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WORLD RENEWAL

*A Cult System of Native Northwest California*

BY

A. L. KROEBER AND E. W. GIFFORD

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# WORLD RENEWAL A CULT SYSTEM OF NATIVE NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA

BY

A. L. KROEBER AND E. W. GIFFORD

## INTRODUCTION

(Kroeber)

We represent herewith one of the closed systems of native American religion. It is a system comparable to the Kuksu cult of central California, the Chungichnish Datura religion of southern California, the Kachina cult of the Pueblos, the secret society of Hamatsa initiations and performances of Vancouver Island and northward. Every such system is pervaded by a definable pattern, which may appear endlessly varied in detail, but yet is felt, by both the participants in the cult and by outside observers, to constitute a single coherent scheme. Outside its frame, many elements of the system recur, both in other fields of the same cultures and beyond them in foreign cultures; but the pattern as such is no longer primarily operative. Internally, the various tribal or local expressions of the pattern are never identical, and may in fact vary quite considerably. It is the fact that in spite of such unlikenesses they are recognizable as being variants of one pattern, which constitutes them manifestations of a delimitable system.

How is such a system or its pattern recognized and "delimited"? By a synthetic perception, appraisal, or judgment, which is essentially intuitional--a subjective insight into qualities or qualitative relations; an apperception of forms having values, in short. This process does not exclude evidential validation, of course. And it must lead to rational results and be defensible by natural analysis and argument. But it seems that the evaluative act of pattern recognition and definition is not cardinally an act of reasoning so much as of organized apperception.<sup>1</sup>

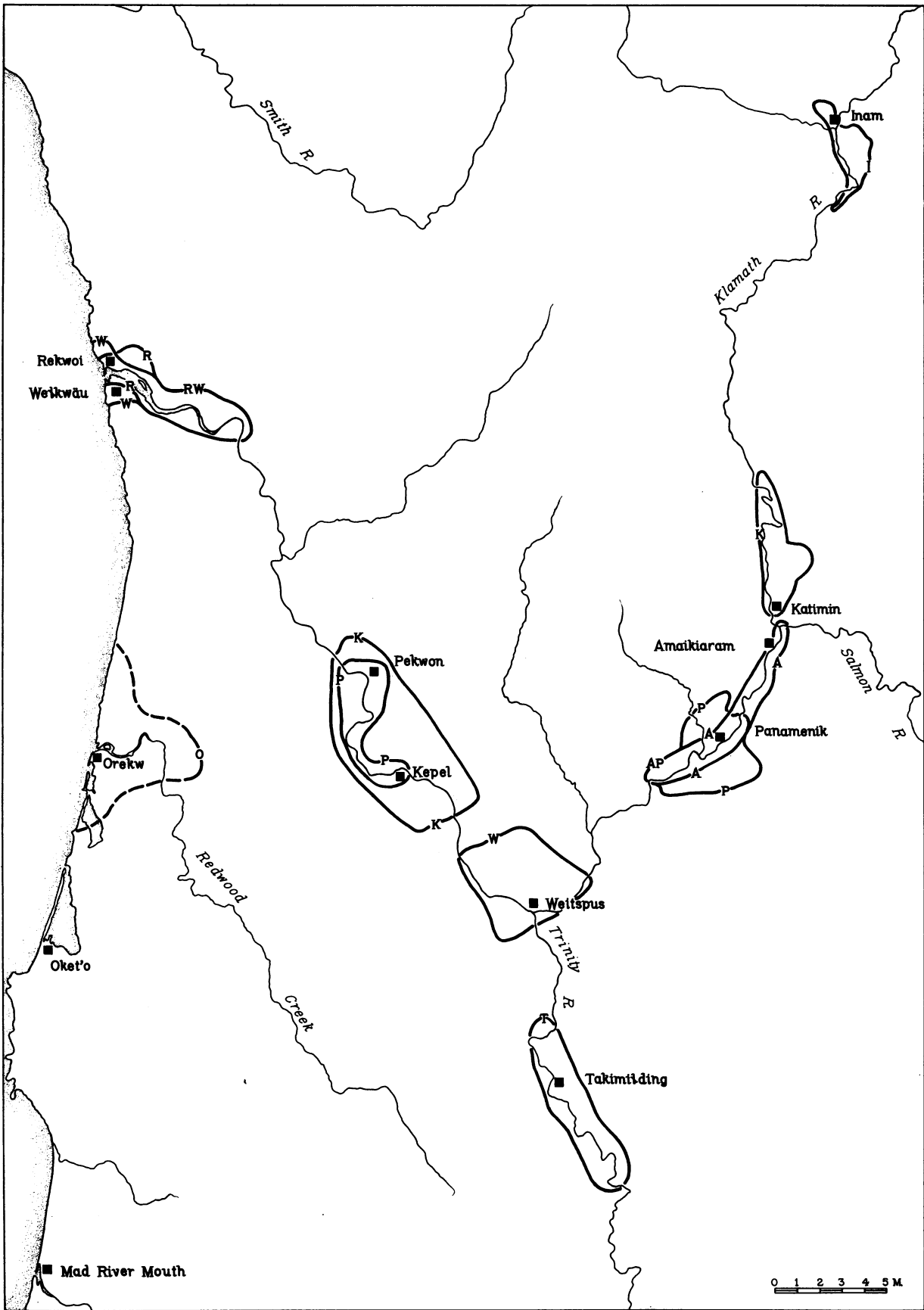
Basically, the ethnographer is responsible for his pattern recognitions, as a historian is for his. Now the historian takes into consideration the opinions of Pericles on the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, or of Luther on the Reformation; though, if he restricted himself to reproducing their opinions, he would not be a historian but only a compiler. Just so, reflective and articulate native opinion is as much a part of the data which the ethnographer must use to develop his own formulation as are objectively observable acts of behavior and the paraphernalia of a system. Native opinion may be volunteered or it may be stimulated by discussion or questioning; and sometimes it exists ready formulated in mythology. Such myth formulations are of course not analytical in the sense of modern science, and the world of scholarship does not take their statements as to origin as having any direct value. But their statements

as to what does and does not belong together in the native culture, as to its organization or systematization, are certainly primary documents of the greatest significance, whether they be accepted outright or need reevaluation. The myths in Appendix II, especially numbers 1-4, seem to validate the "world renewal" cult system as we have drawn its limits.

Beyond what the native can formulate as to the pattern and purpose of his system of rituals lies a fringe of what the anthropologist can perceive or infer. This includes those aspects of the system which it has lately become fashionable to name "covert." Such are partial likenesses underlying surface unlikenesses within the system; inferences as to the historic development of the system and its external relations; and pertinent modes of behavior and motivations of which native participants remain unaware. Such "deeper" discoverable motivations do not seem to be many in this case: the Indians of northwest California are shrewd and suspicious psychologists of one another, on the *ad hoc* level. As to behavior, they put into the forefront of their attention the expected or "ideal" conduct; as well they ought to, in giving information: since without defined norm or standard, all deviations and penetrations beyond it are meaningless. Of discrepancies between ideal and practice they are potentially well aware, and sometimes, though not always, interested in them. Comparative analysis and historic inferences are not their business but the anthropologist's.

The name of the present system is coined, something like "Sun Dance"; just as Kuksu, Kachina, Hamatsa are actual native names for mere partial constituents, which ethnographers have extended to denote also the whole systems because the natives had no comprehensive designation for those. Around 1900-1905, some of the Karok, the nearer Yurok, and the few whites in the region called two or three of the Karok rites "New Years," in speaking English. The term "Pikiavish" was also beginning to be used, as an abbreviation of *Isivsanen upkiavish*, "world's restoration" or "repair" ("fixing"); and in the Karok region this word is now current, not only among white residents and Indians, but with tourists. The Yurok had no corresponding phrase, and spoke generally in terms of "dances" about their equivalent rites; the Hupa merely list the main parts of their corresponding unit complex, at any rate in English. The esoteric magic and avowed purpose of the focal ceremonies comprising the system include reestablishment or firming of the earth, first-fruits observances, new fire, prevention of disease and calamity for another year or biennium. These several motivations, some of which are explicit or alluded to in each of the

<sup>1</sup>The writer believes that patterns can be given a certain support even by statistical means if such "objective" validation is felt desirable; though statistics is probably the least helpful mechanism for the finding out of patterns.



Map 1. Sites of World-Renewal Ceremonies and Areas Connected with Each

dozen local cults, appear to be conveniently suggested by our name "world renewal"; but, appropriate or otherwise, this is only a label which we have manufactured and applied.

Some of the features that recur through the dozen or so ceremonies of the system will now be reviewed--segregated for convenience into esoteric and exoteric traits.

The institutors are always believed to be individually nameless members of the prehuman spirit race, who departed or transformed themselves when human beings advanced to occupy the world. This is the race called ikhareya by the Karok, kihunnai by the Hupa, woge by the Yurok. The core of the esoteric rite is the recitation of a narrative or dialogue formula repeating the words of these spirits of the past, accompanied somewhat variably by acts of mimetic magic symbolic of their actions at that time. The formula is recited in segments at a series of specified spots in a fixed order, by a single priest or formulist, whose title sometimes varies, even within the same language, according to the particular rite which he conducts. He is purified by prolonged abstention from water, profane activities, sex contacts; by semi-fasting; and by sweating in the sweathouse. He blows tobacco crumbs to the spirits of old, or smokes tobacco, or burns angelica root as incense.

The acts performed by the formulist are the most variable portions of the ceremonies as these are made at different places. They include the partial rebuilding or repair of the timber structure sacred to the dance, as symbolic of strengthening of the world; new fire kindling, with its smoke or flame tabooed to sight of the public; ceremonial taking or consuming of salmon or acorns in a first-fruit type of rite; long itineraries, or series of them, to spots at which sections of formulas or invocations are recited or firewood is cut or timbers are felled or fires built; watching or waking; directing the building of a weir; mock fishing with a pole and line for dentalium shells; and others more. These features of symbolic magic are not only numerous but quite diverse as between different ceremonies, though they are scrupulously prescribed and fixed for each. And they occur in the several ceremonies in varying frequency, emphasis, and combination.

The formulist in some rituals has with him a middle-aged male assistant; or one or two girls who may be married but have not yet had children; or a group of adults, men or women, young or old, whom the Yurok call *tāt*, who sing with him at night and in some cases accompany him on his itinerary.

There is at least one structure sacred to each renewal rite or associated with it.<sup>2</sup> This may be a dwelling actually inhabited at other times; or a sweathouse also used under less publicly sacred circumstances; or a special structure hybrid between house and sweathouse in its size and shape and used or entered only for the ceremony. If dancing takes place indoors, this occurs always only in one particular living house; and in that event a second specified living house serves to "tie up hair," that is, for the dancers to array themselves and practice. In one case, in Hupa, a lean-to fence of planks is erected to serve as a "house" for the ancient spirits. In one group of rites among the lower Yurok the symbolic magic of renewal is most fully expressed in the rebuilding of the

sacred ritual structure. Even the weir building at Kepel may be allied in significance within this part of the pattern.

These ritual buildings represent the focus of an impulse toward localization which pervades the system and in fact the whole culture. Everything that is prescribed may and must be done only at a specified spot. This is true equally of indoor and outdoor, of esoteric and exoteric acts. Hence the formulists' itineraries to named places, the dancers' filing in to stand facing in one direction only under a particular tree or roof. Just as the inner, verbal part of each ceremony is attached to an ordained structure or group of structures in a settlement, and to a series of prayer and offering spots about or near the town, so the dance there is performed repetitively--and competitively as regards display--by several groups of dancers each representing a settlement or town close by--not more than a few miles away.

Strictly, perhaps, this providing of the equipment for a dance is the privilege of a family or house, or a related group of houses within a settlement, rather than of the undifferentiated town as a whole, since the town does not ordinarily function as a corporate unit. At any rate the privilege and responsibility of providing the equipment for a set of dancers is claimed as right by the descendants of certain houses. This device in one way concentrates recognized participation in the system, in another way spreads it. Of well over a hundred and perhaps nearly two hundred Karok, Yurok, and Hupa towns or settlements, only about a dozen held world-renewal rituals--only they might properly make them, in native belief. But these were on the whole the largest towns. Moreover, inclusion of the towns of next size, those which equipped contributory dances, would raise the number of participating settlements to around forty; and these forty would contain more or less half the total population of the three nationalities. Not all of the members of this total population were in publicly recognized personal relation to the ritual system; but they participated at least as minor kinsmen, affinals, neighbors, or friends of those having acknowledged functions.

The exoteric, public part of the world-renewal system consists of two dances, colloquially known in English as Jumping and Deerskin. The first alone was performed in six ceremonies; the second, in four;<sup>3</sup> both together, in three. The two used different characteristic regalia--woodpecker-scalp headbands and dance baskets in the Jumping Dance; albino and other deerskins along with long flint and obsidian blades in the Deerskin. The prescribed steps were quite different, and the songs can always be told apart. However, there is a single word<sup>4</sup> which denotes the performing of either dance<sup>5</sup> in distinction from all other kinds or ways of dancing<sup>6</sup>--a word, in short, meaning

<sup>3</sup>Including the legendary Deerskin Dance at Weikwā whose historic actuality is uncertain; and the ceremony at Inā'm, where Deerskin and War Dance were substituted one for the other in a way which leaves it uncertain which was the more original there.

<sup>4</sup>Opyuweg in Yurok, wuwuhina in Karok, chitdilya in Hupa.

<sup>5</sup>Supplementary terms allowed of their being distinguished also. Thus, wonik-u-lego' [up leap] for the Jumping Dance in Yurok.

<sup>6</sup>The child-curing "Brush" dance is made in a partly dismantled dwelling house, the pain-cooking "Kick" dance for shamans in a sweathouse, the War Dance and Girl's Adolescence Dance outdoors--but they are made in any appropriate structure or spot, not in a particular one predestinated by custom. The same holds for the rare or legendary dances to recover captured souls and restore and disinfect those who seemingly had died.

<sup>2</sup>Except at Weltspus, where the feature has presumably been lost, and at Inā'm, where two pits are used which are the presumable remains of a former house and sweathouse.



