Huchnom boys were forced to go through the ghost tribal initiation at about the age of ten years. This was called the hulk'ilal woknam and was really a school which lasted all winter. According to Kroeber's information and my own, the chief (te'ol) conducted the school, to which neighboring Kato and Pomo boys were also admitted.

Once the boys had been brought into the dance house, they were placed under a severe taboo for the first four days and were allowed to neither eat nor to drink. After this period they could eat sparingly of acorn soup and pinole, and they were allowed to drink water. During the entire winter the boys spent most of their time lying on their straw beds. The chief summoned the ghosts down from the hills throughout the winter. These spirits could make their entrance either in the daytime or at night.

The ghosts were painted with black and white stripes. They wore flowers in their hair. They carried torches and some had their hair seemingly blazing with pitch. No masks were worn. When the spirits entered the dance house they first danced around the fire four times counterclockwise and then four times clockwise. Next they picked up

⁴⁵ Pp. 202-211.

⁴⁶ Kroeber estimates that the original Huchnom population probably did not exceed 500 (Handbook, 203).

some of the boys and made them dance around the fire. Sometimes they carried the boys on their backs, and again they led the boys around the fire holding them by their sexual organs. The boys who were known as "mean" (resistant) were subjected to special discipline. They were tossed over the fire, or burning coals were thrust into their hands. No mark or permanent mutilation was inflicted on the scholars. The ghosts went back to the hills at midnight. My informant stated that his people did not have clowns.

The bullroarer was sacred among the Huchnom, and was twirled by the ghosts at the time of their ceremony. It was called tet nun toyol (string head tier). While the boys were in confinement they used a scratching stick (al) and ate their soup with mussel-shell spoons (nokco^a).

The chief gave the boys instruction in the creation myth and tribal lore in the morning or evening. The boys slept only during the latter part of the night.

Toward the end of the winter, spring flowers were brought into the dance house. Then as a final ceremony the boys were thrown out of the smoke hole. The men who were managing the ceremony did this. The youths were painted with white clay, and striped black with coal. Balls of straw were stuffed into their mouths and ears, so that they were very nearly strangled. The mothers and aunts of the boys were stationed outside to catch their offspring, wash them and clothe them in deer or puma skins. Finally the adult men who were spectators inside the dance house were also painted and thrown out through the smoke hole. It was evidently believed that this part of the ceremony would bring good luck. Finally the dance house was cleaned and the women and children were allowed to enter for the ensuing feast.

The boys (and hence all male adult tribal members) were forbidden to eat small game animals after they had undergone the ghost initiation. A special ceremony was held over the boys a year, or a year and a half, after the initiation so that they could again eat meat and fish. Each tabooed food object was passed four times over each youth's head and then thrown away.

HIGH SCHOOL

While all the boys were forced to go through the ghost initiation, only certain boys and girls were allowed to be initiated into the high school, or Taikomol woknam. My informant stated that the Taikomol woknam was a dancing ceremony, while the ghost ceremony was a sacred ceremony, and therefore had stricter taboos. The Taikomol high school could last from one to six months. It took place either in the dance house or in a brush house, depending on the time of the year. The boys who were initiated at the time of the high school were about fourteen or fifteen years of age, while the girls were twelve or thirteen years old (pre-adolescent). The general public was allowed to witness this ceremony.

The high school among the Huchnom was in no sense a doctors' school. The graduates were not called doctors, and the doctors' dance took place outside of the school. Boys and girls who had the benefit of a higher education might afterwards become poison doctors or sucking doctors, but they received little training for these professions during school hours. The men who were later to act as spirit impersonators, however, were naturally high school graduates, as were all the more influential members of the community. Instruction of an esoteric nature was given the high school students by the chief.

The high school students lay down by the fire during the school term. They were not allowed the use of meat or fish, but lived on acorn soup and pinole. The use of meat and fish was, in fact, prohibited the graduates until the proper ceremony had been performed a year or two after the close of the school. The students were painted, but they did not have to use the scratching stick. In evident imitation of the girls' puberty rite, a boy or girl who went outside the house to satisfy natural needs had to cover the head with a deer skin.

The chief summoned Taikomol (He-who-walks-alone) and Onamel Nun (Thunder Head) from the top of the dance house.⁴⁷ The two came running in together and danced around the fire four times. They remained four days in the dance house and then went back to the hills. Thunder Head was brilliantly decorated with flowers and feathers, and was said to resemble a large bird. His body was painted in all

⁴⁷ Among the Yuki and Huchnom, in opposition to the Sherwood Pomo and Kato, "Big Head" had superior power to Thunder God. Among these people Taikomol was able to stand on the ocean, while Thunder God sank. (Handbook, 207.)

the colors which the Indians knew how to employ, and shone like the inside of an abalone shell. He carried a walking stick (lupal) which was decorated with red and white stripes. His face was hidden by a large basket with protruding feather sticks (atem). He wore a multi-colored feather belt (noyim) and a feather cape (kolkut). Taikomol was painted as brilliantly as Thunder Head, but his adornments were simpler. His stick (alcet) was not as gaily colored as the lupal. His basket hat, feather cape, and belt were called by the same names as those of Thunder Head.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

Menstruation was called tulons by the Huchnom. The ceremony performed over the adolescent girl was named humnumwok and had specific reference to the monthly dances held over her by women throughout the winter. The girl was forced to lie down in her house all winter, but not on a heated bed. Each month she was danced over, and at such times she was supported and made to join in the dance by one of the women, while the others danced and sang over her. This was done in the open, but all males had to keep away. The girl had her head covered for the occasion. During the winter the girl used a scratching stick, while her mother or sister washed her face and body. She was allowed to talk to her female relatives. If she tasted meat or fish in the period of two years dating from her puberty, it was believed that her lungs would become affected by a dry cough. The spring following the girl's seclusion a big dance was given for the people of the village, at which the customary restraint between young men and women was suspended.

Evidently not only had the girls' puberty ceremony here taken over a form in imitation of the school system, but even the final feast, which ends the schools, had been copied.

DOCTORS

The sucking doctors (lamcem) were either male or female. Sucking doctors were also called nuⁿnuⁿ letim (sucking doctor). The Huchnom sucking doctor, like the Yuki sucking doctor, had to obtain a guardian spirit while awake or in a dream. Only some doctors bled from the mouth or nose, either at the time of their vision or while performing the doctors' dance (lamciwok). A neophyte first became

frightened by an apparition which informed him that it was necessary for him to become a doctor. A four-day dance was then held over the candidate by practicing physicians. The sick man was laid on the ground and sung over. Presently he began kicking with his arms and legs. Then he was made to stand up and sing his spirit songs. Occasionally the young doctor bled from the mouth and nose (*mon aⁿ*, fresh to-bleed).

The informant Tony has a Thunder as his guardian spirit. Thunder has one face in front and one in back. When Tony was young he once was fishing in a creek on a dark night. Suddenly two Thunder Girls appeared before him. He fell over in a faint and blood came pouring from his mouth and nose. Tony became a sucking doctor after he saw the two Thunder Girls. He ate no meat nor fish for two years. He always talks to Thunder now before working a cure, but he never sees him. If he should ever see Thunder he would die.

The singing doctor was either called *ewil letim'k* (poison doctor) or *utem letim'k* (fright doctor). The poison doctor held a poison dance (*ewil wokask*) for the purpose of curing the patient. Some object was taken from the sick man and held out, amid appropriate prayers to the nature spirits, to the six directions⁴⁸ in order to effect the cure.

Fright doctors were either men or women. They worked by making an image of the thing which frightened the patient and then showing it to him, thus restoring him to health. My informant had heard that Taikomol, Thunder Head, and the ghosts were brought in to work cures, but he never saw this done.

Doctoring songs, apparatus, and disguises were handed down in families. The use of these aids to healing was not taught in public ceremonial. The singing doctors had no outfits in the nature of the Pomo outfits.

DANCES

The victory celebration dance among the Huchnom was called *tau^wwok*. In one of the more recent wars fought against the Yuki, the Huchnom brought home not only the head of a slain enemy, but also his hands as trophies.

The feather dance (Huchnom, *kumaswok*, Yuki, *kopawok*) has been described in the Handbook.⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that the dancers were directed by a "rock carrier" as among the Pomo.

⁴⁸ The six directions were north (*hutcke*), south (*onali*), east (*pilaspieli*), west (*we'em*), up (*mete*), down (*onke*). All doctoring was done in six-day ceremonies in order to conform to the six directions.

⁴⁹ Handbook, 196.

The coyote dance (wu^{ce} wok) was performed by both men and women.

The Huchnom acorn dance (ha^wwalwok) has been described by Powers.⁵⁰ This was a four-day ceremony for both the sexes, and took place at any time of the year. Powers mentions that feathers were extensively used as decoration for both sexes in this dance. Limbs of the oak trees were broken off and danced with, and the participants wore moss bands around their heads and wrists. This was done so that there would be plenty of moss on the hills.

The bear dance (wuckanwok) seems to have had no ceremonial connection. Two or three men and women dressed themselves in grizzly bear skins and danced. The "bears" practiced jumping over a post four times. Then they returned to the brush, took off their bear skins, reappeared, and danced again.

NEW MOON CEREMONIAL

The sun was called pilat and the moon lackol. At the time of a new moon (lackol moⁿ) the children held one another's hands and ran around the house four times. They believed that in this manner they would be like the moon and grow rapidly.

⁵⁰ S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, 143.

THE YUKI

From a ritualistic standpoint the Yuki proper were not an ethnic unit. The southern Yuki had the ghost and Taikomol schools while the northern Yuki had a double initiation called Kichilwoknam or obsidian initiation. The Wailaki practiced rites somewhat analogous to this latter initiation in their doctor training, and there can be no doubt that there was reciprocal influence between the two. The Yuki themselves claim that they derived the obsidian initiation from the Wailaki, and the Taikomol belief from the Kato.⁵¹

The obsidian initiation was practiced by the Ta'no'm, perhaps the Lilshikno'm, and the informant Ralph Moore claims that the Ukomno'm, the tribe living on the north end of Round valley, at one time also had this ceremony. The Odlkatno'm, who inhabited the south end of Round valley, had the ghost and Taikomol school, according to Curtis. This authority also claims that the Eden Valley group (Witukomno'm) had these southern cults. The most southerly of the Yuki, the Onkolukomno'm, according to Moore, also had the Ghost and Taikomol initiation. According to Moore, the Ta'no'm and the Sukshaltatano'm lacked the southern cults, and the same claim is made by Curtis concerning the Ukomno'm. Most of the Yuki divisions are thus accounted for, and a line of cleavage may be drawn through Round valley. The Yuki to the north of this line had the obsidian ceremony, while the Yuki to the south had the Taikomol and Ghost cult. There was no overlapping.⁵²

It is impossible to state the period in which tribal initiations were introduced among the Yuki, or which were the first. Curtis writes that "the La'l haⁿp wok (the acorn dance) was the single ancient ceremony of the Yuki, excepting the puberty rites [girls' ?] and the more or less personal rites of shamans."⁵³

⁵¹ Handbook, 185.

⁵² See Curtis, 14:51. The larger Yukian divisions are mapped on plate 26 of the Handbook.

⁵³ Curtis, 14:51. He gives no evidence for this statement.

CHIEFTAINCY

The chief, among the Yuki, played an important part on ceremonial occasions, and Curtis' description of this leader furnishes material additional to that recorded by Kroeber.⁵⁴

[Curtis, 14:42 (abstracted). Each village had chief who mostly sat in state in his house; consulted assistant who reported his decisions to people. Did not hunt; honored with whatever obtained of unusual value (cougar skin, bear skin). In return planned feasts, dances. Yuki chief more authority than neighboring; sent hunters for food for feasts, set women grinding acorns for same; settled disputes with neighbors growing out of depredation by one of his people—interviewed representatives; offered indemnity; if refused, ordered war chief to battle.

Chief succeeded at death by son; if none, daughter or wife if suitable; otherwise, male on either side. Female obeyed like man. Would-be successor specially trained in boys' (girls') school.

Chief's assistant (*witu-yukol*, work leader) acted as messenger, go-between with people; sometimes substituted for chief at morning harangue; responsible for order in village, smoothly-run public occasions. Lived next to ceremonial house; took care of it.

War chief headed war parties; wore elkskin tunic in battle; could not force men to accompany him; or obedience in battle.]

It does not appear from this description that the Yuki chief differed vitally from the chiefs of neighboring people. The fact that the chief had to be wealthy⁵⁵ may explain the fact that he did no work. It cannot be doubted that the Yuki chief had to make return gifts in full for all presents received. It does seem incredible, however, that a woman could be chief. Among the Kato the women in the chief's family had great influence and leadership in the village, but no woman could speak from the top of the dance house, or direct the Ghost ceremony. It is not probable that a woman could perform these necessary chiefly functions among the Yuki.

TRIBAL INITIATION

The *Hulk'ilal woknam* (ghost dance-lie) was an initiation school for boys about ten years of age. Every male member of the tribe had to be initiated as soon as he was old enough to realize what was being done to him. As among other tribes of California having the Ghost initiation, a boy was subjected to initiation only once. Upon com-

⁵⁴ Handbook, 177. ⁵⁵ Handbook, 177.

pletion of the course of instruction the boys gained no prestige nor were they regarded as doctors.⁵⁶

The following officials were in charge of the ceremony:

(1) The village chief, *ti'o'l*. The chief talked to the people constantly from the roof of the house and told them what was happening inside. He also summoned the ghosts.

(2) The firetender, *witaL*. (There were probably two of these functionaries.)

(3) A janitor, *hutcatemol*. The janitor swept the floors and cleaned the dance house.

(4) A teacher, *onwisimol*.

The *hulk'ilal* included both ghosts and clowns. Certain of these men acted merely as ghosts, while others assumed the rôle of clowns. The clowns had their cheeks stuffed, and bent twigs in their nostrils. Only the firetender was allowed to talk to the *hulk'ilal*. The clowns were allowed the privilege of talking to everyone and of ridiculing everyone.

In the fall, the young boys were passed through the wood hole into the dance house, where they were kept the entire winter.⁵⁷ The dance house officials and the ghosts were there to receive the neophytes. The first four days the boys were given neither food nor water, and after that they were only allowed sparing quantities of acorn soup, pinole, and water. When a boy went outside to urinate, his face was covered and he was accompanied by a relative.

The bullroarer (*aⁿlamo'otom*, thunder breath) was swung the first day, and afterward at intervals, by the instructor when he talked of Thunder.

Boys who underwent the Ghost ceremony were not mutilated in any way, nor was a tribal mark placed upon them.

The ghosts made their appearance in the dance house throughout the winter, coming down for four-day ceremonies. Two entrances were made each twenty-four hours, one just before dawn. Between ghost dances the boys were taught practical matters and tribal lore.

The ceremony was concluded in the spring by throwing the boys out of the dance house through the same wood hole through which they had entered in the fall. During the following year the boys were not allowed to eat meat or fish.

⁵⁶ This statement is evident from the inclusive nature of the initiation. It contradicts Kroeber's statement that the graduates were regarded as doctors (Handbook, 188).

⁵⁷ Kroeber in his general account of the ceremony (Handbook, 187) stated that it lasted four days. In a biographical account (Handbook, 189), the correct statement is given.

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

Certain of the boys of the tribe were privileged to receive a higher education in the Taikomol-woknam. The boys in this school were from twelve to seventeen or eighteen years old. After they had graduated they might become sucking doctors. The majority, however, merely learned about the ordinary occupations of the tribe, and about the esoteric ritual. All the graduates enjoyed a certain amount of prestige and formed, in fact, a secret doctoring society. Although there was no name for the society, the graduates were called Taikomol-woknam-chi. The families of the graduates were called potidlolsil (dust young-one).⁵⁸

The ceremony was held all winter in the dance house, but the first four days were emphasized as being the most important, for during this period the boys were compelled to abstain entirely from food and water. No spirit impersonations occurred in the course of the school, but the creation story was explained and the nature of the creator Taikomol (He who walks alone). The old man who gave the instruction was called mepan-wilak. He used various instruments as aids to his teachings. First among these was the cocoon rattle (ciput). Then the reed whistle (hunr), which represented the voice of Taikomol. Finally eagle feathers (palkop) served as illustrative material. These feathers were used, because every time that Taikomol talked to Coyote he laid down a feather as a symbol of his word. When the instructor sang his songs he shook the cocoon rattle. He made use of a bullroarer when he talked about Thunder and Taikomol.

The account furnished by Curtis of the Taikomol-woknam agrees on the whole with that presented by Kroeber and myself.⁵⁹ Curtis, however, is perhaps incorrect when he states that the ceremony started in the spring. It is of interest to note that a student would attend the school year after year until his education was considered finished.

[Curtis, 14:44 (abstracted). Boys trained in spring in ceremonial house by old men. Slept there; ate pinole, acorn soup only; first 4 days given little (informant said none; seems doubtful). Instruction from sunrise to sunset included: self-restraint, unselfishness; treatment of wife; making, using weapons, hunting implements; warfare; games, songs (song leader assisted), dances; myths, ceremonies, origin of customs, institutions; hill racing; battles, using wooden-pointed arrows, missiles (oak galls). Only promising pupils allowed back next season: boy showing lack of restraint by reaching for pinole which being passed around, admonished, second offense, dismissed; instructor, dis-

⁵⁸ Curtis, 14:44. ⁵⁹ Handbook, 184, 185.

coursing, disturbed by restless pupil, ended instruction for day. Parents sometimes sat behind, held up weary child. Pupils returned each season, until everything learnt. Successor to chieftaincy specially trained.

Girls trained in separate house under other old men. Parents or elderly relatives stayed in village, attending physical wants of pupils, instructors (who received no pay); rest of population in quest of winter's food.]

Curtis seems certain that all the cults of the Yuki were held in the summer in the dance house. Thus he writes (p. 51): "The training classes of Taikomol-woknam, of the shamans, and of the spirit society (ghost cult) were held in the single assembly house, but not simultaneously. One class held its session and disbanded for a time, to give place to another. Thus the ceremonial house was in use practically all summer." Both Kroeber and I were informed that the Ghost and Taikomol cult occupied the winter months. Since Curtis rarely names his informant, or the locality from which information is obtained, the difference may or may not be a local variation.

The Yuki, like the neighboring tribes which also had the school system, had a doctoring ceremony in which Taikomol or Big Head was impersonated. This was called Taikomola-lit. The ceremony was performed in the dance house by the high school graduates, the Taikomol-woknam-chi. According to Curtis, the bullroarer played an important part in this curing ceremony.⁶⁰

The costume (of Taikomol) was a befeathered garment and a knitted cap fitted over a coarse-meshed willow cap with feathers of various kinds stuck into it. On each side of the doorway of the house that sheltered the patient stood another man, who whirled a bullroarer. The masker danced in the presence of the sick man, and the bullroarers were whirled, in the hope of throwing the sufferer into a trance, in which condition the medicine men could grasp the sickness.

The Yuki also had the usual impersonation of ghosts for those who had been frightened by these apparitions. Curtis gives a description of this cure, which I have abstracted.

[Curtis, 14:48. Person who doubted existence of spirits, seeing one, fell in trance, or returned home, sickened. Was laid out in ceremonial house, feet toward door, head toward central post. Ghosts (usually 4) came, danced in pairs each side of fire; changed places, stepping over patient. If patient seized with trembling fit signified that spirit dancers frightened him like spirit had; recovery soon. Dancing ceased; sucking doctor summoned. If patient still motionless after 2-3 nights dancing, dancers said he would die.]

