

THE EASTERN KUKSU CULT

BY

E. M. LOEB

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY

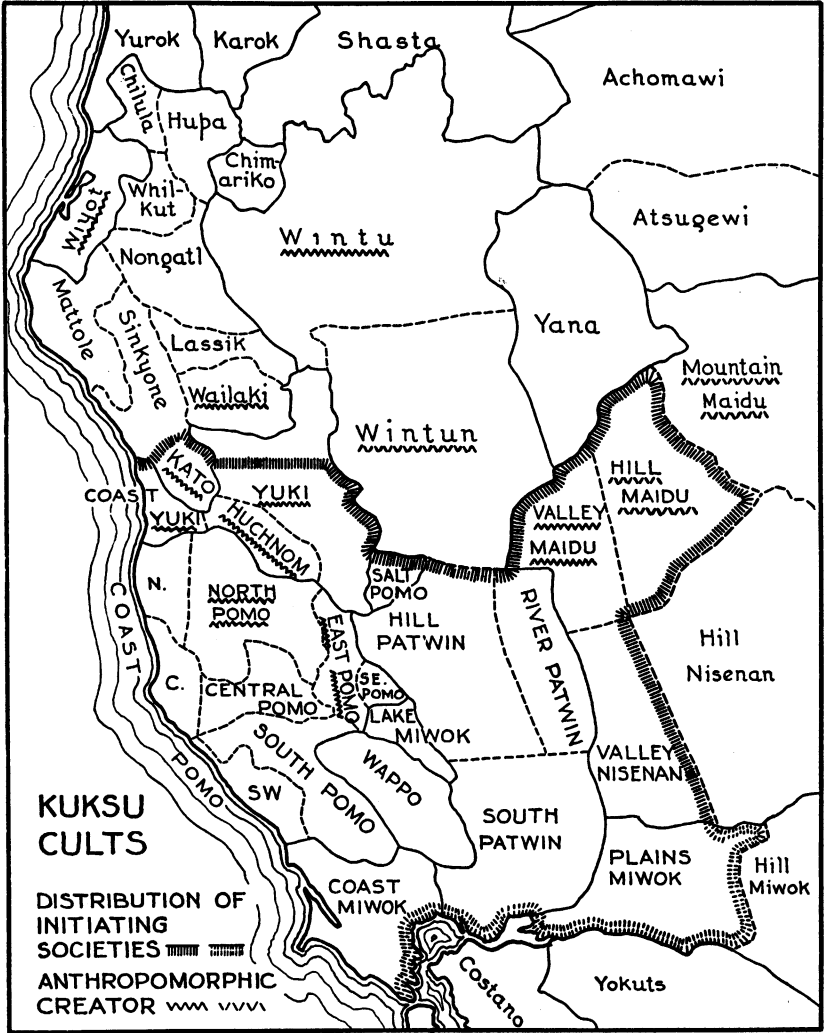
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ABBREVIATIONS USED

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



(Modified from Kroeber, 29:393, 1932.)

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INTRODUCTION

This account of the Patwin and Maidu tribes of California was secured during the summer of 1931. The University of California Department of Anthropology financed the field work. As in the case of the Western Kusu tribes, described in a previous paper of mine,¹ I went into the field at the request of Professor Kroeber for the purpose of adding further to our knowledge of secret society organization as it existed in north central California prior to 1870. This study may be considered as supplementary to Kroeber, *The Patwin and their Neighbors*;² I have endeavored to suggest a solution of certain problems raised in his monograph, besides adding to the known data.

The reader is referred to the above paper by Kroeber for maps of the Kusu cult and the Patwin-Maidu territory.

Informants used in the field.—Northeast Maidu: Jack Smith, Levi, and Anna Thomson of Greenville. Northwest Hill Maidu: Henry Martin of Enterprise, Ellen McCawly and Rose Taylor of Mooretown. Yuba River: George Nigh and Henry Thomson of Stanfield Hill. Valley Nisenan: Tom Cleanso of Sacramento. Chico Maidu: Mrs. Sandy Wilson and Mike Jeffers. Patwin: W. F. Willey of Colusa, Tony Bill of Grimes, Mrs. Buck and family of Rumsey, Pedro Wright of Cortina, and Wilson Lewis and wife of Long valley.

I have used the same phonetic system in the present paper as in *Pomo Folkways*,³ giving *c* the value of *sh*, and *tc* therefore the sound of *ch*.

¹ This series, 33:1-137, 1932. Cited as: *Western Kusu*.

² This series, 29:253-423, 1932. Cited as: *Patwin*.

³ This series, 19:149-405, 1926. Cited as: *Folkways*.

PART 1. THE MAIDU

NORTHWEST HILL MAIDU

Most of my data on the Northwest Hill Maidu were obtained at Mooretown and Enterprise. Additional data from Yuba river are given below.

RELIGION

*Ceremonial Houses*⁴

The Hill Maidu had three forms of ceremonial house in every village, but no sweat-houses.⁵ The Maidu dance-house was called k'umi, and had two main pillars. An earth-lodge (tem k'umi or kumen ui), smaller than the dance-house and containing but a single center post (wuktembuki sudoko), was owned by the yukbe,⁶ the spirit medium. The séances were held there. The third house (wolom ui) was in reality a men's house, and was used solely by the members of the secret society, who kept their feather wands (yokoli) in it.

New Fire Ceremony

If a yeponi (secret society member) died who had been initiated at the time that the dance-house was constructed, the fire was allowed to go out. If such death occurred in spring, the fire was not re-lit until the first fall burning. Otherwise the fire was re-lit at the time of the burial of the member.

Smoking

Smoking appears to have been mainly a religious ritual. Only the members of the society, male and female doctors, yomi, and the medium, yukbe, smoked. The members of the society smoked upon awakening in the morning, especially if they had had bad dreams (i.e., dreams about spirits). This huelawi (smoking after bad dreams) was for the purpose of driving away these spirits. The doctors smoked as a sacrifice to their

⁴ R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, AMNH-B 17:168 ff., 1905, has a full description of the Northwest Maidu dance and family house with illustrative photographs. Cited as: Dixon.

⁵ E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, 14:103, 1924, writes: "The Maidu had no sweat-houses. In dancing the performers perspired profusely and at the end of the dance bathed in the river; but other than this the sweat was unknown." Cited as: Curtis.

⁶ Sometimes pronounced yukbe, at other times, yutbe.

guardian spirits when they desired aid in curing. When the medium wished to obtain supernatural vision and knowledge from his dream spirits, he slowly swallowed one puff of smoke after another. Eyewitnesses have assured me that after the third puff, the yukbe's head fell upon his breast, his eyes closed, and he actually "passed out." Often tobacco was used in a competitive manner by the members of the secret society. Each one brought some which he had grown; this was passed around to all the competitors, who were seated in a circle. The object was to see whose tobacco was the strongest, and which of the members were the best fitted to survive the ordeal.

Among the Maidu, actual spirit possession was unknown, and the doctors and mediums who smoked did not become possessed by the spirits but merely became unconscious so that they were able to communicate with the supernatural. The idea of smoking so as to obtain spirit aid probably came from the north, for among the Wintu actual possession was practiced by the shamans, who smoked in order to become *tunindili* (possessed).⁷ Among the Klamath the shamans also smoked tobacco, but it does not seem altogether clear as to whether this was done for the sake of becoming possessed.⁸

Acorn Ceremony

The acorn was of course the most important Maidu article of diet. A special ceremony (*yokoti*)⁹ was enacted every April for the purpose of increasing the crop: first the medium sang for three or four nights in his ceremonial house. Then the members of the society, choosing a dark night so that they would not become frightened by the spirits (*kakini*), went to all black acorn trees and left feather wands (*yokoli*) under them, clapping their hands as they did so. Finally the medium went out and collected the sticks, singing the while to the trees and imploring them to yield an abundant supply of nuts. The trees were supposed to reply. The clown (*peheipe*) accompanied the medium, both for the sake of interpreting his songs and the reply of the trees and to give his moral support to the medium and the observing members of the society. The clown would say, "I am here. No one else (*kakini*) is here. All the *yeponi* are here."

⁷ Information given by Cora Du Bois. Also Curtin (*Creation Myths of Primitive America* [Boston, 1911], 54) has a myth in which the character Kopus smoked in order to induce a spirit (*Tsudi*, mouse) to enter into him and sing through him.

⁸ L. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, UC-PAAE 30:109, 1930.

⁹ Dixon, 311, was informed that the name *yokoti* signified the ceremony given at the time of erecting a new dance-house. This ceremony also may have been called *yokoti*.

Bear Ceremony

It may be said in general that the Hill Maidu held the bear in great awe and respect. The general term for bear was *kuti*; *wasa kuti* was used to designate any dangerous animal, such as bear, bad dog, or snake.

Black bears were never eaten,¹⁰ the Indians claiming that they were *yeponi* (members of the secret society) and too sacred to be touched. Before the present race of Indians, the black bears were human beings and went around wild. Then hair grew on their bodies, and they turned into animals.

Both the Hill Maidu and the Sierra Northeast Maidu held a ceremony for the definite purpose of placating the spirit of the cinnamon bear after it had been killed. The ceremony was called *otoko* by the Hill Maidu, and was doubtless Northwest Coast and Siberian in origin.¹¹

After killing a cinnamon bear, a hunter left the carcass on the spot, and informed his relatives of the deed. The male relatives came first, while the women prepared a camp for the ensuing feast. The hunters then extended the body of the bear on its back and placed bead offerings (*yokoli*) on top of him. The killer prayed:

wenem maidu weta, hai, good man did-not-mean-it, I
homa atim mente, niki, but I-did it, my
musumbodi cem ya se, hunting-country let me see-it.
hemyace bomo mu, give-me-luck think-about-me
ya ce. Hai kuti woneti, see it. I wild-animal killed.
apedi nik. heu!, don't-think (of) me. yes!

(I am a good man. I did not mean to do this thing. Let me live, i.e., let me see my hunting ground again. May I have luck, and do not think of me any more.)

A hunter did not like to have a wild animal think of him, especially after he had killed and eaten it. Nevertheless, he continued to pray that

¹⁰ Curtis, 107, writes of the Valley Maidu: "Black bears were sometimes captured, but the grizzly bear was generally avoided and his flesh was not eaten even if available." Dixon, however, has described the grizzly bear hunt for the Valley Maidu. It seems certain that black bears were not molested in any way by the Hill Maidu.

¹¹ Previous to this publication no definite bear placation rite has been reported for California. Among the Miwok the spirit of the bear was placated, but in conjunction with the eagle and falcon (A. I. Hallowell, *Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere*, AA 28:76, 1926). Among the Wailaki, as noted in my *Western Kuksu Cult paper (op. cit.)*, a "victory dance" was held over the hide of a slaughtered grizzly bear, as among several of the Pueblo peoples (Hallowell, *op. cit.*, 77). It is probable that we are dealing here with a case of parallelism and that both the Wailaki and the Pueblo Indians developed the bear "victory dance" from common rites held over slain enemies. The Wailaki did not endeavor to placate the spirit of the bear, as did the Miwok, and hence they do not properly belong to the list of peoples in North America having the so-called "Bear ceremony." Erna Gunther included the Wailaki (but not the Maidu) in her map on the distribution of the "Bear ceremony" *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*, UW-PA 2:132, 1928).

if the animal should happen to remember the painful occurrence of its untimely death, it should remember that it had been sacrificed to in a proper manner.

apedi hai, hesbo paiki, don't-think (of) me, gather-it-up (the bead offering).
hucik buna nik, don't forget me.

After the prayer, the hunters removed the offerings, cut the meat, and carried it to camp where the women were waiting. Contrary to the usual custom, the men, not the women, did the cooking. First a large supply of wood was obtained and rocks heated. A hole was dug and lined with spruce boughs, the meat being laid on top. Then came a layer of maple leaves, covered with more spruce boughs, and then hot rocks placed on all. The entire earth oven was then covered with hot ashes and leaves, so that it came flush to the ground. The baking was thus carried on in a manner similar to the Polynesian oven, and the meat preserved its juices and took on the flavor of the boughs and leaves.¹²

Both men and women partook of bear meat. The women, as their contribution to the feast, brought acorn soup, bread, birch seed, and dried fish. These foods were given to the killer of the bear. Some of his relatives who had a "burning" coming on in the fall took the bear hide and later tanned it, making use of it as a sleeping robe. If the hide were of inferior quality, it was destroyed at the "burning," otherwise it was kept or given away at this event. Every family received a share of the bear meat, some drying it and storing it in the granary for winter. The bear intestines were thrown away.¹³

First-salmon rites, which among the Maidu were but a part of the entire weda, or first-fruit rites, were observed only in the foothills, not in Sacramento valley. It has been shown that the bear-placation rites also were observed in the foothills and not in the valley. Erna Gunther has demonstrated the cultural overlapping of first-fruit ceremonies, first-salmon ceremonies, and the Siberian bear cult in the Northwest.¹⁴ Evidently influence from this region penetrated to the Hill and Mountain Maidu to a greater extent than to the Valley Maidu.

¹² Dixon, 191, states that in the Sacramento valley bear meat was always cooked apart from deer meat, and that entirely different words were used to designate the eating of the two varieties of meat.

¹³ Deer intestines, on the other hand, were always put to good use. The blood of the deer was placed inside them, a hot rock inserted, and the whole allowed to cook. Then the charred mass was ground up and placed in acorn soup. Old toothless men ate this porridge (sede sekuni) along with acorn bread.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

Shooting Ceremony

Dixon has described how the Hill Maidu ceremonially shot prominent war prisoners, who were tied to a pole in the dance-house.¹⁵ I was informed that when a "bad" man (i.e., a prominent hostile warrior) was captured, he was tied up and all the men who had lost relatives shot arrows into him. Each shot was calculated to penetrate deep enough to cause the victim pain, without, however, doing mortal injury, and was accompanied with abuse of the prisoner and narration of his past murders. Finally the captive was speared to death.

Scalping was not practiced by the Hill Maidu, but "if a person of distinction were killed in an attack, and the head or body could be secured, it was tied to the pole on returning to the home village and treated as described in the case of the live prisoner."¹⁶ At Chico, however, scalps were taken in war and they figured prominently in the victory celebration, dangling from a pole upon which was hung a bundle of tules representing the enemy. Two warriors with blackened faces danced about the pole, dodging and posturing like fighting-men, and discharging arrows at the effigy. When they retired, two others danced, and thus it went until all the warriors had shot at the "enemy." Then all the people swarmed out and danced around the pole.¹⁷

The Wintu had a vestigial form of shooting ceremony called xiwili, which took place at the girls' puberty ceremony, and sometimes consisted of shooting at a target of branches fastened to the top of a pine pole. In Bald Hills a scalp was reported to have been used for a target on one occasion, and, indeed, in one unauthenticated case, a Nomlaki boy was said to have been shot to death in this fashion.¹⁸

Evidently the "shooting ceremony" came to the Maidu from the south. Both forms of the ceremony were found among the Nisenan. Powers writes: "Their male captives they tied to trees and shot to death without lingering tortures."¹⁹ Ralph Beals informs me that the Nisenan

¹⁵ Dixon, 207.

¹⁶ Dixon, 207.

¹⁷ Curtis, 110, received this account at Chico. Dixon, 206, claims that this form of dance was "more common" in the mountains than in Sacramento valley, but my informant seemed positive that scalping was not practiced in the Hills.

¹⁸ Miss Cora Du Bois, who gave me this information, writes in her MS on the Wintu: "The practice of shooting a victim to death is reminiscent of Maidu customs and was certainly aberrant to Wintu practices." On the other hand, Stephen Powers (*Tribes of California*, CNAE 3:226, 1877) writes: "In the Wintu Scalp Dance (hubchu'na) a scalp was hoisted on top of a pole, on the head of an effigy, made in the human figure. As each village deputation came to the top of the hill they formed in line, danced down the hill, and around the pole, chanting and whooping, and after all the villages had assembled they danced around it together, yelling and discharging arrows at the effigy. That village was accounted victorious that lodged the most arrows in it." Kroeber (Patwin) reports a victory dance (hûpu) of this nature for the Nomlaki.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 321.

also put the scalps of hated enemies on images, which were made to dance, and then shot at in a ceremonial manner.

Among the Central Sierra Miwok, the Pota ceremony combined both the annual mourning ceremony, with its use of images of the dead, and the "shooting ceremony." For while each lineage made the images in honor of its dead, hostile lineages attempted to shoot these relics.²⁰ This association of the annual mourning ceremony with the "shooting ceremony" should not, however, be thought original to the Miwok. Gifford has noted that the Diegueño had already combined the two in their rite of "splitting the enemy down the middle." The matting, from which the images were made by these peoples, was ceremonially slashed by a "family enemy."²¹

As in the case of all very primitive peoples, the Indians of California were lacking human sacrifice. Yet I feel convinced that the "shooting ceremony" of California was but the marginal form of the Maya-Aztec shooting sacrifice, coming to North America by way of the Skidi Pawnee.²² The Californian practice was closely paralleled by the Cheyenne, who claimed that they formerly shot a captive to death as he hung suspended from the center pole.²³

Calendar

The Hill Maidu divided the year into four seasons and twelve months. Both seasons and months varied as one ascended the foothills; this led to disputes and even fights between the different villages. Mooretown, for example, was one month later than Enterprise in its first-fruit rites. According to Dixon, "Spring began with the appearance of the first flowers; summer, with the drying of the grass; autumn, with the ripening of acorns; and winter, with the first frosts."

In Enterprise the names of the seasons were as follows, beginning with spring: yokmen, ilaka, matmene, kumene.

The medium had the calendar system in charge and had the duty of assigning the proper date for the dances and first-fruit rites. Every evening in the dance-house he made a charcoal mark on a stick to indicate the passing of a day.

²⁰ E. W. Gifford, *Miwok MS.*

²¹ E. H. Davis, *The Diegueño Ceremony of the Death Images*, MAIHF-C 5:18, 1919.

²² The Pawnee sacrifice and its relation to Central American culture is discussed by R. Linton in *The Origin of the Skidi Pawnee Sacrifice to the Morning Star*, AA 28:457-466, 1926.

²³ L. Spier, *The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, AMNH-AP 16:469, 1921.

The following names of months (poko) from April to March were obtained from Mooretown. They by no means agree with those given by Dixon (p. 217).

omhintjoli (washing of floods)
 kono (tree coming to leaf)²⁴
 winoti (to bend over, as tree laden with fruit)
 temdi (young fawn)
 kawico (ground burn)
 sapi (acorn hunting)
 winoki (trees laden with acorns)
 duyoko (brush ground)
 bakeli (leaves dying)
 tatam (cold)
 babpalaka (leaves turning to earth)
 into (laid to fire, as old people when sick)

Weda

The activities of the people followed closely a seasonal régime. The spring first-fruit ceremony (yokmen weda) was held when the grass became green. In Oroville this was in April, in Enterprise in May, and in the Feather Fall district in June. This was held so that the people might eat spring mushrooms and greens. If anyone ate mushrooms before the weda, he would be sick throughout the summer.

Any yeponi who was "lucky" could "put up" the weda. If an unlucky man were to give the ceremony, the crops would be ruined. A lucky man was called ometi maidu.

The man who intended giving the weda got up before daylight, shook his cocoon rattle, shouted, and sang:

weda haiyeyen hedem laida, weda putting-up this morning,
 ace pinmenai abuina, don't say (I)-did-not.

The people of the village then shouted:

heu! pininai, yes! we-hear-it.

By this time the people were awake, and the wives of the members of the society commenced making walaka (small baskets of acorn soup). The giver of the feast made knotted strings, a string being sent to each neighboring village that he was inviting to his feast. There were five or six knots on a string, representing the number of days which were to elapse before the ceremony would start. The host either took the strings himself or sent them with people who might be going to the indicated villages. Other members of the society received the strings.

²⁴ The usual expression for the blossoming of a tree is tea konoto. The word konoto indicates sexual intercourse.

During the days intervening before the commencement of the *weda*, the people in the home village bestirred themselves gathering wood, making acorn dough, and picking mushrooms.

On the appointed day, toward evening, all the members of the society from the different villages gathered in the open. The wives were also there, carrying the bowls of soup (*walaka*) for their husbands. First, however, the medium offered up an invocation to the spirits. Such a prayer was called *huclawi*.

*kodom nik bomocme nobe, world my you-must think,
weda nai pem siheskinai, weda there food I-am-looking-for (it).*

After the invocation the members of the society drained their baskets of soup, then washed their faces and hands and clapped four times (*huskoi*).

The food (fish, mushrooms, and acorn bread) had been gathered in a pile on the day before the feast; now each of the visiting families was given a share in proportion to the number of its members. Sometimes the food was eaten on the spot, other times taken home.

A dance accompanied the feasting. Men and women pelted one another with grass balls, and the men danced with flowers in their hair. The ball throwing was said to drive sickness from the village.

In early spring the first-salmon rites (*yokmen weda*) were observed. At Enterprise this took place in March. Before this the people ate dried fish only. The medium first prayed to the spirits of the fishes, begging them not to be angry at the people for catching them.

The first salmon had to be caught by one of the shamans [*yeponi* ?], and no one else might fish until he was successful. The fish caught was cooked over a fire built on the spot, and was then divided into many small pieces, one of which, with a morsel of acorn-bread, was given by the shaman to each person. After that, any one might go fishing.²⁵

In June came the *iklak weda* (gathering-grass-happens-time). This *weda* initiated the gathering of manzanita berries and eel fishing.

In July the people fished and obtained grasshoppers and more eel. They commenced drying fish and venison for winter.

In August the people gathered acorns.²⁶ In Oroville the Indians began holding their burnings (*östumo*) at this time.

September was the season for the burnings at Enterprise. The fall salmon *weda* (*matmen weda*) was also held in this month.

²⁵ Dixon, 198.

²⁶ The April acorn ceremony has been described on p. 141.

The dancing was held in the winter. As in the case of the Patwin and Chico Maidu Hesi calendar, the Hill Maidu commenced and ended their season with their most sacred dance, the aki. This was performed in September and April.

By October the Indians had finished gathering the black acorns. They now collected tan acorns and sugar-pine nuts. No dances were held in this month as the natives were in the hills. Weda were held for the fall mushrooms and the sugar-pine nuts.

The winter months of November to February were devoted to dancing within the ceremonial house. The acorn dance (utin kamine) was one of the many dances enacted at this period.

Religious Organization

The largest political unit among the Hill Maidu was the population of a ridge (wutem ma'a). Thus the people of Mooretown called themselves esto wanako maidu (middle ridge people). An entire ridge acted as a unit at the time of feasts and ceremonies. A village was called nemkumbali, and the "large family" or household, wutem uima. The household (children, their father, mother, aunts, and uncles, both maternal and paternal side) appears to have been the smallest unit of political and social organization; there was no indication of sibs or matrilineal or patrilineal lineages.

The power of the secret society among the Hill Maidu, as among the Valley Maidu, has usurped the power of chieftaincy as found among the Miwok and formerly among the Nisenan. The two most important yeponi, the hūkū and the yukbe, ruled the village between them. Dixon's account of the Hill Maidu is complete only in certain details, and he stressed the importance of the hūkū at the expense of the yukbe.

One informant generalized as follows: The head yeponi is called the yukbe; under him are the hūkū (the oldest yeponi and their leader) and the rest of the yeponi. The power, however, is divided between the hūkū and the yukbe.

The informant in stating that the hūkū was the oldest yeponi doubtless erred, for Dixon received an account of the election of the hūkū from the ranks of the elder yeponi.²⁷ This official represented the secular branch of the village government and usually was not a doctor. As assistant he had another old yeponi called helwoki, who trained the younger members of the society in dancing.

²⁷ Dixon, 328 ff.

The yukbe was the chief doctor in the village. He was chosen from the ranks of the oye or dreaming doctors. This official performed none of the ordinary work of the village, so important was deemed his special contact with the village world, and he had a small ceremonial house of his own (kumen ui) for his séances. Among the Yuba River Maidu the kumen ui was simply the small sweat-house, and there was no yukbe. The position of yukbe existed at Chico but seems to have been of lesser importance. The yukbe there possessed no ceremonial house of his own.