"world-renewal dance" or "major dance" only. The Jumping and Deerskin dances shared many of their accessory accoutrements; were both enacted by men standing abreast in one spot, and the whole rank invariably in a prescribed place; and were danced with a slow step to plaintive, wordless tunes sung only by the one to three dancers in the middle of the line. The regalia worn and carried in both were regarded as treasures and together with dentalium shells constituted the main wealth of the tribes, such as was also used in shamans' fees, bride prices, weregild, injury compensations, and inheritance of rank. The two dances gave the owners of the regalia their chief opportunity for public ostentation of treasures: they have accordingly been characterized as "wealth-displaying." By contrast, the dancers were little more than mankins exhibiting the treasures, and performed for the pleasure of participation<sup>7</sup>--though the singers were chosen by informal public esteem for the quality of their voices or melodic inventiveness. Meanwhile, the hereditarily wealthy men of the town and of the customarily associated neighbor towns would be equipping and managing the several sets or parties of dancers. Their wealthy friends from a distance assisted them with voluntary--and reciprocated--contribution of dance-wear treasures. These cooperative arrangements were determined by personal and family connections; they were voluntary and might be abrogated; no one had any prescriptive right or duty to be responsible for a dance party at a distant ritual; but they often did participate as honored contributors visiting fifty miles and more away from home.

The two major dances always were repeated; usually for one or two or occasionally up to five days by the Karok, for ten to sixteen days among the Hupa and Yurok. Each song lasted perhaps three minutes, on the average. But each set or party ordinarily danced to three songs on each appearance; it might appear two or three times on one day; and there might be up to five parties participating. The number of separate dances--or songs--on one day might thus range from two or three to thirty or perhaps fifty. The considerable monotony of performance that might easily accumulate in a series of days was lessened by two factors. One of these was a slow but steady increase in the number of dancers, in the spiritedness of their performance, and in the gorgeousness of their apparel: everything worked toward a deferred climax of effect. The second device was the introduction of minor variations into the dance: such as changes of locale by means of progressive stations in a journey; or an approach made by dancing in boats; or a special figure or effect in a final dance.

Though the dances are rigorously bound by the sanctions of hallowed custom to particular manners, paraphernalia, and spots, there is almost nothing in these manners and features that is magically expressive, or symbolic, in the way that the esoteric parts of the rituals are symbolically magical. The dress and actions of the dancers, the wordless songs, are almost wholly "arbitrary," in the sense that they have no reference or ulterior meaning, either to the natives or ourselves. An occasional exception, such as the statement that the stamping of the dancers helps to firm and reestablish the earth, seems secondary and is generic. All in all, the special character-

<sup>7</sup>They were poor men, youngish men, youths, and boys. Treasure-owners were not debarred, but would ordinarily feel too dignified or occupied to dance.

istics of the dances have evidently been developed largely out of the technological, accumulative, and wealth-emphasizing tendencies of the culture, and have then become associated with its magico-symbolic system; the nexus or functional relation of the two remaining an extrinsic or accidental one; though apparently not less close and compelling on that account.

The differences between the thirteen rituals within the frame of the world-renewal system are evidently due to fortuitous or unexplained associations similar to this esoteric-exoteric association. Certain groupings of rituals within the system seem to be the result of local inter-influences and connections; though these have sometimes become interrupted.

Thus, as regards particularity, Hupa alone has a first-fruits feast for the acorn crop, a lean-to screen as "house" for its two separate Jumping dances, plus a Deerskin Dance--all associated with a sacred dwelling house in Takimikding. There is also a first-salmon taking like those of Welkwāu and Amaiklaram, but it is not associated with the same sacred house, and hence may be reckoned as outside the Takimikding complex. All the Hupa features except the acorn feast have analogues elsewhere, but the combination of specificities is strictly local. The Takimikding world renewal is rich in content, but its parts are very loosely aggregated and strung along over much of the year.

Kepel is featured by a "dam" or weir to take salmon--at the peak of the run, not at its beginning. This weir is the greatest mechanical undertaking of the tribes in question. Its building has afforded opportunities for many expressive acts of magic to be developed, and around these again there have grown up little playful dramatic enactments. Several items at Kepel seem Karok-derived. The Deerskin and concluding Jumping Dance follow on the dam construction, and appear to be but loosely connected with it, being actually held at other towns in the same reach of river.

Weitspus has dances that are very similar to those of Kepel, but it manifests a striking minimum of magical and esoteric ritual.

These three rites of the Hupa and upper Yurok geographically separate those made by the upstream Karok from another group made by the downriver and coastal Yurok and Wiyot. Of the four Karok ceremonies, three are definitely similar to one another; again, four lower Yurok ones form another uniform group; while one Karok and one Yurok enactment pair into a unit in being based on a first-salmon rite.

The three related Karok rituals are all called by the same name "irahiv," are interdetermined calendrically, and they most specifically emphasize new-year and world-renewal concepts. They include long and repeated itineraries by the formulist, target-shooting picnics by the uninitiated, a sacred new fire that may not be looked at, and a symbolic sand pile called yuhpīt. They are followed by a one- or two-day Deerskin Dance, but contain no trace of a Jumping Dance. Within this group, the Inā'm ritual, farthest upstream, is somewhat aberrant in having no sacred structure, and--with KatimIn--in permitting the War Dance and surrogate Deerskin dances; but these appear to be losses due to marginal situation within the system.

The four downriver and coast Yurok rituals have only Jumping dances, which are mostly made indoors and last for ten or more days. The world-reestablishment aim is

expressed most fully through the symbolism of the ritualized rebuilding of a sacred sweathouse, whose timbers, strangely enough, are several times treated as if they were a corpse. In this rebuilding the formulist is assisted by the group of men (and women) called *tā̄t*, who, moreover, sing with him through the night in a special hybrid structure called the *tā̄t* sweathouse. Indoor dances with headbands occur also among the coastal Tolowa and coastal Wiyot, though in associations which are not included by the Indians in the world-renewal system; and since indoor Jumping dances are not performed by the Yurok above Pekwon, it seems reasonable to construe the present group of world renewals as having grown out of a set of less specialized indoor dances and rites common to the coast region of northern California.

By contrast, the Deerskin Dance may have had a Karok origin; or, more likely, since the Karok use in it also wolf and otter skins, and keep the dancing relatively brief, they may have originated the first idea, which was then elaborated and standardized among the Hupa or upper Yurok.

A definite annual "first-fruits" rite for salmon was made in spring by the Yurok at *Wełkwāu* at the mouth of the river and by the Karok at the fall at *Amaikiaram*. Both were esoteric performances by one formulist and his assistant. Among the Karok an outdoor Jumping dance--the only Karok one--is associated with the *Amaikiaram* rite; although it follows it at several months' interval, and seems to have little of its own that is esoteric. The Yurok have both a myth and traditional "remembrance" of a Deerskin dance that was associated with the first-salmon-rite house at *Wełkwāu*. The tradition may have a basis of fact or of imagination; in any event the connection of salmon rite and dance was loose, as at *Amaikiaram*. The *Amaikiaram* ritual, though possessing characteristic Karok features, such as taboo of the smoke of the new fire, is well set apart from the other Karok ceremonies; while its acceptance of the Jumping Dance and functioning of sweathouse singers corresponding to *tā̄t* suggest Yurok influencing. The Hupa have a definite first-salmon rite, also in spring, but it seems to lack intrinsic connection with the sacred house and associated renewal-dancing-first-fruits complex.

The one Wiyot new-year-type rite is so little known

that it is included in our list only because the Yurok so reckon it. As the dance was held indoors with woodpecker-scalp bands, it may be assumed to have resembled the coast and lower river Yurok ceremonies.

The number of persons who were involved in the development and maintenance of this rich and varied ritual system was surprisingly small. There were about 2,500 Yurok; 2,000 Karok; 1,000 or 1,500 Hupa according to how far upstream one draws their boundary. Some 2,000 or 2,500 additional Wiyot, Tolowa, and Chilula may have participated as occasional dance spectators and contributors of regalia or treasures. This means that the total clientele of the system consisted of fewer than 10,000 individuals--probably around 6,000 to 8,000. These in turn would comprise 1,500 to 2,000 adult males; or an average of 120 to 150 men responsible for the maintenance of each rite. This number is small enough to give almost every man a sense of participation; occasionally in the esoteric ritual, either personally or vicariously through a kinsman; more often as at least a minor contributor of regalia or entertainer of visitors. On the other hand, when it is considered how particularized each rite is from the others in innumerable details, and often in fundamental features, one inevitably acquires a respect for the gradual inventiveness and innovating faculty of the little nationalities in question. It is evident from their own statements that they wanted their world small, compact, closed, stable, permanent, and fixed. They believed that these very renewal rites were specially efficacious in keeping it so. But their created product, as we encounter it, manifests abundant diversity--enough to show that the forces of change customary in culture were operative here too and much as usual.

Our information was collected from the Indians at various times between 1900 and 1942. It has been kept separate according to author: Karok and Hupa data are Gifford's; Yurok, Kroeber's; except occasionally where contrarily noted in the text and tabulated contents. In the main, information has also been segregated according to the native informants who imparted it: a list of these appears in Appendix V. Our acknowledgments and thanks are due above all to these Karok, Hupa, and Yurok men and women, living and dead.

# THE KAROK CEREMONIES

(Gifford)

The Karok New Year ceremony established by the immortals (*ixkareya*) is called by the natives *irahiv* or *isivsanen pikiavish*, "refixing of the world," and is performed annually at three places on the Klamath River. These are, in order from upstream, Inam, at the mouth of Clear Creek, Katimin, above the mouth of the Salmon River, and Panamenik, below Orleans. Kroeber's Karok Towns<sup>1</sup> should be referred to for exact locations of most places mentioned in this paper. Drucker's account of the Panamenik ritual<sup>2</sup> gives minor localities in the vicinity of Orleans.

In general, the Karok ceremony consists of three main parts. The first is a period of usually not more than ten days during which the priest remains much in the sweat-house, fasts,<sup>3</sup> and prays for abundance of food, the elimination of sickness, and the stability of the world. He also visits sacred spots; and young men engage in archery contests. The second part is the climax of the ceremony, when the priest keeps an all-night vigil by a sand pile called *yuxpit*. This vigil is accompanied, and followed the next day, by the Deerskin Dance or its surrogate, an imitation affair employing branches instead of deerskins; at Inam and Katimin the War Dance is part of the dance ritual. The third part is the anticlimactic retreat of the priest and other officials.

The ceremony starts ten days before the disappearance of the waning moon; the "August" moon at Inam, the moon of a month later at Katimin and Panamenik. The priest's vigil is kept on the last night on which the waning moon is visible, or the dark of the moon. The Panamenik and Katimin *irahiv* are nearly synchronous. All informants agreed that the Katimin climax follows that of Panamenik; their estimates of the interval varied from one to three days. The priest repeats certain of the preliminary daily observances if it is thought he will finish too soon, i.e., if the moon phase has been misjudged.

Originally, according to the informant Shan Davis, the immortals held the three *irahiv* simultaneously. People were dying, however, from the powerful supernatural effects, so consecutive performances were arranged: Inam, Panamenik, Katimin. Sometimes the Katimin people have to do an extra day of target shooting and visiting of sacred places so that the climax of their *irahiv* may follow that of Panamenik; both ceremonies must come in the same moon.

In the *irahiv* ceremonies at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik, as well as in the First Salmon Ceremony at Amaiklaram, the priest represents the immortals who once performed these same rites in the same places. He goes where the immortals went and does what they did at specific spots. Every Karok formula begins and ends with the statement that the immortals acted thus and attained a certain result and that the same procedure is to be followed now. The immortals initiated everything that the Karok do; in other

words, they preordained Karok culture. One distinction may be noted. The Karok priest, as has been said, represents, rather than impersonates, the immortals. This is even true of the Hupa *Yinukatsisdai*, since the impersonator is known and is not regarded as the god materialized on earth among men. The priest of one sacred place may not serve in that capacity at another, thus further exemplifying the rigid localization of the three *irahiv* ceremonies.

This role of the priest as immortal is emphasized by the titles given him and by taboos enjoined on the public. The title of *ixkareya ara*, heard usually in its shortened form of *xadiara*, has the meaning of "immortal person" or "spirit person." This term and *fatawenan* are used interchangeably, although there is some evidence that *fatawenan* applies when the priest is visiting sacred spots and *xadiara* when he is performing some special act at the ceremonial center--such as igniting the sacred fire or eating. At such times the priest may not be looked at. Violation of this taboo makes the observer *aksanwa*, "unlucky." When the fire is to be lit on the climactic night, the people are warned to hide or at least to cover their faces so they will not see the blaze or smoke. Once the fire has burned down, they are told they may return or uncover. When the "spirit person" is eating, an assistant shouts a warning so no noise will be made.

There are also restrictions which the priest himself must observe. For two months after the ceremony he must eat and speak sitting and refrain from drinking water. For two or three months also he must not touch boards, since boards are used in burying the dead. If he does not fast, the animals may eat everything and cause a famine.

The upriver Karok (Katimin and upstream) say that the word "inam," the name of the Clear Creek ceremonial center, denotes the place of the *pikiavish* or *irahiv*. They apply it to Katimin and Panamenik as well as to the ceremonial center at Clear Creek, but it is not used for Amaiklaram, which is called "wenaram." Clear Creek Inam is referred to as *Kaha.inam* (upstream Inam) and Katimin and Panamenik as *Yusa.inam* (downstream Inam).

There is also variation in the use of structures for the world-renewal ceremonies. At Clear Creek (Inam) no living house or sweathouse is used. At Katimin and Panamenik the dwelling used for the ceremony is called *xadiara kiriviram*, "spirit person's living house." The one at Katimin is sacred and has no other purpose; the one at Panamenik is occupied at other times as a secular dwelling. At Amaiklaram, according to all informants, the sacred living house is called *wenaram* and is used ceremonially only for the First Salmon Ceremony; at other times it is occupied by a family. Contradictory statements were made about the application of the term "wenaram" to other sacred living houses. The sacred sweathouse is called *ixkareya kimachiram*, "spirit person's sweathouse," or *kimachiram iship*.

The only Karok ceremony of outright first-fruits type is the spring First Salmon Ceremony at Amaiklaram on the Klamath below the mouth of the Salmon River. This involves the esoteric functions of a priest, the cooking and eating of the first salmon by his assistant, and the priest's retreat for a specified number of days. The rite is called *iduramva*, in reference to the people's "running away and hiding." The Karok have no New Acorn Ceremony like the

<sup>1</sup>UC-PAAE 35:29-38.

<sup>2</sup>Karok World-Renewal, *ibid.*, pp. 23-28.

<sup>3</sup>The drunkenness of some modern priests is regarded as particularly reprehensible.

Hupa, but the Salmon and Acorn ceremonies have a common feature in the people's abstention from the new food until it has been ceremonially cooked and eaten by the officiating priest.

Two ceremonies were formerly performed at Amaikiaram--the First Salmon Ceremony in spring and the Jumping Dance in July--but the natives assert there is no connection between them. The Jumping Dance requires the ministrations of a priest who remains in sweathouse seclusion during most of the ten-day dance period.