⁶⁰ Curtis, 14:48. Curtis believed that the Yuki had three societies: the Ghost society, the Taikomolwoknam society, and the Taikomola-lit society. Of course there were only two societies here, as elsewhere in the northern Kusu area, the Ghost society and the Taikomol society. At that, the first was really a tribal initiation and not a secret society.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

According to Kroeber,⁶¹ the acorn fertility rites were intermingled with the girls' puberty ritual. In the account furnished by Curtis, acorn meal was merely prepared upon the occasion. Probably this custom had regional variation. It was only when the actual fertility rites were performed together with the puberty ritual that the latter included opportunity for sexual license. It might therefore be concluded that sexual license was a concomitant of the fertility rites and not of the puberty ritual, except where it became attached by secondary association. Curtis gives a full account of the puberty ritual, which I have abstracted.

[Curtis, 14:44, 45. Hamnam wok under direction of old shaman; strictly observed; feared Taikomol would punish if shaman, girl erred. 2 girls (not more) sometimes treated together.

At first menses, girl (regardless of family rank) had to lie, face covered with deer skin or blanket; used scratching stick. Old woman, sometimes 2, brought her water, food (little); led her outside when necessary, face still covered.

If spring, summer, autumn, brush enclosure (sut, shade) built for ceremony (otherwise in house). First afternoon women sang, then danced in circle; girl, head covered, and 1 woman danced facing, hands on other's shoulders. Girl then reclined on wormwood leaves over shallow trench which had been heated by fire. At night few songs by women; dancing (not girl, however). Similarly, 3 days, nights more. Fifth morning shaman asked for women to pound acorns, bake bread. 4-6 responded; brought own mortars, pestles, baskets; seated in row. 2-3 shamans watched to see everything correctly managed. Shaman appealed to Taikomol ("our father above") asking if women fit for work; professed to receive reply, sometimes pointing to one woman as unfit (bad luck, great storm, etc., result if she pounded); substituted. Shaman again appealed to Taikomol; and so until all satisfactory (good character, industrious, capable workers, observed all religious restrictions like no basket-weaving during menstruation). Women pounded acorns; man dug pit for baking; dough spread on hot stones, covered with leaves, hot stones, earth, embers; left overnight: distributed among people next morning.

Attendants led girl to stream, bathed, rubbed her with wormwood leaves, placed on clean clothes, hung around neck string of angelica (short, cylindrical sections) for pleasing odor. Vegetal diet continued indefinitely; sometimes, year. (Informant's mother, nearly 2 years.)]

⁶¹ Handbook, 195.

DOCTORS

The Yuki sucking doctor (*lamshimi*) was usually a man, rarely a woman.⁶² It appears that the high school was, in a way, connected with the training of sucking doctors, for Ralph Moore stated that the doctor dance (*lame wok*) was held in the spring, after the high school term, to decide which of the students had the necessary supernatural gifts to become sucking doctors. The dream or vision was the necessary element, however, and not the acquisition of "pains" as evinced by the blood flow. Still, there was a definite mingling of the northern and southern concepts in doctor-making among the Yuki; the blood flow was customary, it was brought on by the aid of the elder doctors, and it was considered an aid to the later acquisition of guardian spirits through a dream or vision.

[Curtis, 14:46, 47 (abstracted). Frequent dreams, trances proved boy destined for shaman. Parents summoned shaman to cure boy of dreaming; informed this impossible, only remedy to become shaman. Often boy thrown into unconsciousness to encourage dreaming. Old shamans held dance (*lame wok*, shaman dance) at which youth selected to be shaman grasped by hair, whirled until dizzy, face held toward sun; overcome by dizziness, blinded by glare, youth fell as if unconscious; this trance regarded favorable. Blood appeared to flow from orifices of body.

Shamans sang (sometimes for year) over youth in ceremonial house or brush shelter, to develop his spirit power. Novice lay motionless; sometimes sang songs given him by spirits.

When man dreamed of bear, his spirit taken by bear to cave; there instructed in bear songs, secrets; became bear shaman. Dressed in bear skins; killed when opportunity. Sometimes man destroyed by handsome, tattooed woman with burden basket on her back whom he tried to seduce and found to be bear woman.]

DANCES

The only two common dances recorded for the Yuki are the acorn song dance and the feather dance. The first of these was probably held by all the Yuki, but the latter only by those south of Round valley. The feather dance was performed, according to Curtis, in exactly the same manner as by the Wallaki, and in fact in their company. Questioned as to the origin of this dance, the informant told Curtis that the Eden Valley Yuki and the Potter Valley Pomo always had the *kopa-wok*, or feather dance, and from them it extended as far as the south side of Round valley, but no farther. In other words, as far as the Yuki are concerned, the dance is of Pomo origin.⁶³

⁶² Handbook, 196. Ralph Moore told me that women did sometimes become sucking doctors, but at a mature age. A man, on the other hand, might get his first vision at the age of twelve or thirteen years.

⁶³ Curtis, 14:51. Kroeber has given a description of this dance as performed by the Yuki, with the typical Pomo leadership of the "Rock Carrier" (Handbook, 196).

The acorn song dance (Laⁿl haⁿp wok) was performed as a four day ceremony, either in the winter or the summer.⁶⁴

[It was extremely simple. The people assembled in the ceremonial house, the fire was completely extinguished, and all stood in a promiscuous throng and sang, standing in one spot and shaking the body rhythmically, while the arms were held bent at the elbows, and the hands were clenched. For the greater part the songs were wordless, but some of them expressed such deprecatory sentiments as this: "Well, we have not much help, but perhaps one branch will have a load of acorns, anyway." After a song and dance they sat down, and the men lit their pipes by means of their fire drills. Soon the singing and dancing was resumed, and this alternation continued throughout the night. The ceremony was a prayer for a good crop of acorns. It is said that old men were particularly fond of it as an opportunity to caress women in the dark.]⁶⁵

THE OBSIDIAN CEREMONY

The Kuksu or Big-Head cult stopped at a line drawn through the center of Round valley. The belief in a mythological Big Head spirit extended through to the Wailaki and Sinkyone, but there were no impersonations of this or other spirits in this northern territory, and no secret societies. Among the Yuki north of Round valley, however, there persisted a tribal initiation for boys of about the age of ten years. All the boys of the tribe, when they reached this age, were compelled to go through the obsidian initiation.

The obsidian initiation (Kichil-woknam) bore little resemblance to the Ghost initiation of the Kuksu area. It was held for the most part outdoors, and was witnessed by both men and women of the tribe. There was no representation of ghosts or spirits connected with the performance. The ceremony lasted seven days and not four. However, the boys were painted, sweated, and made to fast. They were also submitted to tests of manhood. One of the tests was curiously like the "Death and Resurrection" rite of the south. The boys were laid in a shallow trench dug in the mountains and a fire was built over them. Then they were removed unharmed. In outline, the cult was essentially Wailaki. It was conducted by the head shaman of the group. The shamans took advantage of the performance to display their supernatural powers in various ways. A visit was made to a spirit-infested lake in the mountains, and the water in the lake was made to rise. The name of the ceremony as a whole was derived from the fact that the shamans thrust blades of obsidian or condor feathers

⁶⁴ Handbook, 196.

⁶⁵ Curtis, 14:51.

down the throats of the boys, and turned them in order to cause bleeding. The boys, however, were as yet too young to become doctors.⁶⁶

After the boys had arrived at the age of about fifteen years, certain of them were chosen to undergo a second initiation. This has never been described. It may, however, be conjectured that those of the youths who had shamanistic aspirations were again led into the hills by the full-fledged doctors, were subjected to further fasting and hardships, and were inducted into the shaman's dance. This time those who bled from the nose and mouth became sucking doctors.

According to Ralph Moore, no girls were allowed to take part in the tribal initiation, or the first obsidian ceremony. Certain girls, however, who wished to become sucking doctors were initiated at the time of the second ceremony, but apart from the boys and under the guidance of different shamans. They were not kept as long as the boys, nor subjected to such rigorous hardships.

The idea of a "school" therefore, where esoteric knowledge and especially shamanistic knowledge was imparted to the pupils, came from the Wailaki and the neighboring Athabascans to the Yuki and Kato. The central idea of this school system was simply the fortification of embryo shamans in their quest for supernatural experience, and the teachers were full-fledged shamans. The idea of a tribal initiation for all the boys of the tribe, and a secret shamanistic society for selected men and women, came to the Northern Yuki from the southern Kuksu area. It was among the Northern Yuki that these two concepts became welded in the form of the double obsidian initiation. The graduates of the "high school," however, were no longer members of a secret society; they were simply unorganized sucking doctors.

⁶⁶ A full description of the obsidian initiation is given in the Handbook, 191-195.

THE WAILAKI

The Wailaki called themselves Kenesti, and derive their American name Wailaki or "north language" from the Wintun. They were the uppermost Athabascan tribe on main Eel river. Their territory has been described by P. E. Goddard, in volume 20 of this series.

MYTHOLOGY

The main figure in Wailaki mythology was Ketanagai, Night Traveler, or the moon.⁶⁷ While no impersonations were made of this god, he evidently corresponded to the "Big Head" of the tribes in the Kuksu area. It is difficult to say at this time just how conscious the Wailaki were of the identification between their main divinity and the moon. Certainly the tribes of the northwestern Kuksu area implied a similar identification in the names which they applied to their "Kuksu" deity. Both the Yuki Taikomol (he who walks alone) and the Kato Nagaitco (the great traveler) had names of lunar significance. The Wintun, like the Wailaki, were outside of the Kuksu area, yet their chief deity Olelbis bore a significant name, the translation of which is "he who sits in the above."

My Wailaki informant said that the moon was beneficent, the man in it (Ketanagai ?) was good and made people well. But the sun made the people sick. The doctors went out at nights in order to talk to the moon. They also talked to the sun, and to Thunder in order to stop storms.

The doctors alone were able to see and communicate with Ketanagai, whom they called sta (father). He was said to have had a big head of feathers, and to have carried a stick. Doctors were also able to see and talk to Cilkus, the Thunder. This god was said to have been a wicked divinity, for he broke open rocks and killed people. He made thunder and lightning by hitting around with a long knife. Gise, or Coyote, was nothing but a trickster in Wailaki myth. He was constantly lying and raping women. Yet Ketanagai himself had some of the attributes of Coyote, for he also was prone to deceive women.

⁶⁷ This god is not mentioned by Goddard in his *Wailaki Texts*, IJAL 2:77-135, 1923.

Possibly Coyote was the older creator or benefactor among the Wailaki, and Ketanagai usurped his evil as well as his beneficent characteristics.

Only a portion of the creation story was remembered by John Tip. It is as follows:

The people saw the water coming, and they commenced to shout and cry. Some went to high rocks and those were the ones who were saved. Three people in all were saved, a man, his wife, and her mother.

In two or three months, after the water had dried up, these people made a home. After this there were quite a lot of people.

Then Ketanagai came from the north. He made rope and arrows. He told the men to take rope and catch deer with it, and take bows and arrows and shoot the deer with them. He gave the people fish nets and harpoons. He taught the men how to twist rope.

When the people danced, Ketanagai went in and danced with them. He then dressed up as a woman and danced with the women in order to seduce them.

Then Ketanagai made gifts for the women. He gave them baskets and showed them how they were made. He showed them how to pound acorns. He traveled along and gave instructions to all the people.

Ketanagai told the people to be good and not to fight and kill each other. He said they should always help one another. When Ketanagai had started on his travels he had three or four deer hides, but when he had finished these were all used up.

One day Coyote was playing with a black burning log. He was rolling it down the hill. The log turned out to be a bear, which caught Coyote and tore him to pieces. When Ketanagai came along the body of Coyote was already full of maggots. Ketanagai said, "Hello, what are you doing there?" Then Coyote began gulping and came to life again. Because Coyote had been cured by Ketanagai he never really died. Whenever he died he always came back to life again. So now he is just as good as a god.

The last time that Ketanagai was ever seen was after the whites had settled in the country. It was the renowned doctor, Captain Jim (the husband of John Tip's sister), who saw Ketanagai, and who then received instructions to bring the feather (new ghost) dance from Point Arena to the Wailaki of Round valley.

Captain Jim and another Wailaki man were out hunting in Lake county, and while they were walking along they came to a crossroad. Then they heard someone hallooing, H-o-o H-o-o. It was Ketanagai. When the two Indians saw him approaching Captain Jim said that it was hosta (our father). Ketanagai came to within about thirty yards of the two men, and Jim's companion hid himself behind the doctor. Captain Jim said to the god, "Yes, I know you. I have often heard about you, Ketanagai." The god answered, "Don't get scared, don't get scared." Jim said, "No, I know about you, I know who you are." Ketanagai was big and tall, and he had a white face. He had a white cane, all shiny as if made out of silver. He took off his hat and threw it on the ground. Then a big bunch of hats grew up from where the single hat

had fallen. He took out a pocket knife and threw it down. Immediately there were a lot of pocket knives lying on the ground. Then he threw down his white man's shirt, and a pile of white men's shirts arose.

When Ketanagai was ready to go, he said *cu! cu!* Then he held his right hand up, the index finger pointing to the sky, in the manner of the sucking doctors. Doing this, he walked away.

When Ketanagai was talking to Captain Jim he told him to give a feast and institute a new dance. This is the way that the feather dance was introduced to Round valley. The Indians from Point Arena came up and sold the Wailaki the feather costumes. These feathers had to be carefully handled, as they were very dangerous. A person would get sick if the feathers were not treated with the proper respect. When they were put away there were certain prayers which had to be sung. When the new dance arrived the men and women danced it night and day.

When Captain Jim had dreamt about the new dance, he had dreamt that the people danced rapidly around and around as in the shaman's dance, and that they fell over and were sick. But Jim would not have it danced that way, so whenever performed the people dance the feather dance by slowly circling the fire.

DOCTORS' SCHOOL

The method by which the Wailaki sucking doctor was trained for his profession is of the greatest interest for the understanding of the northern Kuksu cult. The doctors' school among these people was in no way connected with the Ketanagai or "Big Head" or moon beliefs, and may have been in existence long before the idea of the "Big Head" god came from the south. Yet, as we have seen, this school concept came from the Wailaki and traveled south, transforming the four-day Kuksu dancing ceremonial into all-winter schools of instruction.

Instruction in the Wailaki school lasted for a year and was composed of two elements, the training of the candidates in the open and the doctors' dance held in the sweat-house. The particular manner in which the school was conducted probably differed regionally, and I am presenting three descriptions, two which I received and one quoted from Curtis. My first description was furnished by John Tip and the second by Mary Major.

The name for sucking doctor was *keteu*. There was no name for the ceremony in which the boys were taken up into the mountains. When the boys went up the people called it *teeketeslai* (take doctors up in mountains) and

when they returned it was called nakindelai (doctors come back). The last time this ceremony was held was more than forty years ago at Cula mountain. It was an eight-day ceremony. The trip to the mountain was at this time undertaken every spring and sometimes also in the fall.

One or two head doctors took the pupils up. These trainers were called keteu tjung. As many as fifteen or sixteen large-sized boys enlisted for the trip, and one or two married women. The first day, and every day after that, the boys were led up into the mountains. During the entire eight days the pupils received no food and only a little water.

Upon arrival at the mountain top the boys were blackened all over with charcoal and then made to swim in a lake to remove the black paint. The lake is called in English, Lake mountain, and in Indian, tokestambi (big lake). The boys were again blackened and then taught doctoring songs on the mountain top.

Each evening when the pupils were brought back to the village they were told to sing and dance. Certain ones became dizzy from dancing, fell down and began to spit blood. These were likely candidates for the medical profession. A sick person was brought in, and the would-be doctors practiced on him by sucking out pains (tintsat'). The pain might have been a bone, a clot of blood, a frog, or a little water dog.

The same procedure was followed for each of the eight days of training.

Every winter a second ceremony took place in the "sweat-house" (neyit, earth house). Only five or six of the boys reported back for this continuation of their training, and no women. Again there was a series of doctors' dances. The foot-drum was not used for the doctor's dance, but the instructors used their cocoon rattles. The dance held in the sweat-house was of an esoteric nature, and the women and children could not witness it.

Seemingly the purpose was to induce a spirit (naitLin) to go from one of the head doctors into one of the boys. Each of the head doctors already had his own spirit and during the course of the ceremony was in constant communication with it. The spirits told the doctors what to do and how to act with the pupils.

The head doctors watched until a boy fell down. Then they supported the youth and put some fine besik' (obsidian or flint) in his mouth. If the boy succeeded in swallowing this, blood began to pour from his nose and mouth. Then a sick person was brought in, and the youthful practitioner started sucking on him.

One, two, or three boys finally obtained spirits from the head doctors. These spirits came in dreams. When the spirit arrived, the boy got up and spoke to it.

While the boys were under training to become doctors they had certain food restrictions. They were not allowed to eat trout, salmon, or deer meat, and had to use scratching sticks.

The second account, as related by Mary Major of Hull valley, differs in certain details. The dialect of the informant also contained some different words; that for sucking doctor, for example, was cecene, and not keteu.

Before a man or woman trained to become a doctor, a spirit usually appeared before him or her. This spirit (witceawa) was not sought for. A boy might, for example, be on a walk when the spirit came to him. He then became sick and started to sing. A sucking doctor was called in, who put the youth on

a diet. The boy was told to eat nothing except pinole or acorn soup for a year and to train to be a doctor. Sometimes the spirit told the boy that he had to become a doctor. But not all the boys and girls who started training had first seen a spirit.

The method in which a vision appeared unsought for to a Wailaki is illustrated in the story of White Lily.

White Lily was unmarried and lived with her sister. The sister died, but White Lily remained living in the house, and did not leave it. One night the sister came back, making a grunting noise outside. Then she came sliding in the door. She put her hand on the top of White Lily's head, and said, "I love you, but I have come back." When the people came the next morning they found White Lily lying on her bed singing. She was covered with the blood which had flowed from her mouth and nose during the night. White Lily said, "My sister came back, but I do not think that I am going to die. I am going to be a doctor." After this White Lily went into training and became a famous sucking doctor. She remained a doctor until the time of her death. Her sister talked to her constantly and aided her in curing people.

Every spring and fall certain boys and girls were led up Lake mountain by three or four male and female sucking doctors. Married men and women might also be pupils in the school. The instruction lasted ten days, and the pupils did not eat or drink water (except water from a magical spring) during this period. The doctors remained on the mountain, which was called netje'au, or spirit country, for two or three days.

While on the mountain top the doctors sang and danced and made a spring appear from under a tree.⁶⁸ The students drank water from this spring out of their hands and then fell over in a faint, blood rushing from their mouths and noses.

When the boys and girls climbed the mountain they were blackened and wore the feathers of the bald eagle in their hair. They returned to the village similarly attired and danced in the brush house. Those pupils who became dizzy fell down and were covered with straw. The doctors sprinkled water on their faces to revive them.⁶⁹ If a spirit (witceawa) was following one of the pupils who had fainted, a whistling noise could be heard close to the boy's or girl's head.

When a boy or girl fell in a faint, and started to bleed from the mouth and nose, a doctor picked him up, chewed up some obsidian

⁶⁸ In the obsidian ceremony of the Northern Yuki, the doctors also caused a "lake" to appear. This piece of magic has never been explained. (Handbook, 193.)

⁶⁹ This feature is not given in the other descriptions of the Wailaki ceremony, but has its analogue in the roasting of the boys among the Northern Yuki. It more closely resembles the "Death and Resurrection" ceremonies of tribes practicing the Kuksu cult.