The peheipe was clown, watchman, firetender, trainer of boys, and interpreter for the yukbe at the séances. I received no information regarding the method of his election. Kroeber was informed that at Chico he was selected by the head yeponi to hold position for life.²⁸ From his manifold duties it is obvious that there must have been more than one clown to a village, and, while I was not able to clear up this point, Dixon states that "there were often several clowns to a village."²⁹ At any rate, there appears to have been a clown on top of the dance-house both day and night. At four o'clock in the morning he awakened the people by crying wenem tjejep, wenem tjejep (rattle 'em up, rattle 'em up). He kept talking all the time, telling the people what they should do, as tjamenop, tjamenop (get a load of wood), or mucinop, mucinop (go out and hunt). The comic side of his character constantly came to the fore, and everything which the people below said, peheipe repeated, with enough difference to distort and render humorous the remark.

Boys' Puberty Ceremony

There is no record of the Hill Maidu having any puberty ceremony for boys other than that of entrance into the secret society. It is probable, however, that the secret society itself came to the Hill Maidu by way of the Patwin and the Valley Maidu. Certainly among the neighboring tribes who lacked the secret society there existed a rudimentary tribal initiation in which boys were confined to the dance-house, usually for sixteen days, and had their ears and sometimes the septum of their noses pierced.³⁰ A similar, or possibly more complete, form of tribal initiation may have at one time existed among the Hill Maidu before they received the secret society and before the ritual of tribal initiation had become incorporated into the entrance requirement of the society.

²⁸ Kroeber, Patwin.

²⁹ Dixon, 318.

³⁰ Among the Nisenan in the 'tos ceremony both boys and girls had their ears and noses pierced at puberty and were confined in the dance-house for sixteen nights (Ralph Beals, the Nisenan, UC-PAAE, in press). Also the Central Sierra Miwok had, as an ancient ceremony, the confinement of novices for sixteen days in the earth-covered dance-houses (E. W. Gifford, this series, 18:393, 1926).

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

A girl was called u'upu at the time of puberty, and the dance held over her was called wulu. At Mooretown when a girl informed her mother of her condition round white and red dots were placed on each side of her face. The red dots were made of soft iron rock (hi) and the white of clay. Five dots were placed on each side of the nose, and one rubbed off each morning. "This is continued till the fifth morning, when the last marks are removed. Should the menstrual flow still continue, the last mark is not erased till the time of ceasing. The last mark being erased, the girl is now considered ready to marry."³¹

As soon as the girl became "sick," and before her mother put her in the menstruation hut (upu ui), the u'upu and a younger girl (a konobe) were placed in the center of a circle of pine needles.³² This ceremony was called mutsono. Both girls had deerskins (adope) over their heads, with openings for the eyes, to permit of limited vision. The ring was surrounded by men and women, who set it on fire, shouting we! At this signal, the two girls, without removing their head covering, jumped over the fire and ran some little distance without daring to look back. If the u'upu had looked back it is said she would have had a child within the year.

The mother of the girl remained with her in the menstruation hut, feeding and caring for her and instructing her in tribal lore. The girl was kept on the usual diet, mainly acorn soup. Special baskets were used for her food. She was not allowed to wash her face, nor scratch herself with her hands, but used a wooden scratcher. Her head was covered with a deerhide when she went outdoors, it being thought that if she looked at the sun or moon, all the village would sicken. The girl was not allowed to sleep much in the daytime for fear that she would be lazy in after life; she was not allowed to cross a ravine by herself, but had to be carried across.

Every night the wulu, or wulu kamini (dance), was held, as described by Dixon. The u'upu wore the deerhide over her head and was held up to dance by an old woman. Sometimes her instructor took the girl upon her shoulders, and in this manner "wulu'ed" her up and

³¹ Dixon, 234.

³² I am giving the full account as I received it at Mooretown because certain details differ from Dixon's information. It will be noted in my account that dots, not lines, were placed on the cheeks of the girl; her companion in the pine ceremony was younger, not older; deerhoof rattles were used in the dance; a large dance was held in spring for all girls who had come of age during the winter; and a girl was not allowed to have sexual intercourse before she became of age, although she might make trips with her future husband.

down. Some of the women singers used deerhoof rattles, but the dancers, also women, used cocoon rattles. Toward morning the girl was taken to a brook and sprinkled with water. This ceremony of lustration, called *piyetoti*, was demanded by the girl in song.

in lupoi ye, in lupoi ye; *piyetoti wanik, ui ui*, bath give me.

At the end of the period, which may have been the fifth or even the seventh day, a large *wulu*, called *iki wulu* or daylight *wulu*, was held. The now mature woman was bathed, finely clad, and had her ears punched. A big feast followed.

The following spring a woman's feast (*kulepam boyetoto*) was given for all girls of the region who had come of age during the preceding winter. Each village in turn gave these feasts, which were managed entirely by women, and which served as occasions for trade. No invitation strings were sent for the feasts, but the women came from all the near-by ridges bringing food and goods.

In the dance (*wulu*) two women "callers" (*huyeye*) stayed in the center with the *u'upu* and were circled by the older women. An occasional *suku* (*berdache*) joined in the festivities.³³

Death and Burial

The relatives started crying before the actual death. As soon as the death had occurred, relatives from near and far came to see the corpse. The near relatives cut their hair and covered themselves with pine pitch and charcoal, as described by Dixon.³⁴ The widow had to remain in seclusion until the image burning, and a widower was under restrictions regarding hunting, fishing, and gambling.

The name of the dead was taboo until the image burning. The family house had to be burnt if the death had taken place in it. When a member of the secret society was sick, he was taken to die in the house of the medium, in order to spare the ceremonial house.

The Hill Maidu claim that in ancient times cremation and not burial was the rule. This belief is sustained in the story of the Maidu Culture Hero *Oan-koi-tu-peh*, who is said to have instructed his people no longer to burn the dead, but bury them in the earth.³⁵ Be that as it may, at present, and long before the white man came, the Hill Maidu buried the "good" people and burnt the "bad." If a bad man returned to haunt his relatives even after he had been burnt, the doctor (*oye*) was employed to exorcise the unruly spirit. A bad person was one who had

³³ This dance is described in part by Dixon, 234.

³⁴ Dixon, 242.

³⁵ Powers, *op. cit.*, 305.

killed his relations or tribes people, or had been in the custom of stealing from his own people. Adultery was not considered in the same light as theft. Burnings were always held for the members of the secret society, but not necessarily for others. When a person died, the people distinguished the status of the deceased in the following manner :

wenem maidu wonem, good man died (not a yeponi),
wasapem maidu wonem, bad man died,
hukum maidu wonem, chief man died (a yeponi).

Individual beliefs as to the fate of the ghost (usbuki) varied greatly, but all informants claimed a different fate for the good people than for the bad. I was not told that the souls departed to the east or that they were received by Wōnōmi, the Creator, as recorded by Dixon.³⁶ Instead I was informed that there was no place at all for the ghosts other than their former habitat, and that they simply lingered around. As among the Nisenan, a belief in metamorphosis was common, good people turning into animals after they died. Women were apt to be transformed into foxes or bobcats, and hunters into deer.

The body of the deceased, if that of a hunter, was wrapped in a deer-skin in a doubled up position and tied with milkweed string. The corpse was well ornamented, and if that of an adult male it was buried in the dancing costume, armed with bow and arrows, and with beads and other gifts placed between the body and legs. Either a friend or male relative dug the grave in the burial grounds. This gravedigger then had to remain away from the village for from ten days to two weeks, and before returning washed himself with hot water and whipped himself all over with wormwood branches.

All the remaining possessions of the deceased were either destroyed or given away, and the family moved from the spot on which the death had occurred. If these regulations had not been followed others in the family would have died.

Mourning Ceremony

The Valley Maidu "burning" was of a simpler nature than that held by the Hill Maidu. The only description extant is given by Curtis (14 : 116 ff.), which I have abstracted as follows :

Annual mourning ceremony, or weda, held in last summer moon. Messengers with invitation strings sent to all villages within 20 miles. People meanwhile made feather ornaments, baskets, acorn meal, to burn and as sign mourning ended. If man died in spring or early summer, relatives held closing rites at next autumn ceremony; if relatives mourned deeply, rites deferred year or two.

³⁶ Dixon, 261.

People assembled in brush enclosure at burning ground about middle of morning; stood about, cried an hour, then men feasted on acorn mush in dance-house. Men passed day in dance-house; sitting about and sleeping; women outside, some cooking, others idle. Close relatives cried at intervals. Sometime during day they strewed acorn meal on graves and inverted on each a large basket. Around grave small baskets and bunches of various valuable feathers tied to stakes driven in ground.

In evening young men piled fuel in houses; all went to burial ground; cried. All then cried in houses or dance-house.

In morning mourners cut off strings from necks, bathed in river. Then laughed and joked. Near burial ground fire built; mourning families burned baskets, feather ornaments, beads, and various property, including stakes and inverted baskets. Burned property either made by mourners or given by friends, who were sometimes paid.

After bathing, all congregated at night in dance-house, performed *kenu*: men and women danced about fire, two men singing, clapping hands. After half the night all retired.

Among the Hill Maidu of Enterprise the old-time annual burning (*östu*), as described by my informant Martin, was somewhat different in spirit and detail from the modern burnings as witnessed by Barrett and Spencer.⁸⁷ The Maidu, before the coming of the whites, neither possessed nor sacrificed at this ceremony great quantities of wealth. In the main, goods of little value were destroyed while the better type commodities were traded. Originally, no doubt, the purpose here, as among the Valley Maidu and the southern Californians in general, was sacrifice to the dead. Gradually, however, the ceremony split into three parts and inter-tribal trade became as important as mere family devotion.

The first ceremony held was *seda*; it took place in early fall following the death. The medium was employed to sing at nights and the family congregated around the grave for a preliminary cry. The chief mourner then announced that he would hold a *gelato* (string getting) the following fall. People who desired a mourning string should come and get one at this time. Then the family members dispersed to their homes.

The *gelato* ceremony differed according to the status of the deceased. If a woman died a feather wand (*yokoli*) was placed in the portion of the house in which she had lived. The house was deserted immediately after the burial but was not burnt until the time of the *gelato*. A pole of stripped maple bark was placed on the grave the night before the burning, and was consumed together with all remaining possessions of the deceased. Wands placed over graves were called *pokolma*. At this burning the name of the dead woman was pronounced, and then became

⁸⁷ Dixon, 245 ff.

the common property of the family. It was later given to some girl at puberty, in the hope that she would resemble the deceased. The girl receiving the name also was given presents by the immediate family of the deceased. As in the case of every gelato, strings were given out in return for gifts, and two years later were redeemed in the gelahupa (string burning) ceremony. Women were never yeponi, and images were not made of women in the old days. A widower was allowed to marry the night of the gelato, and frequently did.

If a young man died who had not as yet become a yeponi, his feather wand was burned at the same time that the image of a yeponi was burned.

The complete gelato ceremony was held only in the case of the death of a member of the secret society (yeponi) and was then in charge of the medium. Some time before the date set, the knotted strings (kulwo) were sent out to the neighboring villages. There were ten or twelve knots to a string, thus giving the visitors time to collect their gifts and arrive at the host village. The host village had to provide the food for the occasion and its yeponi had to see to its proper distribution.

One yeponi of the host village had charge of the manufacture of the image, called kakini büsdi (spirit within). He received a mourning string gratis; the relatives of the deceased who furnished the furs and materials also received mourning strings gratis. Ever since the death of the yeponi the widow had been at work in seclusion making two baskets (kelontoni), one in which to place the image, the other to cover it. The value of the image, plus the beads placed around his neck, ran as high as two to three hundred dollars.

It was believed that the dead yeponi's spirit occupied his image from the moment that work commenced on it. Hence a doctor (yomi) helped the yeponi in its manufacture. If the yeponi made any mistake, he dreamed about the spirit, and, becoming sick, had to be doctored. The image was fed acorn soup and sacrificed to with beads from the time work commenced on it.

The evening before the actual burning the chief mourners (hunan) went to the burning ground (simply the village graveyard, the fences of which were repaired for the occasion). As described by Dixon, there were two openings in the brush fence, east and west (sometimes only one, west). A preliminary cry was held at the grave or graves, and acorn flour was scattered over them, for the purpose, according to Dixon, of giving notice to the dead that the burning would take place the following night.

Next morning all the people, with the exception of the local yeponi, went to the graveyard, ate, and finished repairing the fences. Poles, decorated with wands, were set up over the graves, and baskets were hung upside down on them.

Early in the afternoon the yeponi gathered some distance from the cemetery with the kakini büsdi in their possession. One yeponi said to the medium: "We have come to cry over the kakini for a while." So the yukbe brought them to the enclosure; they entered and circled around, carrying the image. The yukbe then addressed the people, telling them not to feel badly and kill anyone (because of suspected witchcraft) but that they were going to have a burning. Then he uttered the name of the deceased for the first time, saying: "This is so and so." After this all the people cried and then returned to camp and continued crying the remainder of the day. The image was left facing the fire, with baskets of seed and acorn meal in both hands.

The words which the yukbe spoke to the people were:

niki östudi wasak okiti mëpe, my burning bad let-us-not make it. (Let us not ruin the burning by killing anyone.)

yeponing kole, niseng nani, yeponi young man relative my.

östung wêda tinai, burning start (consecrate) I give.

mehai östumo (name of dead person), I-am-having burning (over) so-and-so. hêpai tiwanik, cry help me. (Then all join in crying.)

That same evening the yukbe went outside the enclosure and invited all the people present to enter. He named them all, asking for their gifts, and offering the strings in exchange.

hedem po hai gela ton ace mi meki, here I am string put on I say.

toyêpê östunak topina, what-you-bring to-burning bring.

mimeki wêwêpê wehoptiwa, what-you-said (in your) speech make-it-good.

As each mourner entered he piled up about ten dollars worth of goods before the yukbe. The gifts were anything the mourner desired to dispose of, such as bearskins, flints, baskets, beads, and bows and arrows. Then the yukbe tied the mourning string around the neck of its purchaser. Each string, as noted by Dixon, had its beads arranged in some fashion so as to indicate the burial ground at which it was given. The strings could not be removed from the necks of the mourners until two years later when they were redeemed. Mourning strings gave the owner the right to bury his family in the grounds at which the string was given, and also served to remind him of the death. A person might have worn four or five strings at the same time, each being redeemed and burnt in its proper order.

The image had to be burned before daylight lest the mourners see the kakini departing and become sick. At about two o'clock in the morning the yukbe called out; this was a signal for the people to commence crying, which they did with fervor for about two and a half hours. Then a procession of three yeponi and the yukbe danced around the fire with the image, making the image walk and dance as if animated. After the image had been taken to and from the fire several times, the yukbe commanded that two large burning baskets be made ready with gifts. The immediate family and some of the other mourners who had bought strings filled these baskets with bear hides, fox skins, beads, feathers, and dancing outfit. None of the goods was in good condition. The fire was now refueled, the lower basket laid on, the image laid in this, the cover placed on top, the grave poles pulled up and likewise thrown on the flames, and then amidst the howls and ululations of the encircling through the mass flared into flame and the kakini flitted to his final abode.

In modern burnings wealth is piled up on the grave poles and auctioned off, frequently to the whites, before the conflagration. Another innovation is the gambling and singing which takes place after the burning, a custom unknown in the old days when the people, weeping, departed to their homes immediately after.

As soon as the image was burned the widow went down to a near-by stream and washed, in preparation for her next marriage. She often married the same night, her new husband aiding her in preparing for the string burning (*gela-hupa*) ceremony two years off. The name of the deceased also was free now, and reverted to the family to be given to some young man upon his initiation into the society. With the bestowal of the name went a certain amount of presents, given by a close relative of the deceased.

The real significance of the Maidu burning, as I have already stated, was the opportunity it gave for trade. Each person at the *gelato* had a string tied around his neck, and was told not to untie the knot for two years, and to return at that time for the *gela-hupa*. No one ever refused this invitation to redeem the string. In the meantime the giver of the *gelato* had a mass of wealth at his disposal, which he traded in for other goods at the burnings of the following fall.

When the time for the *gela-hupa* came, the chief mourner had collected a new accumulation of goods; as he untied the strings of each mourner he gave a present, either equal in value or greater than he had received two years previously. The choice of gifts was at his disposal, but he tried to give things which were desired. If his gifts were of lesser worth than the presents he had received, he incurred bad feelings.

A mourner who previously had not paid for his string brought a large basket. The yukbe told everyone to enter the cemetery and cry. Toward morning the fire was heaped up and the basket filled with the strings was thrown into the flames.

The feathered wands (yokoli) burned at the gelato consisted of hawk feathers attached to strings sixteen to twenty feet long. They were kept in the house of the yukbe until the burning when they were strung on the poles. The yokoli at this time, as always among the Maidu, were prophylactics against dreaming of the dead.

At Berry Creek, a ridge adjacent to the Enterprise and Mooretown ridges, the seda and gelato ceremonies were held together in the fall of the first year after the death of a village member, or rather there was but one preliminary burning, called oheko östumo. After this burning, the widow was free to marry. The final burning of the strings could follow four or five years later, if desired.

Mythology and Beliefs

In the Northwest Maidu religion there was the same prevalent belief in a benevolent creator among both the Hill and Valley people. The real name of the creator was Wōnōmi (wōnō-mi, death-without), or He Who Never Dies.³⁸ Other titles for the creator were Kodom-yeponi, World Initiate, Yohosin-yeponi, In the Sky Initiate, and Kodo-yanpe, World Namer.³⁹

Wonomi was probably considered a lunar deity by most Northwest Maidu.⁴⁰ The name itself, I believe, bears reference to the supposed immortality of the moon. One of my Hill Maidu informants told me that the spots in the moon were said by the old men to be the face of Wonomi; Dixon was told the same thing by some Valley Maidu informants.⁴¹ On the other hand, the identification between Wonomi and the moon was not held by all Northwest Maidu. Thus certain Valley Maidu believed that the spots on the moon were a frog,⁴² and when Dixon mentions the "Radiant Creator" sun identification is implied.⁴³ Other Maidu again believed that Sun and Moon were sister and brother of the creator.⁴⁴

³⁸ Powers, *op. cit.*, 294, is wrong when he translates "Woan-no-mih" as "the death-giver."

³⁹ Curtis, 125, gives the title Yohosin-yeponi for the creator. Dixon, 261, mentions Wonomi as the creator among the Hill Maidu.

⁴⁰ Curtis, 117, writes: "The body of the Sky Chief was like gold; in fact, the old people used to say that he was the moon, and his father the sun."

⁴¹ Dixon, 266.

⁴² Dixon, 266.

⁴³ Dixon, 263; Maidu Myths, AMNH-B 17:39, 1902.

⁴⁴ Dixon, 264.

Among the Nisenan, however, there can be no doubt that Moon was the creator.⁴⁵

The Northwest Maidu identified Sun and Moon by name, thus Sun was ekim poko (day sun) and Moon, pom poko (night sun). They were thought to be sister and brother, who had arranged to travel one by day and the other by night.⁴⁶

The Hill Maidu did not call the first man Kuksu, nor is the name used in their mythology or ceremonies. In Stanchfield Hill on the Yuba river Kutsu was said to have been a wood spirit.

The Hill Maidu as well as the Valley Maidu possessed the Two Brothers story. The Two Brothers were born of a virgin by Cloud-man as father, and went around the world destroying monsters. Both Powers and Fassin obtained this legend at Concow, where only a single hero, named Oan-koi-tu-peh or Unkoito, was mentioned.⁴⁷ Dangel has demonstrated the confused intermingling of the Two Brothers and the single Culture Hero type of story in central California.⁴⁸ Among the Valley Maidu, one of the Two Brothers, Onkoito (the Conqueror) can be equated with Kutsem (Kuksu) yeponi of another version of the same story, while the other, Pemsautō (Always-eating) probably refers to Peheipe, the clown.⁴⁹

The Hill Maidu called the rainbow olenkuswodo. When Sun went behind a cloud she left the rainbow for Coyote so that he might sun himself. The morning star was called laidam-lulu (morning star) but no special belief was connected with it. An eclipse of the sun was called pokom-kusa-usut-tuito (sun-blind-went-over). It was thought that the sun turned and looked backward and therefore was blind for a time. The people were not afraid nor did they do anything to make the sun turn around again.

The rattlesnake was called sola. The people were afraid to mention this animal by name lest they be bitten. A person bitten by a rattler, if

⁴⁵ Powers, 341, gives the myth in which moon was the first thing in existence and Coyote the second. Moon and Coyote created all things, including man. Moon was good, but Coyote a marplot. Moon created the rattlesnake and caused it to bite Coyote's son so that he died. This same account is universally given by the Northwestern Maidu, with Wonomi as creator. Merriam, *The Dawn of the World*, 59, states that the Nisenan "count the Moon-man among the early divinities."

⁴⁶ I was told this story by the Hill Maidu. Dixon, *Maidu Myths*, 78, has a record of the story.

⁴⁷ Powers, *op. cit.*, 300 ff. A. G. Fassin, Unkoito; the Saviour, *Overland Monthly*, n.s., 4:7. Powers gives the best version of the story but his wording cannot be trusted fully. According to his version Unkoito left the earth and appeared as the rainbow.

⁴⁸ R. Dangel, *Der Schöpfungsglaube der Nordcentral Californier*, *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 3:32, 1927.

⁴⁹ Dixon, *Maidu Myths*, 51 ff.

he did not die at once, went into seclusion for a month with another Indian who once had been bitten but had recovered. The invalid had to observe certain taboos and be fed by the helper. Rattlesnakes and lizards came to visit the two Indians in seclusion, and aided in the cure of the invalid by simply looking at him.

The Hill people believed in a mermaid (*wiktoli*) who had a human face but a fish's tail. It was even said that a famous doctor once caught such a monster but allowed her to escape.

The whirlwind (*winwina*) was feared by the Hill Maidu since it was believed that ghosts traveled in this fashion. If an Indian saw too many whirlwinds he went to the medium and was sung over. If the Indian happened to be a member of the secret society, he had his womenfolk make bowls of *walaka* (acorn soup) and gave a feast, but in the meantime he himself abstained from meat and fish, living on acorn soup, acorn bread, and pinole.

To the best of my knowledge, prayer was never addressed to *Wonomi*, the sun, or the moon, nor did the people have any direct relation with these gods. Wishes, however, were made at new moon in order to bring good luck.⁵⁰

Doctors

The Northwestern Maidu had two kinds of doctors; the sucking doctor (*yomi*), who caused and cured disease, and the dreaming and singing doctor (*netdim maidu* or *oye*), who was in special contact with the spirits and ghosts. The head of the Hill Maidu secret society (*yukbe*) was the main *oye*. The *yomi* were either male or female, but the *oye* were said nearly always to have been male. According to Dixon: "A man may be a 'dreamer' and not be a shaman, but nearly all shamans are also 'dreamers.'"⁵¹ I was told that a *yomi* obtained his powers by dreams but that a man was born an *oye*. The *yukbe* was never a sucking doctor.

Curtis (118 ff.) has published a more complete account of the manner in which a Northwest Valley Maidu became a *yomi* than that obtained by Dixon.

The Maidu conceived the country as swarming with supernaturals called *kakeni*, each of which had its individual abode at some particular rock, peak, cave, lake, or cataract. There were spirit counterparts of all animals, or the animals themselves possessed the power of becoming spirits. . . . Furthermore, they were various semifabulous or purely imaginary creatures. *Kakeni*, spirit animals, and fabulous monsters, all were capable of bestowing extraordinary powers on human

⁵⁰ Powers, *op. cit.*, 304, in his myth of the culture hero *Oankoitupéh* of the Hill Maidu (Concōw) mentions that the people were expected to pray to "Woannomih."

⁵¹ Dixon, 271.

beings, and those who were thus favored either became shamans or at any rate lucky men under the protection of their individual tutelary spirits.

Boys were not sent out to observe vigils for this purpose, but a grown man walking about in the dark might meet a *kakeni* and fall unconscious. The spirit then talked to him as he lay there and warned him not to reveal this experience, or even the mere fact that he had seen a spirit. If he disobeyed, he would soon die; but if he obeyed, he would become rich, people would give him property, and expect no payment. Recovering his senses, the man went home. He ate nothing, and would not tell why. But the people knew. Later in life this spirit would return and say: "Well, do you think you have lived long enough? In so many days you will die." Then for the first time the man would tell his relatives that he had once had a spiritual experience, and that in a certain number of days he would die. . . .