The two great ritual dances of the Karok, the Deerskin Dance and the Jumping Dance, both called "wuwuhina," are not pikiavish or irahiv in themselves, although the Deerskin comes only with the irahiv, never preceding it. The Jumping Dance priest is not called xadiara or fatawenan, but ixmeavasan; nor does he visit sacred spots, as does the fatawenan. No designation corresponding to irahiv or iduramva was obtained for this ceremonial. J. P. Harrington states<sup>4</sup> that the Jumping Dance at Amaikiaram started at the new moon of the month Ahavarakusra, "July." Since the priest begins his fast when the dance begins, the ceremony is obviously different from the world-renewal ceremonies at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik, where the priest should begin his duties ten days before the new moon and the Deerskin Dance. The Deerskin Dance, moreover, lasts three days at most, in contrast to the ten-day Jumping Dance.

At Katimin, the War Dance (sivstap) is the terminal performance of the annual New Year ceremony, being performed the day following the last Deerskin Dance or its surrogate. At Inam it is performed annually before the priest begins his sacred duties, and he may participate. At Panamenik and Amaikiaram, this dance forms no part of the ritual; hence, at Inam and Katimin, it has the appearance of a late addition.

In all three dances (Deerskin, Jumping, War) the dancers stand in a row. The difference is in regalia, objects carried, steps, and songs. When the Deerskin and Jumping dances are at their climax of magnificence, the spectators usually weep as they think of departed relatives who formerly attended or participated.

#### TERMS USED

##### Kroeber's Terms

In the Handbook, Kroeber gives a Karok religious vocabulary<sup>5</sup> which includes a number of terms pertaining to the world-renewal ceremonies, as well as some relating to the First Salmon Ceremony and the Jumping Dance. Those terms pertinent for the present paper are quoted below.

ihkareya-kupa, ordained by the former spirit race, sacredly established.

wuwuhina, any great dance, either the Jumping or the Deerskin dance.

wuwuhansh, those who make or provide for such a dance.

ishkaship, "leap up," the Jumping dance.

isivsanan pikiavish, "making the world," the "new year's" ceremonies at Katimin, Amaikiara, etc.

isivsanan pikiavan, "world maker," the old man who recites the formula for this rite.

fata-wen-an, another name for him at Amaikiara.  
sharuk-iruhishrihan, "down hill he eats salmon," or sharuk-amavan, "down hill he leaves salmon," the assistant in the Amaikiara ceremony.

ahup-pikiavan, "wood maker," the woman assistant who cuts firewood; there are two at Katimin.

imushan, the male assistant at Katimin.

wen-aram, the sacred house at Amaikiara associated with the "new year's" rite.

kimachiram iship, the sacred "sweat house" of the corresponding Katimin ceremony.

isivsanan iktatik, "makes firm the world," a sacred stone kept in this house.

##### Gifford's Terms

ahopikiyavan, "wood maker," female wood gatherer, serving at the First Salmon Ceremony, more or less comparable to the ikiyavan of the irahiv ceremonies.

asipakramlem, "to put the hand in the food basket [asip]," male counterparts of the ikiyavan. Formerly these were two virgin boys who served with the priestesses at Panamenik. At Katimin the word was heard as "asipakramniwan" ("reachers into the pot").

ekaniyakuna, "crooked ixkareya," the ten small sacred stones set on top of the sweathouse to look downriver, used at the Amaikiaram salmon ceremony and the Panamenik world-renewal ceremony.<sup>6</sup>

fatawenan,<sup>7</sup> or ixkareya ara (xadiara), the priest who knows the sacred formula, the indispensable ceremonial officiant. His character is indicated by the title ixkareya ara, "spirit person."

ikiyavan, the two young women who assist the priest. At Katimin and Panamenik they are distinguished by special titles, avakomahuwan, "leader," and ifusahuwan, "follower." They may well be termed priestesses. They form the sand pile or yuxpit and cook acorn meal ceremonially; the Katimin ikiyavan make a miniature figure of sacred Mt. Offield with damp sand from the leaching basin.

imnanvan, the builder of the stone wall, an officiant at Inam only. His duty is to erect a U-shaped stone wall a month before the main ceremony begins.

imusan or imushan, assistant priest, a title translated as "the one who looks after," meaning the one who cares for the priest.

ipnipavan, a past priest. The term is said to mean "one who has gone out," i.e., out of the sweathouse, with the implication that another, a new priest, has taken his place. Such past priests serve today as assistant priests and as instruc-

<sup>6</sup>Cf. use at Kepel Dam Ceremony, Waterman and Kroeber, *Kepel Fish Dam*, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup>Fatawenan: wenan, "doing something"; fata, meaning not clear, but Emily Donahue said it means "what are." The stem wen also appears in wenaram, the sacred living house, and wenati, the acts of the priest which may not be seen by the public.

<sup>4</sup>Tobacco among the Karuk, BAE-B 94:83.

<sup>5</sup>Handbook, p. 107.

tors for the functioning priests. The term is also used for past priestesses (ikiyavan). The ipnipavan paints the priest and may accompany him at times.

irahiv,<sup>8</sup> a term commonly used, equivalent to isivsanen pikiavish; apparently restricted to the climactic two days and night of the world-renewal ceremonies at Panamenik, Katimin, and Inam. Not applied to the ceremony at Amaikiaram.

ishrivansa, the archers participating in the world-renewal ceremonies. There are none in the Amaikiaram First Salmon Ceremony or the Jumping Dance.

isivsanen iktatik, "post of the world," the priest's wooden seat at Katimin, according to Mary Ike. When the priest is performing his sacred duties, he is said to be putting new posts under the world: iktatik, "post"; isivsanen, "world."<sup>9</sup>

isivsanen pikiavan, "world repairer," a title for the priest of the world-renewal ceremony. See also fatawenan.

isivsanen pikiavish, "world repairing" or "world remaking," the full designation for each of the three world-renewal ceremonies at Panamenik, Katimin, and Inam. The term used now by both Indians and whites is pikiavish.

ixkareya, the immortal race believed to have preceded the Karok in their present territory. Equivalent of the Yurok "woge" and the Hupa "kixunai."

ixmeavasan, the priest of the Jumping Dance.

kifaran or xokiferan, the male instructor of the priest, the female instructor of the priestesses. Also the instructor of the priest of the Jumping Dance. Meaning: "to instruct a novice as to ritual actions, speech, and thought."

kixahansa, the burners of the brush on the sacred mountain, Mt. Offield, and at Bacon Flat on Orleans Mountain. They have not functioned recently, because of the United States Forest Service prohibition against setting fires.

pishishikiyavan, woman who cooks for the priest and his assistants.

sarukiruiishrihan, the assistant priest for the First Salmon Ceremony at Amaikiaram, the counterpart of the imusan.

uwenati, "fixing the world" (?), a term given for the acts of the priest which are not to be watched by the public.

wenaram, the sacred living house at Amaikiaram.

By some informants applied also to sacred living houses at Panamenik and Katimin.

<sup>8</sup>Mary Ike and Mamie Offield thought that irahiv probably meant "to fix up as for a festival." Pressed for a derivation, they said that ira is the name for poison oak but they thought that was certainly not its meaning in the word irahiv. Georgia Orcutt said that irahiv refers to the last two days of the world-renewal ceremonies and to everyone's being enlivened and happy. Her conception of the psychic effects of the ceremonies was phrased as follows: "At the beginning of the pikiavish, it looks like everything down, nobody happy. Pikiavish means making the world bright. Fatawenan fixed it so everything is coming up nice."

<sup>9</sup>See the account of the Rekwol ceremony for the same or related concept.

xopitxariwan, sweathouse companions of the priest,<sup>10</sup> who stayed nightly in the sweathouse to keep the priest awake. On the climactic night they have a separate fire near the sacred sand pile (yuxpit).  
yuxpit, sacred sand pile.

#### THE KAROK CALENDAR

According to Harrington's Karok calendar<sup>11</sup> the year begins with the month of the world-renewal ceremonies at Katimin and Panamenik, "September." This month and the two succeeding ones are named, the remaining ten are numbered. The calendar Gifford obtained from Mary Ike begins the year with the first of the ten numbered months, "December," ending with the three unnumbered (named) ones, which seems a more reasonable scheme. In Appendix IV Kroeber discusses the Harrington calendar and the possibility that the use of the term "New Year" for the September world-renewal ceremonies may have led to the shifting of the beginning of the year counts from solstitial December to equinoctial September. However, in 1877 Stephen Powers made no mention of a new-year concept in connection with the Karok world-renewal ceremonies, though he did clearly set forth the world-renewal idea:<sup>12</sup>

"The first of September brings a red-letter day in the Karok ephemeris, the great Dance of Propitiation, at which all the tribe are present, together with deputations from the Yurok, the Hupa, and others. They call it sif-san-di plk-i-á-vish, (at Happy Camp, sú-san-ni nk-i-á-vish), which signifies, literally, 'working the earth.' The object of it is to propitiate the spirits of the earth and the forest, in order to prevent disastrous landslides, forest fires, earthquakes, drought, and other calamities."

Concerning the First Salmon Ceremony, Powers wrongly speaks of a dance and of the sacred fire being made in the sweathouse. Apparently he uses the term "dance" in the general sense of a ceremony:<sup>13</sup>

"In the vernal season, when the winds blow soft from the south, and the salmon begin to run up the Klamath, there is another dies fastus, the dance for salmon, of equal moment with the other [i.e., the world-renewal ceremony of September]. They celebrate it to insure a good catch of salmon. The Kareya Indian [priest] retires into the mountains and fasts the same length of time as in autumn. On his return the people flee, while he repairs to the river, takes the first salmon of the catch, eats a portion of the same, and with the residue kindles the sacred smoke in the sudatory. No Indian may take a salmon before this dance is held, nor for ten days after it, even if his family are starving."

In both Harrington's and Mary Ike's calendars the names are the same. The month of the ceremonies at Katimin and Panamenik is called by the same name in both and is equat-

<sup>10</sup>Perhaps equivalent to the tât of the downriver and coastal Yurok.

<sup>11</sup>Harrington, pp. 81-83.

<sup>12</sup>Tribes of California, p. 28.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

ed to "September." This is, however, the first month of the year in Harrington's list, the eleventh month in Mary Ike's. Mary Ike's thirteenth month is the third named month, whereas Harrington's thirteenth month is the tenth numbered one, a reckoning confirmed by Georgia Orcutt, who gave the thirteenth month as "karukvakkusra."

Mary Ike's description of the calendar follows:

"The year (harinai) begins in the month of Christmas. The position of the sun at rising is indicative of the beginning of the first month istaxan, which begins with the new moon in the west. The moon-count starts with the winter sun turning back [tuparatanmaku, "turning back"]. In July is the longest day of the year and summer sun turning-back. In 'leap year' one extra moon is counted, thus three moons would be called four moons."

Mary's statement that the beginning of the first month is indicated by the position of the sun at rising as well as by the appearance of the new moon in the west is subject to modification, since these two events would not coincide each year. What she probably meant was that every moon (kusra) begins with the appearance of the new moon in the west and that the winter solstice indicates the current moon to be the first of a new year. Her remark concerning leap year suggests a correction of the calendar by the addition of a month, apparently to make the new-year count tally with the winter solstice. This implies that thirteen months are not counted annually. At Amaikiaram, the position of the sun when it rises above the ridge across the river to the east determines the time for the First Salmon Ceremony. It is likely that similar observations determine the time of the solstices.

The three months which are not numbered are spoken of as "thrown away." This means that they are not numbered, but only named. These are the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth months in Mary Ike's listing below. Harrington's calendar should be consulted for synonyms.

1. istaxan. This begins with the new moon in the west and is the month of Christmas. The position of

the sun at rising indicates the "beginning" of istaxan. This month is called istaxan kusraxem, "bad month."

2. axkaxan.

3. kuiraxan.

4. piswaxan. This is the time of pitvaraiwa, "looking around house in vain for food." This month women begin digging tayish, Indian "potatoes" with white blossoms, the first food plant to become available in the spring. In searching for it, people build fires in the open "prairies" to keep warm.

5. isropaxan. Root digging is better this month and thenceforth, and more kinds of roots are available.

6. ixrivkixan. Greens are picked this month. It is the usual month of the Amaikiaram salmon ceremony, although sometimes this comes a month earlier.

7. kakinivkixan.

8. kulyakinivkixan.

9. ahavarakusra. The day these data were recorded (July 8, 1939) fell in this month. Mary characterized the month as "animals in heat" month. It is the month of the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance.

10. karukvakusra. The month of the pikiavish at Inam. Mary translated the name as "upper river people's month," so named on account of the world-renewal ceremony at Inam. The climax of the ceremony comes in the dark of the moon at the end of this month. Equated to August.

11. okwaskusra. The month of the pikiavish at Panamenik and Katimin. The Inam people call this month yarukvakusra, "downriver people's month," in reference to these ceremonies. At Panamenik the world-renewal priest eats new acorns this month. This month is "thrown away," i.e., not numbered.

12. nasepkusra. This month is "thrown away."

13. bakuhakusra. "November." This month is "thrown away." This is the time for gathering fallen acorns. Bakuha refers to camping out for drying acorns. In this month the campers live in huts made of bark of the Douglas fir or other trees. They return to the permanent villages when the winter storms set in.

# KAROK: INAM

(Gifford)

Inam, at the confluence of Clear Creek and the Klamath River, is the seat of a world-renewal ceremony which appears to be an attenuated version of the more pretentious affairs at Katimin and Panamenik. The Inam ceremony uses no sweathouse or sacred dwelling and has no body of priest's helpers, xopitxariwan, as do the more elaborate rituals. It has, however, one unique feature, the construction of a U-shaped stone wall a month before the main ceremony. In this a madrone branch or sapling is placed, suggesting the madrone branches brought by the salmon priest at Amaikiaram. Besides this preliminary, the ceremony itself has three parts: the ritual journeys of the priest, accompanied by archers who shoot at targets; the performance of the Deerskin and War dances; and the retreat made by the priest.

## Scheme: Inam

<u>Days</u> (Month previous)	<u>Archers</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Dances</u>
		Imnanvan piles stone wall; eats crayfish	
1-4	From Xumaru	Travels E of river; 3 fires on way	Deerskin Dance in boat; War Dance
5	From Clear Cr.	Travels W of river; 2 fires on way; evening, fire not looked at	War Dance; Deerskin Dance with otterskins
6	From Clear Cr.	Covers ashes of taboo fire; eats	(Gambling)
7		Goes into retreat at Tinxom-nipar	(Gambling)
8		In retreat at Tinxom-nipar	
9-12			

Gifford's principal informant was the priest, Francis Davis. Mary Ike, who had seen the ceremony twice, and Sally and Daisy Jacops, owners of regalia and promoters of the ceremony, also served as informants. Others were Ben Tom, Ben Goodwin, Jr., and Sandy Bar Joe.