(cesale), and spat it into the youth's mouth. He did this so that the boy, when a doctor, would be able to suck out pains. Immediately after this a sick person was brought into the brush house and the novice tried his hand at curing. Two or three boys and girls usually underwent their probation at curing during the dance in the brush house. The patients had to pay the novice doctors.

The training of a selected group of the candidates continued for a year, and the neophytes adhered to their diet, and made use of the scratching stick for this period of time. In the winter the dance was held in the "sweat-house." The spirits kept talking to the directing doctors from outside and the doctors answered in their secret language. This means of communication was taught the neophytes. Each of the directing doctors had his own spirit, and the object was to transmit a spirit to one of the candidates. Each candidate had to have a spirit before he could become a doctor. Some of the spirits were: sun, hummingbird, salmon, deer, coyote, wolf, bear. While the dance was in progress a whistle could be heard, first outside the door, and then inside, approaching nearer and nearer one of the candidates. This was taken as a sign that the youth in question had been selected by the spirit, and as a token of this he was placed nearest to the door.

In order to become a sucking doctor a candidate had to both swallow the obsidian or flint dust and obtain a spirit. Some of the candidates were able to obtain a spirit, but were not able to swallow the dust; i.e., they did not bleed from the mouth and nose. These neophytes became singing doctors (*lainaitelge*).

Curtis describes the doctors' school as follows:⁷⁰

In the spring the principal medicine men selected from the youths of the village as many as fifteen, to be trained with a view to becoming shamans. Most of these were later rejected, and a few became either "sucking doctors" or dreamers. These were usually boys who by constant attendance at the places where shamans were at work had shown themselves to be interested in the profession, and when they requested to be initiated, they were not refused. A boy's parents never asked this for him.

As a preliminary the candidates and the two old shamans in charge, together with some laymen, went to hunt deer; and whatever they killed they roasted and ate on the spot in preparation for the long fast to be endured. That night they returned and entered the ceremonial house, and the period of training began.

The two initiators were the song leaders. They began to sing, and the boys danced. When this sound was heard, men, women, and children, including also all the other shamans, crowded into the house, and standing around the boys, who now sat on the floor, they all participated in the singing and dancing. This continued at intervals during most of the night.

⁷⁰ 14:31, 32.

At sunrise the two shamans led the boys out into the wilds from place to place, choosing such as were considered dangerous, and especially those that were dangerous from the supposed presence of some fabulous monster. During this time they taught the initiates their secrets for curing disease. For example, they would cause one of the youths to become dizzy, and bid another practice on him, giving instruction from moment to moment and observing the pupil's conduct. Again, the candidates were told to try their strength from time to time by sucking blood from stones and trees. Probably they actually sucked blood from their own gums, a very easy thing to do. They returned then to the dance house at dusk, and the events of the previous night were repeated.

Thus it went for six days, during which the two instructors and the candidates ate and drank very little. On the last morning the other shamans, not the two initiators, performed over the candidates in the presence of the public their singing, shaking of rattles, sucking, and blowing, and put into the youths' mouths something that caused them to spit blood. The two initiators supervised this operation very carefully. Then there was a feast, in which the candidates participated to the extent of eating a little acorn soup, pinole, and dried salmon, and the people dispersed, the visitors from a distance carrying away the remnants of food and leaving the local population with empty storage baskets. For the remainder of the year, that is, until the following winter, the initiates ate only acorn soup, pinole, and dried salmon. It was regarded as especially dangerous for them to eat yellow-jacket larvae. They hunted like other men, but ate nothing of their kill.

For some of the young candidates this might be the third, fourth, or fifth season of training, and indeed they might already have put their knowledge to the test of practical use. If they had been successful, and felt that they needed no further instruction, they did not return to the ceremonial house for the next season's schooling. Those, however, who had either not learned enough to take charge of a patient, or had tried to cure and had failed, together with any new candidates, assembled in the ceremonial house in the following spring and received another six days of training. Sometimes these classes were held in the winter, but nearly always in the spring. Any youth who in the course of his instruction became discouraged, or for any reason desired to withdraw, had the privilege of simply not presenting himself at the opening of the new term.

There are certain points of differences between the three accounts. It is certain that women as well as men were taught to become sucking doctors, even though there were probably fewer women in the profession than men. Yet in the first account only one or two married women were admitted to the mountain climb and none to the winter performance. In the second account, the privilege of attendance in the school was granted to both boys and girls, as well as a few adult men and women. According to Curtis only boys were taken into the school.

The duration of the ceremonies is likewise a matter of uncertainty. All accounts concede a year as the period of training, but Curtis records that a candidate might have tried five or six times to obtain the necessary supernatural powers. It is not certain, however, how

long the trip to the mountain lasted. My first account states eight days, my second ten days, while Curtis records that the trip lasted six days.

Finally the accounts differ concerning the severity of the food deprivations which the embryo shamans had to endure. There were two periods of fasting, a severe fast during the mountain climb and a year's restriction on certain kinds of food during the entire course of training. My first-account mentions the fact that the candidates had no food and only a little water during the trip; the second account states that the candidates had neither food nor water (excepting the water they drank from the magical spring) during this period; while Curtis mentions a feast held previous to the climb, while on the climb the candidates ate and drank little. The second account must surely be an exaggeration of fact, for according to my second informant the trip lasted ten days.

During the training year my first account states that the pupils were not allowed salmon, trout, or deer meat. My second account states that only acorn soup and pinole were allowed, while Curtis writes that acorn soup, pinole, and dried salmon were eaten.

From my first two accounts it is evident that there were two main elements of the doctors' initiation. First, the climb up the mountains, and secondly, the instruction and doctors' dance in the assembly house. The first took place in the spring or fall and the second in the winter. The two main purposes of the ascent up the mountain were to allow the shamans to demonstrate their magical powers and to test the endurance of the candidates.

It is important to note that among the Wailaki the sucking doctor had both to carry the "pain" within his body and also have a guardian spirit. The "pain" was powdered obsidian spat into the mouth of the neophyte by the instructor. Here we have a combination of the Northwest Californian concept, where the "pain" was the essential requirement for a sucking doctor, and the Central Californian concept, where the guardian spirit alone was necessary.⁷¹ The singing doctor (or, according to Curtis, dream doctor) had to only have the guardian spirit.

⁷¹ Among the peoples having the northwestern Kuksu cult, this concept was less sharply defined. Among the Northern Pomo and the Kato, the "pain" was the essential requirement. Among the Coast Yuki, the male sucking doctors had to swallow "pains" but the female sucking doctors acquired guardian spirits in dreams. Among the Yuki proper and Huchnom the sucking doctors had to acquire their guardian spirits while awake or in dreams, and the "pains" (as shown by the blood flow) were incidental.

DOCTORS

In curing the sick the sucking doctor came in first and sucked, and afterwards the singing doctor was summoned to complete the cure with his songs. It was the sucking doctor who did the diagnosing and investigated the cause of the sickness, but it was the singing doctor who found out where the "pain" was located. Thus the two worked hand in hand, and split their fees. Both of the doctors were able to see spirits, talk to them, and ask their advice.

The sucking doctors treated especially "inside sicknesses," as coughs, colds, and "pains" in general, which had been shot in by an enemy. The dream doctor cured "outside sicknesses," i.e., cases where the patient had been frightened. The methods of the sucking doctor will be treated first.

The sucking doctor treated the patient for four days. Every night of these four days he came back and sucked. These doctors had a secret language of their own. It was the doctor, and not the patient, who dieted these four days. He ate no meat or grease, and sometimes he drank no water.

The eagle (tsenege) was a very important bird for the sucking doctor. According to Julia Brown, the eagle was the messenger between Ketanagai and the doctors. He always lived in a place where there was stagnant water and from there flew down to give the doctors their orders. The doctor, when he prayed, said to the eagle: "I do these little things, but I depend on you for the big things." The eagle said: "I pull out my wings (feathers), and give them to you, so that you may work with them."

stene cenigis telte, my-wings I-pull-out work-for-you.

The sucking doctor waved an eagle feather over the patient in imitation of the flight of the eagle. Sometimes the doctor made passes with his arms in imitation of the flight of the bird.

Besides the eagle, who was the messenger of Ketanagai, each of the sucking doctors had some lesser spirit as personal adviser.

Julia Brown claimed that an eagle feather was used by one of the head doctors to "wash out" the throats of candidates in training before spitting flint dust down them. This would conform to Yuki custom, but was not mentioned by any other informant.

When a sucking doctor first came in he might say to the patient:
nakin natitL nasin tetaikitlin nasin nakitlin, you-are-going to-get-well leg well leg good.

The sick man replied, "encone" (good). Each morning and evening the patient had a prayer to give to the sun, so that he would not be punished by this orb. At sunrise he raised his right hand and prayed:

to habege toha anonekit, water not-run-over me cloud my-body-cover.
sta sumbege nesonye encontele, father (Ketanagai) dark cloud my-body-open.

The patient made this prayer so that a dark cloud would cover him when the sun arose and thus protect him from its rays. He wished that his body would open up so that the pain could be extracted.

At sundown the sick man prayed:

enconneve kecnahanastele ca ensufi toialcit to oiaicit, good I-wish-to-get-well
sun good go-down water to.

Curtis has described the manner in which the actual sucking treatment took place.

[Curtis, 14:32 (abstracted). When man sickened, summoned new shaman who inquired pain location. Searched abdomen to head for it; when located sucked spot. Between suckings, sang. Occasionally spat into basket beside him, drank water from another basket. At finish, exhibited small, black or white, moving object (prob. worm) as sickness. Covered object with hand; sang over it $\frac{1}{4}$ hour; crushed it between hands, dropped it into spittle basket which taken outside, contents burned.]

Each shaman had own songs, but all similar. Special songs for sucking, "killing the sickness." After cure, wampum, deerskin, arrows, baskets paid. Young doctor sought assistance of older doctor if unable to cure.]

It can be seen from this description that it was as important to destroy the "pain" as to extract it. The reason for this was that if a poisoner put a pain into a person and the doctor sucked it out and burned or otherwise destroyed it, then the poisoner died and the patient recovered.

Curtis describes the dream doctors, which I have summarized, as follows:

[Curtis, 14:33. Cataleptics, or simulated cataleptics, became naituLgai (dreamers). Cured by sucking; also dreamed: received songs for professional use, beheld places where game obtainable; foresaw events.]

Fatal sickness due to encounter with woodland creature which left one so badly frightened that life could not come back. Shamans used this belief to escape blame for not curing. If person recovered, after encounter, became shaman; safe from further encounters. No clear description of creatures, possibly because belief acquired from redwood forest belt.]

Curtis no doubt was mistaken in writing that the dream doctors also sucked. This they could not do, for they had no "pains" inside of them. There was nothing to prevent the sucking doctors, however, from being dreamers. Dixon writes for the Northern Maidu: "A man

may be a 'dreamer' and not be a shaman [sucking doctor], but nearly all shamans are also 'dreamers.'⁷²

As I have already suggested in the section on the Sherwood Pomo, the singing or dream doctor of the Wailaki was probably the prototype of the Pomo outfit doctor. In the region of the Kuksu cult the singing doctors lost their contact with the supernatural, and either cured as members of the shamanistic society, or else by virtue of inherited outfits. In either case a guardian spirit was unnecessary to the practitioner. The very nature of the diseases cured, however, and the methods of curing, indicates that originally the concept of "fright sickness" was nothing but soul loss, and this it has remained among the Wailaki. A man or woman, both among the Kato and the Wailaki, who had once lost his soul through fright and later recovered it, might become a dreamer by remaining in contact with the spirit which had caused the sickness. The Kato dreamer, however, did not cure people by recovering their souls, while the Wailaki dreamer did. Curing among the Kato was in the hands of the secret society.

Among the Wailaki, when a person became fright sick, the diagnosis was sometimes made that the sickness was caused by the loss of the patient's shadow or soul (*mantagit*). First the dream doctor dreamed that the soul had become lost. He then smeared charcoal over his body and face and went out looking for the soul. In the meantime the soul had built a little fire and was sitting down beside it. The doctor saw the fire and he saw the soul, which resembled a miniature person. He plunged forward and caught the soul in his hands. This was evidently the ticklish part of the proceeding, for if the doctor missed (*yagaiguncuk'*) the sick person was certain to die. After obtaining the soul, the doctor brought it home and put it over the heart of the patient. Then the doctor bathed the sick man and gave him nourishment, in order to feed the soul and make it aware that it was properly housed.

In cases where a man became sick through the breaking of a taboo, the singing doctor merely sang songs over him.

Poisoning.—While sucking doctors unquestionably were usually thought of as the more likely to commit the crime of poisoning, they did not hold a monopoly on the art. A dream doctor could catch the shadow of a victim, and by poisoning this, kill the person. There were, however, many secrets known to the layman. Thus a man could roll up certain herbs and sleep with a woman holding the medicine in

⁷² R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, AMNH-B 17:271.

his hand. Then when the woman became pregnant she was certain to die. Sucking doctors were the most feared, however, because of the "pains" they carried inside them, and they were given a wide berth. If a person went too near a sucking doctor and contracted a "pain" he had to either vomit it up or have it sucked out. The shamans never had "pain throwing" competitions among themselves, as was customary among the Northern Maidu. A doctor could throw his "pain" at a man any distance off, by calling on his spirit and mentioning the name of the man in question.

BEAR DOCTORS

The Wailaki is the most northerly California Athapascan tribe from whom we have an account of bear doctors. Since the shamans of northwestern California worked primarily through "pains" and not through guardian spirits, true "bear doctors" as among the Yuki and Yokuts were an impossibility. In his Handbook Kroeber has defined the territory in which bear shamanism was to be found as extending from the Yuki south to Tehachapi pass.⁷³

There were two forms of Wailaki bear shamanism. The first form was similar to that found among the Kato. Curtis reports that "some of the Wailaki fighting men are said to have disguised themselves as bears in order to deceive their enemies and obtain favorable opportunities to kill."⁷⁴

The uncle of my informant John Tip was reputed to have gone on the warpath attired in a bear skin. He kept his disguise in a special building; when he wished to kill some of the enemy he went to this building, put on the skin, and sallied forth. Hidden outside the skin was a long knife. My informant's uncle often boasted about the number of men he had killed from ambush. The Wailaki called him a *keneste sus*, man bear.

The fear of bear men, however, was not so strong among the Wailaki as among the Indians to the south. One time the above mentioned "bear man" came upon his brother-in-law and a companion who had just killed two deer. The uncle wished to take one of these, so he began growling like a bear, hoping that his evil reputation would gain him the coveted booty. But the brother-in-law, undaunted, made a fierce onslaught upon the growler with a stick, and the "bear man" went home with an aching head and minus his reputation.

⁷³ Handbook, 137, 200. ⁷⁴ 14:98.

The second type of bear doctor really upheld the name of "doctor," for certain sucking doctors received their visions from grizzly bears. These doctors then became actually "possessed" by bears, and were capable of turning into bears.

The aunt of Mary Major was a bear sucking doctor. She owned no bearskin, but when possessed by her guardian spirit she turned into a grizzly bear. In this form she could not refrain from wandering about and biting people.

Once all the people were seated around the fire. Suddenly the aunt became possessed by the bear spirit. She put her hands into the fire, grunted hu, hu, hu, like a bear, and threw the coals around. Then she ran off into the woods where she doctored herself and finally came back cured and still singing.

The belief in bear doctors varied considerably from group to group. Thus, Curtis' summing up of the situation in abstract:

[Curtis, 14:7. Among Yokuts, Miwok, bear-shamans lived for time with bears; were instructed by them; acquired power to transform into bears. Among Yuki, shaman first dreamt of bears; then instructed by them. Among Pomo, bear-men gained strength, cunning, swiftness of bears, by wearing bear-skin suits; killed for pleasure (mostly among own people). Among Kato, bear-impersonators confined depredations to enemies; claimed (like Pomo) no relations with bear spirits.]

The Wailaki differed from the Yokuts, Miwok, and Yuki, since the transformation of the doctor into a bear was an involuntary occurrence. Here we have traces of true (inspirational) shamanism, for the spirit then spoke through the shaman. Bear shamanism in California must be regarded as a trait diffused from the Pacific Northwest coast, in spite of the territorial gap between the two regions. The resemblance between the transformation of the Wailaki shaman into a bear and the Kwakiutl secret society initiate into a wolf is obvious. Since, however, the idea of spirit possession was foreign to California culture, true bear shamanism never extended beyond the Wailaki. In altered forms, bear impersonation played a major rôle among peoples having the southern Kuksu cults.

SACRIFICE AND PRAYER

The Wailaki had prayers which they sang before eating, drinking, or doctoring. Many of these prayers were quite meaningless. Thus a Wailaki before eating or drinking sang: he he he he he heai.

Before a tree could be cut down, the tree spirits had to be prayed to. But there was no sacrifice at the time.

kisnace tonate kaicninshe, let-me-live do-not think-about-me.

A doctor sometimes fed his guardian spirit. He dreamt that the spirit desired food. So he placed baskets of acorn bread, pinole, fish, and meat in the open. He prayed:

ehin ciñnai niteit die, yes I-give-you food here-it-is.

Then the assembled people ate the food.

DANCES

The Wailaki had a number of common dances of ancient origin.

Song dance.—This was called cene tegelte. Men and women gathered on one side of the fire in the assembly house, four or five women on each end and the men in the center. The dance was performed without changing position. There were two male singers, cele. Wooden whistles and the foot drum were utilized. In this, as in other common dances, the men painted and the women wore raccoon tails and beads.

Round dance.—A round dance (monkea holci) was also held in the assembly house. The men and women held each other by the hand and danced around the fire. The dancing was first clockwise and then counterclockwise.

Dog dance.—The dog dance (naite tegelte) was performed by men and women in the assembly house. The men were on the inside, the women on the outside. The participants danced in position. The dancers wore beads and rabbit-skin blankets. One man sang and accompanied his song by knocking two sticks together. The dancers sang he he he he. The singer sang he gala witila, he gala witila. The meaning of this song is unknown.

Coyote dance.—The coyote dance was called cesli tegelte. Men and women danced in a chain, the men changing partners from time to time. The singer kept time by striking two sticks together. He sang: memin hapu pute, memin hapu pute (water smoke come-out).

Clover dance.—This was reported by Powers.⁷⁵ It was held when the burr-clover ripened. The men wore the white down of owls around their heads and loins, and in dancing imitated these birds. The men danced in an inside circle and the women outside.

Curtis has given a good description of the modern feather dance, of which he probably was an eyewitness. He is of course wrong in stating that it was the only common dance which the Wailaki had in former times, and his dating of the intrusion of this dance among the Wailaki is far earlier than my own evidence would warrant.

[Curtis, 14:34, 35 (abstracted). Nal-se's (informant) great-grandfather told him: no dancing among Wailaki in his youth; only songs: shamans, war-dance, girl's puberty. Later Chununtac (dance; "feather dance") purchased, with costumes, from S. (after whites came, made own costumes); held in autumn, winter (generally; sometimes summer) at say-so of headman who invited neighbors; lasted 1 night (sometimes 2) with feast in late morning.