The more orthodox way of becoming a shaman was by meeting the semifabulous redheaded bird *moloko* [condor], which is said to be of the size and appearance of a turkey, and to live in the water. . . . The next autumn the man related his experience to the shaman who had saved him [from the *moloko*] and the latter said, "I think we shall have to doctor you." Messengers were sent to the medicine-men of other villages, and on the appointed night they met in a house. The people attended. Each medicine-man had a cocoon rattle which he struck against the left hand while all sang, assisted by some of the young men, who sang and struck two clam-shells together. After a while they danced round the fire, and the novice danced in his place between two shamans, each of whom held one of his arms. Later in the night one of the old medicine-men sucked blood from the novice's forehead.

The ceremony continued five nights, and during this time neither the novice, nor the medicine-men, nor the young men who assisted in the singing, ate anything except acorn mush, pinole, and bread. At some time during the course of the ceremony one of the old shamans "shot" a recent initiate. The two stood on opposite sides of the fire, crouching, facing each other, and singing. The young man slowly crept toward the fire. Suddenly he fell backward. The old shaman had shot him with his "poison," that is, with the disease which he could magically project through space and into the body of his victims. He lay there feigning death for a time, then rose and pretended to vomit up something of the appearance of an elongate pebble. Sometimes he could not bring it up and the old man then sucked it out.

There were certain men, rarely women, who with arms, chest, and lower half of the face painted white, and with prairie-falcon feathers dangling from the arms and down the back, went about constantly singing and striking the hand with a split-elder baton painted white. All this was in response to the bidding of some spirit in a dream experience. Such persons were called *oya*.

The Valley Maidu therefore gained shamanistic power either individualistically, as among the Shasta, Achomawi, and Atsugewi, or else they were given the aid of shamanistic schooling, as with the Yuki and Athabascan tribes of Northwest California. The shooting of the candidates as a death and resurrection initiation into the profession was done in a manner strikingly similar to that employed in initiating candidates into the *Mêdewiwin* cult of the central Algonkian and southern Siouan tribes.

Among the Hill Northwest Maidu, in like manner, a man or woman could become a yomi either naturally—that is, by seeing a kakini and falling senseless, bleeding from the mouth and nose—or by being made a shaman. A Hill Maidu was “made” by being shot with a “pain” (sila) by an older shaman. If he was able to spit up the pain he was considered fit to join the profession, otherwise the pain had to be extracted by sucking. Frequently shamans were made by being “shot” at the yomusi, or doctors’ competition, although no layman went to witness this competition for the purpose of becoming a shaman. The doctors’ competition, as opposed to the doctors’ school, affiliates the Hill Maidu with the south. Beginning with the Yokuts: medicine men in the Heshwash ceremony threw pains at one another,⁵² in the Pota ceremony of the Central Miwok they entered into a sun-gazing competition,⁵³ and among the Nisenan they shot poison at one another, as among their Northwest Hill neighbors.⁵⁴

If a man or woman became a shaman without the preliminary aid of another member of the profession, it was said to have happened in the following manner: The man went out in the woods, saw a kakini, and became frightened. This kakini now became his guardian spirit and he commenced seeing him in his dreams. The two talked together, the kakini teaching the young man how to sing and how to cure. The guardian spirit was said to have been inherited in families, and the former possessor would aid now in teaching of the novice. Other doctors, as well, would assist in the training.

The novice was sick the entire time he was learning to be a doctor, and the full-fledged doctors kept treating him and singing over him. Contrary to the habit of the oye, the sucking doctor only obtained a single spirit, often the rattlesnake (sola). No matter what spirit was obtained, the shaman had to abstain from eating it in the flesh, for this would have been “like eating himself.” The family of the shaman, however, was allowed to eat the animal.

If a person wished to be a shaman and was unable to obtain a vision, an older member of the profession sometimes placed a pain in the two hands of the aspirant. The pain passed through the victim’s system and, if he were able to spit it out, he became a doctor. If the pain had to be sucked out, however, the young man was rejected for the profession. The pain was removed as a small blood clot. All sucking doctors wore porcupine quills (kewokom) in their noses. By throwing these with their

⁵² Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, BAE-B 78:506, 1925. Cited as: *Handbook*.

⁵³ Gifford, *Miwok MS*.

⁵⁴ P. L. Faye, *Notes on the Southern Maidu*, this series, 20:46, 1923.

hands they were able to produce sickness by causing the quills to enter the system of the victim. Dixon states that these quills were inserted in the noses of novices at Chico. If a novice could remove the quill without aid he would be a shaman.⁵⁵

Neither the religious head of the secret society (yukbe) nor the secular head (huku) used charms with which to kill people, according to my informant. Sucking doctors, however, and gamblers used a poison (yompa). If the owner of yompa walked around the victim and let him smell it, the affect was said to have been weakening. Yompa was composed, at least in part, of sila, or the "pain" extracted by shamans.⁵⁶ It was different from deer-liver poison, which was envenomed by the bite of a rattlesnake and placed either on arrowpoints in war or in victims' food, always with fatal results.

In curing, the sucking doctor and singing doctor worked together over the patient. First the yomi sucked; afterward, at night, the oye sang in order to summon the spirits and dreamed regarding methods of curing. No medicine was ever used by the doctors.

A sucking doctor while working a cure ate no salt or meat. He wore the hairnet (pute) with various kinds of feathers in it. Certain of the extracted pains were alive and had to be killed so that other people would not contract the disease. Dixon records that the pains were buried; I was told that they were burned. Finally the doctor "smoked" the patient with a stone pipe.⁵⁷

The Maidu doctor was paid only if the patient recovered. Doctors who lost their patients, however, were not put to death. Curing was entirely in the hands of the singing and sucking doctors, and was never performed as a function of the secret society. Little is known of tricks or chicanery practiced by the Hill Maidu doctors. At Mooretown the doctors were able to place their hands in the fire, but did not practice fire-walking, as reported for the Stanfield Hills and Northeastern Maidu doctors.

The yomusi was the annual dance or competition held by the shamans in the open at the time of the first fall rain.⁵⁸ Its purpose was said to

⁵⁵ Dixon, 268.

⁵⁶ According to Dixon, 272, the hū'ūkū were usually powerful shamans, who kept yo'mepa charms on their person. This my informant denied. However, Dixon, on page 333, states that the leaders of the society usually were not shamans but could be made so. Throughout his section dealing with the Hill Maidu, Dixon has confused the yukbe and the huku, and I found it difficult at this late date to disentangle all information regarding these leaders of the society.

⁵⁷ Dixon, 270.

⁵⁸ Dixon, 272, seems to be in error when he states that the shamans' competition was held in the dance-house. Possibly the Sacramento Maidu were implied in the statement.

have been threefold: first, to find out by tests which of the local shamans had the greatest power; second, to throw disease away from the community back upon the people who had sent it; and last, to initiate new shamans.

As among most, if not all, north-central Californians, the sun was considered hostile and, especially after the first rainfall, was thought to send down fevers. In order to counteract this, the shamans during the competition shot back at the sun with miniature bows of straw and flint-pointed arrows of wild rye stock. Both the bows and arrows were called *kowotum panda*. I found specimens of the arrowpoints in the hills near Enterprise.

The arrows were freighted with poison and therefore were thought to work damage on enemies at a distance. When an arrow fell on one of the local doctors, he was supposed to bring it up again from his mouth. If he failed he had to be treated by the other, and thus remained hors de combat. Often a mere spectator was felled by such a missile, and became a shaman by showing his powers of rejection. The poison was blown off from the extended hand, as well as shot off on the arrows.

Several days before the yomusi the doctors fasted from salt and meat. The ceremony was then held in the open in broad daylight and not around a fire. The *peheipe* was present and danced naked with the doctors. Women doctors danced a little way off, but did not compete with the men, as claimed by Dixon. The rules of combat were strictly observed, and the doctors could not introduce knives or real bows and arrows, nor could they touch one another; they fought by "throwing" and singing. No pole or image was used during the ceremony. At the end of the competition the doctors did not perform feats of magic nor did they produce mice or snakes; they simply went down to the stream and bathed.

The last man remaining on his feet at the yomusi was proclaimed the best doctor.

The yukbe alone held séances (*pomwewe*, night-talk). Gatherings for this purpose were held at frequent intervals in his own ceremonial house. The yukbe talked to the spirits in a special language and the *peheipe* acted as interpreter. At the séances the singers beat on baskets (*maidum toni*) with their hands.⁵⁹ Perhaps this custom was a substitution for the real shamanistic use of the tambourine.

In his capacity as medium the yukbe resembled the Klamath shaman. Thus, he had his own spirit house, a large number of spirits, and an in-

⁵⁹ Dixon, 272, states that the baskets were beaten with sticks.

terpreter at the time of séances. There was, however, one important difference; the spirits of the Klamath, like those of the Northwest Coast area in general, possessed their owner and spoke through him,⁶⁰ while the Maidu spirits spoke to their owner. In this sense the Maidu séance may be considered a weakened form of the true Siberian ritual, and the yukbe as a medium and seer, but not a true shaman.

At the time of a séance all the villagers congregated in the yukbe's house, the fire was dimmed, a screen placed over the smokehole, and the yukbe intoxicated himself with tobacco smoke in order to secure rapport with the spirits. The clown, besides acting as interpreter, sought to allay the fear of the spectators by his jokes. "Do not be afraid," he would say, "I am here." The spirits entered the house one at a time, rattled at the base of the center pole, and then climbed to the top, shaking their rattles from the summit. As each spirit entered, the yukbe commenced a song conversation with it, the peheipe repeating the gist of the matter. The spirits were all kakini and not ghosts of the dead. If a ghost approached it was driven off.

At the séance the yukbe questioned the spirits about epidemics, war, and hunting. He did not try, however, to reveal the future. The main questions put were those concerning disease, the yukbe wishing to know the names of those who had been throwing sickness at his village. Some days after the séance, pains were fixed up and thrown in the direction of the village enemies.

The grandfather of my informant Martin was the last yukbe at Enterprise. He died forty years ago. The people still employ the oye when they wish to consult the spirits. As old age came upon the yukbe and he saw his people abandoning their ancient customs, he became frightened and spirit dreams came to him faster and faster. Praying no longer did any good. "The people no longer do right," he said, "they no longer do what I tell them." Finally one day, as he sat on the bough of a tree, he fell off and broke his neck.

Secret Society

All Northwest Hill Maidu possessed a secret society of males which had as its main purpose the enacting of the sacred dances. From the legends connected with this society and from the rites employed in its initiation, the inference can be drawn that before the days of the Valley Hesi and the Hill Aki dances this secret society was nothing but a tribal initiation of all young boys. It appears obvious at the present time that

⁶⁰ Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 109.

all males were virtually forced to become members, perhaps the sole exceptions being the suku who were incapable of dancing or singing.

According to the Hill Maidu Concow creation story, as obtained by Powers,⁶¹ Wonomi instituted the secret society into which every boy had to be initiated. Wonomi said:

“Heretofore you have let all your boys grow up like a wild tree in the mountains; you have taught them nothing; they have gone their own way. Henceforth you must bring every youth, at a proper age, into your assembly house, and cause him to be initiated into the ways and knowledge of manhood. You shall teach him to worship me, and to observe the sacred dances which I shall ordain in my honor. . . . Keep the sacred dance-house, as I have told you, while the world endures. Never neglect my rites and my honors. Keep the sacred rattle and the dances. Worship me in the night, and not in the daylight. In the daytime I will none of it. Then shall your hills be full of acorns and nuts; your valleys shall yield plenty of grass seed and herbs; your rivers shall be full of salmon, and your hearts shall be rejoiced. Farewell.”

In accordance with the injunctions in the above legend, the Konkau established and have maintained to this day a secret society, which is called Ku'-meh (literally, “assembly-house” or “dance-house,” although it may be rendered (!) “Order of Manhood”). Boys are initiated into it at the age of twelve or, in the case of sober, thoughtful boys, a year or two younger. Not all youths are taken into membership, although the older members are good propagandists, and use strenuous exertions to bring in the youngsters of their acquaintance. They tell them that if they do not join they will be devoured by wild beasts, or fall over precipices, or be drowned, and their spirits will go the left-hand path into darkness. Nothing is revealed to them beforehand, and boys are often reluctant to join, having heard from outside fearful stories of the doings inside.

There is no grip or password for admission into the sacred house. When a member approaches he simply says to the doorkeeper, “Ni'-hai ye'-pom-mi ku'-meh (I belong to the order). The services are called wa-tai'-i-teh. When a neophyte is initiated, after the services are over the old members in turn place their right hands on his left shoulder. A new name, his virile name, which is generally that of his father or some other near relative, is then added to his baby-name. For ten days following the initiation he must refrain from all flesh meat, and eat nothing but acorn-porridge.

The Hill Northwest Maidu were the final people who practiced the trait of tribal initiation in anything like the form it was practiced among tribes having the western Kuksu cult. Hence each ridge probably had a somewhat different set of rituals. Perhaps the most striking difference between the Hill and the Chico Valley initiation lay in the fact that the Hill Maidu lacked the ghosts and the final act of throwing the neophytes out of the smokehole of the ceremonial house in the spring.

On the other hand, both the Hill and the Valley Maidu shared the feature of calling the younger initiates yombasi, the older or full initiates, yeponi. While this distinction became rather functionless, still

⁶¹ Powers, *op. cit.*, 294 ff.

the distinction remained, and was perhaps due to the fact that the Maidu secret society was a fusion of the old Ghost cult and Kuksu cult of the west. Among both the Valley and the Hill Maidu the yeponi on ceremonial occasions were distinguished by net caps transfixed with plumed sticks.

In one important respect the Hill Maidu retained their tribal initiation in a purer form than did the Valley Maidu. There was no fee required for entrance into the society, and none of the dances performed by members were "pay dances." The idea of private ownership of dances among the Chico Valley Maidu was doubtless borrowed from the neighboring Patwin.

My information on the Hill Maidu secret society came entirely from Enterprise and Mooretown.

Organization.—The leadership in the society was divided, as already stated, between the yukbe and the huku. This latter official was called heli maidu by some of my informants. He was virtually village chief and spent most of his time at home where he received visitors. The helwoki was the actual representative of the huku in the ceremonial house and trained the neophytes as his special duty. There were probably two or three peheipe or clowns to a village. Their duties have already been discussed. They also played an important rôle in training the young dancers. The head singer was called solpe, the other singers, soli maidu. There were also a number of "callers" (huyeyim maidu) who summoned the various dancers.

The Hill Maidu claimed that they did not impersonate the kakini, or spirits, in spite of the large number of animal dances which they performed. The dancers in fact wore no disguises, with the exception of one yeponi who acted the part of mokisi (Valley Maidu moki). Mokisi was watchman for the sacred aki ceremony but did not himself perform. He stood outside the ceremony house to prevent anyone making fun of the performance. He wore the complete black feather disguise of the Valley Maidu. My informant claimed that the character of mokisi was not an innovation in the Hills.

While certain dances were performed by men alone, there were no secret dances from which women were barred. In fact, women and children had access to the dance-house at all times and under all circumstances, although women were never made members of the society.

The actual men's house and headquarters of the society (wolom ui) was a small semi-subterranean ceremonial house about 150 yards from the main house, with a single center post. Only yeponi were allowed en-

trance to it and the neophytes after eight days of preliminary initiation in the main dance-house were brought there for a period of seclusion. No dances were held in it but it was utilized by the dancers as a dressing room; the performers in all the sacred dances first emerged from this house and then entered the kumi. Each yeponi kept an owl- or yellow-hammer feather wand hung up on the wall in the wolom ui. The yukbe, however, kept the dancing costumes in his own house where at intervals he shook them while he smoked to keep them free from moths.

Initiation.—New yeponi, or members of the secret society, were initiated every ten or twelve years and only upon the occasion of building a new ceremonial house, kumi. Theoretically a man was supposed to become yeponi at about the age of eighteen but actually many never became yeponi until they were twenty-five or thirty. When constructing a kumi young boys of ten or twelve were instructed in dancing. These boys were called yombasi; they were under no restrictions and did not undergo a true initiation. They were not allowed to enter the wolom ui but helped in the dance-house by carrying wood and water and keeping the fire going.

When an old ceremonial house was falling into decay, or when the tribe had increased sufficiently to be able to build an additional ceremonial house at another site on the ridge, the matter was talked over by the yeponi in the old kumi, the old yukbe, meanwhile, singing nightly and keeping in constant communication with the spirits. Certain yeponi were appointed to supervise the building of the new kumi and were now called yeponpa. The young men of the village aided in the building of the new house; it was these men who later were "caught" and initiated.

The construction occupied a year and it was not until the following March that the house could be consecrated by a yolema ceremony and the novice yeponi initiated. One day the novices, who had been out hunting and fishing, were preparing to cook their food at the fireplace in the new kumi when a clown suddenly shut the door and announced to the youths that they were caught (hutin) and for sixteen days would not be allowed to eat meat.⁶² So the game was sent home to the families of the youths.

The number of youths caught depended naturally on the number of available young men in the village. Anywhere from two to twelve new members might be initiated at one time. Five boys were made yeponi

⁶² Dixon, 325, mentions eight days as the period of initiation. I was told that the boys were locked up for sixteen days, the initiation, however, really ending in May when the boys received their new names.

along with my informant's father. The mothers of the youths cried when their sons were locked up in the dance-house, but none tried to prevent her offspring from joining the society, for to be a non-member meant social ostracism; in fact a grown man who refused membership was called *hudesi maidu* (a fighting man).

A dance (*yolema*) participated in by men and women of the village was in progress at the time the youths were caught. While Dixon has recorded that non-members of the society were excluded at the time of initiation, my informants claimed that no such exclusion was practiced. The neophyte *yeponi* were placed in back of the second center post, near the foot-drum. This place in the house was called *koye*. The *yombasi* slept to the left of the *koye*. Non-members of the society were not allowed to approach the neophytes.

As soon as the youths were in the house, the door was locked, the fire extinguished, and the *helwoki* and the clowns ornamented the boys with dancing costumes. First each was given a hairnet (*wikla*) to which were attached white goose-wing feathers (*welele*) that hung down over the face and covered the eyes. Next a girdle with hawk and owl feathers hanging from it in front and back was given, and also a wand (*yokoli*), which the neophyte hung on the wall above his bed. The faces of the youths were first daubed with white clay (*kaukuku*) and then black stripes placed on top. Black stripes also were placed on their wrists. Finally acorn powder was sprinkled on the head of each boy; this was supposed to remain on for the sixteen days. A little additional acorn powder was also sprinkled on the boys' heads to give them good luck.

The first night the youths sat up straight, arms extended. They were not allowed to talk above a whisper. The *yeponi* sang through the night keeping time with the cocoon rattles.

During their confinement the neophytes remained in a state of taboo, as among the Patwin. They were allowed to wash only their mouths and hands, but not their faces; they used wooden scratchers; they were allowed to leave the house only in case of necessity and then with their heads covered with blankets. Their food, consisting of ground seed (*tu*), water, and acorn soup (*kaudam*), was brought by relatives. The *helwoki* handed the food to the boys for the relatives were not allowed to approach them.

During their confinement the youths had their ears and noses pierced with cedar splinters (*bono um*). While this was said to have been done as punishment for infraction of the rules, it seems certain that all neophytes suffered the penalty. Ear and nose plugs were attached to the

orifices, and served later to designate the men as full-fledged yeponi. There was no spearing, shooting, or gashing of the yombasi or yeponi.

Instruction in singing and dancing started the first morning after the confinement. The older yeponi asked the youths what they wished to become. Some stated that they wished to be peheipe, others solpe (singers), others kaminim (dancers), and others huyeyim maidu (callers). The yukbe then tried out those who wished singing lessons and if they were not able to follow his lead, others were tried out. The yukbe also gave instruction to the boys in the dance. During their confinement both the huku and the yukbe taught the neophytes the Wonomi legends and gave them moral instruction. The boys were told to be good, not to fight with people, or run after girls. The neophytes were given also practical training in making arrowheads and fishing nets.

Four or five women, from thirty to forty years of age, were instructed in dancing, afterwards becoming the new dance leaders for the women; they also had charge of making walaka (acorn soup) for ceremonial occasions. Walaka was made outside the dance-house and given to the helwoki to give to the neophytes. These women were not, however, actual members of the society. Unlike the Patwin and the peoples having the Western Kuksu Cult, the Hill Maidu secret society was composed entirely of males.

Early on the morning of the first day the yolema dance was resumed. The neophytes took their new positions of singers, drummers, callers, dancers, clowns, and leaders. The men danced inside the house, the women outside.

The clowns were in constant attendance during the period the neophytes were confined. While part of their duty consisted in training the new members they also acted as jesters; no morsel of food was consumed without first being tasted by the peheipe. Sometimes a clown was tripped up while making the rounds and fell into a basket of water, to be rescued by his confrères.

When the sixteen days of initiation were over the neophytes were no longer under restrictions; they were brought to the men's house (wolom ui) and kept there four days; then they returned to the dance-house, after which they went back and forth at will from the one ceremonial house to the other. At every sacred performance the procession started from the wolom ui.

The initiation ended in May with a week of dancing called the humi. As usual the yeponi (this time both the old and new members) first started singing in the men's house; then they paired off, one old member with one new, and marched across to the dance-house. Once there, a

number of common dances were performed by the men and women, including hutin kamine, lole, pawe, and paiyo. There was no fixed order for these dances, but a new member would rise up, announce a dance he had learned, and then all the members joined in.

The ceremony of giving the boys their new names was performed during the week of the humi. Relatives of the neophytes entered the dance-house and announced to the helwoki that they wished to give their boy a name, which always was handed down from a dead yeponi. They placed strings of beads around the boy's head, gave him a new costume, and said: "He was a good man," or "My friend was like this." Finally the yukbe handed out the netted caps and feather-plume sticks to the new members.

A weda closed the humi ceremony. Three or four hundred grass balls had been prepared and the men and women threw these at one another. The new yeponi were the special targets for the balls, for it was thought that whoever hit a young yeponi would acquire "new life." Then all went to a spring and underwent a ceremonial washing.

After initiation, the natural headquarters of the yeponi was the wolom ui, often called "feather house" by the Hill Maidu. Here the yeponi hung up their feather wands (yokoli). If a member of the society had a bad dream he burned his wand and made another. They prayed to the yokoli to bring them luck in hunting and fishing.

hoelawi godum motapa mekucopa, good my-lord give-me hunting-ground
niki mucumbodi, my hunting-deer.

When a man prayed he blew smoke from his stone pipe (kulkuli) over his wand.

Sacred dances.—The aki was the main ceremonial dance of the Hill Northwestern Maidu, and, like the hesi of the Patwin and Sacramento Maidu, was performed in the fall and spring. The villages which came to Enterprise to participate in the aki included Bald Rock, Shamburg Valley, Yuba River people, and Dredgeville (below Oroville). The Chico Indians seldom came; when they did it was merely in the capacity of spectators. It is said, however, that in the days before the whites, the home people (those of the same or neighboring ridges) performed all the dances. Now as the various villages arrived, they each brought their own dances with them. I am listing only those dances said to have been native to Enterprise and Mooretown.

After the procession from the men's house, the aki started with the war dance (hudesin kamine), only men participating, all carrying their bows and arrows and skirmishing as in combat.

Next came the deer dance (*süming kamine*); only men participated but women were allowed to witness it. The yeponi did not wear the complete deerhead disguise but attached deer tails, ears, and a small deerhide to their bodies. In the dance they imitated the motions of the deer.

Among the Patwin this dance was very sacred and women were not allowed to witness it. The following origin story, although told by my Maidu informant, may have come from the Patwin.

A hunter saw some deer dancing in the woods. The deer said: "You have killed deer dancers. When you go home you must have a deer dance before you eat deer meat, else you will dream." So after this the hunters always gave the deer dance.

The rabbit dance (*boye kamine*) was performed by the yombasi. They imitated the motion of the rabbits and wore rabbit ears, or a small rabbit skin.

The fish dance (*mokon kamine*) evidently was not so sacred as the preceding dances, for both men and women performed in it. First the men danced in the center, the women outside; then the positions were reversed. No fishskin disguises were used, nor did the dancers imitate the motion of fishes. The men wore maple bark strings. It is not certain that this dance was originally performed in the aki cycle.

The yohoi ai was performed by men and women visitors who came to the aki, but never by the home people.