The priests who served at Inam were Francis Davis, in 1935, 1938, 1939, and 1941, Jimmy Dick in 1937, and Ben Richards in 1942. In this last year Richards served on August 8 and 9 when the imitation Deerskin Dance, with branches instead of skins, and the War Dance were performed. He had served on other occasions: about 1925 or 1924 he had been the imusan, "assistant priest," for the priest, Charlie Sneed. Richards was born at Shivat'i, a little above Yuxrupmuvonum and across the river from Happy Camp.

Old Ned, or Ned Rasper, a former priest living at Ispakaunach, instructed the latter-day priests at Inam. The formulas (wenax) which he taught were all said to be in the downstream (or pure) Karok dialect.<sup>1</sup> He instructed the officiants in 1942, a quarter-breed named Harry Oates writing down the instructions. Ned died early in 1944, more than one hundred years old. Sally Jacops, the older of the Jacops sisters, had declared she would cease having the ceremony when Old Ned died, so perhaps Inam has now joined Panamenik in its abandonment.

Site of ceremonies.--According to Daisy Jacops, Ispakaunach, on the north bank of Clear Creek--near the mouth of the creek and west of the highway--was the place where the priest began and ended his world-renewal duties. Ispakaunach means "break over" and refers to the abrupt slope down to Clear Creek. This name probably designates only a portion of the Karok village, which Kroeber calls Apaka'i'pan, "on the flat."<sup>2</sup>

Here, where the Inam irahiv begins and ends, are two shallow depressions, 50 to 75 feet apart, called kaya wenam, "the place they make the medicine" or "where they pray." These are surrounded by low rims of swept ground. The first and larger depression is 12 to 15 feet, the surrounding rim 25 to 30 feet, in diameter. It is here, in this depression, that the fatawanan is fed. At one edge is a heap of earth 2 feet high, capped by a slab of stone. In this heap various stone paraphernalia, such as pestle and slab mortar and the slab on which the priest's food is laid, are buried between the annual ceremonies. The second depression, 8 to 10 feet in diameter and 18 inches deep, is called iki-fanam, "teaching place," because here the priest is instructed in his duties before he starts on his ritual journeys.

Daisy Jacops said there were formerly two sweathouses at this village, but neither was used by the priest.

At Clear Creek schoolhouse are two 3-foot depressions, only 3 or 4 inches deep, used as fireplaces for competing teams of archers from upstream and downstream. These teams shoot at eight target places in turn, going up the hill. At the top, on a level flat, the competing teams have two more fireplaces side by side where the final competition is held. The target places, called ipsatich, are slight depressions swept out on the slope; at the back of each is set up the paxas, or fence, built of erect fir branches.

In a sandy place at Yusarnimanimas (in the present Clear Creek automobile tourist camp) there is a flattish, unworked, circular stone, one foot in diameter. (See pl. 1, a.) Here the priest sits to make the world solid.

Taboos.--No one may drink from or bathe in Clear Creek from the second moon (January-February)<sup>3</sup> till after the stone piling in July, a month before the pikiavish. No food may be collected along the creek until the imnanva, "stone piling," is over. After the pikiavish at Takiripak begins, Clear Creek water is again used for drinking and food may be taken from the borders of the creek until the second

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, Karok Towns, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup>The Jacops sisters, quoted beyond, said March.

moon of the next year. The creek is taboo for a half year every year. A person who breaks the taboo becomes aksanwa, "unlucky." The taboo applies to both banks of the creek and to the west bank of the Klamath down to Xumaru opposite Ferry Point.

From the second moon until the Inam irahiv is over it is taboo to take trout or steelhead anywhere down to a mile above Katimin, with one exception: steelhead may be taken when the arrow shooting begins at Xumaru. If not taken then, it is taboo until the end of the Inam irahiv, some days later. Salmon may be taken, however.

#### PRELIMINARY STONE PILING

The stone wall, U-shaped with the opening facing the sacred mountain Astexewa<sup>4</sup> to the northwest of Clear Creek, is constructed at Imnanvaram on the river at the mouth of the creek just before the old moon disappears. Once the stones are piled, the pikiavish has to be given a month later, lest misfortune ensue. Each year the high water washes the wall away.<sup>5</sup> In 1939 it was built on July 12 by Dillon Myers, a full-blood Karok; views of this structure are shown in plate 1, c and d. When these pictures were taken, a small fresh madrone branch rested against the rear wall, its purpose being to induce a good run of salmon in 1940; not 1939, according to Francis Davis and Mary Ike.

The construction of this wall is called imnanva. The man who piles the stones is not the priest, but another officiant, the imnanvan. He is selected or offers his services, and nowadays may be paid, like the priest, by a public collection. Formerly, he was not paid; men were anxious to officiate for the good luck the service brought. The imnanvan must hold his breath from the time he picks up a stone until he puts it down, wishing for plenty of food, etc., as he does so. No one must watch him; people are supposed to move up Clear Creek where they cannot see the work. A man serving for the first time builds the wall until, kneeling, he can just view the mountain over the top of the pile; if a later service, he need pile only to his shoulders when kneeling. The width of the U is about six feet.

As the imnanvan piles the stones, he prays for abundant food, for luck and health for his family and all the other families. He prays in a whisper, not loud enough for others to hear, and only when piling the cobbles. He starts to pile stones around 10 a.m. If a stone is dislodged, it must be discarded; it would be bad luck to use it again.

After completing the stone wall, about 2 p.m., the imnanvan goes to the river and catches with his bare hands ten crayfish (xansun), which he cooks in hot coals and eats. If he cannot catch ten, he eats what he catches. He has fasted and gone without drinking all day until this meal. Then he wades up Clear Creek, takes a mouthful of water to rinse his mouth, spits it out, and walks up the hill. He drinks directly from the creek. Then he goes down the Klamath to near Ferry Point (Tinxomnipar, where the Jacops live). There he stays for five days in retirement, eating only acorn mush and salmon. He eats twice a day, morning and evening, swimming before and after each meal; he may swim

oftener. He keeps tally of the times swum by inserting sticks in the ground where he stays. The more he swims, the better the luck for himself and everybody. He remains outdoors the whole time, in the willows by the river. He wears no special costume or paint. No noise must be made near him. Someone shouts "Kaiko aksanwai" to warn people not to make a noise or disturb him.

The title of the two women who cook for the fatawanan is ikiyavan, according to Francis Davis. (At Katimin and Panamenik the ikiyavan are the priestesses; the cook is called pishishkiyavan.) One ikiyavan cooks by the river for the imnanvan. On the sixth morning she makes a neat pile, about two feet high, of the cooking stones and covers them with sand. She must not touch the imnanvan, it would bring her bad luck. This taboo applies through the five days of seclusion. She may talk with him, however.

In 1938 Ben Goodwin, Jr., husband of Francis Davis' sister, was imnanvan. Sally Jacops attended him, cooking the mush and salmon for him. He caught only seven crayfish; if he had caught ten, it would have been better luck for everybody. The Jacops sisters feed not only the imnanvan, but also the fatawanan.

In 1942 Mr. Harry Oates was imnanvan.

#### INAM CEREMONY

Aged Mary Ike saw the Inam ceremony for the second and last time about 1919. She did not go often because it was too far from her home at Ashanamkarak. Mamie Ofield, Katimin interpreter in 1939, had never been to the Inam pikiavish.

Notes from Mary Ike.--On the first day of the ceremony, about a month after the stone piling at Imnanvaram, archers start shooting arrows at Xumaru on the east side of the Klamath at Ferry Point. This target shooting is called ishriiv, a term used also at Katimin and Panamenik. The arrows have points of serviceberry wood, not stone. After the first day's shoot, the archers move to Yusarnimanimas (Little Yuser) near McCann's ranch on the west side of the Klamath, where they spend the night and feast on acorn soup, etc.

Next day they move up to Yusarnimkan (Big Yuser), also near McCann's, where the priest joins them. When he arrives, a man paints him all over with a red rock pigment called asafun. The priest then jumps from an elevation into a boat. The women who see him do this wish at the moment that there will be plenty of acorns.<sup>6</sup> He is ferried to the east side of the river, where the young men shoot arrows into a tree. A man whose arrows fail to stick is thought doomed to early death. (This belief is not held at Katimin and Panamenik.) The tree used as target has many arrows sticking in its trunk.

Upon their return from shooting at the tree the men do the boat dance, without regalia, while they ferry the priest back to the west bank. When dancing in boats at other times, they use otterskins, which belong to the Jacops sisters. Then they move upstream to Takiripak on the west bank.

On the third day the priest goes to Mt. Astexewa and the men shoot again. After he returns, they dance the "Deerskin" Dance at Takiripak, using various skins (raccoon, otter, fisher, fox, etc., but no deerskins); they no longer use deerskins when they dance on land. They carry river

<sup>4</sup>Astexewa, "rock full of moss"; also translated as "mountain full of rocks."

<sup>5</sup>It did not do so in the winter of 1938-1939.

<sup>6</sup>At Katimin and Panamenik also the priest is painted red, but he does not jump into a boat.



cobbles for "flints" (i.e., obsidian blades). Then they have a big feast.

The priest also visits a sacred oak which stands next a cabin in the automobile camp at Clear Creek. It is of the species *Quercus garryana*, axawep; its acorn is called axwam.

When the priest's duties are ended, he goes into retreat at Inam. He bathes before each meal and anoints himself with deer marrow to get good luck in hunting. In recent years Daisy and Sally have served as cooks for the priest during his retreat.

Mary understood that at Inam they never danced with obsidians but had only flat stone imitations; also that they used branches instead of deerskins. Otterskins, owned by the Jacops sisters, were used only in the regular "Deerskin" Dance. The Jacops sisters lent theirs to Hupa in 1929 and earlier. Inam people went to Katimin with their real deerskins and danced there, but on account of the death of a former owner deerskins were no longer used at Inam.

Mary Ike saw the Inam boat dance in which performers carried fisher and otter skins and branches and used flat stones instead of obsidian blades. Also, on her two visits to Inam, she saw the War Dance, which did not require such an elaborate property display as the Deerskin Dance.

Mary knew only the Jacops sisters as the privileged promoters of the Deerskin Dance at Inam. Sally Jacops is also the "owner" of the imitation Deerskin Dance, sak wuwuha, and the boat dance with otterskins, called sɪvdu warak, "floating-down dance."

Notes from Sally and Daisy Jacops.--In 1940 the following notes were recorded, Ben Goodwin, Jr., acting as interpreter.

The waters of Clear Creek become taboo at the March new moon and may not be drunk until after the Inam irahiv in August. From the irahiv until the following March, the creek water may be drunk.

For the boat dance at Inam only branches from mountain fir (yilp) are carried by performers. The branches are stuck in the belt and protrude upward; some are also placed on the head under the headband. The same foliage is used in the War Dance. It is kept and used as medicine tea for children.

Formerly the Deerskin Dance was performed with actual deerskins, but other hides were also used. For instance, two otterskin quivers (akawakiri, "quiver") were carried by the end dancers. Now the dance is given annually, but entirely with other skins, not deerskins. The many-stick gambling game is played for two days after the dance.

Sally confirmed Mary Ike's statement that a sweathouse was never used by the priest at Inam, although there were sweathouses for men. Also, there was no sacred living house for the priest; he remained outdoors.

In 1942, Sally and Daisy Jacops, through Mrs. Emily Donahue as interpreter, gave further details of the Inam ceremony. The terms irahiv and pikiavish are applied only when the priest begins his duties. The priest's formulas are not spoken by anyone until time comes to instruct the new priest, except that in December young people, both boys and girls, are told about the ceremony. When the priest is instructed, others may listen. (These two last statements are contrary to descriptions of practice elsewhere in Karok territory.)

When the priest officiates, he uses tobacco, not tishwuf, "incense root." He offers tobacco to the various mountains. Nowadays store tobacco may be used, though a limited amount of Indian tobacco is still planted.

Shavings, pared off with a stone knife from a bow, are used to rub the paint off the priest. The shavings and pigment are later used for deer hunters' lucky medicine, which one may obtain from the priest on request.

Only people who are fasting should watch the priest when he officiates. Once he looks back after he has crossed the river, no one may watch him; the people should all hide.

Sally said the dance with various skins was called wuwuha, or wuwuhi ichwa, like the Deerskin Dance with deerskins. The only time she saw the latter, about 1910, was the last time the deerskins were used. After the owner of the skins died, their use was abandoned. It was not learned whether there was more than one party of dancers on this occasion; presumably there was only one. Sally and Daisy inherited from their mother's brother the privilege of giving the Deerskin Dance. Ben Goodwin, Sr., from Ishwripiit (Cottage Grove), "owned" it also, having inherited the privilege from his mother's brother. Mrs. Elfes was also an "owner"; she was from Tasaxa'ak (site of Clear Creek schoolhouse).

The Jacops sisters repeated their assertion that a sweat-house or sacred living house was never used in the Inam ceremony. Daisy served as cook for the priest for eight consecutive years. She did not cook for Ben Richards when he was priest in 1942, because of the death of her cousin.

Later, in discussing this, Mary Ike remarked that a person polluted by a death in the family, might not participate in ceremonial duties. He may, however, go to the pikiavish, if he wishes. A bereaved person gets paid at a pikiavish only if the Deerskin dance is performed.

At Inam the War Dance is first performed on the evening before the priest begins his duties, and he may dance in it. Afterwards it is danced every evening during the irahiv, but the priest does not participate again. This daily performance contrasts with the single performance at Katimin, which ends the pikiavish there.

Notes from various informants.--Ben Goodwin, Jr., who acted as interpreter for Sally Jacops in 1940, had served as imnanvan in 1938. Ben said that the willow-root fire drill for the Inam pikiavish still existed but that the cedarbark hearth had been lost. He said that the priest must hold his breath when drilling fire and that the drill must be held vertical, not slanting, or the world would become unsteady and there would be sickness.

Ben Tom, an old man who had always been poor and was not a dance "owner," said that Daisy and Sally Jacops were the "owners" of the wuwuhi ichwa or Inam dance, having inherited the dance from their mother, Mary Jacops, and her brother, Xumaru Jack, former residents of Xumaru. Ben said that Xumaru Jack was also an "owner" of the Katimin Deerskin Dance.

At Inam the pikiavish priest was the formulist for the dance. In reply to a question concerning medicine made for the War Dance, Ben Tom said the Karok made medicine (bidish) for everything and in this dance they did so in order to sing well.

According to Sandy Bar Joe, Sally Jacops took up a collection of thirty dollars to pay Ben Richards to serve as priest at Inam in 1942. Such payment is a modern practice at Inam and Katimin; none was made in former times. Sandy Bar Joe said there were formerly two ikiyavan at Inam.