Women's dance costume: ordinary deerskin garment; perhaps shell necklace; white duck-feather headband with hawk-feathers projecting backward. Men's costume: deerskin apron; yellowhammer tail-feather forehead band; hawk-feathers at back of head; trailer of hawk, eagle, owl feathers from

⁷⁵ Tribes of California, 118.

shoulders to knees. As people assembled, song-leader started "sitting-down song," others joining gradually while donning costumes. Dance: women stood in 1 place, moving up, down on toes with slight flexing of knees; men tapped ground 3-4 times with 1 foot, then other, moving slowly to and fro, side to side. Each singer kept time with split-elder stick. Drummer standing on drum (board resting on 2 other boards placed on edge in trench) thumped with six-foot staff.]

ECONOMIC LIFE

Houses.—Conical, family house (yit; like Kato—Curtis). 5-20 per village, on side of hill; ceremonial house farther down hillside.

Blankets, baskets, bows, arrows, rope stored in house; food (acorns, djintañ; grass seed or pinole, nonjetce; manzanita berries, tenes; pepperwood nuts, ancuf; hazelwood nuts, lacinda) in baskets in house; nets, harpoons hung on trees.

In summer, used brush houses; hunted, gathered grass seed, acorns for winter use.

[Curtis, 14:25. Sweat-house similar to Kato, except main support, a pair forked posts with short connecting beam instead of single post. All help construct; supervision, principal shaman who later lived in it, cared for it; dedicated with singing, dancing, feasting. Use: primarily ceremonial; also communal sweating. Men, women, children assemble, sit with heads bowed while fire fills place with smoke. Man, at intervals, fans heat over all, with large deerskin. After perspiring profusely, all run to stream, bathe.]

Clothing, and adornment.—Men, deerskin aprons; women, deerskin "skirts" (aprons). Buckskin used in winter; doeskin in summer. Both sexes frequently naked in summer; never ashamed because dead viewed naked.

Both sexes wore shell decorations (clamshell disks, wilkale, from S.; dentalium, cekaitci, from N.) at dances. Powers, 116, saw Wailaki women with clamshell eardrops carved fish-shape. Most men (few women) wore nose sticks (bikislai) with beads hanging from both ends. Some men, women wore dentalium ear ornaments. Curtis: men wore hair in knot, back of head, held with string; women parted theirs in middle; 2 twists hung behind or in front of shoulders. Girls (but not men) had curved lines tattooed on nose, cheeks, chin; men (see Curtis, 14:25) blackened faces, chests for dances, war (white, red paint also used).

In wartime men put raccoon tails, white chickenhawk feathers through hairnets (cibisa).

[Curtis, 14:25. Men wore small deerskin apron, hairy side out; in cold weather or special occasions, skin thrown over shoulders, piece of bear (deer) skin wrapped about head. Women wore deerskin skirt, from waist to knees; in cold weather, skin over shoulders. Clothing undecorated. Moccasins, leggings not used. Both sexes frequently naked.]

Smoking.—Wild tobacco smoked in long (2 feet) straight pipes; by elderly men, women (also sucking doctors when searching for pain location).

Musical instruments.—Foot drum (tjestiñ) used in sweat-house dances. Flute (telbil), of elder wood, with 5 holes; played by young men at home, assembly house. Split-stick rattle (djin delbak, stick rattle) used by singers in war, common dances; cocoon rattles, giloto, for doctors; acorns strung, rattled from mouth, called saitegelbog. Wooden whistles, delni, used in common dances.

Fire-making.—Buckeye stick drilled into larger one; oak moss as tinder. Equipment carried in deerhide arrow quiver.

Money.—Did not manufacture. 3 kinds used: obsidian chunks, tjesale (Indian gold), for barter; dentalium, clamshells, in trading.

Boats.—No canoes. Rafts (cetsleelik) of logs tied together used.

The food quest.—Leached acorns for prolonged period in running cold water.

[Curtis, 14:22, 23. 5 acorn species harvested, stored separately; gathered from ground; immediately shelled; stored in dry pits lined with grass, leaves; covered with grass, leaves, dry earth. Sometimes headman had large pit made beside perennial spring; people filled with black oak acorns, unshelled; covered nearly-filled pit with driftwood; left all winter so water could leach out tannic acid. Chief came at times to taste; by following summer, process complete; instructed womenfolk to make soup; venison, salmon provided; invited adjacent villagers to feast, after which remainder acorns divided among them.

Acorns crushed in mortar, sifted by shaking over basket's edge (residue pounded again with next lot, or, if black-oak, mixed with water, baked on hot stone: bread); fine meal spread on sand, leached with cold (hot, if in hurry) water at intervals for several hours. Better bread from tanbark acorns which moldy from long immersion and hence not bitter (prob. mold fungus had yeast effect.)

Deer (intce) chief meat. Methods of catching: relays of men (according to Powers)—also for jackrabbits, rabbits (Powers, 117)—; run into lake, river, then shot at; run into maplewood-rope snares; run into fence structure having loop trap at gateway; stalked from leeward with use of false deerhead (tcunuk)—same for elk (tjisco).

[Curtis, 14:24. 15–20 men, sometimes of different neighboring camps, formed semicircle, drove deer up mountainside where snares set; between each 2, hunter hid so if deer avoided snare, felled with arrow. Snared deer killed with club, stone; snare reset. After hunt, women, children joined in butchering, transporting. Drives every 2–3 days because deer abundant; hence no dried meat. Sometimes deer driven over precipice; or into cul-de-sac. . . . Elk harder to snare, found in least accessible places, hence not hunted as often.]

Deer hunter sang at home in bed as charm—family silent. Song (example):

intce sisilgece soñka, deer kill-him good.

intce sisilgece sta yabi, deer kill-him father above.

stai segel teqe djaiha intce, mine give me one deer.

Bear: no general name; grizzly, sas; black, taheni; cinnamon, listitacetsi; brown, noni. Never hunted, prob. because other meat abundant.

[Curtis, 14:24. Bears, even inoffensive black species, not hunted. If encountered, sometimes shot. Sometimes caught in snares, killed with arrows, unless bear escapes before noticed, by chewing on rope.]

Grizzly bear regarded as humans; hunted, killed as revenge by kin of their victims. Hide brought home, hung on trees outside sweat-house, fire built; men danced first, then women; each dancer in turn beat bearskin with his fists. All sang for good luck: tjisimol poral tila we, "chestnut" bring-it give-it to-me. Hide then tanned, stored. Bear dance (sas bucu tegelte, grizzly bearskin dance).

[Curtis, 14:24. Small animals (mink, otter, skunk, beaver) not intentionally hunted.] Skunk (koldji; sele) hunted with clubs on moonlight nights; struck over lower part to avoid odor; roasted, entirety, over fire or cut up, roasted

over coals. If raccoon (todea), wildcat (benditci), puma (benditeo) met on travel, killed, eaten; hides used as blankets by boys. Squirrels, rats, hunted; ground squirrels (slus) shot with sling; gray squirrels (skiteo) snared on trees; rats (sloskai) snared; gophers (tacia) killed in holes with pointed sticks.

[Curtis, 14:24. Grouse (in summer), smaller birds (in winter)—quail, robins, yellowhammers—snared with noose baited with madroña berries. Quail caught in basketry fish trap. Half-fledged ducklings (not adults) caught on rivers. Young swallows (greatest delicacy) taken in crevices along river. Doves, meadowlarks killed with stones, sticks.]

Fishing main winter occupation.

[Curtis, 14:21, 22. First ("black") salmon (kes) come up from sea in autumn when streams low (prob. was dog-salmon before altered to "hook-bill"); taken with dipnets, spears; cut with obsidian, flint knives (formerly), smoked, stored. Nets used only at night with weir (stakes driven into bed of stream; opening left at 1 margin at which white pebbles strewn so fish readily show up against white background and quickly netted). Spears used day, night in connection with pitch torches. Salt used for food seasoning; not in smoking fish, meat; obtained in trade from Stony Creek Wintun.

When streams rise, steelhead trout (Lok) caught in eddies with dipnet, mouth of which held open with bow-arrow device; smoked (formerly). In April and through summer, cin-Lok, spring salmon, come; netted, speared. Lampreys netted or gaff-hooked (deerbone tied to stick) by torchlight. Trout, suckers netted by men, women wading in stream, driving fish into pools. Fish narcotization practiced; similar to Yuki.]

Acorn soup boiled in baskets over hot stones.

[Curtis, 14:24. Meat, fish laid on embers, cooked. Fresh fish sometimes wrapped first. Dried meat, fish frequently eaten raw.]

Division of labor.—Men: fished, hunted, fought; made houses, all clothing; collected (with women) manzanita berries, acorns (knocked latter down); carried water used for soaking acorns; traveled ahead of party, carrying rope, bows, arrows. Women: made finer baskets; gathered straw which placed by men between bark, posts, and strewn on floor of houses; cooked (except meat, fish); gathered grass seed (for pinole), manzanita berries, acorns; pounded acorns; carried burden baskets (tibus betoL) slung over back, supported by head strap, when traveling. Both sexes carried children; cradle babies by women only.

All men, except sucking doctors, chiefs, engaged in general work. Certain men skilled as bow, arrow, rope manufacturers (also chipped arrowpoints), net makers, deer hunters (cekannajai), fishermen (nakai); gave results of labors to friends, families; sold to outsiders. All women made baskets—some more skilled.

I have little information on intertribal trade. Trade, intermarriage went together; Yuki favored. Curtis, 14:27, says most wars with Athabascan to N.

Dogs (nati).—Used: to bring deer to bay, so easy to shoot; for catching ground squirrels. Kept in house because feared at night wander off, bite someone. Treated human-like: given name (ex.: beetsale, under the cradle); at death, wrapped in deerskin, buried (sometimes with beads), old people cried.

Land ownership.—Village owned hunting territory in and around; friendly neighbors allowed on to hunt; objected to their burning grass for grasshoppers, tarweed seed. No private ownership trees; acorn trees near village belonged to it.

Chiefs.—Each village, a political unit with chief (ninkatiñen); some larger villages, 2 chiefs. Chief's requisites: good-natured, able speaker.

[Curtis, 14:28. Wailaki chief's only (?) title, cegañikunes (haranguer); indicates 1 of his duties. Chief was necessarily wealthiest tenekante (one rich in houses, possessions, women), but also generous (if not, no influence). (This distinctly N. W. Coast culture.) Headman succeeded by son only if son met requirements; otherwise another tenekante.]

War.—Inside village quarrels, using rocks, clubs, called tLedille; war with bows, arrows, tlañandiñ (shooting). Former frequent because provoked Wailaki grabbed first thing at hand rather than use fists. Sometimes husbands beat wives with rocks. Quarrels regarded unfavorably by villagers; chief repeatedly exhorted peaceful living.

Injuries, except within family, paid for according to gravity. Person mentioning name of dead fined 10 pieces rope; this not considered so serious as murder. Shooting fellow villager by mistake in hunting was manslaughter (tokasle); lighter fine than usual weregild.

Chief did not fight; advised villagers when to war.

Pre-war dance (telde) danced by men, women who waved bows, arrows as aid toward working up frenzied rhythm, putting enemy into magical lethargy.

War weapons (same as Kato): sinew-backed bow (k'a); arrows (k'iñ); deerhide sling (sintokl); spear (stick pointed with stone; used only in night surprise attacks), añala tiña. 1-2 strong, tall men wore entire elk hides.

[Powers, 129. Wailaki wear tanned elk skin shields which thick, tough, stiff, proof against arrows. Worn on back so not to incommode warrior who turns back to shooting arrow (ducks if arrow coming low); 2-3 men can screen behind man's shield because left wide for that purpose.]

At war's end, two intermediators (itak nagai, middle walk) from each side consult 3-4 weeks; arrange peace. Side having done first killing takes initiative; chief of aggrieved side sets payments to be made for deaths (baskets, bows, arrows, hides, shell money; sometimes 1000 pieces rope). Victims' parents receive these payments which taken home, cried over. Every war death paid for, thus victors had biggest debts. Injuries not necessarily compounded. Intermediators given few arrows, pieces rope. Sham battle of both sides concludes arrangements; chiefs exhort subjects to behave.

For murder, intermediators sent out at once so retaliation avoided; received no fee.

"Victory dance" (ghenatiñ telde, war dance): Enemy's head, obtained either on battlefield or surprise attack in encampment, scalped (i.e., skin from back, sides of neck to shoulders removed), dried, stretched on hoop. Scalp (sela) given to one war-bereaved family. Male member danced, sang with it outdoors: hina he, hina he, yo hea, hino heyo, ha ha ha he e e! dia suñ-tes-yam ka enyam, this (scalp) come-to-me come-on eat. Placed it near food; picked it up; placed on bush; removed it, resumed dance, song: ka ba toholte, come dance-for-him, nañ-ho-teli ninyai ba toholte, let-him-look come dance-for-him. Then back, forth, to house, bush with scalp, singing: sinda-tel kage, sit-down long-while ("You will remain here a long time"). Next, female member, middle-aged, danced with scalp between legs; sang: dia encañeLge, this you-always-liked.

Family danced with scalp at intervals following year; then sold for about 10 pieces rope, some arrows, to one allied village who danced with it; resold to another ally. When scalp gone rounds of all allies, thrown away.

Counting.—Reckoned by 5's to 20 (like Kato; other Calif. Athabascans counted decimally; Handbook, 156; Kroeber, Dixon, Numeral Systems of the Languages of California, AA n.s., 9:663-690, 1907).

1. djaiha
2. naka
3. tak
4. dificun
5. diskola
6. kesla (one over here, on right hand)
7. kesnak (two across)
8. kestak (three over here)
9. kestiñcun (four over here)
10. baente (even fingers)
11. baente ketla (ten and one more)
12. kanak
13. ketak
14. baente ketincun (ten and four more)
15. baente buka diskola (ten and five more)
16. baente buka kesla
17. baente buka kesnak
18. baente buka kestak
19. baente buka kestiñcun
20. nateñ baente (twice ten)
21. nateñ baente kedjaiha
30. takluñ baente (three times ten)
100. slatseñai baente (all my fingers ten)
200. natens atteñai baente (twice all my fingers ten)

Short sticks, for counting, laid in piles of 10. Large counts employed in rope payments for murder.

Calendar systems.—Sun called dji nagai (day traveler), moon, keta nagai (night traveler). Time counted by nights, nagai. Year's seasons: winter (kaihit, windy); spring (tanhit); summer (sinhit); fall (cinhit).

Year started January, lasted 12 moons.

- May, totelke (grass dry out)
- June, sotalsit (going in water)
- July, salkaise (white)
- August, nendenstifi (bent)
- September, saleuñ (black)
- October, gitsai (dry)
- November, yooltsi (deer running)
- December, yoolteo (big running—deer rut)
- January, gesna (blackeye salmon—come up stream)
- February, natluil (night again)
- March, kelci (redtree—blossoms then)
- April, raltik (leaves blossom out)

Monthly moon phases:

- ketanagai kasian, new moon, moon waking up
- ketanagai unafe, young moon sitting there
- ketanagai keifiafen, moon growing

ketanagai kLeninmatsuñ, full moon
ketanagai kenabeelele, moon getting darker, half gone
ketanagai betiñin, night walker dead

Day divided into:

ketlebi, morning
ca giñ, noon (literally, sun up, ca being sun)
ca tesia, past moon
ca keñyai, sun over mountains
keltse, after sun down, not yet dark
witlegiat, night, dark

Stars (siñco): evening star (kel' suk ulda, evening running); morning star (belkaico, daylight star); Pleiades (yetañ, house on it); Little Dipper, sindeci (name of female organ). Eclipse of sun called sa gedelcit (sun bear catch).

Games.—Same as for Kato, except women's dice game lacking.

Children's games consisted of imitating adult occupations (war, hunting, fishing, dancing). (War): boys threw, dodged balls (tetugili) of sunflower leaves. Boys threw "soaproot stalks" (?; gocosiakits) at one another; considered dangerous. 2 lines advanced, retreated (like actual war) with bows and grass stalks (instead arrows). Slings used with buckeye shot. (Hunting): 4-5 buckeye balls rolled from hilltop into snares (2 sticks with net between) at base, as training in deer-snaring; called naiwil bas (rolling buckeye). (Fishing): Boys made little nets which used to scoop up sticks thrown in water; called naikai (dipping). Made small harpoons (fishbones on end of stick) to harpoon floating sticks in river. (Dancing): In May boys put clover flowers in hair; danced (but never doctor dances). Girls made dolls, ske (grass rolled over stick). Children pretended camping trips; boys went fishing, brought home worms; girls gathered clover in baskets. Sometimes pretended marriage; rolled up under blankets together.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Childbirth.—Woman worked until time of birth. Stood, stooped over in giving birth. Midwife hired; doctor called if difficulty. Umbilical cord (tsekit) cut with flint knife; buried. Taboos (Mary Major, informant): wife, no meat, fish, for month after; husband, no hunting, fishing, gambling, smoking, for 5 days after; even confined to house (otherwise wind blew, rain or snowstorm followed).

Twins ill-omened; one killed (otherwise both would die).

[Curtis, 14:28. Woman attended by old midwives who administered neither medicine nor applications of heat; rubbed abdomen when pains severest; cut navel cord (not preserved) after birth, bathed child in cold water (warm water according to my informant), rubbed it with ashes, wrapped it in deer-skin. Mother ate sparingly until following winter (acorns, venison mainly); father stinted only few days.

Child named few days after birth; based on something father ate or handled, or native village name given. After 1st year renamed for some characteristic of its own. Ears pierced by old person when about 3. Girls tattooed 1-2 years before puberty.]

Names.—Age group names:

- Boy when first born, skeLeit
- Girl when first born, djekskeLeit
- Boy when about four feet high, nesiancit
- Girl when about four feet high, tekecit
- A large boy, nesianeñ
- A large girl, before menstruation, to djenaktañ
- A young man, kanagai
- A young girl who menstruates, djenaktañ
- A married man, nane
- A married woman, tekecuñ
- A married woman with children, nainonecuñ
- A married woman who has never been pregnant, to bunceliñ
- A widower, keltiñ
- A widow, keltiñcuñ
- An old woman past the change in life, nanabe

Several berdaches (clele) known; did women's work (their baskets finer than women's); bothered no one.

Personal names:

Male

- giseyañ, coyote eater—(Was informant John Tip's Indian name; his mother ate coyote just before his birth.)
- coyos, buzzard
- segerlegi, killer
- tegate, to sift
- cigucuk, to hit a head with a rock
- k'i naitoñ, to carry a gun
- ce tebinta, rock sharp
- ko tsune, knee bony

Female

- kaitai, a flower
- vaici, a slim woman
- naihelebañ, take back everything
- tselbata, roll him out

Care of children.—Placed in cradle made by wife's mother which set against wall; cocoon rattle attached to wrist. 6-7 year-old girl taught basketry by mother; played pounding dirt in small basket; later pounded acorns, pinole. Girl of 10 gathered grass seeds. Boys taught arts of life in games. At 8-9 watched father on hunt.

Girls' puberty ceremonies.—Held for 1st, 2nd menses; called kenalktañ, teen-altiñ respectively; identical; lasted 6-7 days (10 days according to another informant). After 2nd ceremony, girl marriageable.

At time of ceremony, all relatives assembled; also all adults of village (sometimes 200), wearing beads, finery. Morning, noon, evening girl led outdoors (head covered with basket topped with deerhide) by elderly, female relatives; danced. Rest of time remained indoors on bed.

First day girl given water, acorn soup; remaining days, until feast, fasted. Girl's mother or sister washed her face, led her outdoors when necessary. Girl used scratching stick. At night sung over: Ce kai mana gliltal, rock white sound run. ('To run around a white rock.').