Thus, it may be generalized that the aki among the Hill Northwest Maidu was performed only by the male yeponi, with the women as spectators. No masks were worn but the yeponi carried feathers on their heads, called *k'uni*, which concealed the eyes, and wore yellowhammer headbands (*dsulaka*). The moki acted as policeman, as already stated, while one or more *peheipe* acted as director, but did no clowning. The *huyeye* or callers summoned the various performers for the dances. No acrobatic dances, bear dances, *gilak* dances, *molok* dances, or grasshopper dances were performed.

The aki lasted three or four days. During this period the performers (yeponi) fasted and abstained from sexual intercourse.

The acorn dance (*hutin kamine*) was less sacred than the aki for it was participated in by both sexes, the yeponi, however, directing. The dance took place at intervals during winter in the ceremonial house. The men danced around the fire attired in eagle and yellowhammer headbands, while women danced on the outside. There were no animal impersonations. At intervals between dances the yeponi prayed for a good crop of acorns. Grass games were played in the dance-house at the completion of the ceremony.

Common dances.—Common dances were held during winter. Festivals (lopti) were given by the neighboring villages for this purpose. Various villages were invited to join in the lopti. Notification was sent in the form of invitation strings. The only common dances I was able to list were lole, pawe, paiyo, and san kamine.

Both men and women danced the lole, although there was a form of lole for women only. The men's lole was danced a little faster than the women's. The pawe was danced by both sexes and the paiyo, a quick dance, mostly by men. The san kamine was the sweat-dance in which the men danced around the fire in the dance-house and then ran down to the river for a plunge.

Certain terms expressing religious ideas were given as follows:

kodo, the world
 kawi, the earth
 kakini, a spirit
 usbuki, a ghost
 honi, heart
 wono, soul
 wono ukol, to die (soul leave)
 puktuyiton, a person who dies and comes to life again, or a person who faints and regains consciousness
 us wono, to faint
 huiyu, shadow
 mum di huiyu, a reflection in the water
 yoma, to doctor
 yomi, a sucking doctor
 oye, a singing doctor
 dut, to suck

ECONOMIC LIFE

Houses.—Family house (hulhuli ui) of bark; usually no center pole; constructed over pit; long cedar barks leaned together, tied at top. Each had doorway, smoke-hole, single fire. Number in village limited. Most families slept in dance-house in winter; sometimes used caves when children were present. In summer lived in brush structures similar to those used by menstruating girls and rattlesnake victims.

Each family owned separate granary (sukini), from eight to ten feet high, with square cedar-bark platform supported by four to six poles. In it was stored: acorns (huti), manzanita berries (dukduko), birch seed (hibi), dried fish (makomikali), eel (kowom ikali), venison (sumum ikali), army worms (hunci kape), mushrooms (wam ikali).

Parts of dance-house: main pillars, sudoko (Dixon states pillar behind fireplace called kukinim sudoko, spirit post; other pillar called humpem sudoko); smaller surrounding posts, benki; bark roof, wataku; dirt covering on roof, kau; floor covering of pine needles, subul (changed weekly). According to Dixon, smoke-hole (ololok) probably formerly main entrance. Doorway (humpu) formerly three feet high, now higher because modern dress of Indians. Fire (sa) in center kept burning through winter.

Clothing and adornment.—In summer men usually went naked (Dixon, 154), women wore stripped bark aprons in front and back, attached by maple bark strings (cf. Valley Nisenan). In winter men wore squirrel and fox skins tied at waists; neither sex covered upper body. Both sexes wore moccasins; snowshoes used in winter for going to feasts, not for hunting. (Dixon, 160, 162, illustrates moccasin, snowshoe. Curtis, 14:106, states moccasins and leggings practically unknown in valley, but mountaineers wore them in winter, also in summer when hunting.)

Men's noses and ears pierced when initiated into society; women's ears pierced at puberty. Men wore nose plugs; both sexes wore ear ornaments (bono) of bone or wood cylinders with shell pendants. Women, especially for dances, wore shell-bead necklaces (gela). Wealthy men wore large red stones (laklak semo) on chests, which their relatives had obtained in trade from ocean people and presented to them at puberty.

Both sexes tattooed about puberty; no ceremony. Families owned tattoo styles (for additional information see Dixon, 154 ff.; Curtis, 106).

Dogs.—Informant Martin insisted Hill Maidu had no dogs in pre-white times. Formerly people raised coyotes, cu. Now dogs called cu.

Fire.—Simple fire drill used (Dixon, 180). Fire first made in dance-house, carried to other houses. Clown kept fire going night and day in dance-house; smoldering fire in summer. Tribal members averse to lending each other fire from homes, thought this entailed loss; each obtained own fire from dance-house.

Hunters preserved fire by punching out pith of piece of elderberry wood, grinding it, and drying to powder, then refilling stick with this powder. To light this stick, hole is bored at center and live coal placed inside, causing powder to smolder. Hunters carried such stick; arriving at first camping place they set tree stump on fire so that, on return, they could obtain live coal—a necessary precaution because drilling fire hard and uncertain.

Pipes and tobacco.—Pipes (kulkuli) of soapstone or slate rock from 5 to 8 inches long. Bulged at mouthpiece and especially at bowl. Bored with quartz crystal. (Steatite pipe pictured in Dixon, 317.)

Like Nisenan, Hill Maidu cultivated certain amount tobacco (pani). Wild tobacco likewise smoked, its seed sowed. Tobacco gathered, rubbed, placed in pouches of fox or civet-cat skin; one pouchful of sufficient strength to last owner all summer.

Foods.—(See Acorn Ceremony, p. 141; also Dixon, 181 ff.)

Strawberries (wolopiti), gooseberries (totkopini), thimble berries (danka), elderberries (yalulukomi), blackberries (wase), wild grapes (pimili) eaten.

Spring weda held before mushrooms, clover (cewi), or puku (a grass-like alfalfa) eaten; if rule broken, sickness resulted.

Considerable contradiction concerning the birds Northwestern Maidu ate. Dixon, 184, claims practically all birds, except buzzards, eaten. Curtis, 108, agrees, stating Maidu ate all predaceous and carrion birds excepting buzzards, these being owls, hawks, eagles, crows, ravens. Both Curtis and Dixon wrote on valley; for hills, I was informed following birds eaten: valley quail (susu), mountain quail (hohopi), yellowhammer (wololok), robin (cistataka), Oregon robin (luli), wild pigeon (hani), grouse (hukua), dove (pulba), goose (laka). Goose bones and rabbit bones used for whistles after flesh eaten.

Birds not eaten: buzzard (minihusi) never killed or eaten; crane (kodoko) never killed for fear bad luck; eagle (boni) not killed, feathers imported for dance costumes; condor (moloko) never caught; chicken hawk (lele) trapped

with mouse bait for its feathers; smaller hawks (namely, nomiuno, tekteka, kilikiki) trapped for feathers; owl (huhumi) trapped for plumage.

White goose apparently sacred to Hill and Valley Maidu. Powers, 310, writes white goose sacred among Konkau (Hill Maidu), who call it God's bird (ko'i; name formed from its cry kauh!). They and other Maidu, especially Yuba, make robes from its down. Both Dixon, 291, and I were told women participants in loli dance held feather ropes, or boas, of white goose feathers. In creation story (Dixon, Maidu Myths, 39) Earth Initiate was lowered on feather rope called pōkelma.

Maidu ate field mice (wika); old women ate moles (yotdule). Some Indians ate rattlesnakes, claimed; others afraid of their bite.

Salt.—Mooretown Indians obtained salt (ba) from Wheatland (Tankumba). Because of distance, little obtained. Sometimes Wheatland Indians brought salt to Mooretown to trade for deer meat; occasionally Mooretown stole salt from Wheatland, digging it up from small hot-spring saline deposits there. Manufacturing: cooked with weed called yombamsawi which added saline qualities to product; ground up. Acorn dough cooked, seasoned with manufactured salt. People kept dough mixture; licked at intervals. A small chunk did service from two to five years.

Hunting.—Hunters called mucum maidu. Young men hunted with bows, older men participated in snaring. Hunted chiefly: deer (sumi), rabbit (boye), wildcat (tuk), cinnamon bear (müde). Grizzly bears (pano) occasionally shot by experienced men. Coyote (heno) killed, not eaten; wildcat, fox (hau) eaten by old women and widows. Squirrels (gray squirrels, sauwali, ground squirrels, hilo, boomer squirrels, tiwoko) shot with blunted arrows. Young men snared deer, rabbits, wildcat; older hunters, quail, pigeon. Pigeons, robins caught in large nets hung on trees.

Week before communal hunt, hunters avoided people, especially wives; feared contamination from human odors. Ate no hot food, meat, fish. Arising in morning jumped into water. Taboos continued during hunt, when people at home also cautious (Dixon, 192 ff.; Curtis, 107 ff.).

Fishing.—Fishermen called moko kauku. Caught chiefly: salmon (mai), trout (yaci), eel (kowo). Also mink (pō'os), otter (kaki) caught in nets (bini). (See Dixon, 197.)

Boats.—As stated by Dixon, 198, Hill Maidu had no boats. Had rafts.

Money and trade.—Maidu did not manufacture shell beads. Curtis, 109, claims use of currency late acquisition. I did not ask whether Hill Maidu counted beads or measured them in chains, but judge from neglect to which their former numerical count has fallen that latter was case. Intergroup trade mainly part of "burning" ritual; money, while used, not necessary.

[Curtis, 109, describes Northwestern Maidu intergroup trade (abstracted): They traded with Wintun and northeastern bands. From former they obtained principally shell beads, woodpecker-scalps, and yellowhammer-feathers, which with nets and rope snares they passed along to their Maidu neighbors in exchange for yew bows, arrows, skins. Shell beads said to be comparatively late acquisition. Maidu never wandered far from home, and these commodities traveled by passing from village to village.]

Musical instruments.—Hill Maidu had same musical instruments as Valley Maidu: flute, whistle, drum, rattle, musical bow; no bullroarer although found at Chico as toy, and among Sacramento Maidu as toy or wind-maker. Drum (kileme) of usual foot variety; used only in dance-house. Three rattles: split-stick (pak-paka) used in dancing; doctor's cocoon (sekoti); deer-hoof (temsisi) used in

girl's puberty ceremony. Latter not used by Valley Maidu; was typical of Northwest and Northwestern Californian culture, and connecting with Northeastern Maidu (Kroeber, Handbook, table 9). Girl at puberty used deer hooves either tied on string or attached to dress. Whistles (leli) either of rabbit- or deer-leg bone, usually double, used in dance. Elderwood flute (yalulu) had eight holes, blown for courting or amusement. My informant stated musical bow (kauwoto) simply ordinary bow tapped on string with little stick. Dixon, 222, informed special bow used by medium among Hill Maidu to talk with spirits.

Division of labor.—Men built houses; made clothing, including women's; made leggings, moccasins, rabbitskin blankets (both sexes tanned hides, however); carried wood (women helped in carrying water); felled trees used in house building (by burning, not chopping—usually dead tree used as took year to make single center pole; hot rock rubbed around it); straightened arrows with deerhorn; made strings and nets; hunted; fished. Women made baskets (Maidu say that if man made baskets would lose aim in hunting); did all cooking (exception, bear meat); prepared acorns, buckeye; gathered seeds.

Certain men, called suku (suku means "dog" in Wintun; berdaches and other incapable men called suku among Northwestern Maidu; immoral women also called this), deemed inefficient to be yeponi or do men's work; specialized in making feather costumes.

String made by hand from milkweed (pu), also from plant like milkweed but taller (pulaka). (Dixon, 142, records for Northern Maidu that string made from milkweed, pu; Kroeber, however, records for Valley Nisenan that pu there was a tule-like plant—see his *The Valley Nisenan*, this series, 24:253-290, 1929, cited hereafter: Nisenan.) Specialists in net-making called beni kelyem maidu; those apt at chipping flint and making bows and arrows called pandak kelye maidu.

All men hunted, fished, made cloth, built houses, except huku, or rich man and village chief, and doctors. Yukbe, being both doctor and chief yeponi, directed communal enterprise through aid of spirits. Clowns were non-workers, but always at hand to taste food.

Games.—Men's shinny called dumwoto, women's, kek kalto. Two men on a side; using sticks, three feet long, attempted to toss ball of white oak fungus as often as possible in fixed time through goal posts which were two sticks on each end of field. Time counted for this game, as for races, by dipping up water with acorn shell from various-sized baskets. Grass game (maidum hela) described by Dixon, 207. Suto, another guessing game, played with sticks. Games of skill: shooting, running, and wrestling (dumakto), in which men bored each other with elbows. Hide-and-go-seek (kabui yeto), a child's game: boy, blindfolded, caught others.

War.—War called uitusti; warriors, hudesi (cf. Dixon, 202, for Maidu war, weapons). Chief weapons: sinew-backed bow, flint-pointed arrows, spear (yomusa), sling, cunak (a buckskin strap with pocket of salmon skin to hold stone missile, sunaka). Stick armor: vest of round hardwood rods with cord twining (Curtis, 110).

Warred chiefly over food supply because Valley rich in seeds and Hills poor, so mountaineers constantly embroiled with tribes of Chico and Marysville. Wars between different ridges also common; villages banded together for them. Feuds often over women, also over claims in trees and fishing rights. [Curtis, 110, writes (abstracted): Maidu war activities mostly feuds, caused by trespass on food preserves and fishing stations and by shamans "poisoning" people. If man caught another stealing did his best to kill him; never sent mediator to arrange peace terms; always sent warriors to exact revenge. When war concluded, all dead on both sides paid for, thus victors paid most.]

Clown, wrapped in deerskin or bearskin, posted on top dance-house each night to guard against the frequent surprise attacks. Also, only portion warriors slept at a time. Ceremonies, such as aki, only given when village secure because if successful attack made while people in dance-house, enemy closed all entrances; set house afire. Any attempting escape thrown back. Oroville dance-house once burned thus.

Some Oroville men came to Oregon Creek; captured woman, two men; killed men, tied woman to tree and burnt off hands and feet. Victim crawled home; before dying revealed assailants. Oregon Creek warriors then waited until enemy held aki because then there would be no guard. They closed in; burnt dance-house and occupants.

Wars as pastime between youth of different villages on same ridge called yomuito; ordinary stone (not flint) arrows and sling shots used. Boasting and rivalry basis of such conflicts. Time pre-arranged; both sides, perhaps 30 on side, lined up about 100 yards apart. Five men on each side first shot at one another with arrows and sling stones; after 5 minutes relieved by next group. Warriors never advanced or retreated but dodged and exchanged shots on spot. If man knocked over, fight stopped; two sides assembled to arrange payment. If victors not willing to cover claims of wounded man's family, another day of fighting arranged in hope victim could be gotten from victorious side thus cancelling claim.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Kinship terms.—Gifford (Californian Kinship Terminologies, this series, 18:44 ff., 1922) has published kinship terms obtained at Mooretown. I checked these terms at Enterprise; found differences. I give both mine and Gifford's (latter in parentheses).

Mother, nene (ne)
 Child, tutu (kole)
 Father's father, father's father's brother, ka'a (aam)
 Great grandson, great grandfather, kuse (ganam)
 Older brother, ke (e)
 Older sister, keti (etim)
 Younger sister, ka (gam)
 Man's stepdaughter, basa (po)

The people often referred to by age class: cilaka, young infant; kole, young boy; kula ate, or konobe, young girl; u'upu, girl at puberty; yempo, boy past puberty; kule kutong, married man; yekuto, married woman; kole kung, pregnant married woman; maitu, married woman with child; yelapi, married man with child; kole kuli, man or woman bereft of child; kole wonoti, woman who has had a stillbirth; k'uli, man or woman who has lost spouse; kule kuli, widower; yep kuli, widow; kole sunu, woman who has stopped menstruating; osu, very old woman; kano, old man; kano pü, senile old man.

Marriage and kinship usage.—Girl had little choice in marriage. When girl about 10 or 12, man visited her parents, bringing food presents. If favored by them, parents offered girl some of food; if she refused, they ate it anyway. Afterwards suitor took girl camping, but waited until she was grown before having intercourse. If wife disliked husband at first, she was expected to get used to him. Couple sometimes lived with wife's parents, sometimes with man's; when children came, built own house, if wealthy. Doctors had up to four wives.

Incest: marriage of first cousins (general feeling, if one annoyed blood relative he would be liable to rattlesnake bite). Cross-cousins distinguished from parallel cousins, who were called by sibling terms, yet no difference as regards eligibility

to marriage. In Enterprise, second cousins called each other *nikbasa*; encouraged to marry. In Mooretown possible that only children of cousins of different sexes allowed to marry, as these called one another by cross-cousin terms, while children of cousins of same sex called sibling (Gifford, *op. cit.*, 45). In Enterprise, man permitted to marry his stepdaughter (*basa*, cousin). Maidu noted for allowing old men to marry young girls, and presumably, like Navaho, widower often married widow; later added her daughter to *ménage*.

Levirate and sororate permitted; not compulsory; reflected in use of same term for stepfather and father's brother and another term for stepmother and mother's sister.

Avoidance customs and joking relationships practiced. Man did not talk to mother-in-law or her sisters; avoided looking mother-in-law or father-in-law and his brothers in face. Mother-in-law and father-in-law pulled deerskins over faces at son-in-law's approach. A woman could not look mother-in-law and her sisters nor father-in-law and his brothers in face, nor talk to father-in-law; could talk a little to mother-in-law. People who called one another *nik-masi*, that is, brother-in-law or sister-in-law, were on joking relationship. Indication is that after death of man's wife, her family offered a sister or female cousin as replacement, these all being widower's *masi*.

Birth.—Taboo for pregnant woman to eat eel (*kowo*) or sucker (*tohoni*); ate snow bird (*tutuku*) so child would have long black hair. If boy wanted, she ate left foot deer. No specific diet for expectant father, but he was not allowed to touch gambling bones before birth. Afterwards, whenever gambling, washed hands before returning to family. Childbirth took place in menstruation hut or main house, one or two old women helping. Woman in sitting position, held in back by assistant. If delivery difficult, some child that had been readily born was placed alongside.

After birth, navel cord (*naka*) cut with flint; preserved and buried with owner at his death. Dixon, 230, says *naka* tied to cradle. Afterbirth (*kolemui*) buried.

Twins (*oya*) regarded as ill omened. Dixon, 230, notes for Hills that mother often killed and twins buried alive or burned. Now woman observes certain food taboos to avoid twins.

People also afraid of woman who had given birth to stillborn child, as such woman would blight crops (Dixon, 230). Both husband and wife fasted; woman remained home a season.

In normal births, mother kept to house three or four days, ate no salt, meat, fish. Father dieted same manner, abstained from gambling, fishing, hunting. End of period both bathed in river.

Child kept in cradle until two years old. Stuffed gopher skin used as toy. Not named until year old; feared losing name if died. First nicknamed; real name given to girl at puberty, to boy upon his becoming *yeponi*. Family names kept secret. No payment for *yeponi* names which handed down in families by members of secret society.

YUBA RIVER MAIDU

The following data on the Yuba River Maidu were obtained at Stanfield Hill.

The exact boundary between Nisenan and Northwest Maidu is by no means as fixed as Dixon implies by his map in *The Northern Maidu*. Powers was well aware of this fact, for he wrote: "As to the southern boundary of the Nishinam there is no doubt, for at the Cosumnes the language changes abruptly and totally [to Miwok]. As to the northern, the Yuba River villages could be classified indifferently with the Nishinam or the Maidu."⁶³

The count of the Yuba tribes, in reference to the word for "six," inclines the people to southern affiliation, but on the other hand, I believe they referred to themselves as Maidu (people) rather than as Nisenan. This point, however, bears further investigation.

	Northwest Hills (Enterprise)	Yuba River	Nisenan ⁶⁴
1	wikte	ukte	wite
2	pene	pēne	pen
3	sapu	sapui	sapwi
4	cuye	tsui	tsōye
5	mawiku	mawik	mawik
6	sai-tjoko (two threes)	tumbo	tombo
7	suijambo	tokpui	topwi
8	cujasko (two fours)	pensui	pentēoi
9	cujembo (four plus five)	pelio	penlio
10	matioko (two fives)	matsak	matsani

Before the coming of the whites, Berry Creek, Enterprise, and Mooretown were one ceremonial unit, visiting one another at dances and festivities. These people at that time had little or no friendly intercourse with the valley, coming down rather to steal seed and other foods. Chico, Stanfield Hill, Oroville, and perhaps Marysville were a ceremonial grouping among the valley peoples, but only Chico gave the hesi dance. The sacred dance of the remainder of this group was the aki. It is true that sometimes the Chico people came to Stanfield Hill and gave the hesi, but this was after the coming of the whites; the old people at Stanfield Hill make fun of this new-fashioned kakine (saltu) dance. It is evident that the hesi is a typical Patwin ceremony, introduced at a comparatively late date among the Chico Maidu and so not having sufficient time to spread.

⁶³ Powers, *op. cit.*, 314.

⁶⁴ These counts taken from R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *Numeral Systems of the Languages of California*, AA 9:679, 1907. According to Dixon, seven is topwi, eight, pentēoi, nine, peliom, in the Mooretown Hill Northwest Maidu dialect. Hence the greatest variation between the three dialects occurs in the number six.

As among Hill Maidu, the Yuba River Maidu had a secret society whose main purpose was the giving of the aki. This secret society was for males only, and quite evidently corresponded to the tribal initiation of the peoples of the Western Kuksu Cult. At Sacramento, owing to Patwin proximity, the secret society included a Kuksu initiation and was therefore open to a few women; at Chico there also was a Kuksu initiation, but no women were made members of the society.

RELIGION

Mythology and Beliefs

The Culture Hero or Creator among the Yuba River people was again Wonomi, but, according to at least one version of the creation story, Wonomi was accompanied in his wanderings by the dreamer Aika.⁶⁵ This personage corresponds to the Creator Haikat among the Sacramento Nisenan.⁶⁶

The sun and moon were not identified by name, the sun being called okpai and the moon pok. They were considered, however, wife and husband and the usual Maidu story of a quarrel after which the sun decided to travel by day and the moon by night was recorded.

The year had four seasons and twelve months, beginning with January. In the ceremonial house the yeponi kept a buckskin string tied with twelve knots, the knots being named for the months as follows: yepen pok, omintul, kono pok, winut pok, tem diok, bik diok, nem pok, ilok pok, semen pok, matmen pok, yolmen pok, sapin pok.

The seasons, beginning with winter, were: kume, yomen, ilaka, semene. January was considered a "mean" month; its name yepen pok signified "big man moon." The people gathered in the ceremonial house at this time and cried, because yepen pok was thought "to take people along with him." The Yuba people, like other Maidu, had no special moon cult other than the custom of wishing at a new moon.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ I was unable to obtain the actual story of the creation of the earth. It would be interesting to know whether the earth was obtained through Turtle diving for it, as at Chico and Sacramento, or whether it was created through the dreams of Aika.

⁶⁶ Kroeber, Nisenan, 275.

⁶⁷ Powers, *op. cit.*, 341, no doubt grossly exaggerated when he wrote: "The Nishinam to this day set great store by the moon, consider it their benefactor in a hundred ways, and observe its changes for a hundred purposes."

Doctors

The sucking doctor (yom) might be male or female. Like the Sacramento sucking doctor (yomuse) he either inherited his profession or was made by the other doctors, but was definitely not in contact with the spirit world and had no guardian spirit. It was stated that a man was "born" a yom, that is, acquired his power of throwing out pains by birth, the power being revealed later. On the other hand, the singing doctor (oye) gained his control over the spirits through supernatural experience. The yom was in possession of certain charms and drugs, and probably a bag, as with the Sacramento Nisenan. Because of his charms, the yom was rather feared at time of dances, although there was nothing to prevent his being a member of the secret society. The head of the society, the yeponi, was frequently also the medium (kakinpe), but there was no fixed rule concerning the matter.

A man could be both sucking doctor (yom) and singing doctor (oye), but a woman could only be a yom because women could not control the spirits. The oye corresponded to the Sacramento Nisenan Oepe, and were mainly engaged in singing in the ceremonial house for the good of the crops.

The word "to suck" was dud. The yom diagnosed by feeling, putting hot ashes on the patient's hands and feeling out the location of the disease. Then the "pain" was sucked out. A treatment might be made once, or it might last a week or ten days. The oye were not called in to aid the cure.