Notes from Francis Davis.--Francis Davis knew of no sweathouse in connection with the Inam ceremony. In the formula-story the priest recites there is no mention of a

sweathouse. Francis Davis thought that the two circular depressions where the priest begins and ends his formulas might be old house pits, but he knew no house names for them.

The xopitxariwan of Katimin (who sit by the priest when he stands up on the last night) are unknown at Inam. The informant, as a small boy, served as xopitxariwan at Katimin; his face was painted red.

The arrow shooting in 1939 began on August 8, seven days before the dark of the moon. The decision who was to be priest was reached by the Jacops sisters, the rich people who were promoters of the ceremony, just as Peter Henry was the moving spirit at Katimin.

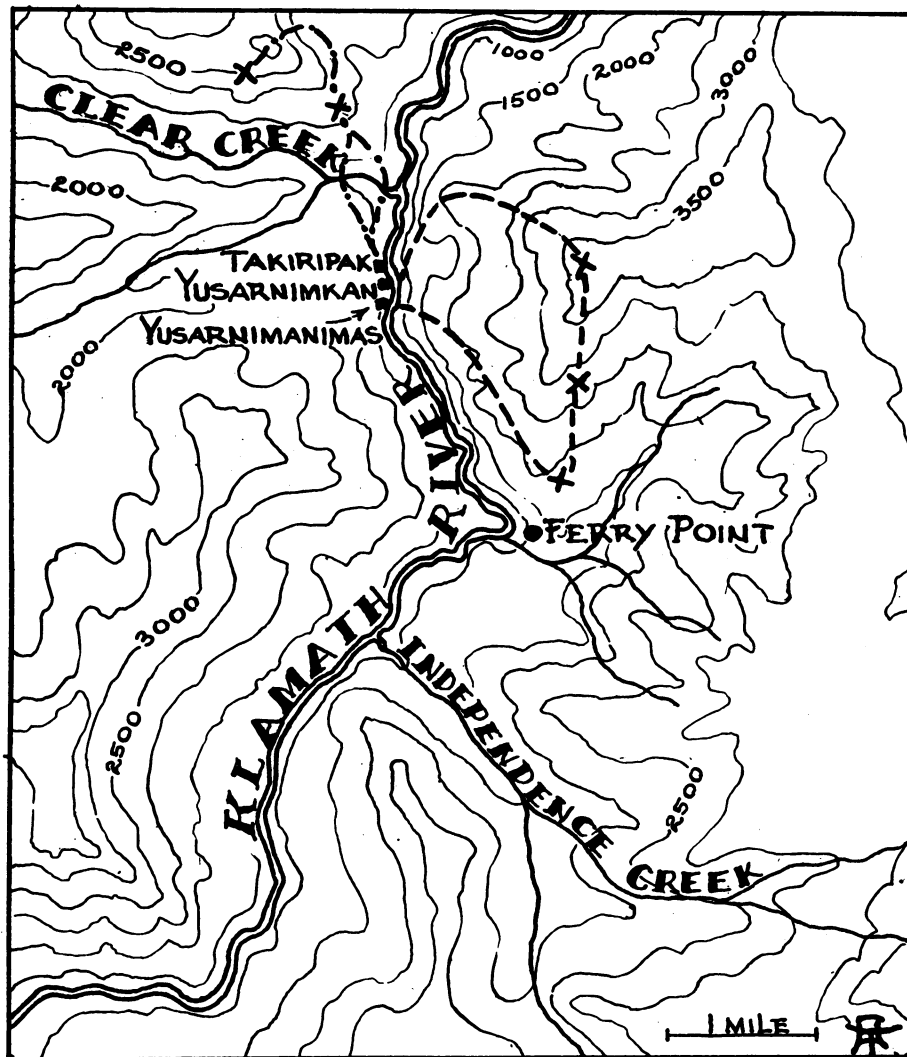
Davis agreed that piklavan and piklavish refer to "fixing" rather than "making." Isivsanen piklavan is a term applied to the priest. He is also called xadiara, but only when he travels and represents the *ixkareya*; when seated, he is the *fatawenan*. *Wenara* means "to pray"; *wenaram*, "where one prays," is not necessarily a house, it may be any place the priest prays. The ceremony established by the immortals is called *irahiv*.

Once, after serving as priest, Francis Davis spent thirty days in retreat. After the 1938 ceremony he broke a taboo when he drove across Bluff Creek in an automobile, taking his aunt and cousin back to Hoopa school. He offset this breach by passing a burning stick over his own head and the heads of his passengers.

#### 1938 CEREMONY

On July 17, 1939, Francis Davis gave an account of the 1938 ceremony for which he officiated as priest. That year there was no *imusan* or *ipnipavan*, so Dillon Myers painted the priest, as he did in 1935 and 1936. Map 2 shows Davis' route on his ritual journey in 1938.

The people camped at Xumaru for four days, commencing seven days before the dark of the moon in August. For five days they shot arrows. The arrows used had a serviceberry foreshaft inserted in a shaft of syringa wood, and three half-feathers were lashed on each arrow with deer sinew. Each archer made his own two arrows, which were retrieved, used again, and finally brought home. Old-style



Map 2. Route of Inam Priest, 1938

bows, sinewbacked but not painted, were used. The shooting was competitive, the target being a peg set in the ground in front of a brush fence. The shooting-place was cleared of shrubs and grass. Boys without bows accompanied the archers to some of the places, but girls went only as far as the first target place and then returned to camp.

There were ten places at which they shot at targets. On the first day they shot at Surukunwunup on the east bank, where Independence Creek enters the Klamath. For the second day's contest they crossed in boats to Tasaxa'ak on the west bank, where Clear Creek schoolhouse stands. They began shooting there and continued up the hill, shooting at eight target places. A peg was set in the ground as a target in front of a screen of fir branches which stopped the arrows. On the third day they shot at eight target places at Achipmakai; on the fourth day again at the same eight places as the second day.

(In 1938 Francis Davis was the only archer, accompanied by his little sons; this was before he began his duties as priest. Obviously this part of his account is of the ideal rather than the actual situation in 1938. In 1935 there were a number of archers.)

Those who came nearest the mark scored, and the best won the bet. The archers were divided in opposing teams. All who bet shared winnings. The archers went without drink or food until they returned to camp about 2 p.m. On the fourth evening they moved camp from Xumaru, on the east side, to Yusarnimanimas, on the west (or Clear Creek) side of the Klamath.

On the four days of shooting the immortals were not represented. On the fifth day they were, and the shooting was where they once shot.

On the fifth morning the priest-elect began his duties by going before sunrise to the small depression at Inam. He became priest only upon entering it. In the bowl he built a fire and took off his clothes, except for shorts (cut-off overalls). He went to the creek, waded it, and proceeded to the bar at the mouth of Clear Creek.

Account by Francis Davis. --Davis' account of the 1938 ceremony follows.

"Between Yusarnimanimas and the mouth of Clear Creek I take a swim in the Klamath River. When I get into the water so it runs over my head, I pray. I think the prayer, I do not say it aloud. When I sink my head into the water, the world will recognize me and awaken everyone to a realization that it is the beginning of irahiv. When I pray, I pray for all to have luck. [Ixkareya animas, "smallest ixkareya," and ixkareya yakam, "big ixkareya," are mentioned in the prayer.]

"When I get out of the water, I put my shorts on again and go down the west bank of the river to a bedrock flat. As I walk along, I pray that all people who believe will walk as easily as I walk along this rough place. The ixkareya animas walked over this in mythical times. As I walk over it, I tramp it down, I make room for everyone to live well and for there to be no sickness in the world.

"Near Yusarnimanimas the people have placed a stone, which has lain there for long years. With my hands I rotate it slightly to make it sit more solidly, so that the world will be solid too. Everyone, when I move it around, will have the same power that ixkareya animas has. (Ixxkareya animas

is second to ixkareya yakam in power.) Then I sit on the stone. [No wooden stool is used.]

"While I sit on the stone, people come to see me. All who come to see me will be lucky. Besides I pray for everyone else. Then the ipnipavan paints me while I sit on the stone. [See pl. 1, a, b.]

"I am painted red all over. I have a black horizontal bar on my face below my eyes and across my nose; one around each upper arm, each lower arm, each thigh, each calf. Asafun, red rock powdered, is the red pigment. Ixtut, the black pigment, is made of charcoal and grease. Grease (usually deer fat) is mixed with the red pigment also. Anxut, a rectangular back-head net with feather fringe, is placed over my head. From back of it hangs a piece of mink hide. The net is not painted. The buckskin garment is already tied to fit me. I step into it. I do not pull it over my head. A strap of it passes over my left shoulder. My right arm is free. I get into this garment this way, so people will have good luck. If I get into it any other way, the good luck will not come. When I get all dressed, the ipnipavan takes a basket of tobacco and, while I walk to the boat, he spills it bit by bit from the basket and shouts: 'Everyone listen to my shouting and live long!' All who hear him will have long lives.

"I go toward the boat, praying as I step along slowly and easily, I pray that each who listens to the ipnipavan shouting will have good luck and long life, that all their children will have long lives and will have the power [sakriva, "personal power," "mana"]. When I jump down into the boat [about 30 in.], all the world will hear me and know that the ixkareya is fixing the world [e.g., getting rid of sickness].

"Two men paddle me across the river. I do not speak. If they speak to me, I do not answer. I pray as I cross the river. I say: 'I cross on this half-boat. Whoever watches me, will have the same luck as the ixkareya who crossed in a half-boat.' On the other side, I jump out of the boat and run up the bedrock slope. As I run up, I look back at the people over my right shoulder and pray that all those watching me will have the same luck as the ixkareya ara. When I look back over my shoulder, I pray that the ixkareya iffappit ['spirit women,' as distinguished from ixkareya ara, "spirit men"] will watch me. When they see me, I will be just like Pileated Woodpecker [furax] going up the bedrock point.

"Then the people turn their faces from me and look at me no more. I go down the east bank of the river about one-quarter mile, then I ascend a mountain. When I get on top of the little ridge, I shout from there, praying for many salmon for this year. Then I follow along the mountainside downstream. I go down on the ridge Ixxkurixba and pray there for more salmon. Then I go right on until I come to a cleared place about thirty feet in diameter, where I build a fire. This is about noon. As I clear the grass away with one little stick, I pray, saying: 'Ixxkareya animas is sweeping this out now. May there be no sickness in the world.' When I have thus cut down all the grass with my stick, I get a piece of bush or

branch (anything other than sugar pine, which belongs to the cemetery) and sweep with that and pray again: 'Ikkareya yakam is sweeping this time, sweeping all the sickness out of this world, All of those who are sick will be well.' As I sweep this, I sweep it over the edges of the world to the east and west. As I sweep I never face west, for I should not live long if I did. Also all prayers would fade away if I faced west.

"When I have finished sweeping, I start to gather my wood for the fire. I pile it so all pieces point north [karûku, "upstream"]. I pile any kind except sugar pine. It is piled so it comes to my shoulders when I kneel on my right knee. I put two pieces of moss at the base of the pile. One piece is just outside the pile. I have been carrying the fire drill in my left hand, lashed on to a stick with the tobacco and pipe. The tobacco is in a buckskin pipe case. These are all lashed together on the stick with a buckskin string. I never lay these down, but shove the end of the stick in the ground. In 1938 I used matches, although I carried the fire drill with me, as described. When the tinder is ignited, I apply it to the tinder at the base of the woodpile. I blow the fire with my hand, not with my mouth. If I blow with my mouth, everyone will have sore mouth all over the world.

"I pray when I throw the blazing tinder into the pyre: 'Ikkareya animas is praying that world luck will hold fast.' If the fire burns well, people's luck will be good. I stay till the fire burns down. This is about 2 p.m.

"Then I start up the mountain. I go up about two benches and arrive at a flat, where I pick up a piece of fallen fir limb. No other will do. This I use for my cane. I pray after picking up the branch: 'This world is cracked, but when I pick up and drag the stick, all the cracks will fill up and the earth will become solid again.'

"Then I climb to the mountaintop to build a fire there. I pick up a stick and knock down grass. Then I sweep it again with a branch. I gather my wood. I pile to shoulder height kneeling (always on my right knee). I kneel on my right knee on the left side of the woodpile, facing upstream. The wood lies pointing north. Then I get dry green-gray moss and make a fire as before. I pray as at the first fire. When the fire dies out, I go on. (The second fire is built on part of a great circle, which began with my going downstream. I swing around to form a circle which will bring me back to my starting point. So the second fire is off to the left as I start circling.)

"Now I am cutting back upstream, following along a ridge on the east side of the river to the third fire-place [maheda mishi, "biggest fireplace"]. I do the same thing there. I cut down the weeds with a stick. I sweep with a branch. This time I pray: 'Ikkareya-ara kestap ["biggest ikkareya"], I pray as I cut grass and twigs, that I am cutting down sickness in this world. When they are down, I will destroy them. All the people will have good luck and the children will have good luck.' Then I sweep away what I have cut down (using any kind of branch except sugar pine).

When I get the branches, I sweep the sickness away. I say to myself: 'Ikkareya kestap is sweeping sickness over the edges of the world to the east and the west. Ikkareya yakam will make it so the luck will not fade away, so it will stay, so there will be no sickness in the world.'

"Then I start gathering my sticks to build the fire. I pile it so it is shoulder high when I kneel, the sticks pointing upstream. (All day I have either kept in my left hand or upright beside men, the bundle with the fire drill. If I lay it down, all my prayers will be powerless.) I get the moss for tinder. I start the fire with a match.

"In the olden days, the priest had to produce the spark with the fire drill between breaths, to make his prayers more efficacious. I hold my breath while lighting the moss and tossing it onto the pyre.

"I stay there until the fire is out. Every now and then as I travel along I call at the top of my voice for salmon. I make the sound last as long as I can between breaths so my prayers will be more efficacious. 'Ama upat sanowich' is the expression meaning salmon [ama] calling.

"I have Indian tobacco in my stick carrier. I take some of it and say as I scatter it: 'May my praying be more efficacious and my life stronger.' 'I heda utai waraxti' is the Karok rendering of this. Tobacco is also scattered when I call for salmon.

"When I leave this fireplace, I turn to go down the ridge to the river. When I get halfway down the ridge there is a big stone near a sugar-pine tree. I pick up the stone and set it down solidly and pray as I work it into position: 'The earth, which has been tipped, will be straight again. People will live to be stronger.' Now I sit down on the stone. When I sit on the stone, the earth will never get up and tip again.

"Then I go on down the ridge, still dragging the stick for closing earth cracks. At the foot of the hill is a big madrone. I must pass to left around the tree (if to right, all the prayers and gifts would be spoiled). I leave my stick leaning against the uphill side of the madrone tree.

"During this fifth day the archers have shot arrows at the Xumaru shooting-place. Sometimes the priest is followed by young men who shoot arrows, but who must keep well behind him.