Morning of last day, girl taken to creek. Sat in water. Mother patted her on knees, elbows, shoulders, head (7 places). Girl covered eyes with hand; looked E, W, N, S, upward; after this could look on world.

Feast in afternoon. Woman sang over all food (to give it good taste). Girl first to taste (except meat, forbidden for next 2-3 years); 1st mouthful spat out; angelica charm worn during meat taboo period.

Striking similarities between above and doctor-making ceremonies; viz., long fast, similar dance (according to my informant), meat taboo for 1-2 years.

Curtis data on ceremony similar to mine except dancing performed in house; this impossible if my informant's statement of number of spectators correct.

[Curtis, 14:29. At girl's first menses ceremony, lasting until period ended, held in house (if father wealthy; otherwise, in connection with wealthy girl's ceremony). Adults assembled each night; sat in circle with girl(s) in midst; sang (no significance to words). Girl's head, chest concealed beneath deerskin. At dawn song containing word kogoliine (daylight coming) chanted, women dancing in circle slowly around girl; another song sung, while song-leader, inside circle, now at standstill, facing girl danced with her forehead, backward (repeatedly), hands on each other's shoulders. Afterwards people went home.

Girl remained in house entire period; little food, water partaken. Each day hunting trips undertaken for food for final feast. Dawn of last day, song-leader led girl to creek to bathe; then feast held.]

Married menstruating women denied meat; ate from special dishes; no cooking for others. Their husbands could not gamble, hunt, fish, war.

Marriage.—Girl's parents' consent necessary before suitor allowed to visit. Girl did not always accept approved suitor. Suitor brought meat, fish, continuing sometimes for 2-3 years; attempted to enter girl's bed in front of her parents. Girl at first ran away; later (providing she accepted parents' choice) remained; marriage sealed. During courtship no guarantee of being accepted by girl. If rejected after long courtship, in favor of newcomer, liable to kill rival.

Presents exchanged between newlyweds' families: bridegroom gave 4 strings beads to father-in-law (who gave him bows, arrows, rope), 2-3 strings to mother-in-law's brother; 2 mothers exchanged basketry.

Couple lived with wife's people until first-born; then alternated with man's family, until 2-3 births, when built own house.

Before marriage no restrictions with in-laws. After, man avoided looking at mother-in-law, female relations by marriage (age of mother-in-law). Deerhide screen used by some to avoid glances of sons-in-law. If mother-in-law and son-in-law alone, could talk but not look at each other. Girl avoided father-in-law. Man constrained with father-in-law, male relations by marriage (age of father-in-law). Brothers, sisters constrained together; brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law joked, romped together, but no sexual promiscuity.

Deserted wife returned to her parents, taking female children. If deserted her husband for another man, "war" likely. Occasional wifebeatings (esp. if motive jealousy) not grounds for desertion; unusual abuse was, however.

[Curtis, 14:30. Marriage arranged by fathers, either proposing union in view of their friendship. If they, as well as children, agreed, marriage took place; i.e., boy went to girl's house, spent night with her; after, presents (baskets, deerskins, beads, food) exchanged between families. Couple lived with girl's parents for season, then alternated between households. If man secretly slept with girl at her house, without agreement of fathers, took her at once to his parents; no exchange of gifts. Man expected to marry illicit love; otherwise might be killed.

Divorce not so common as other tribes in this region. . . . Husband could desert on any pretext. If wife, without good reason, deserted, husband's relatives sought death of member of her family. Children generally went with mother, but when adult, usually associated with father's people.

Good husbands often married also youngest sister-in-law; if widowed before latter marriageable, could still claim her provided his record good. 3 wives rare.

Widow could only marry brother-in-law (provided he wanted her).

Man did not address or face his mother-in-law or daughter-in-law; turned face aside; spoke through wife or son, accordingly.]

Curtis neglects description of courtship methods; my data gotten from 2 informants, so reliable.

Death.—Deceased's belongings destroyed or given away. If death from poison, house burnt; if ordinary sickness, house dismantled, moved elsewhere. Body, unclothed, undecorated, viewed by relatives in house for 2-3 days; then hole made in wall, body passed through (similar Hupa custom; P. E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of Hupa*, UC-PAAE 1:70, 1903), borne on deerhide stretcher by 4 pallbearers to cemetery beside river. Buried deep (4-5') so enemies could not exhume, cut up, scatter remains which done to cause relatives grief (Curtis: prevent depredation of coyotes). Rope, fish nets, bows, arrows, beads thrown in; grave filled in. Burning of baskets, deerhides, headnets, double deerhide blankets, dentalium, Bodega bay clamshells held over grave. If death occurred away from village, body burned, ashes returned for burial.

Widow cut her hair, put pitch on face, head; cried at intervals during mourning (1-2 years); no part in dances, festivities. Before remarrying, bathed in river, allowed hair to grow. Similar mourning, but shorter, for death of child, sister. Man mourned by cutting hair, applying pitch to it.

Second burning (teikilañ) held year (djaiha ekai) after death. Feast outdoors; mourners sang, danced, cried; property (rope, bows, arrows) burned over grave. Body not exhumed.

[Curtis, 14:30, 31. Dead buried extended, head to E, in deep graves piled with stones to protect against depredations of coyotes. Burial immediate, if all blood relatives present; otherwise body lay in house (sometimes 4-5 days) waiting their arrival. Most personal possessions of nearer relatives, something from all present, broken, thrown on body in grave. Deceased's property used to repay unrelated persons who sacrificed things at his burial; his dog (most valuable possession) killed, buried with him. Prominent or much-loved person mourned probably 2 years, during which half of all new utensils, tools of nearest relatives (made to replace those sacrificed at grave) destroyed. Men, women, cut hair, smeared spruce pitch thickly over scalp; mourned as long as pitch remained. 2, 3, or 4 years after prominent man's death all assembled at grave, burned valuables. Strangers sacrificing property repaid by deceased's relatives.]

Home of dead (nahatas) in sky. Dying person's soul went there, partook food, so doomed its owner who refused food on earth, died. Ghost land filled with flowers; ghosts lived on acorn soup, bread. Doctors claimed to be able to ascend (yelteñ) in dreams and talk with spirits. Captain Jim (Wailaki) often went to nahatas in his dreams, but never ate there so returned safely.

Greetings.—On meeting, one said: ho ehe talogenyalance?, hello yes, where-are-you-going? Other answered: ho kwitsatliñ diyite, hello (place name) north. Both sat, talked. When husband returned home, wife said: kenai nanendeai soneñ, alive you-come-back good.

CONCLUSION

In viewing the northwestern Kuksu cult as a whole, it is possible to divide the ceremonies into their several component parts, and to name certain other ceremonies and concepts, which have entered into the northern Kuksu area, and lent their elements to the Kuksu cult itself. It is also possible to assign relative periods of antiquity to the various ceremonies and concepts of the Kuksu area, in accordance to their extent of distribution.

The Kuksu cult proper has been divided into two parts, the Ghost ceremony or tribal initiation and the Kuksu society. The first of these was an initiation for all of the boys of the tribe and women were strictly excluded. In the Ghost ceremony itself the original elements were the bullroarer as an esoteric instrument, the representation of ghosts, the "Death and Resurrection" ceremony, and the giving of a tribal mark to the candidates.⁷⁶ The Kuksu cult proper was a secret shamanistic society for certain men and women of the tribe. Its origin is unknown, and the nucleus of the cult was the impersonation of Kuksu or Big Head, the doctor god from the south. The Kuksu cult was probably younger than the Ghost ceremony. The elements entering into the latter were of world-wide distribution, while the Kuksu impersonation was local to California. Where the Kuksu secret society employed Ghost ceremony traits they were of borrowed origin.⁷⁷

Among the peoples practicing the northwestern Kuksu cult, the doctors' training school has altered both the purpose and the form of the Ghost tribal initiation and the Kuksu secret society. The Ghost ceremony became a primary school through which all the boys of the tribe had to pass, and the Kuksu ceremony became a medical professional school through which the more gifted young men and women were able to pass.

The influence of the doctors' training school as found among the tribes of northwest California was exerted upon the northern Kuksu cult in two forms: training the candidates and the display of powers

⁷⁶ This last trait was found only with the Sherwood Pomo among the tribes practicing the northern Kuksu cult.

⁷⁷ Folkways, 401. E. M. Loeb, Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies, pres. ser., 25:249.

by the instructors. While it is true that shamans had to associate in order to fulfill these functions among the Wailaki and, to a certain extent, among the tribes of northwest California,⁷⁸ yet these shamanistic associations modified rather than created the Kuksu cults. They can neither explain the Ghost tribal initiation, nor the masked Kuksu ceremonial.⁷⁹

The puberty rite for girls was probably as old as the tribal initiation for the boys. Under the influence of the "school concept" among the Sherwood Pomo, Kato, and Yuki this ritual was performed collectively besides individually. Traits were also taken over from the individual girl's puberty ritual and imposed on the male schools. These include the use of the scratching stick, the prohibition placed on boys leaving the dance house with their heads exposed, and especially the idea that the scholars should pass most of their time lying down.

For the purpose of admitting a ready comparison between the ceremonies practiced in northwestern Kuksu and Wailaki territory I am presenting the material in diagrammatic form. The war dances and the girls' puberty ceremony were found among all the peoples studied, and are here omitted. The abbreviations used are:

Sherwood Pomo, Sh P; Kato, K; Coast Yuki, C Y; Huchnom, H; Southern Yuki, S Y; Northern Yuki, N Y; Wailaki, W.

⁷⁸ Among the tribes of northwest California, after a candidate obtained his "pain" in a dream, he had to undergo fasting and a long process of training under the shamans, ending in the doctors' dance. (Handbook, 852.)

⁷⁹ I cannot fully agree with Kroeber that "these gatherings of the medicine men thus look as if they might have been the simple and generalized substratum out of which the Kuksu cult grew by a process of gradual formalization and ritualistic elaboration." (A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 307. New York, 1923.)

NORTHERN KUKSU CULT

1. Boys' School

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
Sh P.	dike meten ⁸⁰ (to-swal- low-lying-down)	Ghost dance Instruction by ghosts Bullroarer Ash initiation Tribal mark (nose and ears pierced)	djaduwel (ghosts)
K	keate (boys begin)	Instruction by chief Ghost dance Bullroarer	taikehañ (ghosts) yitco wanesa (clowns)
C Y H	naelem hulk'ilal woknam (ghosts dance-lie)	Ghost dance Instruction by chief Bullroarer Fire ordeals Ghost dance Boys thrown out smoke hole	hulkelel (ghosts) hulk'ilal (ghosts)
S Y	hulk'ilal woknam	Instruction by chief Bullroarer Ghost dance Clowns Boys thrown out wood hole	hulk'ilal (ghost- clowns)
N Y W			

⁸⁰ A four-day ceremony. The name perhaps symbolizes "Death and Resurrection."

2. *Boys' High School*

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
Sh P Kj	dike meten ⁸¹ tienafi bul beate (doctor for begin)	As given Nagaitco dance Ghost-clown dance Instruction by chief Instruction in open Bullroarer Ordeals Doctors' dance Boys thrown out smoke hole	As given Nagaitco ⁸² tai'i (ghost-clowns)
C Y	hempino (singing)	Koyimkole dance Instruction by chief Instruction in open Ordeals Doctors' dance	Koyimkole ⁸³
H	Taikomol-woknam ⁸⁴ (Big Head dance- lie)	Taikomol and Ona- melnun dance Instruction by chief	Taikomol Onamelnun (Thunder God)
S Y	Taikomol-woknam	Instruction by old man Bullroarer	None ⁸⁵
N Y	kichil-woknam (ob- sidian ceremony)	Instruction by sham- ans Doctors' dance	None
W	Doctors' training	Instruction by sham- ans Doctors' dance	None ⁸⁶

⁸¹ The dike meten is both boys' school and high school. Masan (Kuksu) and Makila (Thunder God) appear only for curing, outside the school.

⁸² Tcenes (Thunder) appears only in curing.

⁸³ No impersonation of Keyumka (Thunder).

⁸⁴ Said to have been for both sexes.

⁸⁵ Taikomol impersonation only for doctoring. No Thunder impersonation.

⁸⁶ Ketanagai not impersonated, so no Kuksu cult for Northern Yuki and Wailaki.

3. Girls' High School

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
Sh P	dike nemon ⁸⁷ (pick up and lay down)	Instruction by ghost Tribal mark (nose and ears pierced)	djaduwel (ghost)
K	tienañ bul beate	Instruction by chief and old women	None
C Y	None		
H	None		
S Y	Details unknown		
N Y			
W			

⁸⁷ A four-day ceremony.

4. Common Dances

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>
Sh P	tuya ke, acorn dance hoho ke
K	cie ke, salt dance chustinpulpeateg, ⁸⁸ acrobatic dance cintañ ene, acorn dance buncbil tekot, feather dance natlos, round dance necuñ
C Y	yihkimwok, fire dance hilelelelwok, round dance hokwok, feather dance kaukutwok, feather dance cokwok, acorn dance iwiswok, fire-fanning dance
H	kumaswok, feather dance wucewok, coyote dance wuckanwok, bear dance ha ² walwok, acorn dance
S Y	kopawok, feather dance la ¹ ha ² pwok, acorn dance
N Y	
W	sas bucuw tegelte, grizzly bear victory dance cene tegelte, song dance monkea holci, round dance naite tegelte, dog dance cesli tegelte, coyote dance ?, clover dance

⁸⁸ Performed by members of the secret society, so not a common dance.

PART II. SOUTHERN FORMS OF THE CULT

THE SOUTHERN POMO

In order to follow the course of the Kuksu cult south to the Coast Miwok and east to the elaboration of the inland cult, a knowledge of the Southern Pomo ceremonial system is desirable. Unfortunately this, at the present time, is difficult to obtain. Besides the material here presented, the only other source of information on the Gallinero or Southern Pomo is furnished by Powers.⁸⁹

RELIGION

I obtained little information concerning the religious beliefs of the Southern Pomo additional to that recorded by Powers. The sun was called hada and the moon laca. Doubtless both were regarded as potent spirits, as was the case among the Central Pomo of Shanel.⁹⁰ "The coyote performed all the work of creation. They [the Southern Pomo] did not pretend to explain the origin of the world, but they believed that astute animal to be the author of man himself, of fire, of the luminaries of heaven, etc."⁹¹ I was likewise informed that Coyote (*dowi dabte'e*, coyote chief) was the only creator and god whom the people recognized.

The dead were burned as among the other Pomo tribes.

DOCTORS

The sucking doctors were called *mo'o dedu* and the outfit doctors *hilotca kaiyan*. The sucking doctors always visited the patient first in order to diagnose. The outfit doctors only gave medicine and sang. There was no impersonation of spirits, such as Kuksu or ghosts, in order to effect a cure.

⁸⁹ Tribes of California, 174-185.

⁹⁰ Powers, 169

⁹¹ Powers, 182.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

The first menstruation of a girl was called *baiya hakelau*, thereafter it was called *kelau*. The girls' puberty ceremony was called *atea mitikai* (house four-day-sleep). The girl was kept in bed in the house.⁹² The bed was not heated with coals, as this treatment was used only for women who had undergone childbirth. For four days the girl was sung over, and at the end of that time she was made to swim in the river. While the girl was in confinement she was not allowed to eat meat or fish, she had to use a scratching stick (*ositetu*), and when she went outdoors she concealed her head in a deer hide.

CALENDAR

The Southern Pomo counted six months only in the year. These were:

- February, *matetwi laca* (mother moon)
- March, *ihukbada laca* (frost moon)
- April, *tisi laca* (brush moon)
- May, *yocikli laca* (black oak moon)
- June, *djele laca* (white oak moon)
- July, *kabakle laca* (a tree moon)

GHOST INITIATION

The ghost dance was held in the winter in the "sweat-house" (*amai*), or, more probably, in a large dance house built every seven years or so in a particular locality for this purpose. The ceremony itself was called *dowi kabe hebi* (coyote rock get-him). The ghosts were called *hilatui*. The foot drum was called *haten*. Bullroarers were said to have been used, but my informants forgot the name of these instruments.

Every night for the four days of the ceremony the ghosts ran down from the hills. Some had fire blazing from their hair. One of my informants had heard that the ghosts carried snakes down with them. They bore in their hands long sticks, painted black and white. It is not known whether or not there were clowns in the dance house performance, and nothing is known about the initiation of the boys inside the dance house.

⁹² The family houses of the Southern Pomo were round in shape and were made from grass or tule.

THE KUKSU CEREMONY

The Kuksu ceremony (totoko) was a four-day dance. It was held four times every year, partly in the open and partly in a brush house. Among the Southern Pomo the Kuksu cult partook of the nature of first-fruit rites, for the ceremonies were held (from spring to fall?) at such times that they coincided with the ripening of the most important foods of the people. The first ceremony was held when the acorns (bida) were ripe, the second when the manzanita berries (bakai) were ready for harvesting, the third when the tobacco plants (kawa) were mature, and the fourth when the angelica (batcoha) sprouted from the ground.

The ceremonial participants in the Kuksu ritual included from four to six men who had the Big Head disguise and impersonated Kuksu. The basketry disguise was called cina, the belt and tail yupa, the Kuksu stick wa'ali, and the elder-berry whistle libu. A bear impersonator who took part in the ceremony was called budaka, while the grizzly bear skin which he wore was called budaka sibala (bear skin). One woman participated in the cult impersonations. She led the bear into the ceremony. She was called baplatai. The word ba'ai meant woman and the entire word meant woman dancer. The woman's face and chest were painted black and she wore a large tule apron. She carried little bunches of tule in each hand, which she shook while dancing and singing. These were called yupa.

The chief (atjoptcai) let the people know when the time had arrived for a Kuksu ceremonial.

The first morning of the ceremony four or five male and female singers started to sing Kuksu songs either in the brush house (ketsa atca) or in the open. The singers were called Kuksu mintjaia (singers). One of the Kuksu songs went as follows:

he yo he yo he yo
 he yoha eheya ye
 to ya he yo ho ho.

Meanwhile the young men and boys who were to be initiated were hiding in the bushes. The Kuksus, before entering the scene, scattered and rounded up some of these boys, chasing them with their sticks. Then the Kuksus brought the boys into the brush house, carrying them on their sticks. When they arrived they dropped the youths in front of the people who were assembled there. The boys

were not cut or further molested. They were left lying in a row. After the Kuksus left, the boys got up and walked away.

When the Kuksus had disposed of the boys they commenced to dance, shaking their heads and blowing their whistles. A woman sang while the Kuksus danced.

Meanwhile the woman member of the secret society came in leading the man dressed in the bear disguise. The woman sang special Kuksu songs and kept throwing beads down as an offering to the bear. The bear himself stood up and danced while the woman sang. Finally all the members of the society returned to the bushes.

That night the Kuksus came in again and danced around a fire. The night dance was called *duwa komanel* (night dance). They danced around the fire four times counterclockwise and four times clockwise, blowing their whistles the while. There was no singing at the time of this dance. Sometimes one of the Kuksus scattered the fire. After this they all left the enclosure.

The same Kuksu dances were held each of the four days of the ceremony. Between the times of the Kuksu appearances common dances were held. The members of the secret society were not allowed to eat meat or fish at the time of a performance, but no restrictions were placed upon the spectators. This same taboo held for the performers in the *Gilak ko*.

The most interesting feature of the Kuksu cult as held by the Southern Pomo is the fact that it was regarded as a first-fruit ceremony, and in no way connected with doctoring or health-giving qualities. It has already been shown that in the northern Kuksu area the first-fruit rites everywhere centered about the acorn crop (among the *Wailaki* about the clover).