The doctor's dance (yomusi) was held each spring in the open. All the male sucking doctors danced around a fire, although the ceremony was held in the daytime. A pole (lumani), painted red and white, was erected near the fire. On top of it was placed a dancing costume (ye, feathers). No women or children were allowed near this pole, and the women yom who danced did so some distance from the men.

The purpose of the doctor's dance here, as elsewhere, was to see which doctor was the strongest, or, as my informant put the matter, "which had the strongest lungs." The doctors threw poison at one another, and, although I did not ask about the matter, perhaps shot one another with miniature bows. In singing fun was made of those who had fallen and were in need of treatment. They sang: waiwa niki su, poor my dog.

An important aspect of the dance was the display of power by the doctors who walked through the fire and, picking up live coals, placed

them in their mouths. Nor was a snake dance lacking, for the yom held snakes, toads, and lizards in their hands while dancing.

At the end of the ceremony, and after all the fallen had been revived, the performers and spectators ran to the river and plunged in.

The clown was not included in this dance, unless he was also a yom. I did not ask whether new doctors were made at the time of the dance, but this was probably the case, as among the Northwest Hill peoples.

The oye, as already stated, became doctors by acquiring spirits in dreams. They then became doctors at once, and needed no instruction. Thus the oye were more nearly related to the true, or Siberian shaman, than were the yom. One way in which a man might acquire supernatural experience was for a spirit to abduct him and place him on a tree limb. The neophyte doctor would be discovered next morning by the people singing on the tree, and, although he was in a state of semi-trance, he did not fall off.

The *kakinpe* was the chief oye. His duty was to maintain close contact with the spirits for the purpose of aiding his village mates at séances. This official had no special house of his own, but lived in the ceremonial house, where he held the sessions and meanwhile held somewhat aloof from other people. He never ate food prepared by women; every spring he underwent a rigorous diet.

At a séance the fire was allowed to smoulder and the smokehole was closed. The medium shook his cocoon rattle (*sokot*) and sang for about an hour. Then one spirit after another arrived, climbed the center pole, and, from the top, spoke to the doctor telling him how to doctor, whether certain sick people would survive and giving information about things happening at a distance. Sometimes one of these spirits doctored a sick person present without the doctor laying hands on the invalid. The spirit cured by singing and rattling from his position on top of the pole. Occasionally a ghost (*uspa*) tried to work his way into the house; then the fire was allowed to flare up and the intruder was frightened away. A clown was always present at the séances to act as interpreter.

The sucking doctors poisoned people by throwing pains (*silá*) and by touching them with charms (*yompa*). At the time of sucking the *silá* was extracted and the yom was able to tell where it came from. At séances, also, the spirits supplied information regarding the source of disease and epidemics.

The werebear (*kapa maidu*) was not considered a doctor. Certain men and women were thought to have dressed in bear hides and to have killed their village mates. The bear men frequently had helpers and

kept their costumes in some safe retreat in the open. The victims were caught in ambush and were killed by being ripped open with a manzanita stick.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

The girl was called upu at the time of her first menstruation; the dance held over her was called upu wulu. The upu was placed in a separate house for ten days. She was cared for by two old female relatives, one having charge of her by night, the other by day. This was done so that she would not break any restriction or scratch herself with her hands, the usual stick being provided for this purpose. She could eat no meat, fish, or salt, or anything warm. She used special basket utensils and her water was brought to her from other than the common spring. She was not allowed to hold anything in her hands. Whenever she was led outdoors she had her head covered, lest the sun or moon weaken her eyes.

The first three days of confinement were the most severe; during this period the girl was not even allowed to move. At the end of these three days the upu had her ears punched (*bono ui*), after which the rules of conduct were not so strict, but the patient was supposed to make her desires known in whispers. Her sleep was limited to periods of short duration lest she be lazy in after life.

The upu was led out of the house each afternoon and night to be danced over. In the afternoon she was also required to carry a load of wood in order to train her for marital duties. Her guardian placed about ten pounds of wood on her back. The dance was enacted by the female relatives of the upu and was called *wedam wulu tinai* (to-free wulu forgetting-it), "making a dance to free her."

It was forbidden for a man or boy to approach the girl when she was being led outdoors or danced over. If, by chance, a boy approached too near an upu, her guardian broke a stick over his penis "to make the boy like a woman." Otherwise the youth stood in grave danger of being bitten by a snake.

At the end of the ten days the girl was bathed and given new clothing. She was now an upu kuli, or young woman. After she had a child she was called kuli. People did not ask for presents on the tenth day of the ceremony as they did at Chico.

Every spring a dance was held over the girls who had reached maturity during the winter. This dance was called upu kamine wedati (dance to initiate upu). The girls were brought to the village from all the surrounding regions. Each upu was taken separately and placed inside a ring of pine needles with her head covered. For each girl a boy

was selected to fashion a little bow and arrow. The pine needles were set on fire and the girl ran out, amidst the laughter of the people. The boy took a shot at the fleeing upu with his little bow and arrow, and if he hit her it was taken as an indication that he would be a good hunter.

That night the women held a big dance over all the upu. Sometimes the older women danced the young girls around; other times the girls danced themselves.

Suku

Certain women, either morally lax or else of masculine nature, were called suku. They were treated as men and were initiated as such. They were always avoided by women, they never married, and in fact were regarded as prostitutes.

Suku also was used to indicate berdache. Such a man joined in the women's dances, carried wood like a woman, made baskets, and pounded acorns.

A female suku was brought into the dance-house at the time of the boys' initiation and kept there all winter. She had the septum of her nose bored, as did the male initiates, and like them she learned the secrets of the society. An elderly matron was assigned to take care of the female initiate. It is said that all the men in the house had sexual intercourse with the suku, either by choice or compulsion, and that even her own father and brothers were not exempt from this. On such an occasion, however, the house was in darkness and the men were in ignorance of the identity of the women. A female suku at present is living at Nevada City, and another at Colusa.

Mourning Ceremony

At the time of the burning (*östu bui*) a pole (*sa*) was erected with a feather image, *sota*, of the secret society member on top. Objects burned at this ceremony were called *seda*. The knotted invitation strings were called *puni*.

The image was fed with pinole, made to dance around the fire, and finally put in the two baskets along with other goods and consumed in the flames. Sometimes the image was burned as it rested on top of the pole.

The *yeponi* directed the burning ceremony and made all the speeches. The family members wore bead strings for three years prior to their redemption. The mourners had to fast and abstain from meat for some days after they had placed the strings around their necks.

Corpses were usually buried but, if they had to be carried a long way, they were burned.

Dance-House Dedication

Before a new ceremonial house was built the medium summoned his spirits two or three times to ascertain a favorable place and time for beginning the construction. After the house was finished, it was dedicated by a ceremony called yolema, which my informant claimed was performed in a similar manner in Chico.⁶⁸ An image of yellowhammer feathers was placed on top of the new house. The image was called yokol, but was said to have been similar to the image used in the burning ceremony.

When the center pole was first set in position, the people drank acorn soup out of small baskets. Then a new fire was made in the house from wormwood. Making the new fire was called sati. Acorn flour was placed under and around the center pole, while the people wished for a plentiful food supply. Then the image which had been placed on top of the house was brought in and made to dance, the people crying and naming various food supplies while this was being done. Finally the image was attached to the center pole.

For the entire following winter, the women of the tribe sang at night in the new structure. This singing was called totila and was partly an imitation of various animals constituting the native food supply. During this period, the singers ate no meat.

Weda

The first-fruit ritual on Yuba river seems to have resembled that of the Northeastern Maidu rather than of the Northwestern Hill Maidu. Both men and women danced in the weda in the spring, the women wearing flowers in their hair and the men carrying bear hides. This dance was held in order to do away with bad luck, and because the people were glad that spring had arrived. The song of the weda was as follows: weda yotsono kule mai, initiate circle women ("In the spring the women circle around").

That night there was a kaudonsukine (begging dance).⁶⁹ This was enacted by men who went from house to house with baskets, begging for acorn bread, meat, and beads. These supplies were brought to the ceremonial house and divided among the members of the secret society by the clown, a part being poured into a hole near the center pole as sacrifice. The remainder of the evening was devoted to dancing.

⁶⁸ Dixon, 311, has described the Hill Maidu dance-house dedication under the name of yokoti.

⁶⁹ The exact meaning of the native term is: kaudon, acorn meal; sukine, basket.

Secret Society

Organization.—The secret society was headed by the village chief (huku) and the leader of the dancing organization, the yeponi. The yeponi was said to have been “a little under” the huku, but the two worked together. The yeponi often was also a big medicine man, while the huku was always a layman. The kalte was an officer under the yeponi. The moki seems to have been present only at the aki, where he directed the dancers, wearing a disguise of black feathers. The moki was very sacred and did not eat with the other dancers.

The yeponi kept the calendar and set the date for the dances. The kalte went around telling people what they should do. If things did not go right he went back to the yeponi and asked for further directions.

The pepe was caller, firetender, and clown. He arose at four o'clock in the morning and shouted from the top of the dance house: He ē ē ē, hula le maiktu, hula le maiktu, rattle 'em up, rattle 'em up (wake up). In between the sacred dances the clown burlesqued and joked, and, as his name implied, he was addicted to tasting all food which came in.

The initiates or dancers, and the neophytes, were called yombasi.

Initiation.—The yombasi were caught by the yeponi in the fall, either in their homes or in the ceremonial house. The boys were about ten years of age when they were caught. An attempt was made to catch all boys for the initiation, but it was said that some parents were unable to pay three or four woodpecker heads, the price demanded as a tuition fee. If a boy was caught in his home, the yeponi marked his mouth with a piece of charcoal; later he had to come to the ceremonial house. The yombasi were also caught when in the dance-house by having the doors of the dance-house closed upon them. In any case, the female relatives cried when they heard that their offspring had been chosen for initiation.

The list of boys to be chosen for instruction during any one winter was obtained by the medium from the spirits, while the yeponi listened in. A neophyte undergoing instruction might be rejected at any point in the training and eliminated from the course. This was done if the youth proved unfit; in such a case he was called suku.

The neophytes were placed behind the foot-drum in the ceremonial house and were instructed by a yombasi who had undergone training in a previous year. If slow in learning they were whipped; part of their discipline lay in carrying wood and water and caring for the dancing costumes of the older members. Although the boys were kept in the house all winter, they were only under severe restrictions the first month. During this period they were not allowed to eat meat, fish, or

any warm food. The use of the scratching stick was denied. The boys could go outdoors without having their heads covered, but they were not allowed to enter their homes the entire winter. The yeponi gave moral instruction to the yombasi and related the mythology of the people.

The boys, while in the ceremonial house, received new names from some deceased members of their families who had been members of the society. They also had their noses and ears pierced. It was said that boys who did not obey underwent a form of stabbing initiation, that is, a pretense was made of stabbing them in the navel with a spear. This also was done at Chico.

In the spring a sweat-dance (*kapmo kamini*) was held in order to terminate the period of initiation. The boys first were tied all over with wormwood (*munmun*) and then brought close to the fire and back again. This was done repeatedly in the form of a dance. Finally the youths were thrown out of the smokehole. The mothers were crying outside, and, as the boys landed on the ground, they threw water on them and thus brought them "back to life." After this, everyone entered the ceremonial house for the dancing and feasting.

The members of the society elected one of the yombasi as yeponi. The ceremony of making a yeponi was called *yeponi isti*. Two candidates were first selected to be locked up in the ceremonial house for the winter. These men had to be thirty years of age or older, good-hearted, and slow to anger. They were always relatives in the male line of the ruling yeponi, as sons or grandsons, and the winner of the competition received the name and office of the older relative. For the first ten days the candidates were forced to diet, being given no meat or salt. Every morning during the training period the old yeponi took a mouthful of water and spurted it on his younger relatives and then gave them instruction. This form of baptism was called *huskoi*. In the spring the people decided on the merits of the two candidates and chose the better of the two.

Sacred dances.—The *aki* was performed by the members of the society in the spring and fall as an eight-day ceremony directed by the yeponi. Both men and women were allowed to witness the performance. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain a list of the impersonations given by the Yuba River people in the *aki*.

Uting kamine, acorn dance, was performed by men and women any time of the winter in the ceremonial house. The dancers sang: *uti yo yekonai*, acorns blossom moving around.

Salalu was a rapid dance performed by the yombasi at the end of their period of initiation. They danced in full costume, with the *sikli* feather cape. Then they "belonged" to all of the dances.

Lole was a sacred dance; the male and female dancers who "belonged" to it had to fast and train all winter in the dance-house. Men caught women, and women caught men, in order to put them in the lole. The women who enacted the dance were called lole kule. Eight women danced, four on each side of the fire, and two men leaders, one on each side of the fire. The women wore yellowhammer-quill headdresses and carried tule brooms; the men carried bows. The sides were arranged north and south and each advanced and retreated in turn. The men shouted yuhe! at which the women turned first toward the fire, then away from it. The dancers held a rope of swan feathers (pokelma).⁷⁰ The following songs were used: (1) ha ha ha lole wē; (2) ha ha ha ya yewe; (3) ha ha ha seleli wē; (4) ha ha ha senewe.

In the case of the lole, as with all dances, the dancers had to pay the yeponi for instruction.

Moloko was said to have been danced at Oroville, but not on Yuba river. Men and women danced wearing condor feathers.

Common dances.—Under this heading may be included perhaps the polost, toto, paiyo, luyi, oya, and kenu. In the polost, men and women pelted one another with grass balls. The paiyo was a "hop, skip, and jump" dance. The oya was a "crazy" dance. A man sat down and rattled, while the woman danced. The kenu was danced by men, women, and children in spring. The yeponi went around with a whistle and collected the people and then taught the children how to dance.

In the sweat-dance (kapmo kamine) the men were divided into a north and south side in the dance-house. A deerhide fan (pokak) was used and there was competition to see which side could stand the heat the longest.

The wulu, as done here and at Chico, might be described as a game, and was not a girls' puberty dance. A number of men and women took sides. The game was performed in the open at night with the participants lying down covered with blankets. One player arose, spat on his hands, and touched one of the muffled participants in the game, guessing his or her name. If the guess were correct, the caller gained a member for his side; if wrong, he himself was captured by the other side. As soon as one side had disappeared, it was said that a bear had eaten them up (kapa tsowi).

Bird imitations.—The yeponi and the pepe gave bird imitations from the roof of the dance-house. This trait has been recorded also for Hill Northwest Maidu⁷¹ and for Eastern Pomo.⁷²

⁷⁰ Recorded by Dixon, 291.

⁷¹ Dixon, 332.

⁷² Loeb, *Folkways*, 378.

Certain words relating to religion :

- kumi, dance-house.
- tem kumi, small sweat-house.
- hūku, village chief.
- kalte, aid to chief.
- yeponi, head of secret society.
- yombasi, initiate in secret society.
- pēpē, clown, firetender, caller.
- yom, sucking doctor.
- oye, singing doctor.
- kakine (Patwin, saltu), spirit, especially hill spirit.
- kakinpe, oye who summons kakine for a séance.
- hon, soul, heart.
- wanouque, to die (dead and gone).
- wenem honi, live person (good soul).
- uspa, ghost.
- wonoi, dead body.
- uwonum, to faint.
- honhen, breath.
- ubui, shadow.
- wisnak, reflection in the water.

VALLEY NISENAN

Valley Nisenan, or Southern Maidu, of Sacramento river, were influenced almost as greatly as the Chico Maidu by Patwin culture. In neither case should the religious ceremonial system be taken as typically Maidu. The Valley Nisenan, however, unlike the Chico Maidu, performed the akit and not the hesi as the chief sacred ceremony.

A description, as full as circumstances permitted, has already been published for this people by Kroeber.⁷³ My purpose in publishing a few extra facts regarding them is to bring the culture into better alignment for comparative study. I made use of the same informant as did Kroeber.

The Valley Nisenan had but one secret society. This may be regarded as the typical form of Maidu tribal initiation, influenced, however, by the Patwin pattern of the dance society. This statement holds true, of course, for Chico Maidu, Hill Northwest Maidu, and Yuba River Maidu. The Valley Nisenan differed, however, from other Maidu by having a special Kuksu initiation occurring in the summer.

The summer initiation was for certain boys and girls. During the initiation the neophytes had their ears and the septum of their noses pierced; they were also scratched on the back. The scratching was done by the peipi, as the leaders of the society here were called. The initiation lasted two days and the boys and girls were about from fifteen to twenty years of age. The two kuksui introduced into the ceremony did nothing but dance, so far as known. The initiates were called temeya, which is the equivalent of the Colusa Patwin tema, which word, I was told at Colusa, is the equivalent of the Maidu word yeponi, or fully initiated dancer. It does not necessarily follow that the neophytes who were cut in the summer ceremony were already fully initiated by having passed through the winter initiation. The girls were not shut in the sweat-house at all, and the boys were probably shut in at some later date.

Men, from twenty to thirty years of age, were caught by the kuksui and shut in the ceremonial house in the winter, where they were instructed in the dances by the peipi and became full-fledged temeya, able to perform spirit or kakin dances. Kuksui was one of the kakin dances performed by the temeya. No mutilation or cutting was performed in the winter. I was told that the young men were kept in the house for about two weeks, then thrown out of the smokehole. The men did not

⁷³ Nisenan, 260.

receive new names during their initiation. A strict diet was imposed during the period of imprisonment and the novices used scratching sticks (ceke).

Wonomi, the Maidu Culture Hero and Creator, was unknown to the Valley Nisenan; his place was entirely taken by Haikat.

CHICO MAIDU

To date, three good accounts have been obtained of the Chico Maidu secret society and dances. Dixon was the pioneer, Curtis obtained a brief but significant version, and Kroeber in *The Patwin and their Neighbors* has finally solved many difficult points concerning the society organization. I, myself, spent a day at Chico, in order to investigate the Chico Maidu from a comparative point of view. All the older yeponi are now dead and details of the dances can no longer be obtained.

RELIGION

Mythology

The Chico had the same accounts of Wonomi, the Creator, and Coyote, the marplot, as did the other Northwest Maidu. The sun and moon were thought sister and brother and were identified by name, kuda nope (sun) and depu kuda nope (night sun, or moon).

At new moon the people rejoiced and prayed:

kanten kuda nope yoki, new moon born,
hanana hedempo tsemtako, nice this-evening bright.
wasa kehenai tsenhaimin, sick all-the-time I-see-you.

Secret Society

Organization.—The head of the secret society was called yeponi, or, in order to distinguish him from the other full members of the cult, yeponi ui. His position corresponded to that of the huku among the Hill Maidu. According to Kroeber,⁷⁴ the yeponi ui received all payments and directed all dances, except the calalu, or yombasi kasi, a training dance for the yombasi initiates, which was in charge of the kuksu. I was told that the yeponi ui trained his successor, who was usually a son or sister's son but had to be a man of ability.

The yukbe had little of the importance in Chico which he enjoyed in the hills. I was told that he was a "singer and prayer man." Kroeber was informed that he sang and prayed every night and that upon certain occasions (the sacred dances?) he and the peheipe might not eat meat.

I was informed that each village had one member of the society called beipe-m, who took care of the food and helped superintend the dancing.

⁷⁴ Patwin.

The same members of the society enacted the characters of moki and kuksu. When the member assumed his black feather disguise he was called moki, but in the ceremonial houses he was referred to, always in a whisper, as kuksu. According to Kroeber's notes and also my own, moki appeared only in the hesi, waima, and aki. Kroeber was informed that there might be as many as eight moki in the hesi, but only one in the waima. Kuksu, that is, moki without his disguise, caught the yombasi (boy initiates) at the time of the waima. According to Kroeber, kuksu was not a dancer but an overseer of dances, the instructor of the yombasi, and the director of their dance, the calalu.

The peheipe was firetender and clown. It appears probable that there was usually more than one to a village. The peheipe wore no feathers and was not painted. According to my information, the peheipe talked from the roof or sat by the main post and took charge of the fire. He acted as host to visitors and had partial charge of the yombasi. In his character of clown, the peheipe was constantly eating and tasting food, or begging for it. He did not joke at the sacred dances, but at the common dances he "talked backward" and danced like a woman in order to make the people laugh.

The ghosts, who figured so prominently in the tribal initiations of the people having the Western Kuksu Cult, were enacted by every village having the hesi; their act was, in fact, an integral part of the hesi; without it the sacred dance deteriorated into the aki of the Sacramento Maidu. At Chico the ghosts were called sili, and while they resembled the Pomo ghosts little, either in costume or performance, they retained their ability of throwing fire about.⁷⁵

Aside from the officials in the society, there were three grades of membership and two initiations. The boys when first introduced into the dance-house were called waiyomsa, when introduced to apprenticeship in the society by the first initiation they were called yombasi, and upon attaining full membership they became yeponi.

Initiation.—Young boys were first introduced into the dance-house at about the age of eight. They were seated to the left of the foot-drum and were called waiyomsa, or servants. They had no restrictions and were taught little, but helped their elders with their dancing costumes and carried wood and water.

I was told, as was Kroeber, that boys were first initiated into the grade of yombasi at about the age of ten. The initiation occurred at the time of the waima and a kuksu (in ordinary Indian costume) went to

⁷⁵ The sili have been described by Dixon, 289, and Kroeber, Patwin.

the houses collecting the boys. The female relatives of the neophytes cried at this time, while peheipe preached from the top of the dance-house. The boys were caught in the winter, according to Kroeber, and "let out" about March. During this period of instruction, the novices were kept behind the foot-drum. For a month they were under severe restrictions, being allowed no meat or fish, and making use of the scratching stick (*sekuiku*). They still acted as servants to the *yeponi*, but now they were taught the various common or non-spirit impersonating dances, were given moral and mythological instruction, and had their ears and noses pierced. The youths were not allowed to visit their homes until spring. At this time they were thrown out of the roof of the house and had cold water thrown on them by their female relatives. The boys now received their *yombasi* name. Kroeber records that it was not until the second winter that the boys were allowed the use of the *sikli* feather dancing costume. Now they were full *yombasi* (*nem yombasi*). They could impersonate spirits and aid in the training of the new batch of neophytes.

Kroeber has recorded a certain amount of information concerning the *yeponi* initiation. This occurred when the young men were about 25 to 30 years of age and included a "catching" and seclusion in the dance-house. Regrettably little is known regarding this initiation, but it would appear that men destined to be *moki-kuksu* underwent spearing. I was told that at Sacramento and Chico about one man out of fifty was speared. The young *yeponi* again received new names.

The bullroarer (*humhumen*) was not used in the initiations by the Chico Maidu, nor by any of the tribes having the Eastern Kuksu Cult. As Dixon has recorded, it was simply a child's toy here.⁷⁶

Curtis has shown that even among the Valley Northwestern Maidu, initiation rites were not uniform. The investigator, however, failed to note the double form of initiation and was puzzled as to the real nature of the society.

The initiation of boys into a pseudo-fraternity was a rite corresponding in many respects to the puberty ceremony for girls. The correspondence was not complete, in that men of mature years were sometimes initiated. . . . The reasons advanced for asserting the existence of a genuine secret society among the Maidu are, that not all boys were initiated or even brought into the ceremonial house for trial of their qualities; that an initiate bore the special title *yeponi* . . . and that on ceremonial occasions he was distinguished by a net-cap transfixed with a plumed stick.

The practice of the training school varied somewhat at different places among the valley dwellers. At Erskini boys of good promise, that is, those who were industrious, kind, considerate, rather taciturn, were carried forcibly to the cere-

⁷⁶ Dixon, 209.

monial house and kept there from two to four months during the winter, while they were being instructed by the old men in the lore and practices of the tribe. They did not come out even to defecate, but wrapped their faeces in grass, to be carried out by one of the old men. There were usually about ten to twelve boys, but the informant once saw twenty-five in one class. At Michopdo the pupils were taken into the house in the spring, and kept only one night.⁷⁷

Ceremonies.—Curtis, in his account of the hesi cycle, illustrates more clearly than did Dixon the fundamental similarities of the ritual here to those of the Pueblo and the Northwest Coast. The Pueblo connection is shown by the influence which the kakini are supposed to exert on the crops, while the Northwest influence is exhibited in the peculiar sense of private ownership connected with hesi dance costumes and sacred or pay performances. Pay dances were as foreign to the Western Kuksu Cult as they were to the Southwest.⁷⁸

During the six winter months, approximately from the middle of October to the middle of April, the Valley Maidu observed a series of dances, which from their general similarity are probably to be regarded as forming one ceremonial cycle. They were very like those held by other Indians of central California, notably the Wintun, from whom the Maidu say the ceremonial was derived and with whom they participated as visitors long after their own organization was broken down.