"I arrive at the riverbank before the sun has sunk below the western mountains. All day I have gone without food and drink (no breakfast). When I come to the shore, they see me and come after me with the boat. Two men ferry me across. At the landing-place on the bedrock about one hundred yards upstream from the embarkation point, I jump ashore and walk slowly to tramp down the world, so it will lie good again. I pray as I go for people to have good luck and long lives. Yusarnimkan is the camp I now enter.

"When I arrive, the ikiyavan has my food of salmon and acorns ready for me. People do not come near me till I am through eating. Before I eat, I bathe in the river, also after I eat. When I am

through, the people come up from the lower camp. They move up at notification by the ipnipavan that the priest is through."

Then they have the boat dance with otterskins on sticks. The boys that followed the priest dance the boat dance about an hour after the priest comes in. They do this as they cross the river from the east to the west. They carry bows and arrows, but wear no headbands. The dance is called ipsivruhawarak, "float-across-dance." They pass the priest, where he sits on a special stone, three or four inches high, and proceed upstream, where they land and hold the War Dance. The priest does not see the dance, but hears the music. He can talk with people while seated on his special seat, but not while standing. He sits with his feet in front of him, knees usually up. In lying down, he must keep one leg bent. If he straightened his legs, luck would go. The priest might sicken if he straightened his legs to sleep. The stick with fire drill, etc., is kept with him. When bathing, he sticks it upright near his stone seat. When the War Dance is done, the job is finished for the day. The stone seat serves as a pillow for the priest.

Ipadishaha is the term applied to the stone on which the priest sits after adjusting it to make the world solid again. It had been left there from ixkareya times. Isivsanen, "world," brought the stone there. It has been there since the beginning of the world.

The picture (pl. 1, b) shows the fire drill temporarily in the right hand, instead of the left where it should be carried so that the right hand is free to bring in luck. The priest eats with his left hand to reserve the right hand for his luck.

Plain buckskin is used to hold paint, fire drill, tobacco, and all sacred paraphernalia. Sally Jacops keeps it and brings it out in time for the ceremony, so as to give the priest the equipment needed. No crooked ixkareya stones were used at Inam as in the Amalkiaram First Salmon Ceremony.

On the sixth day archers shoot arrows up to the first fireplace, then return, leaving the priest to go on alone. In returning on the sixth day the priest crosses Clear Creek about one-half mile downstream from the morning crossing.

"On the sixth day I start from Yusarnimkan at dawn without having drunk or eaten. I go upstream to Takiripak. There Dillon Myers paints me again. (In 1935, Ben Goodwin, Sr., deceased, painted me.) In 1936 and 1938, Dillon Myers painted me. Dillon built a fire at Takiripak. He and Ned arrive there about the same time as I, coming by a different route. When the fire is made, I swim in the river. When I have dried off (not wiped), Dillon paints me. When they are through painting me, I start off toward the mountain Astexewa to the northwest.

"First I walk along the river toward the horse-shoe rock wall. This is about 7:30 a.m. I look into the 'horseshoe.' I pray inwardly while I look into it. I say: 'The one who built this will have a long life and will have no sickness. All the game and fish will be easy to get. Astexewa wekareya says this.' Astexewa wekareya is the most powerful ixkareya.

"Then I go on. I walk about five hundred feet to a big axawep oak [*Quercus garryana*] on the west bank of the Klamath just below Clear Creek, in the

Clear Creek auto camp. I rub against it with my left shoulder. I pray there: 'As I rub my arm on this tree, the sickness will be wiped off of every person. There will be no sickness in the world. That is what Astexewa wekareya says.'"

This day the priest impersonates Astexewa ixkareya. On the fifth day at the last fire he was ixkareya kestep, "biggest ixkareya." Earlier on the fifth day he was ixkareya animas, "smallest ixkareya."

"I keep on up the south bank of Clear Creek, take off my shoes, and wade across it. [See map.] Then I go on up the hill. [In the olden days the priest took off his moccasins, which he wore on both the fifth and sixth days. The farther he goes barefoot, the more meritorious and the better the luck.] When I get ready to put my shoes on, I lay them both pointing the way I am to go. 'I pray they will carry me, without getting weak, over my whole route and that all those for whom I pray may be similarly carried by their shoes. That is what Astexewa wekareya says.' In lacing my shoes, I use my right hand, not my left hand in which I hold the fire drill. Even if I stick the fire drill in the ground, I use only my right hand to fasten my shoes.

"I go on up the hill. I cut around the ridge, traveling to the west to a little streamlet issuing from a spring. I step across it slowly with right foot first, holding it above the streamlet while I pray: 'All that I have prayed for, may it be stronger: there will be more game and more fish during the coming year. This is what Astexewa wekareya says.' Then I go on.

"I go on up the hill for a couple of miles. I come to the long-distance shooting-place, Yivsanê. Astexewa wekareya (myself) fixes it for the archers. When I come to this place, I cannot cross it. It lies east and west. I pass below it going to the south, then I pass back going to the north. Thereafter I stop and sweep it out. The shooting-place is a natural depression in the hill, toward which the archers shoot from below. I stand fir branches to stop the arrows. I break off green pieces lying on the ground and stick them into the ground there. I put a peg [ax'yupich] in the ground in front of the branches. I pull out the old peg from last year and put in a new one. I do not pray here.

"Then I go on. The archers are far behind me, as they do not start until 10 a.m. from Yusarnimkan.

"I proceed up the mountain to the first fireplace [ahirap]. When I come to it, I cross it walking with high step very slowly, praying for all that is in the world: to keep sickness out. 'May I have the luck that Astexewa wekareya has, when I step across the fireplace. Make my son stronger.'

"Then I pick up a little stick to chop off the weeds all around. As I cut them down, I pray that I am cutting down all sickness. 'This world is getting full of sickness. Astexewa wekareya is cutting down the sickness in the world.' I pray this over and over, until I am through cutting all the weeds. I am kneeling as I cut and never face west, lest I have a short life. When I am through cutting, I get a piece of brush and sweep with it. 'Now Astexewa wekareya kestep

is sweeping all the sickness out of the world at both ends of the world (east and west). The world will have no sickness. All who have been sick will be stronger. My boy child will have no sickness.' I pray this over and over, until I am through sweeping that which I have cut down. (The reference to 'my boy child' is for all boy children in the world.)

"When I am through sweeping all this out, I find the largest piece of wood I can. The bigger the piece, the more efficacious will be my prayers. I get a big stick and place it so it points north. When I lay it down, I pray: 'Astexewa wekareya keſtap is laying down the ſtick. May all whom I pray for have better luck and may there be no sickness amongst all in the world. All the game and fiſh will be eaſier to get and be plentiful.'

"Then I gather the reſt of the wood. I muſt find the moſt ſolid wood, ſo my prayers will ſtay faſt and be efficacious. Whatever I touch with my hand I muſt take, leſt my prayers be diminished in power. I may teſt it with my foot to ſee if it is ſolid enough, however. I pile the wood ſo that when I kneel it reaches my ſhoulders. When through, I get the dry moſs and put it in two piles, one againſt the wood and one where I ſhall light it. Then I ſtrike the match on a little ſtone and ignite the tinder and throw it over againſt the other moſs. By throwing it I make the prayers ſtronger. I ſtay till it all burns down."

No one may look at a fire kindled by the prieſt except the imuſan or the ipnipavan. The imuſan is the aſſiſtant; Davis never had one. The ipnipavan is laſt year's prieſt.

"When the fire is completely out, I go on. The fire burns out quickly, as I pray that ſickneſs will go out of the world as the fire burns out. Then I ſtart up the hill and after three or four miles arrive at the ſecond and laſt fireplace. When I arrive there, I get a little ſtick and knock off the weeds and graſs, praying as I do it. 'Aſtexewa is chopping down the ſickneſs in the world. The world was full of ſickneſs. Now Aſtexewa wekareya is wiping out all ſickneſs. All that I have prayed for will be ſtronger.' This I pray over and over, until I have all the weeds cut down. When I am through cutting all the weeds, I get a piece of brush, anything but ſugar pine, and ſweep away the weeds. [Sugar-pine nuts are eaten, however.] 'Aſtexewa wekareya keſtap is praying now. He is ſweeping all the ſickneſs from the world, from one end of the world to the other end. There will be no more ſickneſs when Aſtexewa wekareya keſtap is ſweeping. All of the boy children in the world will be ſtronger.' I pray this over and over, as I ſweep. [Nothing is ſaid about dentalia in any prayer of the prieſt.]

"Then I get the biggeſt, moſt ſolid piece of wood I can find, to ſtrengthen my prayers ſo ſickneſs will ſtay out of the world. When I get it, I lay it pointing north and pray: 'Aſtexewa wekareya keſtap is laying you down, laying you down for the world to have more luck, for ſickneſs to ſtay out of the world, for all for whom I pray and for what I pray to have luck, and for the game and fiſh to be abundant and people will have better luck taking

them, and the boy children will be ſtronger in the world.'

"Then I get the reſt of the wood and pile it to my ſhoulder height kneeling. The wider the pile I make, the more efficacious my prayers will be. Then I get my two bunches of moſs. I put one againſt the pyre, one beſide it. I light the outside pile and throw it on the moſs againſt the pyre. I ſtay till it burns out.

"By this time I am pretty tired, not having eaten or drunk ſince laſt night, and then only a little ſalmon and acorns. It is now about 5 p.m., when I leave the laſt fireplace. I return by the route I came until near Clear Creek, when I croſs about a half-mile downstream from the morning croſſing. I leave my ſhoes on at this wading.

"A little below the firſt fireplace, I have to pick foliage and ſtems from chisrip buſhes [buck brush, *Ceanothus integerrimus*] about 6 or 8 inches long. I tie them into two bundles with ſome of the ſtems. This is all done with my right hand. The bundles are about 1 to 1½ inches in diameter. Theſe I later burn. One is for luck in hunting and fiſhing. The other is to get rid of ſickneſs. I carry theſe in my left hand with my ſtick and fire drill. When I come to Takiripak, I ſit on a ſtone (not the ſame as the night before). I do not make the ſtone ſolid or pray. The ipnipavan is watching for me. When he ſees me, he tells everyone. The people dance the War Dance at Yuſarnimkan, but out of view of the prieſt.

"When through the War Dance, they move the camp to Takiripak (about 200 yds. away). The ikiyavan now comes to me. [Translates ikiyavan as "queen."]. In 1938 the ikiyavan was Daisy Jacops. She fixes the fire and tells me to come and ſit on the ſtone near the fire. Then ſhe undreſſes me, takes the net and buckskin off of me. Then the people begin arriving.

"When all is ready, they hold the 'Deerſkin' Dance, but have no deerſkins, uſing otterſkins inſtead. The name of this dance is pikuperipa. (No baſketry wallets are carried.) When they are through with the dance, it is dark. Now I muſt burn the two bundles of buck brush I have brought down. I build a little fire to burn them. When I get ready to light the fire, I have already put my ceremonial attire on again. As I am about to light the fire the ipnipavan ſhouts: 'Kaiko akſanwa!' All the people lie on their faces and cover with blankets if they have them. Then I ſtart over to the fireplace and light the fire in which the bundles have been placed by the ipnipavan. I ſit near the fire till it is about out, when I go get the water. This uſually is half an hour, during which time people remain covered, not making any noiſe. No prayer is ſaid while the bundles are burning.

"I have a little baſket and walk to the river, ſeventy-five feet below. I throw the baſket in ſo it will fill by itſelf. I pick it up and run back to the fire, not breathing, and throw the water on the fire. If I take a breath as I run, it would ſpoil all the prayers. While the baſket is filling, I pray for abundance of game and fiſh and that all creeks from the ocean to Clear Creek will be filled with ſal-

mon--ten times more than ever before. This prayer is for one bundle burned. Before it completely fills I pray for the second bundle that there will be no more sickness in the world and that the river will not be deficient in anything throughout human life. All that I pray is in the water in the cup. This will make everything more solid and come to pass. I spill the water into the fire. The ikiyavan probably prayed when she made the fire.

"After I throw the water on the fire, I step on a rock about three feet high and jump down from it. This is the signal for the ipnipavan to shout to the people that all is finished and they may uncover, as the fire is out. My stone seat is at the bottom of the rock I jump from or step from. I still have the fire drill, etc., in my left hand.

"Then I go back to the little camp and sit on the stone at the fire, facing northeast, not toward Mt. Astexewa. I stay up all night, sitting or standing, so that my prayers will 'hold better.' If the priest stays up all night, he can pray an enemy to death, so great is his power. I never thought like that, but prayed for health, for money, and for my family. I eat and drink nothing. If I do, I'll lose my life. The people feast about 10 p.m.

"On the seventh day, before sunrise, I go to the little fireplace where I burned the two bundles [chisripsankiti, "chisrip put in fire"] and I clean it out. It is about 2½ feet in diameter. I rake into the center with a little stick, praying as I rake. I pray that I am covering and thus retaining all the good luck in this world. All that I have prayed for in abundance of fish and game will remain. It is covered by takayu ifapbi [young woman unmarried]. That is the young woman (a spirit, but not ixkareya) who takes care of game and fish. She is the one who gives one luck for hunting and fishing. If this fireplace is not covered, the luck will not hold. The priest represents her as he covers the ashes with earth and says, "Takayu ifapbi is covering her fireplace [takyuihedum].

"Then I go up to the smaller depression, the ikifanam or teaching place. I scrape that and fix it good but do not pray there. I wait there until the ikiyavan comes to tell me it is time for breakfast. Then I go to where she has my meal prepared. I bathe in a little spring and wash all the paint off. Then I have breakfast, being only in my shorts. I no longer wear the buckskin garment and net. I

pick a piece of willow twig and take it with me to breakfast. I stick it in the ground alongside my buckskin garment and net. Then I eat. Someone has to shout, 'Kaiko aksanwa!' for people to be quiet and stay away while I eat. No one sees me eat, not even the ikiyavan. When I finish eating, I bathe in the spring again. I pick another willow stick. I cannot eat again until evening but I can bathe as often as I like, and each time I pick a willow twig. The more I pick, the better luck I shall have.

"The pikiavish is still going on--many-stick games and drumming. But most people stay away. The gaming is to make the priest's prayers stronger--it helps him. He prays no more.

"In preparing my breakfast, the ikiyavan has to pound fresh acorn meal; similarly in the evening about five o'clock. All I eat is salmon and acorns. I get a small basketful of food. I stay at Takiripak all day, no longer sitting on the stone but still holding the fire sticks in my left hand or stuck in the ground beside me. I sleep here all night, and must have one leg bent.