Erna Gunther has pointed out the wide distribution, and hence great antiquity, of first-fruit ceremonies in North America. "There are two distinct areas of distribution of these ceremonies," she writes, "one east of the Mississippi River where the most significant ritual of this kind is held for the corn, and the other in scattered groups along the Pacific Coast where the ritual is always performed for wild products. . . . The groupings obtained are sufficient to assume that they are connected. The ceremony is a harvest festival, conducted before it is permissible to eat of the new crop."⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Erna Gunther, *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, 156.

Evidently the Kuksu cult when it came to the Southern Pomo, absorbed and thus preserved a portion of the first-fruit rites which at the time were presumably far more common and more elaborate in the region.⁹⁴

COMMON DANCES

Clown dance.—The clown dance (yukac ko) was performed by men only, but was neither a part of a sacred ceremony, nor was it sacred in itself. It could, however, be performed at the time of the Kuksu ceremony, in the same manner as any other common dance could be performed at that time. The clown dance was held either in the dance house or in the brush house, depending on the time of the year. It was witnessed by both men and women. The clowns had their faces painted, one side black and the other side white. One of these performers played on the foot drum at the time of the dance. The audience was in a continual uproar of laughter during the performance, as mirth was not considered sacrilegious among the Southern Pomo at this time.

Powers has described a "Death and Resurrection" ceremony for the Southern Pomo, in which a woman was seemingly stabbed to death by a spear thrust in her umbilicus. Later she was doctored and restored to life. This performance may have taken place at the time of the clown dance, because Powers describes the executor as a "coward or clown."⁹⁵ Among the Eastern Pomo and the Northern Pomo of Potter valley this act was performed by members of the secret society for health-giving reasons, but outside the regular Kuksu ceremony.⁹⁶

Gilak dance.—This was performed by the Southern Pomo as well as by the other Pomo branches. It is said to have come to the Pomo from the Wappo.⁹⁷ Whenever the Gilak ko was performed by the Southern Pomo together with other common dances in a four-day performance, the dancers had to abstain from meat and fish for that period. Both men and women danced the Gilak ko.

Feather dance.—The feather dance (djane ko) was performed by both men and women.

Coyote dance.—The coyote dance was called either dowi ko or hosiya ko. Both men and women joined in this dance. The dancers wore the headdresses of yellowhammer quills.

Lole dance.—The "crazy" dance (lole ko) was for women.

In all of the common dances there was one male singer (mintjaiya) and another man who directed the ceremonies and who was called by the usual Pomo title of rock carrier (kabe dima).

⁹⁴ The same name (budabaxar) was used by the Eastern Pomo for their ceremonial pole in the Kuksu ceremony and the pole employed to strike down acorns (Folkways, 372). Kroeber informs me that the Southeastern Pomo had first-fruit (acorn ?) rites outside of the Kuksu cult. I have no information on this point. The Lake Miwok flower dance (cuya laki) will be described later.

⁹⁵ Tribes of California, 179, 180.

⁹⁶ Folkways, 351. (The information on Potter valley was obtained after Folkways was published.)

⁹⁷ Folkways, 393.

THE WAPPO

The Wappo (from Spanish Guapo, "brave"), or Micewal (that place) as they called themselves, form the most southerly division of the Yuki family. Owing to the divergence in language between the Wappo and the main Yuki stock, Kroeber believes that the separation of the Wappo from the Yuki must have occurred at least five hundred years ago.⁹⁸ The last migration of the Wappo about a hundred years ago took a fraction of them from Middletown and Geyserville into Alexander valley, which was until then the territory of the Southern Pomo.⁹⁹ The Southern Pomo, in recognition of the fact that the Wappo came from the north, called them Acotomai (Ashochimi) "northerners."

In the main, the material culture and customs of the Wappo are said by Kroeber to have been like those of the neighboring Pomo.¹⁰⁰ At any rate, they practiced cremation. They did not use armor in war. They had no dog, and when the Spanish introduced this animal, the Wappo called it hut, or coyote. The Wappo manufactured shell money, which they called dubulu. The magnesite cylinder money they called leltsiipi.

Certain of their economic traits, however, appear to link the Wappo with their northern relatives. The elkhorn wedge (kecupice) and stone (leli) were used for cutting down trees. Rope was perhaps made from iris, and it was made with the aid of a mussel shell. For small string the Wappo used the same plant as the Pomo, the leather root (*Psoralea macrostachya*).

I could not determine whether or not the Wappo had traces of a matrilineate, as did the Pomo. Descent, however, seemed to be patrilinear, for when a chief (kanitukcima) died, a son succeeded to office in preference to a sister's son.

⁹⁸ Handbook, 218.

⁹⁹ S. A. Barrett, The Ethno-geography of the Pomo Indians, pres. ser., 6: 265, 266, 1908.

¹⁰⁰ Handbook, 221.

MYTHOLOGY

The Wappo mythology has been published only in part.¹⁰¹ It is evident that we are dealing, to a certain extent, with a mixture of Pomo, Coast Miwok, and Yuki concepts.

Among both the Coast Miwok and the Wappo, Chicken Hawk was the grandson of the creator Coyote. Among both peoples the original race was destroyed by a flood and a new and human race created by Coyote.

In the Wappo mythology we find an identification made between Moon and Kuksu, which points to Yuki concepts. In the creation story as told by Joe McCloud it was Moon who gave Coyote the gifts of speech, motion, laughter, and the power of walking, to donate to man. According to the version given by Jim Tripo, it was Kuksu who benefited man in this manner.¹⁰²

Although the Wappo had no Ghost initiation for the boys of the tribe, it will be remembered that the Yuki did. The following lines taken from the Wappo texts therefore must be either considered as mythological memory of Yuki custom, or else as influenced by Lake Miwok custom. The Lake Miwok threw the boy initiates out of the sweat-house during the Ghost ceremony.

Inside the sweat-house were the dead people [ghosts] talking and yelling.

A long while after that there at the sweat-house window they placed coyote and his grandchildren [chick-hawk and his brother hawk] on a drum and threw him out. Then the people cried and they washed their bodies and bathed them. Then chicken-hawk-chief and his grandfather coyote went back into the sweat-house.¹⁰³

As Radin suggested in a footnote, this rite represented the death of Coyote and his grandchildren. Here then we have the native interpretation of the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, and Lake Miwok custom of throwing the boy initiates out of the sweat-house.¹⁰⁴ The ritual was symbolical of "Death and Resurrection."

¹⁰¹ P. Radin, *Wappo Texts, First Series*, pres. ser., 19:1-147, 1924.

¹⁰² The same, 45, 67. Father Schmidt from his study of these texts wrote: "Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob wir nicht Kuksu dem Monde gleichsetzen dürfen" (*Ursprung der Gottesidee*, 246).

¹⁰³ Radin, *Wappo Texts*, 75.

¹⁰⁴ It is interesting to note that the boys were thrown out of the dance house "window." Among the Patwin special openings in the roof of the dance house were used for the Kuksu and Wai-saltu rituals. It seems likely that the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, and Lake Miwok also employed "windows," as the dance house smoke-holes were a bit high for this ritual.

My informant remembered only the outlines of her mythology: Coyote made the flood and Kuksu dried the land off afterward. Kuksu was a god of the south. Coyote made the first man with hands like his, but lizard gave us his hands. Coyote stole fire from a tree in the north and hid it in his cane.

RELIGION

The Wappo called both the sun and the moon hin. The sun was called hintume hin (day sun) and the moon utcuwame hin (night sun). According to Powers, both the owl and the hawk had to be ceremonially propitiated, the latter by throwing money at his stuffed effigy set on a pole.¹⁰⁵ I, unfortunately, have no further information concerning these customs. They seem related to the Bird cult of south-central and southern California, as described by Gifford. Among the Central and Northern Miwok the eagle, condor, and prairie falcon were regarded with particular awe.¹⁰⁶

DOCTORS

Doctors (yomto) were either men or women. The sucking doctor was called yomto k'omutco. He obtained his guardian spirit through becoming frightened by a vision while awake. Upon the appearance of the supernatural being, the embryo doctor commenced to bleed from the mouth and nose. This was called cimanep. The guardian spirit remained with the doctor and aided him in his cures. There was no doctors' dance, however, as among the Yuki.

The dream doctors were called yomto hintcome (dreaming). If a man or woman had a dream about some supernatural being, such as a ghost or a snake, when he awoke he did as directed by the spirit and in this way became a doctor. The dream doctor came first to the sick person to diagnose. He sang and gave medicine. Among the Wappo the dream doctor had no outfit and the profession did not run in families. The sick people were never frightened in order to cause them to recover.

¹⁰⁵ Powers, 200.

¹⁰⁶ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Cults*, pres. ser., 18:394, 1926.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

The puberty ceremony for girls was called bisale, and further menstruations were called katsac'eca. The girl was kept in the house for ten days, and during the first four days she was not allowed to eat meat or fish. It was only during the first four days that the girl was kept under serious taboos. During this time she had to remain on her bed. No coals were placed under the bed. She had to have her face washed by her mother. She used a scratching stick (maicatema). She was allowed to speak to her mother only, and then she had to speak very slowly. She wore a deer skin over her face when her mother led her outdoors. At the end of four days a male singing doctor sang over her and she was bathed in a stream. She stayed in the house six more days and then she was once more bathed. No feast was held at the termination of the ceremony.

Women were not tattooed among the Wappo, and boys and girls had their ears bored during childhood whenever the parents chose.

THE KUKSU CEREMONY

The Kuksu ceremony was either a four- or seven-day affair. It was held once every summer if there were sickness in the village. If there were no sickness, the ceremony was omitted. Two brush houses (bugel) were erected for the purpose, one as a dressing room for the Kuksu performers, and one for the dance itself. The performers were not allowed to eat meat or fish during the seven days of the ceremony. In the intermissions between the sacred acts, common dances were given in the brush house.

The members of the secret society who gave the impersonations were called yomto (doctors.) But they were not necessarily doctors, and as society members performed no cures. The general purpose of the performances and of the initiation of certain boys which took place at this time, however, was health-giving. No women were members of the society. The impersonators consisted of two or three Kuksus and one ghost (hilimo). There was no bear impersonator. I could obtain no information concerning the use of the bullroarer and it probably was not used by the Wappo.

The "big head" of Kuksu was called hodutca, his belt eyema, and his elder-berry whistle ceyuma. He had a black stick about four feet long, which was called bekatema.

On the morning of the opening of the ceremony, the men, women, and children of the village assembled in the brush house. Then four or five of the male singers (onotedjedi) started singing the Kuksu song. I read my Southern Pomo Kuksu song to my informant, and she claimed that this was the song used by the Wappo for the occasion.

When the Kuksus arrived on the scene, they had with them two or three boys of about the age of ten years. They never brought in girls to be initiated. The boys were herded into the general brush house and made to lie down with their faces to the ground. While the Kuksus were in the brush house the women and children were instructed to conceal their faces in deer skins, and avoid looking at what was going on. Women were never supposed to see the Kuksu masqueraders, but, being both feminine and human, they sometimes stole surreptitious glances at the proceedings.

Each of the boys was given a single cut on the back by the Kuksus. The cutting was done with the black sticks and was called oketci. The gash was made deep enough to cause it to bleed.

The initiation of the boys completed, the Kuksus danced around the fire in the usual manner, blowing their whistles. They did not play with the fire. There was no singing at the time of the Kuksu dance. Then the Kuksus went back to their dressing house, and the people held common dances for the remainder of the day. This was the only time that the Kuksus made their appearance during the seven-day ceremony.

On the evening of the first and of the fourth or seventh day, depending on the length of the Kuksu ceremony, a ghost (hilimo) came down from the hills and visited the people who were dancing around the fire in the brush house. The ghost was supposed to represent a dead person who had returned. He was painted in a manner similar to the Pomo ghosts, and it was said that his face was daubed with clay of various colors. He wore no mask disguise, but had abalone shells strung around his forehead. In one hand he carried an ordinary stick and in the other a blazing torch. Fire also blazed from his hair.

The ghost was not sung for, but he entered the brush enclosure singing his own songs. The people who were non-members of the secret society did not understand the words of the songs. The women

and the children were allowed to look at the ghost. Once in the brush house the ghost danced, jumping in and out of the fire, and throwing coals around. In various ways he took the part of a clown. He asked the people for tobacco, and when this was given to him, he swallowed it. He held his stick pressed down on the ground and danced around it. If anyone laughed the ghost demanded a fine. Finally he returned to the hills.

COMMON DANCES

The common dances were open to both men and women. They were sometimes danced in the dance house (hotsa) in the winter. In that case the foot drum (wima) was used. They were also danced in the summer as part of the Kuksu ceremony.

Coyote dance.—The coyote dance was called hut olol, olol being the Wappo term for dance. While the dance was open to women, it was only the men who made up as clowns. The latter danced naked, with stripes on their bodies, and colored clay on their faces. They made funny faces, but did not place sticks in their mouths and noses. Their joking was entirely in pantomime. They did not play with the fire. If a man (or woman) laughed, he was thrown up in the air. Then he had to pay a fine, give a feast, or do anything which the clowns demanded.

Gilak dance.—This was considered a dangerous dance, and the participants had to refrain from meat and fish in any ceremony in which the Gilak dance was a part. Gilak was said to have been a "mean" man (or demon?). The men and women dancers painted their faces red and wore feathers in their hair. They danced round the fire.

"Crazy" dance.—The crazy dance (djane olol) was danced by two or four women. They acted as if they were intoxicated, and danced with their hands going up and down.

Loli olol.—This was a round dance. Men and women clasped hands and went around the fire in circles. They wore flowers in their hair.

Hintil olol.—Men and women danced this encircling the fire. Hintil is Spanish gentil, in the sense of "pagan, native."

Suya olol.—This was said to have been danced in the same manner, but afterward the men and women took individual partners.

Ohok olol.—This was danced by men and women, and may have corresponded to the Pomo hoho ke.

Sota olol.—This was danced by men and women.

In the Wappo common dances the leader was an official called rock man (lel katce) as among the Pomo.

SUMMARY OF WAPPO CULTS

The Wappo were peculiar in respect to the tribes I have thus far treated inasmuch as they had no Ghost tribal initiation for boys, and because the Kuksu secret society was limited to certain males. I have shown that the Ghost cult probably became lost as the tribe migrated south. Perhaps the Wappo felt that they should have ghosts and clowns in their cult, since such was the custom among their neighbors, and hence the presence of a ghost in the Kuksu cult and clowns in the common Coyote dance. At any rate, the running of two cults into one should not be considered unusual for the region: the Hill Patwin ran the three cults of the River Patwin into one.¹⁰⁷

I have already pointed out in another paper that the main reason for the admission of women into the secret societies of North America was the fact that the societies were usually shamanistic in purpose.¹⁰⁸ It so happens that among the Wappo the individual members performed no cures hence there was no reason why women had to be admitted. All the females were placed on an equal basis, for none were supposed to look at the Kuksus.

¹⁰⁷ A. L. Kroeber, *The Patwin and their Neighbors*, pres. ser. 29:253-423, 1932.

¹⁰⁸ Loeb, *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies*, 266.

THE COAST MIWOK

As noted in the introduction to this paper, my information concerning the Coast Miwok was derived from two half-brothers living at Bodega bay. The customs of the Coast Miwok to the south of Bodega bay may have varied slightly from those of this region.

The dance house was called lama. A special house was built about every seven years in a particular spot for the Ghost ceremony (wale) and this was called kuata. This ceremonial house was dismantled after it had been used once.

Dogs were unknown to the Coast Miwok before the coming of the Spanish. They were called haiyusa.

MYTHOLOGY

Coyote (Wayoki) was the creator of mankind. There was a bird race previous to the time that human beings came upon the earth. Coyote caused a flood by making the waters rise. There were three people inside the dance house at the time of the flood: Coyote; Chicken Hawk (Walin abi), the grandchild of Coyote; and Frog (Kolola), the wife of Coyote. When the water rose the dance house in which this family was staying was lifted high into the air. Chicken Hawk escaped by flying away. All those who remained on the ground perished.

After the flood Coyote made another race, this time of human beings. He fashioned the people from sticks and mud. Coyote was the benefactor of man and taught the people how to do everything.

At one time Coyote wanted fire. He sent Hummingbird (kulupi) to steal fire from the coast. The fire spread and went all over the world. Coyote stopped the fire by throwing dirt on it.

As creator Coyote was prayed to by the Coast Miwok. In the prayers, however, no mention was made of his name.¹⁰⁹ There was a certain rock which was supposed to have been left by Coyote, and at which women prayed when they wished children. They prayed at the

¹⁰⁹ A Coast Miwok prayer is given in *Folkways*, 312.

left side of the rock for a girl baby and at the right side for boys. The women put their arms around the rock and prayed to Coyote to give them children.

CALENDAR

The sun was called hi and the moon pululuk. The new moon was considered unlucky. My informant told me that his people had no names for the months, but that the seasons were given names.

Winter, omju pululuk
 Spring, wentupe pululuk
 Fall, cakamole pululuk
 Summer, wilauwale pululuk

DOCTORS

The sucking doctor was called temnepa or wakilapi and the outfit doctor was called walimitca.¹¹⁰ The doctors had no official connection with the secret society, and might or might not be members. The doctors never danced to effect a cure, as this was done by the society. When anyone was very sick, he might make a vow to Coyote to have the society members perform a Kuksu dance, and this was considered far more effective than any treatment the doctors might give.

If a man or woman were out in the hills and saw a spirit he was liable to become sick. Then a sucking doctor was summoned. The two doctors danced together for four nights, and the elder doctor sucked the neophyte and thus initiated him into the profession. While the outfit doctor had a bag (kewe), it was said that he had to undergo the same training as the sucking doctor, and that he also was able to suck. His position therefore could not have been hereditary. The outfit doctor always visited the patient first and made the diagnosis.

The giving of good luck, or mana, by rubbing, as practiced by the Pomo, was unknown to the Coast Miwok.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

The first menstruation was called ame and subsequent menstruations were called wilak (bleeding). The patient was either placed in a special brush hut or else kept in the house. A deer-skin bed was arranged for her over a coal fire. During the four days of the ceremony she was allowed to eat neither meat nor fish, but lived on acorn

¹¹⁰ Among the southern Coast Miwok the sucking doctor was called wenenapi, and the outfit doctor liwa wenenapi (water doctor) because of the medicines he gave.

soup and pinole. Whenever the girl went outside she had to conceal her head in a deer skin. She was not allowed to wash and had to use a scratching stick (*cakaia tumai*, scratching wood). Her mother or grandmother took care of her, and sang and danced over her while she was lying down. The girl herself did not dance. At the end of the four days all the young people of the village assembled and there was a big feast and dance. The young girl was bathed, given new clothing, and she then joined in the feast. It was a period of sex license.

Girls were tattooed (*hotca*) at the time of their puberty ceremony. Boys were not tattooed at all. Both boys and girls had their ears (and noses ?) pierced whenever they so desired.

A limited *couvade* was practiced by the Coast Miwok as by the neighboring tribes. After his wife had given birth to a child, the husband was not allowed to hunt or fish, and he had to abstain from eating meat and fish.

DEATH

The dead were burned and the bones gathered from the ashes and buried. The house and all the possessions of the dead person were destroyed. A year after the death a second burning (*osa pucati*) was held.