In most, if not all of them (the dances) the predominant motive was to secure the beneficence of the spirits, to avoid the malevolence of destructive animals (as in the bear dance), and to effect an abundance of animal and vegetable food. . . . The most important one of the series, the one that opened and closed the ceremonial season, is called Hesi, or Hesing-kasi, Hesing-kámhini.

The spirits and animals characterized in the dances "belonged to" various prominent individuals; that is, the costumes were personal, and perhaps inherited, property. The owners, however, did not dance but hired young men to wear the costumes.

An important character in every dance was peheipi (pehei'pe), in whom were combined the functions of caretaker of the fire and ceremonial house, watchman on the housetop for the approaching performers, and fun-maker.

The original peheipi is said by some traditionalists to have been brought into being by the creator, who was waiting within Marysville buttes with the spirit of Coyote's dead son, the first to taste death, and who desired a watchman to advise him of the approach of Coyote. Others say that peheipi was with Turtle on the raft, when the creator sent the latter to dive for soil out of which he was to create the earth.

When the beginning of the ceremonial season was not far distant, messengers were sent to the other villages, each wearing over his ordinary net-cap a similar one in which was thrust a very long, slender switch with a tail-feather of the red-tail hawk at the tip. When such a messenger was seen approaching, people knew that they were to be invited to a ghost dance.

Early in the morning of the appointed day the men assembled in the ceremonial house. The presence of women and children at a dance in which kakeni

⁷⁷ Curtis, 120.

⁷⁸ Kroeber, Patwin, has pointed out the importance of "pay dances" among the Chico Maidu.

were impersonated, was forbidden.⁷⁹ The first actor to appear was moki, followed closely by his attendant, yoyo. The former wore a feather cloak, called moki, which was made by covering a net with hawk-feathers, leaving an opening for the head at the centre. At this point was fastened a tall, thick bunch of feathers, which completely covered his head and face. The hawk-feathers were attached to the net by cutting a long bevel on the end of the quill, doubling this part over a strand of the netting, and inserting the end into the quill. Thus the feathers hung suspended, and were set into motion by the slightest movement of the wearer. This was a prime object in all costumes of the kakeni dances. Thrust down into the front of the feather-covered net-cap of moki were two sticks on each of which were thrust a very large number of slender sticks with white goose-down tied along them. These wands projected forward and downward over the face and cheeks.

Entering the house, moki approached the chief and said, "I am going to give you plenty of acorns, plenty of salmon, plenty of pinole," naming thus every staple kind of food. In his headdress were numerous small sticks, each representing one kind of food, and as he named each kind he drew out a stick and laid it beside the chief. Then finally he removed his suit and revealed his naked body, painted with horizontal stripes of black and white. His face also was painted. He laid the suit down, and a youth carried it away along with the token sticks. Then each man present, except the chief, made him a gift of small value, which he delivered to the chief.

Moki then departed, and later in the morning returned with masi, who, naked except for breech-cloth, feather headband, and a bunch of feathers at the back of his head, and carrying bow and arrow, danced twice with his companion. He then removed his feathers, and the spectators contributed as before.

After a considerable interval came sili, or siling-kakeni, of whom there were usually eight. They had the naked body painted black, and wore a netting belt, like a cape, and a headdress consisting of a band of prairie-falcon wings surmounted by yellowhammer tail-feathers. From beneath the band hung a fringe of human hair, the wisps being held in position by cord twining, and completely hiding the face. Each carried in the left hand bow and arrows, and in the right a long spear, on the end of which was tied a long root of the angelica. They constantly shouted. After informing the chief that they brought him acorns, they cut up the roots and placed the pieces in the fire, and as the pungent odor rose and filled the house, they slowly danced. Finally they removed their insignia, and the others gave the usual presents for the chief. Then with the proper intervals of rest, all danced around the fire four times, until they were in a profuse sweat, when they ran to the river and bathed. This was about the middle of the afternoon. Toward evening there was an acorn feast, and the night was spent in repeating the dancing of the afternoon, except that moki did not reappear. This ended at dawn and was followed by another bath.

In the following afternoon occurred Luyi, which the Maidu seem to feel was merely the conclusion of Hési, rather than a separate dance. The kakeni [koto] were naked and covered from head to foot with mud. After the usual bath there was another acorn feast, and the visitors began to depart.

The speeches made by the dancers on their entrance into the houses are sufficient indication that the purpose of Hesi was to influence the next year's crops. In the person of the supernatural kakeni they assure the chief that they bring him

⁷⁹ Kroeber was also informed that women, although they knew that the spirits were men and not real spirits, were not allowed in the dance-house during any spirit impersonation (Patwin). I was informed that women were excluded during hesi, waima, and the deer dance. My information probably related to later custom.

all the numerous foods of the fields; and the unexpressed feeling of the Maidu in this connection is a vague sentiment compounded of two ideas: first, that these personators are for the time being actual kakeni; second, that at any rate, if they have not the power of kakeni, their promises will in some way exert a deciding influence on the spirits. This is a very common phenomenon, and is seen in full flower among the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, where the Kachinas play the part here taken by kakeni.⁸⁰

It is evident from Kroeber's account of the spirit impersonations occurring in the hesi⁸¹ that Curtis has not obtained a complete rendition. As partial correction of this gap, Curtis⁸² mentions two further hesi spirits, yati (sky spirit) and sohe, whose functions were unknown to him. Dixon has described⁸³ the running-for-pay act of yati, or yating kukini. I was told that one dadu entered the hesi at Chico. This spirit had long hair, and was a woman impersonator as among the Patwin. Kroeber has called this character dü.

Curtis states that the entire hesi dance cycle has not been given since 1885, and that the exact order is not known and in fact it is uncertain whether there was a prescribed sequence. Since Kroeber was unable to obtain a dance sequence in close agreement with Dixon's, it is remarkable that Curtis did. No mention, however, is made as to whether this sequence was arrived at independently.

The sequence of Curtis⁸⁴ is as follows: hesi, luyi, lole, salalu, hat-mang-kasi (duck dance, also called waima), oleling-kasi (coyote dance), panung-kasi (grizzly bear dance),⁸⁵ tsamyempi (creeper), ene (grasshopper),⁸⁶ aksolma or anusma (turtle), tsamba (crystallized sap on valley oak),⁸⁷ aloki,⁸⁸ yokola, moloko (mythic bird), sumi (deer), and aki.

In agreement with Kroeber, and contrary to Curtis, I found that the oya was part of the hesi cycle.

It appears clear that the aki was, next to the hesi, the most important ceremony of the cycle. Like the hesi it was directed by the moki, but unlike the hesi had no sili (ghost) impersonators. It also was, apart from its trapeze performance, in the main a rite for acorn fertility, and, as such, it was carried over to neighboring Maidu who never took up the hesi. Curtis understood the nature of this dance better than did Dixon, when he wrote:

The performers promised the chief plenty of acorns and at one point in the dance they repeatedly struck the principal post of the house with long poles, as if they were stripping the branches of an oak.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ Curtis, 121 ff.

⁸¹ Patwin.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, 124.

⁸³ P. 306.

⁸⁴ *Op. cit.*, 125. Curtis neglected to state that the hesi ended the cycle.

⁸⁵ Curtis states that the coyote and bear dances could be given in reverse order.

⁸⁶ Obtained also by Kroeber and myself, but not by Dixon.

⁸⁷ Obtained also by Kroeber and myself, but not by Dixon.

⁸⁸ Properly "aloli."

⁸⁹ Curtis, 125.

NORTHEASTERN MAIDU

Apart from language and mythology, there is little which specifically places the Northeastern Maidu among the Maidu; these people belong rather to the Shasta-Achomawi culture group, whose neighbors they are. Certain elements of religious culture, such as bear shamanism and the deerhoof rattle, perhaps, have been introduced into the Maidu proper from this source. The data are from Greenville.

RELIGION

Mythology

The mythology of this people has been treated by Dixon.⁹⁰ Wonomi again is the Culture Hero and Wanderer from the south, called Kodoyapem (Earth Maker) by Dixon's informants. It was Robin-Man and not Wonomi, however, who actually made the world.⁹¹ Coyote played the usual part of marplot, and his son was the first human being to die, killed by a rattlesnake sent by Wonomi. Sun and Moon were identified by name, kimpokom (day sun) and pompokom (night sun), with the usual story of their arranging as to who should travel by night and who by day. They were brother and sister in Dixon's myth; but I was told that Moon was the husband and Sun the wife.⁹²

Wonomi was not considered an otiose divinity, in spite of the fact that he had left his people and had gone away to the north. The chief's speaker (kapita) was constantly in the habit of addressing him in prayer.

Kodoyapem yahati mama' ankano, Earth-maker all-right right-way
yahat heldama ankano, good all-right right way.

The people prayed at the time of new moon and wished for good luck.

⁹⁰ Maidu Texts, AES-P 4, 1912.

⁹¹ In my version blackbird (tsekadim) made the world.

⁹² Dixon's informant (*ibid.*) was hopelessly confused on this point. Story 9 is entitled "Sun-Man and Frog-Woman." In the beginning Sun-Man is living with his sister (Moon-Woman?). Then Sun was swallowed by Frog-Woman. Later (and in what should be a different story) Sun becomes the moon (Night-Sun-Man) and Moon the sun (Day-Sun-Woman). It is of interest to note that in southern California the lunar Culture Hero Wiot was killed by Frog, and that among certain Maidu the spots on moon are said to be Frog.

Puberty Ceremonies

The puberty ceremony for boys was replaced by an individual form of shaman's initiation.

The first and second (?) menstruation of a girl were called upidam, while subsequent menstruations were called udawdo. The puberty ceremony (wetemim) was held over the girl the first two periods, as recorded by Dixon.⁹³ A special hut was built for the girl outside the village; she lived on roots and warm water, used a scratcher (tsabeni se kuido), was not allowed to talk, and had her head covered with a beaver skin when taken outdoors. The girl was danced with to the accompaniment of deer-hoof rattles (yolkolkim) every night, at which time there was sexual license. A girl at puberty had her ears pierced and was given a new name. It is not known whether there was a spring dance (wulu) for all girls who had come of age during the winter (as no informants volunteered information on this point).

Death

The dead were buried with their possessions and gifts. There was no annual burning here. The private houses were abandoned but the ceremonial house (kumhom) was not touched.

War

The chief (yeponem) tried to preserve the peace and there was a special war leader. Scalps (maidu bono) were cut off down to the ears, and were danced over outside the ceremonial house. The killer and scalper (ikokom maidu) became taboo like a girl at puberty. He kept apart in a small hut for 15 days, where he bathed and ate. During this time he used a scratching stick. He ate no meat and kept away from women for two months.

Calendar

The chief (yeponem) kept the calendar count. He had a long stick in the ceremonial house and marked it with a piece of coal for each month which elapsed. While Dixon was told that the Northeast Maidu had nine months, I obtained only six.⁹⁴

January, kumeni poko.
February, ?
March, mekankopinem.

April, boeknem.
May, tsampautom.
June, bomhimitsuldom.

⁹³ P. 236 ff.

⁹⁴ P. 218.

Doctors

Dixon has obtained rather complete information concerning the Northeast Maidu shaman,⁹⁵ certain discrepancies of which have been pointed out by Kroeber.⁹⁶

The shaman (yomidum) could be male or female, and practiced both sucking and acting as medium for his guardian spirits. The spirits were called kakidim or nedidum, the last name evidently arising from the fact that the doctor saw the spirits in his dreams. The shaman was never actually possessed by his spirits, but, in a manner similar to people who practiced true shamanism, the profession usually ran in families. Kroeber has shown the physical impossibility of every member of a shaman's family becoming a shaman, as stated by Dixon. Guardian spirits were inherited after the death of the owner; but, as among the Shasta, there were free spirits likewise open to ownership.

The Northeast Maidu had no shamans' competition or school for the making of new doctors. When a doctor was curing, he and his pupil danced around the patient with cocoon rattles. This dance was called yomyukbodem. After this they sucked (ituyomdum). Frequently the patient was pushed down into deep water. There was no soul loss or recall.

The doctor's séance (kakinkildom) was formerly practiced in the ceremonial house. A male doctor called in both the spirits he owned and those belonging to other doctors. The spirits lodged themselves on top of the center pole, shook their cocoon rattles, and answered the questions put to them.

Doctors also poisoned. A doctor who owned either a grizzly bear or rattlesnake spirit was especially dangerous, as these could be sent out to work injury. As among other Maidu, a doctor also poisoned by injecting pains (sila) or by touching with a charm (yompa).

According to Dixon, a man or woman became a doctor by inheritance, or by voluntarily seeking the spirits in the mountains. I was told that no one thought of becoming a doctor until after he had commenced dreaming of the spirits at home. Then he could call in a doctor (usually an elder relative) in order to obtain his spirit heritage or he could go at once to the mountains and there seek and appease the spirits who had come to him in dreams. When spirits first came to a neophyte he became "crazy" (hutudo). He had to abstain from meat, fish, and salt for a long time, have his ears and nose pierced, and have an elder doctor dance with him and sing over him.

⁹⁵ P. 274 ff.

⁹⁶ Handbook, 425 ff.

A doctor could obtain many spirits, as many as fourteen, during the course of his life. Each spirit had his own song and came when the doctor sang it. Many spirits were animals and of these the doctor could not eat, although his family might. Deer was the best spirit among animals, whippoorwill among birds.

Anna Thomson, an aged woman doctor, related how she obtained her power :

I went up into the mountains and fasted there for five days. I went swimming in Homer lake and dove down. A spirit took hold of me and carried me out of the lake. It was the spirit belonging to my elder brother. When I came out of the lake it was evening and I rested and dreamed. The lake and the spirits sang to me and I sang back late into the night. When morning came I stopped singing and started home. Before I got home blood commenced flowing (blood flowing sedem) from my mouth and nose. I ate no meat, smelt no grease. For four days I ate nothing. I kept dreaming of my brother's spirit. My brother taught me, but did not let me use his spirit to suck with while he lived.

The audience explained that if Anna had used the spirit before the death of its owner, she would have harmed people with it.

Among the Northeastern Maidu the "big" doctors were often bear doctors, müde yomim. The doctor did not turn into a bear but he owned a grizzly bear spirit, and, wearing a bearskin, went around killing his own people. The bearskin was kept hung up outside the house. The truth of this matter can be readily ascertained by anyone who wishes to go up to a grizzly bear and "pull his skin down." Frequently a man will be found "inside."

It appears, as I have stated for the Wailaki,⁹⁷ that the so-called bear doctor of California is a trait which owes its origin to the Northwest Coast, where a person readily changed into the spirit animal which possessed him. Among the Shasta this origin is even more obvious than among the Maidu or Wailaki, for there

The grizzly seems mainly to be the guardian of male shamans. The shaman, in dancing, growls like a bear, and acts in every way like one. He wears a collar of grizzly-claws about his neck.⁹⁸

The Valley Maidu doctor also acted like a bear when curing.⁹⁹

Among the Northeast Maidu, the bear doctor cured as well as killed, for he treated persons bitten by bears. The same held true for the rattlesnake doctor.

⁹⁷ The Western Kuksu Cult.

⁹⁸ Dixon, *The Shasta*, AMNH-B 7:486, 1907.

⁹⁹ Dixon, 270.

Ceremonies

Organization.—The ceremonial organization of the Mountain Maidu was very simple, for a secret society was entirely lacking. The chief was called yeponim and his speaker, kapita (Spanish for captain?). The singer was called vonotoyem; he directed the dances. As among the Shastan group, there was no clown, but the kapita spoke to the people constantly from the top of the dance-house.

Dances.—The dances performed were the wedam (spring dance), kumlaidum (sweat dance), hamsi (acorn ceremony), kamindum, and toto.

Men and women were taught to dance when they were adult, but there was no initiation or dancing society.

The wedam was perhaps the greatest ceremony of the people, and certainly is the most important at the present time. The last wedam was performed in April, 1930. I am describing the dance the way it was given in the old style.

The dance was performed in the open and had two purposes, chiefly, as elsewhere among the Maidu, as a first-fruits rite, and also as a purification, for by holding the ceremony and washing afterward, the participants removed all "bad luck" which might be conveyed by the ghosts of the tribal members who had died in the same year. The banner (formerly wand or yokolim) carried by the yeponim was thought to ward off this evil influence. The yokolim was a maple pole with maple bark appendages or "flags."

The dance lasted one day and was more of a procession than a dance. The chief (yeponim) headed the line holding the yokolim. Following him came a man dressed in a black bear (müdam) skin. The grizzly bear (panum) was never impersonated or killed, the people fearing this animal too much. Nowadays, the bear impersonator simply wears a strip of bearskin around his waist. All the men, women, and children of the tribe followed in line, dancing, and wearing flowers in their hair and garlands of twigs around their necks. Finally the participants waded in the river. The performance was held twice; morning and evening.

The sweat-dance (kumlaidum) was held in the ceremonial house. It was stated that the Northeast Maidu did not have individual family sweat-houses. Two firetenders (samoim maidu) built a large fire and the other men danced around it, finally running to the creek and jumping in. The women did not join in the dance, but sat back in the house and sweated. One singer (kumlai soilpep) was employed.

After the swim all assembled in the ceremonial house for the kamidum. Both men and women danced this, wearing feather girdles. The vonotoyem directed, shouting at the dancers telling them when to start and when to stop. Two male singers were employed, who used split-stick rattles (watokkum). The drummer (kilempim maidu) aided by stamping the foot-drum (kilempim).

That night all, men and women, young and old, gambled and danced the toto.

The hamsi, or acorn ceremony, was held in the fall when the acorns were ripe. All the old men sat in the ceremonial house. The leader first broke some acorn bread, prayed, and threw some in the fire, then all ate.

Ceremonial houses.—Each village had at least one ceremonial house. There was one at Greenville, one at Taylorsville, one between Greenville and Crescent, and two at Quincy. All the villages helped construct a new house; when it was finished there was dancing (especially the sweat-dances) and feasting. New fire was made ceremonially out of hard cedar for the completed house.

Two or three families always slept in the ceremonial house; women had as much right to its use as men. The house served as a lodge for passing guests.

MAIDU MYTHOLOGY

Although I made little attempt to learn of mythology beyond that collected by Dixon, several stories were told me when I made inquiries concerning the characters mentioned by Dixon.

Ellen of Mooretown narrated the Northwest Wonomi story, also the story of the Two Brothers as Culture Heroes.

WONOMI

Wonomi made the Indians. He came with the flood and with him came his cousin Coyote. Wonomi called Coyote younger cousin (*kes*), and Coyote called Wonomi *posi* (older cousin). They got together and started to travel. Wonomi obtained a stick of camphor wood and breaking it into little pieces, he peeled them. He put a rabbitskin blanket down and laid the sticks on the robe. There were eight little sticks in all. When night came Wonomi built a fire and kept looking at it. Early in the morning, before anyone woke, the sticks rose up and were Indian women. The women reached over and tickled Wonomi, trying to make him laugh. He did not laugh; if he had the women would have turned back to sticks.

The women had baskets and Wonomi told a couple of them to go and fetch water for him. Coyote saw the two women going after water and he asked Wonomi: "Who are those people?" Wonomi replied: "I brought these women here last night." Coyote said: "I would like to have a couple of these women, cousin. You have plenty of them." Wonomi replied: "I have room for all of them." But Wonomi told Coyote how he had made them and warned him not to look around while he was doing it.

Coyote turned the sticks into women. Toward morning the sticks started to tickle Coyote. Coyote could not stand this, so he turned around to tickle the girls, but, as he turned, they were transformed again into sticks. Coyote said "I am out of luck (*poto*)."

This was the way in which the first people were created. These women ate no meat or fish, but pinole and acorn bread.

In the beginning the people did not have babies the way they do now; when a man and a woman wished to have a baby they placed beads in little baskets (*kulusi*). The baskets were allowed to remain overnight, and the next morning a man appeared. That was the way in which Wonomi arranged matters. Before the basket was opened it had to be sung over.

This was the way in which Wonomi created the first men. When Wonomi placed beads in baskets he named the kind of men he wanted. If he desired a gambler, he threw beads and grass game bones into the basket, and said: "You are going to be a gambler (*hela maidu*)."

Wonomi wished to arrange matters so that there would be a special spring, and when an old person died, he would be placed in this spring, and he would come back and be young again. But Coyote said: "No. When the people die, let them die forever. Then there will be a burning, and we can all have a good time at the cry." While Wonomi had wished that people spring from beads, Coyote wanted

marriage. He said that it would be better if the women gave birth to children so that they would have babies to take care of. Then the young men could work hard at hunting and wood gathering.

Wonomi made a fishing ground. He caught salmon, eels, and all kinds of fish. He got the eight women to cook for him and for all the people in the neighborhood. The women fetched fish whenever Wonomi desired.

Once while Wonomi and the people were eating, Coyote entered and asked Wonomi how he had obtained the fish. Wonomi was very much vexed at having the question put to him. Coyote said: "The way you get these things is not right, everything should be arranged in quite a different manner." So Wonomi said: "All right, go ahead and have matters the way you wish."

Coyote had a son with him. Wonomi told this young fellow to go down to the brook and get some water. As the youth started, Wonomi threw a joint weed in the water. He told the weed to turn into a rattlesnake and kill the young man. Rattlesnake bit Coyote's son, and he died.

Coyote went down and picked up his son. He asked Wonomi to bring him back to life again. Wonomi refused, saying: "You yourself wished things to be this way. Now you have what you wished."

Wonomi left the people that very night. He also left his eight wives. One of these he left for Coyote after first plucking out one of her eyes. He did this so as to be certain that Coyote would get the right one, marry, and have a baby. The son of Coyote who had died was a yeponi.

Coyote ruled the entire world after Wonomi left. Wonomi has gone to the north, where he will live forever.

THE TWO BROTHERS

Turtle (Akcolna) was grandfather (mupa) to the two brothers, who were called Noyo and Pehnhini.

Turtle and Watersnake (Monuntiak) were gamblers, but they always lost when they gambled with Thunderman (Wutumtumi). The two brothers did not play until Turtle and the animals had lost all the money they owned. Some had even put up their lives and had been killed. The people then begged the brothers to come and gamble. They wanted the brothers to put up their beads. So the brothers went, won the game, and killed all the people on Thunder's side.

Once the two brothers went to hunt food. They arrived at a place where Buzzard (Minihusi) was guarding a meat supply. No one was able to kill Buzzard, for if anyone shot at him, Buzzard simply told the man to die. One of the brothers asked his grandfather Oak Stump (Hutim Bistumi) how they might kill Buzzard. The grandfather told the boys to take flint and make arrows. This was the origin of bow and arrow making. The grandmother (the wife of Oak Stump) had warned the boys not to go after Buzzard, because everyone who had tried it with the sling had died. The two brothers shot Buzzard and his entire family with arrows. The brothers told their friends to come and pick out the good things to eat. After this, they killed deer, birds, and all their game with the bow and arrow.

The two brothers had magical power, and could converse with rocks and trees. After their time, the real people came upon the earth.

THE WORLD CREATION¹⁰⁰

Wild Pigeon (Pisdokum), and Dove (Bolespiucum), and Blackbird (Tsekatim) tried to make the world. There was nothing but water at the time. They had a big chief called Inbukim (Mountain Lion).

The three birds and the chief had a little piece of dry land. Dove and Pigeon were told by the chief to fly and find some more land. They were told to pick up some twigs and come back with them. The first day they went west, the next north, then east, and finally south. The first three days, although they had departed before daybreak and had come back late in the evening, they had found nothing. But when they went south they found some land. They took a little dirt and brought it home. The chief then told Blackbird to fix up a place. Inside of two days, Blackbird made the earth on top of the water.

Wonomi (Kodoyapim) came from the south, and with him came Coyote. Wonomi came to the first ceremonial house. There was a piece of rope there. It got up and fell over. Wonomi picked up the piece of rope and broke it in two. This then became a man. In this way he made the ceremonial house full of men. Outside of the ceremonial house he made women in the same manner.

Wonomi made the fishes, deer, ducks, roots, and food of all kinds. He told the people that they should eat these. He inaugurated the first dances.

Moon and Sun were husband and wife. Wonomi said: "Sun (Kimpokom) is going to be sun, and Moon (Pompokom) is going to be moon. Who will travel by day and who by night?" Moon said: "My wife will travel by day and I by night."