"On the eighth day, about noon, I go to Tinxomnipar [Jacops' place], having first put the willow sticks away in a hollow rock on a cliff. Before I start from Takiripak I sit on a high place for about two hours, where I can look down on the people gambling. It makes me happy to see them enjoying themselves, because of my prayer. Then I go alone to Tinxomnipar. When I arrive at the river bar, I camp there for five days [days 9-13]. People can come to see me, but must not touch me. I can talk only while seated. I keep the fire sticks with me these five days. For each swim I take, I pick a willow twig. When the five days are over, I put my fire drill and willow twigs in a hollow white oak [xanputsip]. The ikiyavan (Sally Jacops) fed me these five days, two meals a day of acorns and salmon. On the morning of the thirteenth day my time is up.

"If I want to strengthen my luck, I will not eat with anyone and will sleep alone until the morning after the fatawenan stands up at the Katimin irahiv. In 1935 I did this and camped at my garage downhill and across the road from my house. My wife cooked for me, but it did not matter what I ate. In 1935 I had great luck with deer and salmon after that. During this retreat I did no work, but remained quiet. In 1936 and 1938 I had to go to work."

# KAROK: KATIMIN

(Gifford)

The focal center of the world-renewal ceremony at Katimin is a sacred mountain, Mt. Offield. The priest faces the holy mountain on the climactic night, the two priestesses make a miniature figure of its two peaks with damp sand, and young men fire the brush on the slopes in order to prevent deaths in the population. Aside from such special features, the routine of the ceremony is much the same as at Inam and at Panamenik (described later). The daily travels of the priest, accompanied by archers who shoot at targets, lead up to the climactic night when the priest stands by the sacred sand pile (yuxpit) and the Deerskin Dance or its surrogate is performed. The next afternoon the War Dance is given. Then follows the retreat of the priest for a period of five or ten days.

At Katimin a sacred sweathouse and a sacred living house are used. These are illustrated in plates 3,c, and 4,b-d; figures 1 and 2 are diagrams of the structures. The houses are also shown in Kroeber's Handbook, plate 12. The Katimin sacred living house is unique in being used only for the New Year ceremony. At Amakiaram and Panamenik the sacred living houses are occupied as ordinary dwellings when not in use ceremonially, while at Inam, as we have seen, no such house figures in the ceremony.

Kroeber summarizes the "Rites at Katimin" (Handbook, pp. 103-104). J. P. Harrington, in his work on Tobacco among the Karok Indians of California, gives a Karok text and translation referring to them. He also discusses the relationships of the world-renewal ceremonies at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik. A summary appears (Harrington, pp. 240-252) under the heading "How they use tobacco in the New Year ceremony."

The ten days of travel by the Katimin formulist or priest were initiated by the immortals: at each place visited, an immortal had disappeared and ordained that the priest was to come to that spot in the world-renewal ceremony. The following itineraries, recorded from Mary Ike and Shan Davis respectively, differ somewhat in the names of the places visited. Otherwise they agree, except as regards the side of the river traveled by the priest on the third and fifth days. Shan's statements indicate that he, as well as other officiants, had forgotten some of the traditional places. Mary Ike had never officiated in any capacity, so her list is from hearsay; but it is probably more nearly correct.

Days	Mary Ike	Shan Davis
1	Asiksamnamavka, E	Asiksamnamavka, E
2	Pinefisisani, W	Pinefisisani, W
3	Assipak, W	Sufakunit.haswa, E
4	Achichanach, E	Axavnuxwasikamich, E
5	Axamnuksunuk, E	Tasidauskamen, W
6	Axamnukwasicum	Asavwanach, E
7	Stavaronipanasani, E	Akunitram, E
8	Chamaxara, E	Sufakunit.haswa, E (see 3)
9	Akunitram E	Asavwanach, E (see 6)
10	Ma'axustrim, E	No name given, E

## Scheme: Katimin

Days	Archers	Formulist	Dance
1-9	From Katimin	Travels (E or W of river); builds fire	
9	From Katimin	Travels E of river	Deerskin Dance
10	From Katimin	Travels E of river; 2 fires; assistant priest and 2 priestesses enter ceremony; formulist stands at yuxpit at night	Deerskin Dance
11		Procession from yuxpit to sweathouse; formulist views dance from afar; formulist and assistant begin retreat for 5 or 19 days	Deerskin Dance; many-stick game; War Dance

The Katimin irahiv, according to Sandy Bar Joe, came in the moon after the Inam irahiv, which was in August. He also said that the Katimin ceremony began two days after the close of the one at Panamenik. Thus the sequence for the three irahiv was Inam, Panamenik, Katimin. At Inam the arrow shooting precedes the functioning of the priest by four days. At Katimin, the priest and archers begin their activities at the same time, the priest preceding the archers in going afield, according to Shan Davis and Francis Davis. Ben Tom said that at each pikiavish new personal names are given at the time of the arrow shooting, mostly to men, though the girls accompanying the archers may also receive new names. These are just nicknames; some stick, some do not.

In 1942 the world-renewal ceremony was still an annual affair at Katimin. Mary Ike described the selection of the priest, or fatawenan, as follows.

"The men discuss the pikiavish, and one may volunteer to be fatawenan. Then he is instructed in the medicine, if he does not already know it. This year [1942] it looks as though Shan Davis will have to be Katimin fatawenan. Then there will be a man to look out for him in the sweathouse and a woman to cook for him. Nobody owns this pikiavish business. The ixkareya started the pikiavish and dances. Indeed, the ixkareya started everything."

No payment is made by a new priest for instruction.

In 1940 an account of the priest's duties was obtained from Shan Davis, his son Francis (priest at Inam) serving as interpreter. Shan had served as priest on three occasions, the latest in 1939, when he was seventy-one years old. The second time he served, he was relieved by his son Allie, who was instructed by Fritz Hansen.



## NOTES FROM MARY IKE

In 1939 Mrs. Mary Ike described the world-renewal ceremony at Katimin, Mrs. Mamie Offield serving as interpreter. Mary said that anyone who told about the pikiavish would not live long.

As long as Mary could remember, the Katimin ceremony had been held annually in September, following the Inam ceremony in August. The observances began five days<sup>1</sup> before the dark (tolxis, "lost") of the moon. The priest's itinerary she gave as follows.

First day.--Asiksamnamavka ("above where they get water for packing," in other words, "ahead of the spring"), in Evril's field, east side of the river. Here, in the evening, the priest makes the first fire. While he is there, the young men shoot arrows into the live oak at Akmusninam, below Smith's store at Katimin. Afterwards the priest returns to the living house, where he eats acorns and salmon. Then he bathes in the spring below Smith's store, returning to the sweathouse for the night. Everybody has left town except the woman who cooks his food. In 1938 people moved away from Katimin, for anyone who encounters the priest on his travels will have bad luck unless he pays the priest.

Second day.--Pinefisisani ("where Coyote is lying down"), upstream from Ishipishi, on the west side of the river. (See myth 2, App. III.) The priest builds a fire there in the evening.

Third day.--Assipak, above the Ten Eyck mine now owned by Hickock. (According to Mamie Offield, Assipak means "in the mush basket." According to Francis Davis, the word is "Asapax" and means "stone throwing.")

Fourth day.--Achichanach, "lousy place," on the east side. Mary did not know the exact location.

Fifth day.--Axamnuksunuk, "under the bank," on the east side, just above Katimin.

Sixth day.--Axamnuwasikum, "behind the bank," on Grasshopper Flat above Evril's place, on the east side.

Seventh day.--Stavaronitpanasi, "shavings going back," on the east side.

Eighth day.--Chamaxara, "long flat," on the east side. This is on a big flat below Mamie Offield's house on the lower slopes of Mt. Offield.

Ninth day.--Akunitram, "shooting up in the air." Here they shoot arrows into an oak (probably a black oak) at the deer lick one to two miles upstream from Katimin. From Akunitram the priest goes to Ma'axustrim above Mamie's house on the slopes of Mt. Offield, where he cuts wood. He then returns to the Katimin sweathouse.

Tenth day.--In the morning he goes back to Ma'axustrim, where he piles brush for a fire, piling it so high he cannot see the mountain. This he kindles in the afternoon. People must not see the smoke or fire; to see them would bring bad luck. In the evening the priest returns to Katimin and stands up all night, eating nothing until after sunrise. The priest of the year before (the Ipnipavan) usually builds the Katimin fire for the new priest; if he does not, the xopitxariwan do it.

In 1938 the number of sacred places visited had been reduced to three. It was decided only at the last minute to have the ceremony; hence the priest could visit only three places before the dark of the moon was upon them, and arrows were shot on two days only. Thus he skipped places 2 to 8 of the old ritual, visiting only 1 (Asiksamnamavka),

9 (Akunitram), and 10 (Ma'axustrim) of Mary Ike's list. Arrows were shot at Akunitram on the second day, the priest going ahead of the archers. No arrows were shot on the third day.

No one knows how long the sacred sweathouse has been at Katimin. Mary wondered what would happen when the ground it stands on slips down into the river as the bank is eaten away. The priest sleeps in the sweathouse five nights (formerly ten). Daily, young men shoot arrows, the priest preceding them as they go afield. He makes fire with the fire drill at the sacred spots, using any kind of wood for fuel. There were ten sacred stones at the ten sacred fire-places, but they were not buried. Archers follow the priest, shooting as they come. Girls look on at the arrow shooting at Evril's field near Katimin (at the first road to the right on the highway above Smith's store).

The young men climb the declivity on the east side of the river. Once up, they throw small globular stones back over their shoulders. Each keeps throwing until the stone is not heard to strike; then he may move on. They shout as they throw the stones. Mary did not know the meaning of the shouting.

The priest talks to no one except when he is eating, which is only after dark. He eats in the sacred living house (wennaram) where his meal, consisting of acorns and salmon, is prepared by the pishishikiyavan, the woman cook. (Mary had never cooked for the Katimin priest but had cooked for the priest at the Amaikiaram First Salmon Ceremony.) People shout that the priest is eating, so no one goes near. By that time many people have gone away, since it is bad luck to see the priest; if they did, they might get bitten by a snake or meet with some other mishap.

The boys who shoot do not eat until after dark, and some of them spend the night in the sacred sweathouse (kimichiram iship) with the priest, singing and talking to him. He merely listens. The priest of the year before also stays in the sweathouse to keep the priest awake. Toward morning, however the priest is allowed to sleep. If he is serving for the first time, he must stay in the sweathouse for ten days after the ceremony. If, during the rites, he becomes exhausted, as he usually does, an alternate takes his place. When there is a succession of priests in one ceremony, each, as he retires, becomes an Ipnipavan.

The Ipnipavan makes a pile of sand, the yuxpit, and builds a fire where the priest is to keep his vigil on the night of the dark of the moon. Near by is the wooden stool (ixkareya ikarivchi, "spirit's chair") on which the priest may sit sometimes. The priest stands up at the yuxpit all night, looking toward Mt. Offield, and "worships" the mountain, while the Deerskin Dance (or imitation Deerskin Dance with foliage) is performed. On the way back to the sweathouse after his vigil the priest drops to one knee and looks around.<sup>2</sup>

Formerly, two priestesses officiated at the ceremony. They got a few sticks of bull-pine wood (*Pinus ponderosa*) and piled these where the priest would stand on the climactic night. If the Deerskin Dance was given, they ran in front of the dancers and on down to the river to bathe. When they came back, they sat by the fire. During their absence the priest sat on his wooden stool, standing again on their return. He never stands on the stool. These two priestesses also used to spend ten days in ceremonial retreat in the sweathouse with the priest, during which time they all ate

<sup>1</sup>This must have reference to the modern attenuated performance rather than to all the priest's activities for the ten days before the dance.

<sup>2</sup>Denied by Shan Davis.

two meals a day. The woman who cooked for the officiants came and went as she liked. In 1939 there had been no priestesses for twenty-eight years, according to Mamie Offield, who had attended the Katimin ceremony for twenty-seven years.

The priest has to stand at the yuxpit and look at the mountain all night. Formerly, on the night of his vigil, three men called kixahansa fired the brush on Mt. Offield so it would be clean. Now, because of the white man's regulations, the fire cannot be kindled; since the vigil comes at the dark of the moon, the priest has to gaze at the mountain in darkness. The men who fired the brush had to fast all day; they could not eat or drink until next morning. This annual burning was said not to cause forest fires, because it burnt only undergrowth.

The extensive brush areas on Mt. Offield are due to this annual burning at the pikiavish, Mary said; all the small fir trees were killed. She explained that the mountain is an immortal woman, whose "hair" has to be singed so there will not be many widows and widowers in the world. The mountain, however, is not a widow. The brush burning was an act of prophylactic magic ordained by the immortal who owned the Katimin sacred sweat-house. Now that the Indians no longer burn fires on Mt. Offield and no longer perform the Deerskin Dance, food is scarce and they are dying off, Mary said.

No one may ascend Mt. Offield without bathing before and after. The mountain is a clean mountain, i.e., a medicine' mountain. When one makes medicine, one must be clean. (According to Mary Ike, everything was clean in ixkareya times.) One must not defecate or urinate on the mountain except on a fallen log. No menstruant may go on the mountain; rain will follow her visit and she will not live long.

When collecting food on Mt. Offield (hazel, just below the summit, wild celery, serviceberries, etc.), people cannot eat, drink, or ease themselves (except on a rotten log) until they arrive at Turtle Lake (Asakwu ukram) midway up the slope at about two thousand feet. They have to bathe in the lake before eating and drinking.

The mountain also must not be associated with anything related to death; protracted rains will follow the violation of this taboo. It will rain if one has dug a grave and then goes up Mt. Offield without being purified, if medicine roots dug on the mountain are put in a cemetery, or if sticks from the mountain are used in a basket, or if a basket hat is put in a grave. "The mountain would not stand for that." A widow with shorn hair may ascend the mountain only after putting on false hair or moss.

There was no other holy mountain in the vicinity of Katimin. Mary Ike gave the following pertinent terms: uiy, "mountain"; tuiship, "main peak of any mountain"; ixkareya uiy, "spirit mountain"; ixkareya tuiship, Mt. Offield; Matimui, higher peak; Satimui, lower peak; Ashka-huvara, name for the saddle between the two peaks. (See pl. 3, e.) Mary objected to a member of our party collecting plants from the summit of Matimui.

Before the pikiavish at Katimin no one eats steelhead; if he does, he may be bitten by a rattlesnake, be burned, or meet with some other accident. After the priest stands up at Katimin on the climactic night, steelhead may be eaten. When Hackett was priest (see Harrington, pl. 3, a, b), he ate plums on the way down the mountain from the main fire-place, and someone saw him. He died within the year. Mary Ike said that crayfish are not used in the Katimin pikiavish, as they are at Inam. At Panamenik, they fill acorns with

marrow, but this is not done at Katimin.<sup>3</sup> At Hoopa, she had heard, everyone has to eat ceremonially cooked new acorns. At Katimin, everyone eats the old acorns, not ceremonially cooked.