GHOST INITIATION

The Ghost ceremony was not given by the members of the secret society, and had no connection with the society. As elsewhere among the tribes we have so far considered in this paper, the Ghost ceremony was a tribal initiation for all of the boys of the tribe. This point is important, for we will find that a ceremony similar to the Ghost ceremony was incorporated by the secret society among the Coast Miwok (the *pololo* dance), and among the Lake Miwok the Ghost ceremony was no longer an inclusive tribal initiation. Not only were women excluded from the Ghost ceremony among the Coast Miwok, but the ceremony was, as among the Pomo, more or less directed against them and they were supposed to know nothing about it.¹¹¹

So sacred and taboo to women was the Ghost ceremony considered that, as among the Pomo, a special house had to be built for the occasion. The ghost dance (*wale*) served no other purpose than for the

¹¹¹ Nothing could be more misleading than my note that women brought food into the ghost house among the Coast Miwok. This was done for the *pololo* ceremony. At the time of writing *Folkways* I understood only in part the religious organization of the Coast Miwok. (*Folkways*, 339.)

initiation of the boys. The ghosts were called walipo, and the boys, who were about nine or ten years of age, were called umutciko. Clowns were called hukinak, and different men than those who played the parts of ghosts enacted the rôles of clowns. The clowns had bent sticks in their mouths and nostrils. The firetender (omotak mitca, big person) was the director of the ceremony. The chief (hoipu) came in occasionally to watch the ceremony.

The ghosts came down from the hills twice during the four nights of the ceremony. They had torches and fire burned in their hair. Bullroarers (umul) were whirled in the ceremonial house, and the women believed the roaring to be the voices of the ghosts. The boys were painted black and were kept lying on the ground. Upon occasion they were thrown over the fire by the ghosts. They were given acorn soup and pinole to eat, and they had to make use of the scratching stick.

The ghosts (walipo) were trained in the hills. These impersonators did not participate in cures, as they were not (necessarily) members of the secret society. The walipo were supposed to be dangerous spirits who roamed over the hills and frightened women. Among the Pomo the two types of ghosts (walipo and pololo) were combined into a single unit, as were also the two ceremonies connected with these characters.

THE SECRET SOCIETY

The members of the secret society were called walintem. Evidently the root "wali" among the Coast Miwok has the significance of doctor. Both adult men and women were admitted to the society. An entrance fee, payable in bead money (later in commodities), was required.

The society gave the Pololo, the Kuksui, and the Kilak dances. There was an eight-day initiation in the hills for those who wished to become society members. The initiates were taught the use of the costumes and the bullroarers.

Non-members of the society were allowed to witness the Kuksui and the Kilak dances, and these were often performed in the summer in the brush house. The Pololo dance was held in the dance house, however, and only members of the secret society were admitted. If any non-member came in, he or she had to pay in beads and join the society.¹¹²

¹¹² I was told how in more recent times an Indian became intoxicated and tried to force his way into the pololo dance. He was held over the fire and thrown out twice. All the hair was burned off his head, but the next day it had grown out again by some miracle.

POLOLO DANCE

The pololo ghosts really symbolized the return of the dead and were not simply spirit representations. While the walipo were always impersonated by men, both men and women impersonated the pololo.¹¹³ Such men and women had, of course, to be members of the society. The dance lasted four days and was held in the dance house. Each village sent its pololo impersonators, and these ran down from the hills and into the dance house in turns. There were about four pololo in each group. The running-down was done at night, while the members of the society were in the dance house, dancing around a large fire.

The performers had very long hair and were painted red, white, and black. They wore semi-masks made from feathers, which served to conceal their features. The masks were necessary because the non-members outside of the dance house actually thought that the pololo were dead people who were returning for the memorial dance. Each of the performers carried a large tree on his back when he came down from the hills. The trees were either pine or redwood and were said to have been so large that ten men could not have lifted one of them. They were pulled up by the roots. The trees were left outside the dance house, and four or five months afterwards were chopped up and used as firewood. My informant once saw a pololo drive his tree right through the walls of the dance house.

When the pololo came running down from the hills they were met outside the dance house by mourners who had lost a member of the family during the year, and the impersonator of the deceased was given beads. Then amid the wailing of the women the pololo entered the dance house, where they removed their masks.¹¹⁴

A thunder ceremony (*holiwal kaul*) was performed on the second day of the pololo dance. The fire was allowed to die down and the society members extended themselves on the ground. Two men then swung the bullroarers, which were supposed to be the voice of thunder.

¹¹³ There is some doubt on this point. Three years ago Bill Smith, my informant, told me that certain men dressed as women to impersonate the pololo. This year he told me that women actually acted as impersonators. The dance was held while he was a boy, and he himself is not certain about this detail.

¹¹⁴ The Eastern and Northern Pomo had a return of the dead ceremony on the last day of the Ghost initiation ceremony. I believe that this feature was diffused from the Coast Miwok to the Pomo, for the Miwok, being situated to the south, made greater use of memorial ceremonies in general. (Folkways, 348.)

It was said that bad weather would result if the bullroarers were swung too often in the winter.

At the end of the pololo ceremony every one went down to the creek for a swim. Then two female society members brought food into the dance house and there was a feast.

KUKSUI DANCE

The Kuksui curing ceremony was performed when there were sick people in the village and they had made a vow to have this ritual. It was done either in the winter or the summer, in the dance house or in a brush house. From two to four men dressed as Kuksui in the hills. Their sticks were called geyak and the whistles toka. They had no belts. One actor who took the part of Calnis and one bear impersonator (kule) came down with the Kuksui.¹¹⁵

The exact method of healing could not be recorded as my informant was too young to have witnessed it. The ceremony lasted four days and the Kuksui came down twice a day when summoned by the singers. The sick people were placed in the dance house and were surrounded by a crowd of men, women, and children. The Kuksui came in running, and danced around the patients, blowing their whistles. The bullroarers were probably used as an aid in curing.

KILAK DANCE

This was considered a dangerous dance and was performed by male members of the secret society. When a person was sick he sometimes vowed to have the society perform this dance if he recovered. The dance was held in the brush house or dance house and was open to the public. The impersonators had feathers on their backs and woodpecker wings around their heads. Kilak was said to have been a "mean" (vicious) man destitute of friends. The Kilak song was as follows:

hola ma honi, hola ma honi, Kilak he!

COMMON DANCES

Little description was furnished for the common dances (kawul). The soto was a common dance; the wayoki the coyote dance; the lola a "crazy" dance for women. The kukin (bear) was a dance for men and women. The sunwele was given only by name.

¹¹⁵ Calnis has been described for the Eastern Pomo as a god who lived with Kuksu in the south. (Folkways, 366.)

THE LAKE MIWOK

The Lake Miwok called themselves *kosa* atau *yomi*, people speak place. The Sulphur Bank Pomo called the Lake Miwok *tiomfo*. The Lake Miwok formerly practiced cremation, but my informant Salvador, who was about ninety years old, said that this was done before his time. Neither among the Coast nor Lake Miwok could I find any trace of moieties or cousin marriage.

MYTHOLOGY

Certain Lake Miwok myths have recently been published by J. de Angulo and L. S. Freeland.¹¹⁶ According to these accounts Coyote (*ole nawa*) made the human race out of pieces of wood. Coyote was married to Frog, and he had as grandsons Hawk Chief and Grapevine Hawk. Coyote put the world conflagration out with a flood, which destroyed the first animal race. Evidently nowhere south of the Eastern Pomo do we encounter a world creation story.

RELIGION

One or two *yomta* were the heads of the secret society among the Lake Miwok. They directed the ceremonial life of the people. The chief (*hoipu*) merely spoke to the people from the top of the ceremonial and dance house (*lama*), telling them to be good.

The second burning for the dead was an important ceremony among the Lake Miwok. It was called *culesipu*. Certain of the doctors dreamed that the dead people wanted food and clothing. They told the *yomta* and the *yomta* informed the entire village. The *yomta* said that a big burning had to be held.

A long pole was erected. The image of a man was made from a deer-skin blanket. Beads were put inside this image and it was attached to the top of the pole. The pole was called *luma* and the image *halu* (man). In more recent times a banner was also put on

¹¹⁶ Miwok and Pomo Myths, *JAF* 41:232-252, 1928.

top of the pole.¹¹⁷ The people danced around the pole and piled gifts at its base. Food, consisting of acorns, pinole, meat, and fish, was also included in the sacrifice. A yomta stood there and talked and prayed. Salvador claimed that the yomta did not pray to Coyote, who was the grandfather of all the Indians, but to Lile-wali (sky doctor) who was the true Creator.¹¹⁸ The people did not cry at the time, but probably did later when the pole and all the gifts were consumed in flame.

Bill Smith, my Coast Miwok informant, spent many years of his life in Middletown among the Lake Miwok. He claimed that the mourning ceremony there was held a year after the death of a prominent person and that the bones of the dead person were reburied together with the pole and sacrifices.

The sun was called hi and the moon kaul hi (night sun). At the time of a new moon (cuku kaul hi) the people raised their infants in the air and shook them up at the moon so that they would quickly grow in size. They prayed:

aweto melhi welak, grow-quick grow I-hope.

At the time of a new moon the adults prayed for good luck. The Lake Miwok had names for the twelve moons, but Salvador had forgotten them.

The rattlesnake was called holomai. The people killed the rattlesnake with stones, because they were afraid to shoot it with the bow and arrow. The whirlwind (uyula) was supposed to contain a spirit. The following is a list of words having religious importance:

Breath, hena
 Dream, ukus
 Sick, makenai
 To doctor, kai yomta enai
 Thunder, talana
 Rainbow, gotsagotsa
 Dance, laki
 Hummingbird, tsu ulu (said to be a doctor)

¹¹⁷ It is not unlikely that the Patwin borrowed the idea of having a banner on the pole, used in the modern Hesi cult, from the Lake Miwok mourning ceremony. The Eastern Pomo, however, carried poles with banners in their ancient Kuksu ritual. The question is discussed in *Folkways*, 372.

¹¹⁸ Salvador insisted that Lile-wali and not Coyote made the human race. This is in contradiction to the published Lake Miwok mythology. Lile-wali may well be a modern concept, for when I questioned Salvador concerning this god he said, "Lile-wali had no wife. He had one son, however, named Hesu."

DOCTORS

Doctors were called yomta. The sucking doctor was named Xlubak yomta and the singing doctor momai yomta. The informant did not know how the sucking doctor was trained. The singing doctor acquired medicines and songs from his father or grandfather.

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

Menstruation was called pulu or huliya. The first menstruation was called haiya. At the time of her first menstruation, the girl was kept in the house for eight days. She was put on her bed but no coals were placed beneath it. She was not allowed to eat meat or fish. She could not wash herself and had to use a scratching stick. She was allowed to speak. No dance was held over the girl. At the end of eight days she was bathed in warm water and given new clothing. At subsequent menstruations the woman had to remain at home for four days.

GHOST INITIATION

The four-day ceremony of the Ghost initiation was called ulup laki. The word for ghost was halañosa, and the Ghost dance itself was called halañosa laki. The ordinary dance house (lama) was used for the Ghost ceremony.

The Ghost initiation among the Lake Miwok differed in certain important respects from all thus far considered in this paper. It remained, however, entirely male in organization. Not only were women excluded, but they were not supposed to know about this performance. The women and uninitiated children remained in their homes during the four days of the performance and believed that ghosts really came down from the hills. The initiation, however, was no longer tribal in nature, for only certain boys were selected to become members and learn to dance. A still more important alteration lay in the fact that it was the yomta who was at the head of the cult, which thus became the sole secret society of the tribe.¹¹⁹ There was no admission fee in this society, however, as among the Coast Miwok. Quite the opposite scheme was employed, for the yomta had

¹¹⁹ Among the Pomo the Kuksu and Ghost cults overlapped in leadership (Folkways, 342).

to pay the parents of the boys he wished to initiate. While boys were usually received between the ages of ten and twelve years, young men were also admitted. The yomta tried to buy Salvador when he was a boy, but his grandmother was afraid to allow him to join. The yomta caught him as a young man and made him learn the dance. Thus the entire purpose of the Ghost ceremony had undergone a change from the Pomo version. The idea was no longer that of making a boy a man and a tribal member, but simply that of instructing him in the dance steps so that he could perform them when he grew up.¹²⁰ In certain respects then the Lake Miwok Ghost ceremony resembled the Patwin Hesi; that is, in sacred leadership and in the common purpose of catching the boys in order to instruct them in the sacred dances. The resemblances are more than fortuitous, for the Lake Miwok, like the Southeastern or Sulphur Bank Pomo, are neighbors of the Patwin.

The ghosts came down at intervals, performed their dance in the dance house in about half an hour's time, and then left. Each village sent its contingent of from four to ten ghosts. Two or three contingents came down in the daytime and two at night. Each group danced four times in the dance house. Between dances they sounded the bullroarer (*ladiladi*).

The yomta called for the ghosts from the top of the dance house. He called "Ho o o o." The ghosts answered "Wha wha wha wha," and came running down. The ghosts were painted with white clay and charcoal. They did not carry torches or have their hair blazing. They brought no snakes with them. After stopping outside the dance house they finally entered, first running around the fire, and then over the foot drum.

Inside the dance house was the yomta. Sometimes two yomta were in charge. A firetender (*mese*) was in constant attendance. There were two or three singers there called *koya*. All the fathers of the boys were present to watch their children, and as many adult men of the village as desired to come. The thirty or forty boy initiates were kept with their heads covered with the deer hides while the ghosts entered. When they were allowed to look up, the ghosts were already in the house.

While the boys were in the dance house they were under severe restrictions, which, as usual, were similar to those the girls underwent

¹²⁰ In spite of the fact that the Sulphur Bank Pomo Ghost ceremony conformed to the usual Pomo pattern, the boys from Sulphur Bank were sometimes brought over to be initiated in the Lake Miwok ceremony.

at the time of their puberty ceremony. Their heads were kept covered with deer skins for a great part of the time and when they were led outdoors. They could eat only acorn soup and pinole. Water was given them at noon and in the evening. They used scratching sticks (*hapcetilumai*).

The ghosts put the boys through rather severe ordeals. They danced with the boys on their backs, and picked them up, and tossed them around as though they were balls. This sport was called *huta*. If any of the boys had the reputation of being "mean," the ghosts placed burning coals in their hands. Certain of the worst boys had burning coals fastened to their necks and were thrown out of the dance house smoke hole (window ?). The mothers or grandmothers were outside the dance house to catch their children and put out the fires with water. It is said that the boys never suffered any injury from this severe treatment.

The *halañosa* put twigs in their mouths and nostrils and acted as clowns in order to make the boys laugh. If the boys laughed they were fined.

At the end of the four days the boys were washed and the dance house was cleaned. All the people of the village, including the women, were now allowed to enter. Baskets of food were brought in and a general feast followed.

KUKSU CEREMONY

The Lake Miwok had no *Kuksu* ceremony, but sent their boys over to Sulphur Bank to be initiated by the Pomo. According to Lake Miwok language, *Kuksu* himself was called *Kuksu*, and was described as a ghost or spirit who was wont to travel on top of the water. The headdress was called *yahela*, the belt *mituponi*, the stick *slak*, and the elder-berry whistle *toka*.

FIRST FRUITS CEREMONY

The *cuya laki* was given in the spring when the flowers blossomed. It was a sacred four-day ceremony in charge of the *yomta*. Both men and women danced. It cannot be said that the dancers belonged to a secret society, or that there was any initiation other than the learning of the steps. The *yomta* often danced first to show how this was done. When the boys and girls first performed the *cuya laki* they had to abstain from eating meat and fish for a year, but subsequently only for the four-day duration of the ceremony.

The dancers carried flowers in their hands and wore blossoms in their hair. The most striking feature of the ceremony was the use made by the dancers of rattlesnakes. Each of the performers sought these reptiles before the first day of the dance and then came in with some coiled around his neck. It was the onerous duty of the firetender to relieve the dancers of their squirming charges.¹²¹

COMMON DANCES

Bear dance.—This was called *cukin laki* or *kule laki*. Men and women danced wearing buzzard feathers. As among the Coast Miwok, who had a dance of the same name, there was no actual bear impersonation.

Lehuya laki.—This was a feather dance for both men and women.

O'o laki.—This was a yellowhammer-feather dance for both sexes.

Sota laki.—This was also a yellowhammer-feather dance for both sexes.

Gilak laki.—The customary imitation of *Gilak* by male dancers.

¹²¹ The Eastern Pomo rattlesnake ceremony has been described in *Folkways*, 375.

THE SOUTHEASTERN POMO

Almost the only published information we have concerning the Southeastern Pomo is that obtained by Gifford from Wokox, a native of Elem.¹²² In spite of the fact that both the Ghost ceremony and the Kuksu cult were mentioned in this paper, Angulo denied the existence of both cults for the Lake Miwok and the Southeastern Pomo. It is interesting to note that Kuksu himself (labeled a "mysterious personage" by Angulo) came into one of the recorded Southeastern Pomo myths under the name of Skoykyo.¹²³ The name when correctly spelled is "sekoi kuyo" and means "cut for," from his office of cutting the candidates for the secret society. In the recorded myth two Kuksu brothers came in and cured Coyote (Kliwin).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Southeastern Pomo were definitely inclined toward matrilineal reckoning. According to the informant Wokox, there were a number of contemporaneous chiefs (balakui) in Elem of equal rank. Succession to chieftaincy was either matrilineal or patrilineal. There were also "chiefesses" or balakbutet. The only function of the latter was to feed guests at ceremonial gatherings and casual visitors to the village. The chiefs had no connection with the secret society, which had its own head called Huan xoi. The members of the secret society were also called Huan xoi. The head of the secret society directed the three ceremonies which were performed by the society members: the Ghost ceremony, the Kuksu ceremony, and the Bear ceremony. The head of the society knew all the prayers and formulae which were sung in a secret language. The office was inherited from a man to his sister's son. If there were no maternal nephew, the office went from father to son. The society itself was composed mostly of men, but included a few women who played a rôle in the Bear ceremony. Each member of the society had a bag (q'uatwi) in which he kept his outfit.

¹²² E. W. Gifford, *Clear Lake Pomo Society*, pres. ser., 18:287-390, 1926.

¹²³ J. de Angulo and L. Freeland, *Miwok and Pomo Myths*, JAF 41:243, 251.

The doctors were not necessarily members of the society. The sucking doctor was called tsukamxowi (tsukal according to Wokox) and the outfit doctor yoi wai q'uiolit, rattle with doctor (kowi or kohoyelkel according to Wokox). Gifford states that the word kohuyoli meant either the medicine bag or the doctoring of the sick with it.¹²⁴ The outfit was inherited. The spirit which frightened the embryo sucking doctor made him a doctor. There was no doctors' dance.

The organization for the common dances was similar to that found elsewhere for the Pomo. "The master of ceremonies was called kobedulawi, the head singer of the chorus hemia, the firetender medze, and the drummer xoco kitimwi (drum pounder). A four-day ceremony was called xaitcinka and a single dance xe."¹²⁵

GIRLS' PUBERTY CEREMONY

A four-day ceremony was held at the time that a girl experienced her first menstruation (suksak). Subsequent menstruation was called xebed. At the time of her first menstruation the girl was put in a special house called tsa. She was made to lie down above a bed of coals. She could not wash her face and she had to make use of a scratching stick. She could not eat meat or fish, and her mother fed her during the four-day period. The girl wore a rabbit-skin blanket over her head when she went outside. There was no dance. The ears of the girl were pierced long before. Neither men nor women were tattooed among the Southeastern Pomo.