Coyote (Wepa) spoilt everything that Wonomi had created. It was Coyote who made the winter last for ten months. Coyote brought death into the world, and his own son died first.

After Wonomi had finished his work, he went north and never came back. He said: "You people do not believe in me, and I am not coming back. You people can go your own way."

THE ORIGIN OF THE HESI¹⁰¹

There was once a boy who did not wish to get married, in spite of the wishes of his parents. Therefore, not being liked very much at home, he strayed off and went to Butte mountain (Estomian), near Marysville. When he got there he saw an old woman entering a ceremonial house. The old woman said: "Grandchild, come in." He went in, and found that a ghost dance (kakine saltu) was being held inside. The old woman placed the boy behind her. The ghosts said: "We smell a human being, he stinks." The old woman said: "No." She gave the boy some pinole and soup and kept him behind her. The boy heard shouting outside. The old woman said: "Do not get frightened, we are just like you people." The boy said nothing.

The boy first saw the saltu dance the hesi. After the hesi they did the toto, the women and everyone dancing.

¹⁰⁰ Told by Jack Smith, a Northeast Maidu of Greenville.

¹⁰¹ This story was told me by a Yuba River Maidu, who had obtained it from a Patwin, Tony Bill of Grimes. It resembles Dixon's account (p. 290) of the origin of the luyi.

The boy stayed in the ghost house all winter and then went home again in the spring. Before he departed the old woman said: "You take this bread and this meat, and when you go back don't eat any of the people's food. When you get back tell your people to put up the dances you have seen here. But don't eat the people's food or you will die. Just eat the food which I gave you." The old woman gave the boy a piece of acorn bread and a little dried venison and salmon, and said: "As long as you eat this, you will never eat it up. But if you eat any of your people's food, you will die and come back here. When you get home, tell the yeponi what you saw here and they will dance it."

When the boy arrived home, he told the yeponi, and they held a hesi. Presently the youth grew tired of his bread and dried fish, and ate with the remainder of the people. Then he dreamed that he would die. He held one final hesi, and then returned to Butte mountain, where his ghost still can be seen.

PART 2. THE PATWIN

It has been generally admitted, both by native informants and by ethnologists, that the hesi movement started among the Patwin and was diffused to the Chico Maidu. Judging from the extensive Patwin material obtained by Kroeber and the few additional notes I obtained, I should further venture to surmise that the movement originated among the River Patwin, either at Colusa, Grimes, or Knight's Landing (Kroeber's Patwin I, II, and III). Not only was the cult and its system of ranking the most developed there, but the special hesi house (Lut) of oval form and with two or three main pillars appears to have originated among the River Patwin.¹⁰² This house form was lacking among all peoples having the Western Kuksu Cult, among the Hill Patwin, and at Cortina, where the Lut, as among the Pomo, was round with a single center post.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the oval house with two pillars extended to the Chico Maidu, Sacramento Maidu, and Hill Northwest Maidu, the latter two having the aki as substitute for the hesi. The older form of round house, so definitely associated among the Eastern Pomo with the ghost dance tribal initiation,¹⁰⁴ persisted as a rather functionless men's house among the River Patwin, Hill Maidu, and perhaps Sacramento Maidu.

The Colusa Patwin sudatory or men's house was called botLut, or, according to McKern, capaqewe (sweat-house). All the men sweated twice a day in this house and some of them slept there. McKern was informed that all young men before marriage, and older men at times, slept there. I was informed that adult women were never allowed entrance, even after menopause, but very young boys and girls were admitted to the structure.

¹⁰² W. C. McKern, *Patwin Houses*, this series, 20:159 ff., 1923.

¹⁰³ S. A. Barrett, *the Wintun Hesi Ceremony*, this series, 14:449, 1919 (fig. 3).

¹⁰⁴ Loeb, *Folkways*, 342.

COLUSA PATWIN

RELIGION

Secret Society

Initiation.—At Colusa there were three initiations through which a boy had to pass in order to become a tema, or fullfledged member of the society, able to perform any of the saltu or spirit impersonations. There was no fixed order in regard to the time of these initiations, nor did any of the three initiations render the neophyte of higher rank than the remaining two. The names of the initiations were the hesi, the kuksu, and the grizzly bear (napa). There was no separate ghost initiation, as this was included in the hesi, the ghosts being called sili. While I have spoken of the hesi and napa as “initiations,” so they were, but this was only incidental to their main purpose—dance ceremonials (yapai). While women were excluded from the hesi and napa ceremonials, being allowed only to look on from outside the lut, certain girls belonging to the higher ceremonial lineages (sere) were shot or speared at the time of the kuksu initiation, and were given seats in their family division of the house (wole). These women then “belonged” to the society, could take part in the condor (molok) ceremony, and were called main.

At Grimes the wai-saltu, or north spirit, impersonation took the place of the napa of Colusa, and at Knight’s Landing, according to my Colusa informant, only the hesi and kuksu initiations were given.

At Colusa, boys from about 12 to 16 years of age were first caught while a hesi, kuksu, or napa ceremony was in progress. Being caught was called hampa piri, or shutting the door. After a boy was caught, he sat in the wole (division) belonging to the male relative (usually father, although it might be maternal uncle) of the man who introduced him into the society. During any spirit impersonation ceremony, the men in the house abstained from meat and fish, and the young boys who had been taken into the house did the same. It was not until the boy had been shot or speared in the kuksu ceremony, however, that he was sano (taboo). At this time he had his nose pierced (his ears had been pierced in early childhood) and was kept in the lut and instructed for a month; finally he was thrown out of the house. The few women initiates were shot but were not thrown out of the house.

There were three grades of membership at Colusa. After a boy was shot he was called sanowin (according to Kroeber, yompu). Fully ini-

tiated men were called tema.¹⁰⁵ Directors of ceremonies were called tautu. The tautu of the tema wole, the highest division, appears to have been the ceremonial leader, as opposed to the sektu, or village chief. Kroeber refers to this man as the tautu yaitu.¹⁰⁶

The kuksu yapai was said to have been done merely "to get the boys and girls into the lodge." The kuksu impersonators could appear at any time following a hesi, napa, or toto performance. Usually there was one kuksu, but sometimes two men enacted the rôle. According to Kroeber the two assistants of kuksu were called limo. Sometimes boys and girls were held over the south smokehole by their parents and shot by kuksu, at other times they were shot in the house. The arrow always entered the victim's navel. It was stated that the shooting and not the spearing was essential as the first step in initiation. After the shooting, blood flowed, and the boy or girl was taken back into the wole to be "cured" by a month's seclusion in the Lut.

There still remains a certain amount of obscurity here. Were some boys shot and others speared? This appears true according to Kroeber's accounts, and yet my informant stressed the importance of the shooting as essential for entrance into the society. Kroeber suggests that the word "shooting" covers both shooting and spearing, and means marking (tsewa) or ceremonial killing (lemomen). According to Kroeber, certain boys were shot by kuksu and could later enact kuksu, while others were shot by limo and merely became society members.

After the shooting the novice was sano (taboo) and underwent severe restrictions for four days and lesser restrictions for the remainder of the month's confinement in the Lut, as related by Kroeber. New names, usually from the father's side, were given the candidates at this time. According to Kroeber, those who were shot by kuksu received kuksu names, while others, no doubt, received names to accord with the ceremonial positions or professions they were to fill.

As the final rite of initiation a sweat-dance (tsapa)¹⁰⁷ was held, and the neophytes were tossed over the fire. Then they were thrown, one by one, out of the east entrance of the Lut. Their mothers were there to cry and throw water over the boys and thus bring them back to life.

According to one of Kroeber's informants, the neophytes were under minor restrictions for a year following their initiation.

¹⁰⁵ The word tema was said by my Colusa informant to be the same as the Chico Maidu word yeponi.

¹⁰⁶ My informant used the word tautu for dance director, although Kroeber states that the proper word at Colusa is yaitu, tautu being used at Grimes.

¹⁰⁷ tsapa is also the name of the firetender.

Seating in ceremonial house.—Both Kroeber and I were informed that the Patwin lacked a systematic graded society, such as described in the Handbook.¹⁰⁸ I was unable to obtain full details regarding officials and seating, my informant pleading ignorance. Such information as I was given I am presenting as supplementary to that furnished by Kroeber. My diagram is adapted from McKern and shows a Lut with three center poles. The positions of the compartments (wole) were indicated in a ground drawing by my informant.

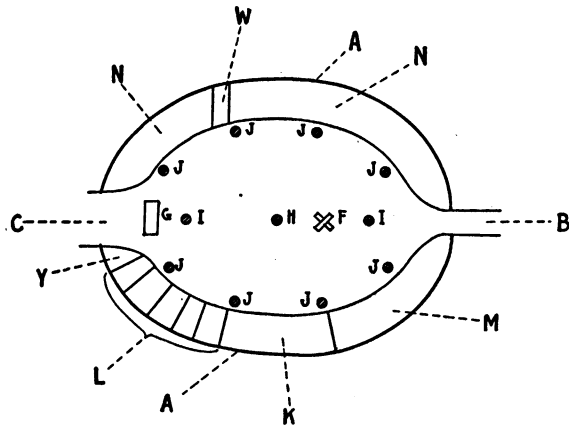


Fig. 1. Patwin Lut. A, pit wall; B, east entrance; C, west entrance; F, fireplace (pau); G, footdrum (holwa); H, center post; I, end posts; J, side posts; Y, space occupied by yompu; L, five wole for the saltu performers; K, tema wole (reserved for chief, sektu, and the leader performers, tautu); M, wole for singers and entertainers, including the tsimatu, speaker-clown; W, wai-saltu wole (found only at Grimes); U, ha'mla for non-participants.

My informant stated: "After a boy (or girl) is shot, he belongs to a wole. He belongs to one of the five wole, according to the saltu performance he is to enact. While all (spirit) dancers are tema, all do not belong to the tema wole. Only the headmen belong to the tema wole. Girls sometimes join their family wole, but do not dance saltu."

Evidently as a man progressed in the society, here as among the Chico Maidu, he moved from left to right in the ceremonial house. In turn he was yompu, tema, and perhaps finally tautu. On the other hand, we have no indication that any one of the five saltu wole was actually higher than the others. A man might indeed pick up one impersonation (and its corresponding wole) after another, but for each, according to Kroeber, he paid the same amount, 320 beads, or about four dollars.

¹⁰⁸ Kroeber, Handbook, 371.

Finally, my informant stated that each wole had a tautu, or director, and that the tautu of the tema wole was the director of all of the wole. Kroeber has obtained the term tautu (yaitu) for this head official. The function of Maidu clown was performed by the tsimatu, who was privileged to enter any wole and eat there, or make fun of any personage. The yohyo, among the Chico Maidu a big-head performer, was here the watchman, who remained all day on top of the ceremonial house.

Ceremonies

Hesi cycle.—The hesi was a three-day, or four-night ceremony (yapai), which, as at Chico, started and ended the dance season. The season started with the hesi in November and ended with the hesi in April. My informant stated that there was no fixed order for the ceremonies (yapai), but gave me this approximate arrangement: hesi; wai saltu or waima yapai (only performed in Grimes); molok; lole (a common dance); napa (only performed as a yapai at Colusa); toto (a common dance); hesi.

According to Kroeber, the moki tautu was the highest tautu and directed the hesi. When inside the house the moki tautu as well as the other moki were without costume. Costumes were only assumed for the purpose of making an entrance.

On the first night of the hesi, there was an entrance of the tuya (big-head) spirits.¹⁰⁹ Women were allowed to remain in the dance-house during this preliminary impersonation.

The following morning only those women who owned seats in the wole were permitted to remain, and the following impersonations were performed: moki, tuya, dadu (woman impersonation), nop (deer), and sede (coyote). The performers sat in their proper wole, put on their costumes, and made their entrances.

The second day was a repetition of the first, being given over to the acts of visiting villages.

On the third and last day of the hesi all women were excluded from the ceremonial house, but, as usual, they were allowed to look on from outside. First the customary impersonations were enacted. Then one or two koto entered. They were covered with mud and were supposed to have come from a spring.

¹⁰⁹ My informant did not mention the dihli (big-head spirits) entering with, and resembling the tuya (Handbook, 386).

Finally, on this third day,¹¹⁰ the ghosts or sili ran into the Lut. These impersonators were called sili, wili, or puti saltu by the Patwin. The performance was always enacted late in the afternoon. According to Kroeber, the sili-ma tautu entered behind his eight or twelve or more sili impersonators, and informed the chief that the sili had come from the ocean in the south for the well-being of the people. They were paid as usual by the spectators. Kroeber also records that a sick man could be cured by joining the sili and running into the Lut with them, and that this was the special purpose of the ceremony.

I was told that the sili appeared for the purpose of bettering the crops. The sili, like the Pomo ghosts, were painted in various colors, wore twigs half concealing their faces, hairnets, and were covered with weeds. As they entered the house they called for a good acorn crop. The women outside the Lut neither cried over nor made bead offerings to the sili among the River Patwin.

After the sili had undressed in the Lut a sweat-dance was held, and the boys who were being initiated were tossed across the fire. Then those boys who had finished their period of initiation were thrown out of the house.

Wai-yapai.—The wai-saltu ceremony was performed only at Grimes. It is clear that the wai saltu had little in common with the sili saltu. The wai saltu were said to have come from the north,¹¹¹ the sili saltu from the south; the wai saltu wole and corresponding smokehole (olpes) was on the north side of the Lut, while the sili used a wole on the south side. To prove an identity between these two sets of performers would be out of the question, since they both were impersonated at Grimes. A contrast is more to the point; the wai saltu novices were presumably initiated by becoming ceremonially insane, almost possessed, and were herded up and cured by a death and resurrection ceremony. I have surmised that this whole aspect of the wai saltu performance is linked to Northwestern culture.¹¹² The sili saltu, on the other hand, represented ghosts of the dead; they were living images of the departed to be mourned over and placated by many of the tribes having the Western Kuksu Cult and by certain of the Patwin. This aspect of the sili clearly represents a southern Californian affiliation.

¹¹⁰ Kroeber (Patwin) was told that this ceremony took place on the second day of the hesi.

¹¹¹ I was told that the Grimes people obtained the wai yapai from the north, according to mythological tradition. Woodpecker and other birds brought the ceremony down and gave it to the Grimes Indians.

¹¹² Loeb, Western Kuksu.

Molok-yapai.—This was a three-day ceremony in which one or more men clad in condor skins danced around the fire, imitating the actions of this bird. These men were said to be spirits (condor) and the dance was a sacred or pay dance. Two women society members (main) were chosen to feed the “birds” with acorn meal. My informant claimed that this was the only sacred dance among the River Patwin in which women participated. All the villagers were allowed entrance to the Lut at the time of this dance.

Lole-yapai.—The lole was a three-day common dance performed by women, with two men as leaders.

Sika-yapai.—This was a three-day ceremony of somewhat vague nature. The grizzly bear impersonator, dressed in a bearskin, was called napa, or bear doctor. He came in at least once a day, went around the fire, growling and acting his character, and then departed. Women were not allowed in the Lut during this ceremony. Boys were taken in, evidently to be initiated. It is not unlikely, although I received no information on this point, that the boys were ceremonially stabbed by the k'aima spirit impersonators who, according to Kroeber, followed the sika act. At any rate, the Southeastern Pomo had a separate bear ceremony in which novices were stabbed; the Cortina Patwin had a bear ceremony in which novices were initiated. The initiations were, of course, into the general society and not into any special societies of bear doctors.

Toto-yapai.—The toto was a three-day common dance for both men and women. According to Kroeber, it was directed by a saltu masked like moki, who was called temeyu.¹¹³ According to another informant, the temeyu was doorkeeper in the kuksu initiation.¹¹⁴

Other ceremonies.—Toward spring an acorn ceremony, taka muhupara, was held in the Lut. The men, but no women, sang a number of nights for the sake of increasing the crops of acorns and seed.

When the main pillar of the ceremonial house, called eltiba, was brought in, the chief (sektu) was taboo (sano) until it was finally erected. Once put in position, the people shouted four times and runners were sent out to invite neighboring tribes to the ensuing hesi.

¹¹³ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 386.

¹⁴⁴ Kroeber, *Patwin*.

RUMSEY PATWIN

The Patwin, both on the basis of language and culture, appear divided into three minor groupings: the River Patwin, the Hill Patwin, and the Cache Creek Patwin, among the latter being reckoned the Cortina Patwin and the Long Valley Patwin. While information regarding the first two Patwin groups has been rather completely obtained (chiefly by Kroeber), the last-mentioned group has been almost entirely neglected.¹¹⁵ In the spring of 1931 I accompanied Dr. Paul Radin to Rumsey where he was seeking linguistic material; there I started gathering what scanty ethnographical material was still available, in the hope of filling the gap existing between the Eastern and Western Kuksu systems.

The Rumsey Patwin resembled the Pomo rather than the River Patwin in their religious organization. They had the round ceremonial house with the single center pole, but lacked the men's communal sweat-house, employing instead individual family sweat-houses. They lacked the entire system of compartments or *wole*¹¹⁶ in the ceremonial house (*lut*), as well as the pay dances. Family names, professions, and ceremonial enactments were inherited, as among the Pomo. Among the Patwin inheritance was naturally chiefly in the male line or lineage (*sere*). As among the Pomo the *kuksu* secret society initiation was performed in the open in the summer, was enacted by a selected group of men and women, and had little connection with the men's tribal initiation or old ghost dance, which took place separately in the *lut*. Unlike the Pomo, the Rumsey Patwin had the *hesi*, which they held as a first-fruits rite in the spring and which included a ghost performance. The *hesi* was given by the members of the secret society, that is, by men who had been speared by *kuksu*, but it (the *hesi*) was not an initiating ceremony. The dead were burned at Rumsey, and not buried as at Colusa. The bull-roarer was not used at all at Rumsey, although it was an important instrument in the tribal initiation at Long Valley, as among all Pomo. The Creator was Coyote at Rumsey, as among many of the Pomo divisions, although *Katit* (Chicken hawk) was the Creator at Cortina, as at Colusa.

¹¹⁵ Except for Barrett, *The Wintun Hesi Ceremony*.

¹¹⁶ The entire floor was called *wole*.

RELIGION

Secret Society

Organization.—The village chief was called huk or sektuno. The word "huk" was used in "big language." Doctors, members of the secret society, and the head of the secret society were all called yomta. Neither the head nor the members of the secret society were necessarily doctors, nor did the members have special bags for their outfits. It appears probable that the director played the rôle of moki in the hesi, as recorded by Barrett for the modern hesi at Cortina. The sisters and wives of the chief were called main, and were made members of the society.

Members of the society included one or more yohos. This man was not a spirit impersonator, but the announcer from the top of the Lut and a trainer of novices. Spirit or saltu impersonations included: wiliti (runners or ghosts), tuya, dadu, koto, nop, and sedeu.

Dances were called tonol and four-day ceremonies, yapai.

Ceremonies

Putisaltu or ghost initiation.—The putisaltu initiation took place as a yapai either in the spring or the fall. The village men, not the secret society, took charge of the ceremony; women were strictly excluded. Every boy at about the age of eight or nine or a little older was initiated by the ghosts. These boys were called yompoto.

Moki took charge of the ceremony, dancing around in his black feather disguise outside the house; if any ghost dancer made a mistake, he had to pay him (moki). Moki also acted as clown, mocking the dancers. When the boys, on the last day, were thrown out of the house, moki mocked them if they cried.¹¹⁷

Inside the house the chief (sektuno) directed the ritual, assisted by the firetender, kuimeru. The yohos summoned the ghosts from his position on top of the Lut.

The ghosts (puti or wiliti saltu) ran down four times a day into the Lut from the hills. There were three or four ghosts in a group; each group was from a different village. The ghosts were naked and painted with red and white stripes. They wore leaves and branches on their heads. They did not carry torches or bring down snakes. As they entered the Lut they sang:

wili wili wili wili, tLo tLo tLo (a variety of acorn)

¹¹⁷ According to Barrett (*op. cit.*, 452) a class of clowns at the bola hesi at Cortina were called moki.

Then they danced four times around the fire, to the accompaniment of a singer, stamped on the foot-drum (cobok), and departed. They did not play with the fire, but tossed the novices, and sometimes grown men, over the flames.

On the last day, the novices were thrown out of the Lut through the smokehole, or, if they were too large, through the door. Their mothers were on hand to throw water over them and bring them back "to life."

Kuksu initiation.—This yapai was performed in summer, partly in the open, partly in a brush enclosure, and partly in the Lut. At the opening of the ceremony the boys and girls were playing shinny and four or five kuksus came along and rounded them up with their sticks. Only such youths were caught as were desired as members of the secret society. The boys were from twelve to twenty years of age. The kuksus wore their usual attire; the big head (lupi), belt of beads (tia), whistle (toka), and stick (liko).

The stabbing with spears was done at once in the open, but women spectators were kept at a distance, where they watched, crying.

Then the youths were carried into the brush house in a fainting condition. There was no bloodshed, as the "killing" had been done with spears heavily "loaded" with poison. In order to bring the unconscious youths back to life, the yohos summoned the kuksus back again; they ran in from every direction. In doctoring, the kuksus placed their sticks under the youths, blowing their whistles the while, and lifted them up.

The youths were now "alive" but taboo; they were kept four days in the Lut, during which they were not allowed meat or fish and made use of the scratching stick (udi suk). These were ordinary pieces of wood. The yohos taught the novices what they were to do, how the ceremony had been enacted, and warned them to keep the secrets of the society. There was no moral or dancing instruction. At the end of the period the youths were washed and given beads and belts. When they went home to their families they acquired new names. On the second day the kuksus came running down again to the brush house, within which the people were assembled. They ran around the house and then entered, curing such sick people as were within.

After the kuksus had gone back to the hills, the bear (silai) came prowling down and tried to force his way into the brush house. After trying to get in at both entrances, he was driven off by the men on guard. Following the bear came a character called cukbok, who was dressed in a rabbitskin blanket, a bead belt, and carried a stick in his hand.

On the fourth day both cukbok and the bear entered the Lut, where cukbok danced to the accompaniment of a singer, and then left. Silai now growled and danced four sets, finally rushing into the fire and scattering the coals about. The men inside (there were no women present other than the main) shouted and drove silai back to the hills.

Hesi ceremony.—The hesi was a yapai given every May in the Lut. No initiation was performed at the time and no children were present. The women were allowed to witness most of the saltu impersonation. The chief, not the audience, paid the saltu performers. These dancers were male members of the secret society and had learned their steps in a four-day period of instruction in the Lut or in the hills. There were no spectators while the novices were learning, and at such time they were taboo and not allowed the use of meat or fish.

The chief and moki directed the hesi. Neither kuksu nor silai were impersonated during the ceremony.

The entrance of the ghosts or runners (witeli saltu) was the first act of the hesi. These impersonators went into the hills where they disguised themselves by putting branches around their heads so as to conceal their faces and by painting their faces and legs with wet clay.

Both men and women were inside the Lut when the yohos summoned the ghosts down with his characteristic call of yo, yo. As the spirits ran in the women believed that they were really the recently dead who had come back to earth, and, crying, they threw beads upon them. This act of throwing beads was called kalti.¹¹⁸ The dead were not mentioned by name, nor was there any representation of specific people. The women mourners did not cease mourning after this act.

The ghost dance was, however, more than a mourning ceremony, for as the impersonators entered the Lut they named the various kinds of acorns in order to promote their growth.

A singer (kalto) was within the Lut. As the ghosts danced around the fire and across the foot-drum, they kept time with cocoon rattles (waiwai) and split-stick rattles (teheketa). Finally they ran down to the creek, and, plunging in, washed off their paint.

Different parties of ghosts came daily from the hills, sometimes clad in leaves and again in digger-pine boughs. Between their appearances, three or four men ran in dressed as tuya and a like number impersonating the female dadu spirits. The dadu wore feathers from their waists downward.

¹¹⁸ Powers (*op. cit.*, 224) mentioned this ceremony for the Patwin, where he presumably saw the act at Rumsey.

One koto appeared during the hesi. He did not enter the Lut, however, but remained outside, dancing around and from time to time letting out a shrill laugh as if insane. He was said to have come from a spring and his naked body was covered with mud. Although this sight was shielded from most females, older women were allowed to approach and weep over the spectacle.

One saltu entered the house in a deerhead disguise. As this nop dancer entered, the women were compelled to leave the Lut. Another saltu was clad in coyote (sedeu) skin and imitated the animal in his dancing. The women witnessed this impersonation.

My informants claimed that the old time hesi was originally "strongest" in Colusa.

Common ceremonies.—Before a ceremonial house was erected the chief and his sister and another brother and sister spoke to the people about the project. A feast was held and the men commenced cutting timber, while the women gathered grass. After the Lut was completed it was closed up.

Early in fall it was consecrated. The firetender (kui medu) borrowed fire from one of the family houses and built the first fire inside the Lut at midnight. The people waiting anxiously outside heard sounds as if babies were being thrown out of the Lut, but they knew that these cries came from ghosts (mulauwin) being driven out by the firetender.

The next day invitation sticks (noko) were sent to the neighboring villages, where they were handed to the huk and main (chiefs and sisters). Each huk then preached to his village and in four days all the villages appeared and a yapai with grass games was held in the new Lut.

Another common ceremony was the tuni yapai for men and women. In the acorn ceremony (takatano or paki) the men and women sat around in the Lut in the winter and sang in order to make the acorns plentiful.

Common dances for men and women included gilak, salulu, lole, and toto. There was no sul or molok dance. The common dances could be given at any time or in the course of a sacred ceremony.

The modern ghost dance is called tsalal yapai. It is in charge of the bole or preacher. Men and women can dance this, using cloth disguises obtained in dreams.

Childbirth

For four days after childbirth the husband had to remain in the house, the wife a month. The husband was allowed to eat meat, but the wife lived on acorn soup and hot water for the month. The woman stayed in bed two weeks. During their period of taboo both used scratching sticks. After the month they could resume marital relations.

Twins (pan) were sometimes both preserved and sometimes one was killed.

A child received its first name when a month old. The name usually was taken from some dead relative on the father's side.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

According to Kroeber, at Colusa a girl at puberty was called dokoya; at subsequent menstruations she was yutu. At Rumsey the first ceremony was named tokoya, and subsequent, edi.

At tokoya the girl was put in a separate house or in a special apartment of the family house. A woman doctor (yomta) took care of her for the four days of the ceremony. The "patient" was not allowed to eat meat or fish, to wash hands or face, and she used a scratching stick (loisok). Separate baskets were used in giving her food. Early each morning, her head wrapped in a rabbitskin or deerskin blanket, she was taken to a stream and bathed by the yomta. While in the hut the yomta instructed the girl as to her conduct on future menstruations: to diet and not run around or go near men.

On the last night the girl had to lie flat on her back all night without turning around. Early in the morning the yomta took her to the stream, let her sit in the water, and then ducked her four times. The yomta sang:

sektuno lube werèti, chief wealth come-in
 wetuka òk pit tulul, to-this-one baskets yellowhammer quills magnesite beads
 itli diok werèti, beads bead or feather belt come-in.

There was no feasting or dancing over the girl, nor were her ears punched now. The father gave the girl beads and a name taken from some dead woman relative on his side.

Death

The dead were always burnt and the house and property of the deceased were also burnt one to four days after the death. Relatives from a distance threw gifts on the pyre. The men and women cut their hair in mourning and the women put clay (ca) on their hair. After a year the women bathed and removed the clay.

The cemetery where burnings took place was called poni. A second burning (dolo) took place over the grave after the relatives from near and far had gathered new wealth. No image was made of the dead among any of the Patwin.

The undertaker (native name forgotten) dieted, used a scratching stick, and avoided people for four days. Then he bathed and released himself from taboos.

Doctors

Doctors were called yomta; all had outfit bags (hulum). Male sucking doctors were called eye yomta, female, sutuku yomta. Most doctors sucked, but there were a few men and women who only sang over their patients; these were called pulti yomta.

People became either singing or sucking doctors by dreaming of spirits (saltu). If a person dreamed of an ordinary saltu, he merely became sick, but if the saltu were one owned by another doctor (presumably a relative) then he was on the way to becoming a doctor himself. The inherited saltu became a helper of the novice. Any spirit, such as molok, might be obtained as helper. When a boy was being made a doctor he got up and danced, while the elder doctor sang. The boy was not sucked, however. Every doctor had but one spirit helper.

One doctor could make a younger relative a doctor without the aid of dreams, but the informant did not know how.

A poisoner was called yomba. Pains were either animate or inanimate and were called tjui.

Bear doctors (napa) were of either sex. They wore grizzly bear skins and killed people of their own village by stabbing them with a concealed knife. They could travel farther at night than ordinary people.

Patwin religious terminology (collected at Rumsey unless followed by C, indicating from Colusa).

sun, son	to die, lumu
moon, sonar	breath, hasi (pul, C)
spirit, saltu	heart, pudul (C)
ghost, mulawin	to faint, limaho
to dance, tau	reflection, kulmen
taboo, sano	

The sun and the moon were evidently identified by name among the Patwin. The people prayed for favors at new moon.

CORTINA PATWIN

The Cortina Patwin have been included by Kroeber in the Central Hill Patwin. Little has been known about these people outside of the bole hesi, or modern ghost hesi account, published by Barrett,¹¹⁹ and a few notes by Kroeber. The Cortina Patwin had the single-post Pomo type ceremonial house (lut) and a smaller men's communal sweat-house (kula). The family houses were called ticikua and the granaries teubi. The floor (wole) of the lut was not divided into compartments, but the chief (sektu) had a private space called polpul wole.

Barrett gives the name for dance as tono and for the four-night or three-day ceremony as huya, assembly. I was given the ordinary Patwin name yapai for ceremony.

The leader of the dancers, tautu, was evidently the hesi tautu, or moki tautu. Barrett mentions a class of clowns also called moki. I was told that the speaker clowns were called tsimatu, as at Colusa. The fire-tender was called kuimeru or teapa. The yohos only appeared in the hesi, when he summoned the performers from the roof. All dancers initiated into the secret society and qualified to perform the saltu or spirit impersonation dances were called put, while the ghosts themselves were called puti saltu.

As Barret has written, the winter ceremonial season commenced and ended with the hesi yapai. In spite of the fact that some women were initiated into the secret society, no women were allowed entrance to the lut during the hesi proper. Among the Hill Patwin, Kroeber has shown that kuksu, witali saltu, and hesi were performed as one ceremony. At Cortina, however, while the witali saltu or puti saltu was performed only during hesi, the kuksu initiation for young men and women could take place "at any dance"; there was the third customary Patwin ceremony, the grizzly bear ceremony or silai yapai, at which both sexes were present and which served as a boys' initiation. No special ceremony existed for the wai saltu, but a wai saltu impersonator went around the lut on the outside at the time of hesi and then disappeared. My informant had heard about this but had never seen the impersonation.

The following impersonations were made in the hesi: puti or witali, tuya, nop (deer), sedeu (coyote), dadu, koto, and of course moki. Young boys who were being initiated at the time of the hesi were thrown out of

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

the Lut the day before the end, at the time of the sweat-dance, tsapa tono. The witeli ran down each day in the course of the dance, bringing acorns and other kinds of food.

There was one kuksu impersonator who caught boys and girls with his stick at the time of a dance. This initiation, however, did not occur at a hesi. The youths were herded up while they were playing shinny and as each victim was touched with the kuksu stick he fell down "dead." Kuksu brought the victims to life again by doctoring them with the same stick.

The silai yapai was a three-day ceremony, in which grizzly bear came into the Lut twice a day and danced around the fire. It was denied that other impersonators accompanied him, and the informant did not know how boys were initiated at this impersonation.

Common dances were: salulu (men only), gilak (men and women), toto (men and women), keni (men and women), kai (men and women), lole (women and two men leaders). My informant did not know of molok and denied having a waima dance. He did not know of a lapui impersonation, as mentioned by Kroeber. The tsalal yapai was the bole ghost cult.

The dead were burnt at Cortina.

LONG VALLEY PATWIN

The Long Valley religious organization is perhaps historically the most interesting of all the Patwin organizations. Here the hesi came late, about 1870, and was brought in as a result of the new ghost dance (bole) movement. Before this the Long Valley people had a boys' tribal initiation which included in the four-day ceremony (yapai) a ghost impersonation ceremony, a thunder performance with bullroarers, and a kuksu initiation. Since the Long Valley kuksu initiation took place in connection with the men's tribal initiation it differed from that found elsewhere in California. While to a certain extent the Long Valley cult might be considered as typical of the Patwin kuksu and ghost cult before the original hesi movement, yet the amalgamation of the two original cults was probably an anomaly, as was the combination of hesi, kuksu, and ghost cults among the Northern Hill Patwin.

The Patwin here had the usual one-center-post lut, in which all ceremonies were performed, and the kula, which was smaller and served as a men's house and sweat-house.

The Long Valley Patwin traded with the neighboring Pomo of Sulphur Bank, and boys from either place might be initiated by the adult men of the other. Trade was also carried on with Rumsey, Cortina, and Colusa when the people were at peace.

RELIGION

Mythology

Coyote (Tutcai) made the world with the aid of his nephew Snipe (Hat). Hat caused the flood. Coyote told Long Snake (Torpitiman) to crawl under the land and make the hills and canyons. The waters went down and Coyote made the first human beings out of sticks.

The sun and moon were called by the common Patwin terms and the people wished at new moon.

Tribal Initiation

The kimima-yapai or thunder ceremony took place in midsummer in the lut and was witnessed by all adult men. Young boys of from nine to twelve years of age were taken in to be initiated and were called yomputo. The director of the ceremony was called yomta, and must have been a doctor since he cured sick performers by singing over them and

had the office of bringing the boys to life after they had been "killed" by *kuksu*. The caller was the *tsimatu*.

The impersonations were the ghosts (*witili saltu*), thunder man (*kimi wiyaba*), *kuksu*, and grizzly bear (*silai*).

All boys of the tribe of proper age were taken into the *Lut* the first night of the ceremony, where they were taboo (*sano*), and put under certain restrictions for the ensuing four days. They dieted and used scratching sticks (*matcil*). When first brought in they had their heads covered. Whether they were allowed to leave the *Lut*, with this covering, to satisfy their needs, I do not know. After sweating each night the boys were allowed to drink a small quantity of water from a common basket.

The first morning the *tsimatu* summoned the ghosts from the roof of the *Lut*. He called out "yo yo." The ghosts answered: "pa wao" and came running down with branches over their heads. The women and children thought they were real ghosts (*mulawin*) and kept to their houses in terror.

Upon entering the *Lut* the ghosts danced around the fire and over the foot-drum. They danced with the boys and threw them over the fire. At times they acted as clowns and tried to make the spectators laugh. Anyone who laughed was punished with a fine.

During the three days of the ceremony a contingent of ghosts came running in, both morning and afternoon. Each village took its turn in supplying these *saltu* performers.

On the afternoons of the second and the last day of the ceremony the neophytes were thrown off the roof of the *Lut*. The firetender tied blazing sticks on each boy and tossed him up to another man stationed above the smokehole. This man passed the boy down to a third man waiting at the entrance of the *Lut*. The mother of the victim was outside with a basket of water with which she extinguished the flames and brought her son "back to life." The youth was then taken back into the ceremonial house. This act was done in the same manner as described for the Lake *Miwok*.

Two *kuksus* entered the *Lut* on the second and fourth nights of the ceremony. Their headdresses were called *lai*, their sticks, *lia*, their beaded belts, *diak*, and their double bone whistles, *toka*.

On the last night occurred the *kuksu* initiation of all boys, the thunder (*kimi*) dance, and the bear dance.

There were two thunder performances; between them the *kuksu* initiation took place. Eight men, four on each side of the fire, impersonated thunder-man by wearing squirrel hawk feathers on top of their

heads and on their bodies and by swinging bullroarers (wiyabal). The women in their homes thought that the noise of the bullroarers was the voice of thunder-man.

The boys were taken outside by the yomta in order to be stabbed by the two kuksus in front of the women. The kuksus had instructed the neophytes to feign death when they were stabbed.

The boys were stabbed one after another. Some tried to get away but were rounded up by the kuksus. Then the male relatives carried the "corpses" inside the Lut where the yomta instilled new life into them by taking a feather (lai) from his headdress and touching the bodies in several places with it.

The kuksus then scratched the bodies of the boys with flint. This was done hard enough to draw blood and left marks that served as tokens of the previous stabbings. The scratching was called kopa.

Hesi

While the hesi came after 1870 to Long Valley, it was performed as elsewhere among the Patwin and without modern or bole influence. At the present day, however, only the bole hesi is enacted. With the coming of the hesi the thunder tribal initiation was discarded and kuksu, silai, and the witali were incorporated in the hesi. The thunder ceremony and the use of bullroarers were also made part of hesi, although this ceremony was not performed elsewhere among the Patwin or Maidu. The hesi was directed by the hesi yomta, who appears to have been a different person from the moki who was present throughout but only watched.

Women were strictly barred from all the acts of the hesi. Most, but not all, boys were taken as neophytes into the hesi at about the age of twelve. They were cut and speared by kuksu and, on the second and last days, were thrown out of the Lut with blazing torches attached to them.

The approximate order of the impersonations is as follows, witali certainly beginning the hesi and kimi ending it: witali, tuya, dadu, nop, kuksu, silai, kimi.

Contrary to the custom of the other Patwin and the Chico Maidu, the hesi was performed in midsummer and did not start and end a dance cycle.

The bole hesi came only a few years ago from Cortina.

Girls' Puberty Ceremony

The puberty ceremony (tokau) lasted four days, during which the girl was isolated, dieted, and used the scratching stick. There was no dancing or singing over her, although there was a feast at the end of the four days.

Boys and girls had their ears and noses pierced and were tattooed at any age. Tattooing was called wakin and was inflicted on the face and arms. The patient was not allowed to eat salt until the wound healed.

Death

The dead were burned. All property of the deceased was burned at time of death. There was no second burning.

Doctors

Ie yomta were sucking doctors and mali yomta singing doctors. All doctors had outfits (bulum), but not the director of the dances. Kuksu did not cure sick people. Some doctors dreamed, others were made. Bear doctors (napa) dressed in bearskins and went around killing people.

Common Dances

Both men and women danced the kai yapai, which was held in winter. Performers were not taboo for this ceremony. Yellowhammer quills were worn. Toto was a common dance for women. My informant denied that his people had other common dances.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

A preliminary treatment of the kuksu area first appeared in Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California*¹²⁰ and a subsequent review of the problem in his *The Patwin and their Neighbors*. Since my results, as published in *The Western Kuksu Cult* and the present paper, were not incorporated by Kroeber in his last monograph, a certain amount of explanation still remains to be given. While my historical interpretation (and one which I trust will prove in close agreement with Kroeber's) was presented in my paper on *The Religious Organization of North Central California and Tierra del Fuego*,¹²¹ yet this article neglected the Maidu and Patwin.

In presenting the chart of the kuksu cult, I have listed all the tribes and their known subdivisions having a secret society. The sole exception perhaps is the Plains Miwok from whom to date we have scant information.

Primarily, the cult can be divided into western and eastern halves, the former having the tribal initiation (ghost dance) and kuksu cult in their archaic and typical form as well as the bullroarer. In the east, among the Patwin and Maidu, the hesi cult arose on the Sacramento river and, by a process of incorporation, put an end to the two original separate units. Among the Hill Northwest Maidu and the Sacramento Maidu the aki replaced the hesi and all traces of the ghosts were dropped; in the north moki entirely displaced his progenitor kuksu. It is evident that the hesi movement came late to the region since it was not until about 1870 that the Long Valley Patwin received the cult as it spread east from the river; they did so then only under impetus of the new ghost dance movement.

As internal evidence that the kuksu movement came from the south, following the coast route, may be cited the fact that the Coast Miwok had the cult in well developed form, far stronger than the Coast Pomo. The development among the Clear Lake Pomo was different, stressing dances and impersonations rather than healing and initiations, and Patwin influence here can be postulated.¹²²

The western cult again can be divided into a southern half (Pomo, Wappo, Lake and Coast Miwok) and a northern half (Sherwood Pomo, Huchnom, Kato, Yuki). The northerners evidently received the cult

¹²⁰ Chap. 26.

¹²¹ AA 33:517 ff., 1931.

¹²² Loeb, *Folkways*, 364. Masan, for example, being the Pomo moki.

late, the Yuki proper last of all,¹²³ and it was never typical, since it was strongly influenced by the doctors' school of the northern neighbors. The distinguishing traits of the northwestern *kuksu* tribes, as given by Kroeber, were: general simplicity of their system, absence of the name *kuksu*, identification of his substitute with the creator, emphasis in initiation on mythological instruction, and "school" features.¹²³ The ghost and *kuksu* cults never fused, however, in the north, as they did among the Patwin-Maidu, but were preserved as separate schools.

While the main cults of north-central California are local or auto-genous as units, the specific traits entering into the cults usually are more widespread than the cults themselves and therefore have come into north-central California by diffusion where they have not arisen in the region itself by a process of internal disintegration or amalgamation. As an example of internal disintegration may be cited the case of *kuksu* (big head) giving rise to *moki*, *yoyo*, *tuya*, and *masan*; of amalgamation, the merging of grizzly bear, *buraghal*, and the god *calnis* of the Eastern Pomo into the bear *canis* of the Coast Pomo.¹²⁴

In tracing the elements entering the ghost dance (tribal initiation), the *kuksu* cult, and the *hesi* cult, I have attempted to demonstrate that the tribal initiation was the oldest cult and that its elements (the bull-roarer, the tribal mark, the death and resurrection ceremony, and the representation of spirits or ghosts) probably were brought in by the American Indians upon their entrance to the New World.¹²⁵ Naturally, certain of these elementary traits were adapted by later cults, as among the Eastern Pomo where cutting formed a part of the *kuksu* ritual, and certain ones became rudimentary or were lost entirely, as was the case of the bullroarer among the Patwin-Maidu.

The trait "ghosts," as found in the Pomo area, may be split into three subtraits: clowns, running spirits, and representatives of the dead. It is only "running spirits" which appears indigenous to north-central California. Clowns, according to Steward, originated either in the Southwest or Mexico and the trait was diffused to California as well as to other sections of North America.¹²⁶ Human representatives of the dead occurred among the Yuman Cochimi of Lower California¹²⁷ and

¹²³ The Patwin and their Neighbors.

¹²⁴ My reverse opinion (*Folkways*, 367), that *canis* became *calnis* plus *buraghal*, probably was wrong.

¹²⁵ *Folkways*, 402; *Tribal Initiations and Secret Societies*, this series, 25:251, 1929; *The Western Kuksu Cult*; *The Religious Organizations of North Central California and Tierra del Fuego*, 517.

¹²⁶ J. H. Steward, *The Ceremonial Buffoon of the American Indian*, *Paps. Mich. Acad. Sci., Arts, Letters*, 14:188, 1930.

¹²⁷ Kroeber, Patwin. *Loeb*, AA 33:550.

the Yuman Cocopa and Diegueño of the Colorado river,¹²⁸ as well as among the Menomini.¹²⁹ Kroeber¹³⁰ has pointed out that in the kuksu area the dead were either represented by artifact images or by human beings, but not by both (see my chart). It is possible that the origin of the annual mourning ceremony, with the impersonation of the dead, was located in Mexico. I can find no record, however, of such ceremony among the Maya or Aztec.

Besides using the four traits listed, I have also sought to show that tribal initiation must have been derived from one point of origin in the world, owing to the fact that the scratching stick and the sucking tube were connected with initiations (of either boys or girls) both in North and South America.¹³¹ The scratching stick has been reported in connection with boys' tribal initiations in both Australia and Ceram,¹³² and the drinking tube in connection with boys' initiations among the Narinyeri of Australia.¹³³ In the kuksu area the drinking tube is not reported, but the scratching stick always was used by girls at puberty and often by boys at initiation.

The impersonation of the culture hero or creator by an association or secret society of medicine men is a trait of southern affiliation.¹³⁴ To this unit trait, which was the kernel of the kuksu cult as a whole, were appended other southern elements, which included the identification of the creator or culture hero with the moon, the mythological identification of the sun and moon with each other, an anthropomorphic creator capable of creating the world out of nothing, the eagle-condor ceremony, and the vestige of a new fire ceremony. The members of the shamanistic society were given to displaying their powers by fire-walking¹³⁵ and the holding of snake dances. The distribution of the pole climbing and meal casting already has been treated.¹³⁶

In the kuksu area the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, and Wappo identified the creator or culture hero with the moon.¹³⁷ Wonomi of the Northern Maidu was also so identified. To the north of the area Olelbis of the

¹²⁸ C. D. Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians*, this series, 28:260, 1931.

¹²⁹ Loeb, *Tribal Initiations*, 278.

¹³⁰ Patwin.

¹³¹ First pointed out by R. H. Lowie, *AA* 26:414, 1924.

¹³² Loeb, *Tribal Initiations*, 286.

¹³³ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 673 (London, 1904).

¹³⁴ Loeb, *The Religious Organizations of North Central California and Tierra del Fuego*.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 530. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 269, 270.

¹³⁶ Loeb, *ibid.*

¹³⁷ Loeb, *Western Kuksu Cult*.

Wintu and Ketanagai of the Wailaki had lunar names and this peculiarity of giving an anthropomorphic creator a lunar appellation extended to the Wiyot, whose creator was called Gudatrigakwitl, "Above-old-man."¹³⁸

It has already been shown¹³⁹ that the sun and moon were identified by name among the Pomo, Kato, Wappo, Lake Miwok, and Wailaki. Since both the Patwin and Northern Maidu also had this identification, it may be considered as definitely associated with the *kuksu* cult. Nevertheless, the trait was found also for the Achomawi, who called both sun and moon *tsul*;¹⁴⁰ the Klamath, who called both sun and moon *sa'bas*;¹⁴¹ and as far north as the Quinault, who called the moon *patsaat tanem*, night sun.¹⁴²

Among the Inca of Peru the sun and the moon were considered husband and wife, brother and sister, and, in North America, similar relations were sometimes given these heavenly bodies. Thus in Taos I learned that the sun was called *tudena*, the moon, *phuna*; the sun being the older brother was more powerful and made the moon his servant. Among the Northeastern Maidu the relationship between the orbs was somewhat confused, sometimes being husband and wife, again brother and sister. They fought and Moon agreed to travel by night, Sun by day. Among the Quinault sun and moon again were brothers.

The man in the moon was thought to be Frog among the Northern Maidu, the Klamath,¹⁴³ and the Quinault.¹⁴⁴

In contrast to the *kuksu* cult with its southern affiliations, the impetus for the *hesi* came from the north. Among the northern traits utilized by the Patwin in the *hesi* were: the private ownership of dances and dance costumes, with payment exacted for use of them, and the *waisaltu* initiation. Bear doctors, bear dances, and bear propitiation also were probably of northern origin.

The elaboration of the *hesi* cult as a dance society must be attributed to the fact that among the Patwin and Maidu the currents of culture flowing from the higher centers of Central America and the Northwest Coast had their meeting. The kernel of the *hesi* may well lie in first-fruit, and especially acorn rites, but its development on the river was aided by the fact that every member desired an individual costume and

¹³⁸ Kroeber, *Handbook*, 119.

¹³⁹ Loeb, *Western Kuksu Cult*.

¹⁴⁰ J. de Angulo, *La Psychologie religieuse des Achumawi*, A 13:150, 1928.

¹⁴¹ Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, 218.

¹⁴² Olson, *Quinault MS*.

¹⁴³ Spier, *ibid.*, 221.

¹⁴⁴ Olson, *Quinault MS*.

dance of his own, for which he could exact pay, and the privileges of which would belong to his sere. The ghost cult existed primarily for the purpose of initiating, the kuksu cult for curing and shamanistic display, but the hesi was the dancing society par excellence. As the hesi developed the other cults had to become adapted in order to fit in with its general scheme; thus the ghosts became mere runners and kuksu became a director of dances rather than a healer; as such he was moki. The wai-saltu also were runners, doubtless in imitation of the ghost witali, but they never lost their northwest inspirational characteristics.

The coming of the whites, and especially the new ghost dance religion of 1870, broke up the hesi ritual, at the same time disseminating certain of its least esoteric features. Given a few hundred years of development California might have had a graded secret society with impersonations, grades, and lodges similar to West Africa. Even as it is, the hesi system was intricate both in genesis and organization, and marks indeed the high-water mark of Californian native culture.

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