GHOST INITIATION

The Ghost ceremony, according to Gifford, was called kinaupo.¹²⁶ The ghosts were called tsina mafon (mountain men). All the boys of the tribe had to undergo the Ghost initiation. My informant, Tom Leon, was brought into the dance house for the initiation by his elder brother when he was about twelve years of age. The brother instructed Tom merely regarding his behavior while undergoing the initiation. Tom was kept in the house for four days, most of the time buried under a rabbit-skin blanket (tenel). When he went outside he had to keep his head covered with the blanket. He made use of a scratching stick (haitsaka). Water was served only in the morning and evening, and the diet of the boys consisted of acorn soup and pinole.

¹²⁴ Clear Lake Pomo Society, 331.

¹²⁵ Clear Lake Pomo Society, 362.

¹²⁶ Clear Lake Pomo Society, 349.

The ghosts came running in, both in the daytime and at night. The boys were not supposed to see them enter, but they often stole glances from beneath their blankets. The ghosts wore semi-masks of twigs, and were all black, or all white, or white and black. They bore torches and some had fire in their hair. Certain of the ghosts carried bull snakes and gopher snakes into the dance house. These snakes were used for curing. The firetender took out the snakes and put them over the painful spots of sick people. Then the snakes were freed.

After the ghosts had arrived in the dance house they performed their dance. The singer (*xeniam*) sang for the ghosts, while the drummer stamped time on the foot drum (*hokok*). The ghost song went:

tali, tali, yo yo weya y, weya yo, ha hi he ya he hotsaii ya hi ho.

The ghosts were able to play with the fire and swallow the glowing embers. They took boys who were "mean" and threw them over the fire or placed coals in their hands.

When a group of ghosts had completed a performance they undressed in the dance house and a new set of performers from a different village came running in from the hills.

The clowns were represented by a different set of men. These performers were called *oko kats* (spotted). They were painted with black and white spots. The clowns talked backward and made jokes. If one of the spectators laughed, he was fined food, tobacco, or whatever was needed. The goods were divided among the performers.

The bullroarer was sounded during the Ghost ceremony, but my informant forgot the name of the instrument.

KUKSU CEREMONY

While all the boys were initiated into the Ghost ceremony, only those boys who were destined to play a rôle in the secret society were cut in the Kuksu ceremony. The membership and the rôles were handed down by inheritance. It made no difference which initiation came first.

The Kuksu ceremony was a four-day affair held in a special brush house (*se etsa*). Common dances took place between the sacred performances. Kuksu was ordinarily not spoken of by his proper name, but under the title of *Sekoikuyo*. His headdress was called *xiya*, his belt *mosinets*, his stick *xai*, and his whistle *umpu*.

The brush house was erected the day before the ceremony. On the first morning only men were allowed in the house, while the women and children remained in their homes. The men sat inside and smoked, and when evening came they sang and danced. In order to summon Kuksu, the first morning ten or twelve members of the society danced outside with long feathered poles (kokats). The men shook the poles and sang the Kuksu song:¹²⁷

he ha le me, le lu hi ma humane, hu

A single Kuksu first made his entrance. He came into the brush house, danced around while whistling, and returned to the hills. After this the women and children came into the brush house and joined in the general dancing. During the evening Kuksu came down from the hills and remained outside the house. The women and children were never allowed to be present when the spirit actually made his entrance.

On the second day three or four Kuksus made their appearance. The women and children ran to their homes, but young boys were allowed to enter the house and watch with the elder men the Kuksu dance held inside. After this the young boys went outside and played shinny (kako batsakak).

On the third day the boys went swimming, and the Kuksus followed them with their sticks. The Kuksus kept chasing the boys as though they were sheep, trying to drive them into the brush house. They would often whack a boy across the rump, or else trip him up with the stick.

On the fourth day the Kuksus rounded up certain of the boys from the group playing shinny. They took them to a place in the bush for the purpose of cutting them. The boys were cut on the back with shells and then washed with herbs and angelica. The cutting was called beketskat. Finally the boys were tied together with a tule belt (ta). The purpose of this ceremony was said to be to give the boys good luck, to make them grow, and to make them members of the society.

BEAR CEREMONY

The Bear ceremony (betikal xe) was held for four days in the brush house. Both the Kuksu and the Bear ceremony took place every summer in one village or another of the Southeastern Pomo.

¹²⁷ Before Tom Leon could sing this meaningless song for me, he prayed to the nature spirits so that they would not harm him. It was forbidden to sing the song except when acting the part of Kuksu. Only a few years ago Tom played Kuksu in the new Ghost religion.

They were both presented by the secret society, but were entirely separate festivals. Boys and girls who were to take rôles in the Bear ceremony were stabbed by the Salis impersonator. Common dances were held in the brush house during the four days of the ceremony.

During the course of this ceremony the bear impersonator appeared each day out in the bushes, where he dug a hole with his claws and lay down in it. When he had done this he disappeared again into the brush.

On the fourth day after the dancing had stopped in the brush house the boys ran out and hid. Then a character called Salis (Calnis among the Eastern Pomo) appeared and tripped the boys with a spear and herded certain of them back into the brush house. Salis was attired like Kuksu, but instead of a stick he carried five or six long spears (bice) intended for the stabbing ceremony.

In the brush house a member of the society held each boy in turn while Salis thrust a spear at his stomach and pretended that he was going to stab him. No imitation of actual stabbing, however, was performed. After this the initiated boys (and presumably girls) were taught by the society members how the stabbing was done, why it was done, and who did it.

As a final rite, the bear impersonator had to be dismissed with offerings. Two women members of the secret society were selected to placate the animal. These women were called betilkal kotmuse (bear mother) and were related to male members of the society.¹²⁸ They had been initiated into the society in order that they might perform this ceremony. The bear mothers were painted, and attired in large bead and feather belts. They kept their outfits in bags, as did the male members of the society.

On the fourth day, after the bear had dug his hole and was preparing to leave, the bear mothers came up and threw beads at the impersonator. The firetender then called the women to return and the bear slunk back into the bushes.

An interesting point is presented in the rite of collecting the boys for initiation. Among the Southern Pomo, the Southeastern Pomo, and the Wappo the methods employed were fairly identical. Among the Southern Pomo the boys were brought in by the Kuksus on their sticks and dropped on the ground. No cutting was performed. Among

¹²⁸ The term "mother" was common among the Pomo for women members of the secret society. Among the Coast Central Pomo the women members were called *basan miate* (powerful mothers) and among the Eastern Pomo the chief woman member of the society was called *masan hamite* (mother of the powerful one). (Folkways, 355, 365.)

the Wappo the boys were driven in by the Kuksus, made to lie on the ground and were cut. There was no reason assigned for the cutting. Among the Southeastern Pomo the boys were driven in and cut. Here definite reasons were assigned for the cutting, and it made the boys members of the society. Moreover among these people there was a suggestion of bringing the boys back to life, since they were washed with herbs after the operation.

Now it may be suggested as an ethnological theory that a trait in traveling from its original source tends to lose both its complexity and its significance, that is, its relation to its cultural setting. Using this theory as a basis of argument the chances favor the proposition that the "boy gathering" trait passed from the Southeastern Pomo to the Wappo to the Southern Pomo.¹²⁹ Since there is so little difference in complexity or significance in the trait among any of these peoples, one cannot approach certainty on this part of the problem.

Among the Patwin and Northwestern Maidu there was a more involved ceremony wherein the boy initiates were caught and brought back to the dance house. Among the Maidu the rite was less involved; the shaman simply selected the candidates, and if they could, they ran away. In this case they were not caught outside, but were initiated upon another occasion.¹³⁰ In the Patwin Wai-saltu ceremony we approach the true significance of the trait. The candidates got into a frenzy and bled from their mouths (as though possessed by spirits). Then they ran out of the dance house into swamps, ponds, or tule marshes, and had to be rescued or herded back. After this they were "restored to life" by a yomta.¹³¹

Evidently the Patwin, according to our theoretical method of reasoning, were the originators of the "boy gathering" trait. The boys ran away because they were in a frenzy bordering on spirit possession. They had to be brought back in order to be cured. The form of cure was a "Death and Resurrection" ceremony. Among the Pomo this was done by laying the boys in a row and cutting them; among the Patwin the shaman restored the boys to life by singing over them.

While progress has thus far been made in clarifying the intent of the rite, there still remains doubt as to why the boys among the Patwin got into a state of frenzy. They acted as though they were pos-

¹²⁹ Among the Eastern Pomo, Kuksu and Calnis herded the children into the brush house in order to make them healthy. There was no cutting performed at the time. (Folkways, 370.)

¹³⁰ Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, 325.

¹³¹ Handbook, 385.

sessed, and yet they were not possessed. Spirit possession and true shamanism are not typical of California culture. But they are found in the culture of the Northwest.

The tribes of the Northwest have the peculiar idea that guardian spirits belong to certain secret societies, and thus must be inherited by the novice. The guardian spirit seizes and actually possesses the novice. While the novice is in this state he is abducted. The object of the winter ceremony is first to bring back the candidates who have been possessed and abducted by their guardian spirits. In order to bring the young men back the members of the society hold dances. The second object of the ceremony is to exorcise the possessing spirit out of the novice. This is also done by song and dance. The novice gets rid of his possessing spirit by undergoing a death and resurrection ceremony.¹³²

Thus the true reason for gathering the boys into the ceremonial house was to rid them of their possessing spirits, and the starting point of our trait, following our initial theoretical assumption, was in the Northwest. Many ethnographers, however, will object to the last chain of evidence on the grounds that the gap between the Patwin or Northern Maidu and the Northwest coast is too great. It is no greater, however, than the gap between central California and the Pueblos, between which regions a fairly large number of religious traits have been shown to have been diffused.

It is interesting to note that the two cases of suspected Northwest influence in central California have been instances of altered spirit possession. For both the grizzly bear doctor and the frenzied neophyte concept have proved capable of explanation on an altered inspirational basis.

COMMON DANCES

Gifford has furnished part of the information at my disposal on the common dances held at Elem.¹³³ In the betelai, two men danced on opposite sides of the fire while fifteen or more women danced all around the fire. In the ala, one woman and a number of men participated. No feather ornaments were worn in this dance. The koipogo is an undescribed dance. A coyote dance (kliwit xe) was held, but no-Gilak dance. The lole was performed only once, and then by visitors. There was no acrobatic dance, or dama xe. A toto xe corresponded to the Eastern Pomo hoho xe. The condor dance (sul xe) was performed, probably by a member of the society.

¹³² Loeb, *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies*, 273.

¹³³ Clear Lake Pomo Society, 349.

CONCLUSION

It has been shown in the discussion of the northern and southern forms of the western Kuksu cults that certain elements came from the Southwest (more properly the sedentary Pueblo peoples) and certain from the Northwest. From the former came the sacrifice of meal, the use of the pole-climb, the rattle-snake ceremony, and the new fire ceremony. From the Northwest came bear shamanism and the semi-possession of neophytes. Clowns were found in the Southwest, in central California, and in the Northwest, but since their functions were more complex in the Southwest, that was presumably their point of origin.

One point of importance to be settled is the origin of Kuksu himself. Two factors are involved in this problem: the nature of this god and the place from which he came. Naturally Kuksu was capable of changing his nature. Thus among the Inland Miwok, Gifford has shown that Kuksu acquired bird-like attributes.¹⁸⁴ Among the Eastern Pomo and peoples to the north practicing the Kuksu cult, Kuksu was a great medicine man. But it was precisely in the north that the Kuksu cult was transformed by the shamanistic school idea. Among the Southern and Southeastern Pomo and the Wappo Kuksu did not play the part of medicine man. Among the Coast Miwok this function was incidental, and among the Lake Miwok Kuksui was a spirit on the waters, as was typical of the Inland Miwok in general.

It has been shown that Kuksu was identified with the moon among the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, Wappo, and Wailaki. It has been suggested that the moon cult was but a replacement of a sun cult which flourished to the south in an agricultural region, that is, originally, among the Pueblos. Associated with the moon cult, and therefore originally with the sun cult, was the new fire ceremony.

This reasoning leads me to suspect that Kuksu, if found between the Pomo and the Pueblos, was associated with the sun and not with the moon. Such an association could well account for the "Big Head" disguise, representing the rays of the solar orb. The Kuksu ceremonial then probably took place at the winter solstice.

¹⁸⁴ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Cults*, pres. ser., 18:408.

Unfortunately information for the Costanoan and the Salinan is sadly lacking and now impossible to obtain. Concerning the Costanoans Kroeber writes:

Several of the older authors make specific mention of prayers and offerings to the sun, from which may be inferred the existence of a more definite form of sun worship than is usual in California, though all details are lacking. At Mission San José a dance was made at the winter solstice. Whether this is to be associated with the supposed sun cult or was part of the Kuksu system . . . must be left to conjecture.¹³⁵

While there is no direct evidence that the Costanoan practiced the Kuksu cult, the indirect evidence is very strong. The Coast Miwok to the north and the Salinan to the south, had Kuksui dances.

A few survivors in north Costanoan territory knew of the Kuksui dance with the Lole and Hiweyi as accompaniments; but . . . it is not altogether certain that the dances are native to the locality.¹³⁶

We have more specific information for the Salinan.¹³⁷ Among these people the semi-subterranean ceremonial house was used for dances. It is therefore evident that the Costanoan must have had the same trait. This feature was lacking among the Yokuts. Kuksui was the most popular dance in the Salinan region, both Kuksui and his wife being impersonated. There was also a men's dance, hiwe'i and a women's dance, lole'i. Various animal dances were performed, including the Owl, Deer, Coyote, and Bear. The latter was performed in August for the purpose of insuring an abundant acorn crop.

It does not seem probable that the Ghost ceremony extended south of the Coast Miwok. Not only do we find no mention of ghosts or spirits of the dead to the south, but there is specific information that the Salinan had a boys' puberty initiation in the form of the Toloache cult. In my opinion, this would render improbable the presence of a secret society south of the Coast Miwok.

The conclusion must be made from such evidence as is at present available, that the elements of the Kuksu cult which came from the Southwest traveled mainly along the coast route. The Costanoan were more nearly allied to the Pueblos in culture than the Yokuts,

¹³⁵ Handbook, 471. The reference to San José reads, "It is said that only one village or nation, of the many that composed the population of this mission, adored the sun when it retired to the southern pole. They considered it angered, made a dance for it, and offered it seeds, until they knew that it had turned and was again approaching." (A. L. Kroeber, *A Mission Record of the California Indians*, pres. ser., 8:26, 1908.)

¹³⁶ Handbook, 470.

¹³⁷ J. A. Mason, *The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians*, pres. ser., 10:126, 162, 177, 178, 1912.

for besides offering meal to their divinities, arrows and little feather rods were used as offerings.¹³⁸ The Yokuts seemingly contributed little to the Kuksu cult beyond the shamanistic gathering for the snake dance. Kuksu himself did not come from the Pueblos, but the concept of a masked divinity appearing at the winter solstice is typical of that culture.

The relation between Kuksu and the sun-moon cult is illustrated by the following table:

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Sun and moon same</i>	<i>Sun cult</i>	<i>Moon cult</i>	<i>Kuksu and moon same</i>
N. Pomo	Yes (da)		Yes	No
Kato	Yes (ca)		Yes	Yes
Huchnom	No		Yes	Yes
Yuki	No		?	Yes
Wailaki	Yes (ca)		?	Yes
E. Pomo	Yes (la)		Yes	No
Wappo	Yes (hin)		?	Yes
Lake Miwok	Yes (hi)		Yes	No
Coast Miwok	No		?	No
Costanoan	No	Yes		
Salinan		Yes ¹³⁹		

¹³⁸ Handbook, 471.

¹³⁹ Mason writes: "The Chumashan Indians for twelve leagues' radius from San Luis Obispo, and the Costanoan and Esselen for twenty leagues around Monterey are also said . . . [besides the Salinan] to have been sun worshippers, who greeted the sun with demonstrations and offerings. (Ethnology of the Salinan Indians, 182.)

In the following table of the ceremonies of the southern Kuksu cult, the girls' puberty ceremony has been omitted. The following abbreviations have been used:

Southern Pomo, S P; Southeastern Pomo, SE P; Wappo, W; Lake Miwok, L M; Coast Miwok, C M; Costanoan, C; Salinan, S.

SOUTHERN KUKSU CULT

1. *Ghost Ceremony*

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
S P	dowi-kabe-hebi) (coyote-rock-get)	Ghost dance Bullroarer Use of snakes	hilatui (ghosts)
W	None		
C M	wale	Ghost dance Bullroarers Fire ordeals Return of dead	walipo (ghosts) hukinak (clowns)
	pololo ¹⁴⁰	Ghost dance Tree carrying Bullroarers	pololo (dead people)
L M	halañosa laki ¹⁴¹	Ghost dance Bullroarer Boys thrown from window	halañosa (ghost- clowns)
SE P	kinaupo	Fire ordeals Ghost dance Bullroarer Use of snakes Fire ordeal	tsina mafon (moun- tain men) oko kats (clowns)

¹⁴⁰ The walipo was the true ghost tribal initiation and was a thing apart from the secret society. Women were excluded. The pololo was given by the society and women members were allowed in the sweat-house.

¹⁴¹ Most, but not all, boys were bought into the initiation.

2. *Kuksu Ceremonies*

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
S P	totoko ¹⁴²	Boys gathered Offerings to bear Kuksu dance	Kuksu budaka (bear impersonator) baplatai (woman bear leader)
W	Unknown	Boys gathered Boys cut Kuksu dance Ghost dance	Kuksu hilimo (ghost-clown)
C M	Kuksui kawul	Kuksu dance	Kuksui kule (bear impersonator) Calnis
L M	None		
SE P	Unknown	Kuksu dance Boys gathered Boys cut	Kuksu
	betilkal xe (bear dance)	Boys gathered Boys speared Offerings to bear	Salis betilkal (bear impersonator) betilkal kotmuse (bear mother)
C	Unknown	Kuksu dance	Kuksui
S	Unknown	Kuksu dance	Kuksui

¹⁴² Performed four times in summer as first-fruits rite.

3. *Other Sacred Ceremonies*

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Traits</i>	<i>Impersonations</i>
S P	Gilak ko	Gilak dance	Gilak
W	Gilak olol	Gilak dance	Gilak
C M	Kilak kawul ¹⁴³	Kilak dance	Kilak
L M	cuya laki ¹⁴⁴	Danced with rattlesnakes	None
SE P	Sul xe	Condor dance	Condor
S	Unknown ¹⁴⁵	Unkown	Bear

¹⁴³ Danced by members of the secret society.

¹⁴⁴ A first-fruits rite.

¹⁴⁵ A first-fruits rite.

4. *Common Dances*

<i>Group</i>	<i>Name</i>
S P	yukac ko, clown dance djane ko, feather dance dowi ko, <i>or</i> hosiya ko, coyote dance
W	lole ko, crazy dance hut olol, coyote dance (clown dance) djane olol, crazy dance loli olol, round dance h̄intil olol, round dance suya olol, round dance ohok olol sota olol
C M	wayoki kawul, coyote dance cukin kawul, bear dance lole kawul, crazy dance soto kawul sunwele kawul
L M	cukin laki, <i>or</i> kule laki, bear dance Gilak laki, Gilak dance lehuya laki, feather dance sota laki, feather dance o'o laki, feather dance
SE P	kliwit xe, coyote dance betelai xe ala xe koipogo xe toto xe
C	lole hiweyi
S	lole'i hiwe'i owl dance deer dance coyote dance

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