The purpose of feeding people is to keep them together while the priest stands up on the last night. Everyone at the pikiavish brings his own food. The feast is accompanied by the real or imitation Deerskin Dance. The rich men who gave the real Deerskin Dance did not supply the food for everyone; they were hosts only when the Deerskin Dance was given.

Making medicine for the pikiavish is called wenax; anava is applied only to private medicines. Wenaram and fatawanan are based on the same stem as wenax. Fatawanan is said to mean literally "doing something."

In 1938 Freddie Maddux, a half-breed, was priest. He spent only three days in the sweat-house, and arrows were shot for these three days. As the priest passed on his return from Ma'axustrim, Mamie Offield's son shouted; "Hello, Freddie!" This was a sacrilege; in the old days, no one was permitted even to look at the priest, under penalty of drowning or meeting some other sudden end.

That year, 1938, Mrs. Dora Davis was cook, or pishish-ikiyavan. Peter Henry, who had been priest in 1937, was the ipnipavan and took care of the priest, building the fire for him when he stood up on the third night at the yuxpit. Maddux saw the job through, since it was only a three-day affair. There was no real Deerskin Dance, only the imitation. There has been no real Deerskin Dance since 1912; the important thing is the world-renewal rite, not the dance.

In 1939 Abner Jerry, full blood, was priest at Katimin. Mary did not know who instructed him, but thought it might have been Shan Davis, since he had been priest. Fritz Hansen, who had never been priest, often took care of the priest.

In 1940 the priest at Katimin was Allie Davis, Shan Davis' son; and in 1941 Freddie Maddux repeated his service as priest. He was then in the army and left a military camp to function.

Other past priests mentioned by Mary Ike include Jeddy Tom, living in 1939 in Scott Valley, Siskiyou County, Louis Tom, an old man living upstream on the Katimin side of the Klamath, and Dumphrey Pepper, of Tea Bar.

Nowadays the priest is paid, by whites as well as Indians. Some whites pay five dollars each year. A storekeeper pays because he wants the Indians to give the ceremony annually; it helps business. The old priest, however, is not paid by the new one for instruction. Payment of the priest strikes Mary as quite heinous. In the old days this was never done. Now the priest serves for the sake of the five, ten, or fifteen dollars he may get! The Amaiklaram priest of the First Salmon Ceremony was never paid.

The War Dance (sivstap) is the last performance of the world-renewal ceremony, given at sunset on the evening of the day after the priest's vigil. In it the dancers carry branches, a modern substitute for bows and arrows. After it, everybody goes home.

#### ACCOUNT BY FORMER PRIEST, SHAN DAVIS

First day. --The priest fasts all day. He enters the sweat-house in the afternoon, after bathing ten times in the pond Ixkareya Patiwaram, "Ixkareya's bathing place," upstream

<sup>3</sup>Drucker, Karuk World-Renewal, p. 26.

from the sacred sweathouse<sup>4</sup> at Katimin. He enters the sweathouse barefoot and without clothing except "tights." (In the old days he wore a buckskin kilt.) After a short stay in the sweathouse he walks up the riverbank. He picks up a lump of mud and places it on top of his head. Then he dives into the stream so the mud gets washed off. While diving, he prays about the upper "net carrying bag" (sukrif),<sup>5</sup> which is, figuratively, the portion of Karok territory upstream from Katimin; he prays that the people there will live well. The sukrif of the upstream people is thought of as particularly strong. Then he returns to the sweathouse, letting the water dry off his skin; he has swum naked. No one watches him, for it is bad luck to see him.

Before sunset, the priest goes uphill above the present highway and picks one twig of black oak (xansip, *Quercus kelloggii*) from a special tree in "upper flat," Matimnamwaru (now property of the U.S. Forest Service). Standing outdoors, he motions with the twig downstream, praying that sickness will leave over the south end of the world, and then upstream, praying that sickness will leave over the north end of the world. He brings the sprig back to the sweathouse and puts it in the gable over the small doorway in place of last year's sprig, which is burned in the fire pit later that night. He uses the small doorway (sununuknihach, "hole way") for entering and leaving.

Then he goes to the sacred living house (xadiara kirivram; wenaram applies only to the Amaikiaram structure, Shan said). There he is dressed and painted with red pigment (asafun). A former priest (the ipnipavan) paints the priest each day; if there is no ipnipavan, someone else does it. (In 1935 there was no ipnipavan. The first time Shan served, about 1920, Old Tintin,<sup>6</sup> a former priest who taught him the ritual, painted him.) The priest wears a buckskin kilt and belt, a rectangular back-head net with feather fringe, and a stick with a small feather in it stuck vertically in the hair. At the bottom of the head net is a roll of mink hide. He carries in his right hand an otterhide bag (ixkareya akawakiri), case skinned, in which he keeps tobacco (arareiheda'a, "Indian tobacco"), a 14-inch tobacco pipe, fire drill, etc. Sometimes a basketry wallet (wikyapu), with buckskin cord handle is used instead as a container. A slender 6-foot stick serves as a poker to toss unburned ends of wood into the fire.

Now, when it is almost dark, the priest sets out to build the first fire. He goes a couple of hundred yards above the highway at Katimin to Asiksamnamavka at the south side of Evril's field. First, arrows are shot, then the archers go home and the priest builds the fire. No one must see the fire or smoke, for fear they will become aksanwa, "unlucky."

"When I approach the fireplace I pass around it to the right, then back to the left to the point of entry, never completely around it. If I stepped over the fireplace, my life would be short."

He prays while going around the fireplace. Then he gets a branch of manzanita or oak and sweeps with it once to the south (downstream).

"I am sweeping this [sickness] out at the right spot at the downstream [south] end of the world, for people to live better in this world."

<sup>4</sup>See App. II, story 5, concerning repair of sacred sweathouse.

<sup>5</sup>For illustration of a carrying net see Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Harrington, *Tobacco among the Karuk*, pl. 3,c.

Then he sweeps once to the north.

"I am sweeping this [sickness] out at the right spot at the upstream [north] end of the world, for people to live better in this world."

He then fixes a little fire, using any kind of wood except sugar pine. When it is about out, he smokes his pipe, lighting it with a coal picked up with two sticks, about 18 inches long, used like tongs. He does not pray while smoking. After the fire has burned down, he lays the sticks one on each side of the fire pointing toward Mt. Offield. Matimui, where the fire lookout is now situated, is the upper peak, Satimui, the lower. If the priest sees a ring of cloud around Satimui, it is a bad omen.

It is dark now, and he returns to the sacred living house. He undresses, then goes to the sweathouse, where he stays the rest of the night. There is a fire in the pit. He sleeps on a wooden pillow, with one of his legs bent, to keep good luck. Sometimes, if he is tired of lying, he sits on the stone seat (ikirivki). (This stone is kept buried in the sweathouse between annual ceremonies. The ipnipavan digs it up, but there is no prayer offered and the stone is not manipulated, as it is at Inam.)

Men and boys visit the priest at night, and there is conversation. The priest may not speak outside the sweathouse, but in it he may talk. Near morning the doorways are closed up and the sweat-fire is built. Men get wood for the fire--any kind of wood except sugar pine, which, being used for cemetery purposes, fence, coffin, etc., is taboo. The priest has had no food or drink yet.

Second day.--He bathes once at sunrise in the pond Ixkareya Patiwaram. Then he goes to the sacred living house. He dresses and is painted red as on the first day, with the addition of a line of black across his face below the eyes. Two black rings encircle each arm, one below and one above the elbow; there are similar bands on each leg, one above and one below the knee.

About 11 a.m. he goes up the riverbank three-quarters of a mile or so and paddles across. The ipnipavan is supposed to paddle for him. (The other helper, imusan, comes only on the priest's last day.) He goes up the hill about a mile to Pinefisisani, "Coyote lay there."

There he makes a small fire, after sweeping, as was done on the first day on the east side of the river.

"I circle first to right, then to left, keeping my eyes on Mt. Offield as at the first fireplace. The incomplete portion of my circuit is toward Mt. Offield on both days. Again the sweeping to the downstream edge of the world [isivsanenipan yuruk, "world edge downstream"] and to the upstream edge of the world [isivsanenipan karu, "world edge upstream"]. As I sweep, I say: 'I sweep the sickness over the downstream edge of the world, I sweep the sickness over the upstream edge of the world.' Any branch is used except sugar pine. If sugar pine were used, my life would not last. As the fire dies down, I smoke, lighting my pipe with a coal, using two little sticks for tongs [utawaran]. I leave the two sticks one on each side of the fireplace, pointing toward Mt. Offield. Then I return home while the archers are shouting. They must not see my fire. They build a fire of their own to make the fatawenan's prayers stronger."

The archers give a long-drawn yell. After the priest leaves, the archers shoot at a peg in a cleared space. Two teams shoot until one is definitely ahead or, if the score

is even, they may decide to quit. There are two parallel shooting-places with a peg at one end of the first and at the opposite end of the second. There is competition in marksmanship and betting on the results. They may shoot a half-hour or more. The archers return, bathe, and eat, having gone fasting and without drinking until then.

When the priest arrives at the sacred living house, it is about 4 p.m. He then goes to bathe before going to the sweathouse where he may sit, either inside it or outside, or may lie down. Meanwhile Dora Davis (Mrs. Shan Davis), the cook, prepares his meal of acorns and salmon, which he eats in the sacred living house. This is his first meal since the night before he began (almost forty-eight hours before). Someone shouts: "Kaiko aksanwa! Ixkareya'ara a tuish" ("Don't make bad luck! The spirit person is eating his meal"). Formerly this warning was given by the ipnipavan. After eating, the priest bathes in the same pond as before.

Each time the priest bathes, he picks a willow twig for a tally, carrying it to the sacred living house, where he sticks it upright in a little pile of river sand. He goes back to the sweathouse for the night. There he may converse with visitors, but only when he is sitting or lying down, not standing. To smoke he must sit on the stone seat inside the sweathouse or on a stone outside.

In the sweathouse he receives male visitors. About daylight someone brings hardwood for the sweathouse fire. The visitors who remain with the priest all night are the xopitxariwan. The term for sweating at any time is ipxigiri.

Third day.<sup>7</sup>--After the dawn sweating, the priest bathes in the pond, then goes in the living house to dress and be painted again, since the paint was washed off the previous night, before he ate. After getting dressed and painted, he starts out about 9 a.m. and ascends Mt. Offield on the east side of the river, going up to the south side of Offield's ranch to the shooting-place Sufakunit.haswa, "shooting back and forth across a little stream." (Actually, Shan Davis never went there the three times he was priest. This place was lost from the ritual early.) The priest builds his fire at Sufakunit.haswa. The archers make two little fires at Achichanish, lower down, where they shoot first; this is just a little above the highway, upstream slightly from Katimin. The priest is notified by the ipnipavan to make his fire at Sufakunit.haswa, so he can leave before the archers come. He performs the ritual as before, leaving his stick fire tongs pointing toward Mt. Offield. The subsequent events are the same as the preceding days and nights.

Fourth day.--The priest goes to Axavnuxwasikamich, which is back of Evril's field on the east side of the river. He makes his fire high up. The archers make theirs low down and shoot arrows at many places. The ipnipavan tells the priest when to make the fire as the archers approach, so he can finish and go home before they arrive. When the fire is nearly out, the priest lights his pipe and points the sticks toward Mt. Offield. The ritual sweeping is the same as before (N and S; cf. Inam, E and W). When the priest goes home, he picks up a stick which has been left on a rock and takes it with him. This brings good luck to the person who left it. The priest throws the stick into the sweathouse through the small doorway. Only one person may leave a stick for the priest; first come, first served.

The priest undresses at the sacred living house and bathes. He sits down while the pishishikiyavan is prepar-

ing his meal, which he eats about 6 p.m. The night is passed like the preceding nights. (This fourth-day visit was performed by Shan Davis on the three occasions he served.)

Fifth day.<sup>8</sup>--He crosses the river to the west side. (Dora Davis' brother attended to putting a boat at the proper place for the priest to paddle himself across. Later, on the last day, he was the priest's helper, imusan.) He goes to Tasidauskamen, "a swamp place where tas root grows," a hill upstream from the Ten Eyck mine. (For many years now the priest has not visited this place, but when Shan was a boy, the priest went there. Old Hackett was the last priest to visit it.) The priest sweeps the fireplace, which is near the swampy ground on a little flat on the mountainside, about two miles back from the river. At every fireplace his first duty is to look at Mt. Offield.

The archers have already ferried themselves to the west bank and have hidden before the priest paddles across. Once he has landed, they start shouting for everyone to assemble for the contest. The priest performs the same acts as at other places: he sweeps to north and south, builds a fire, smokes, and places the tongs pointing toward Mt. Offield. When the archers get near, the ipnipavan notifies the priest to build the fire, complete his ritual, and go home.

The boat, not tied, is on the beach awaiting the priest. He returns to Katimin and proceeds as on other days. He bathes, eats his supper, drinks, and retires to the sweathouse.

Everywhere he goes, the priest wears his leather kilt and belt. When he lights the fire, he uses a match as if it were a fire drill on a stone, holding his breath. He carries a real fire drill but never uses it.

Sixth day.--Before setting out he sits on the stone seat in the sweathouse. On this day he builds the fire at Asavwanach. (Asavwanach refers to something which the priest wore. Shan visited this place the three times he was priest.) This is on Redcap Flat on the east side of the river, not far from the upper peak of Mt. Offield in the direction of Medicine Mountain where the shamans (eim) go to dance. It is now reached by the Camp 3 road, a branch of the Mt. Offield road. Here the priest sweeps and goes through the same ritual as on earlier days. Upstream from Evril's field, at Kuswebsunuki ("poison oak bushes just below"), the archers make their two fireplaces, one for each of the competing teams. There is a team from Katimin and one from various places upstream as far as Kaha.inam, "upstream Inam," at Clear Creek.

As the archers approach Asavwanach, the ipnipavan, as before, warns the priest to make his fire. Afterwards the priest circles a large tree (ipaha) and rubs his left shoulder against it. The tree is an Oregon oak (axawep, Quercus garryana) and is called kunumurukaraxipaha, "very high-grade" tree. As he approaches it, he says a number of times (not speaking loudly): "You have been standing here from the beginning." Rubbing against the tree makes his prayers stronger. As he leaves it, he must not look back or he will spoil his luck.

As he swings downhill, he comes to a little open knoll, Axedemam, "above the biggest fireplace," [Axedemiship, "biggest fireplace."] As he approaches it, he prays:

"You have been put here by the Kasukrifmish-kuruharaturiship, 'farther-up-the-river power' [the word sukriif, "carrying bag," is included in this term]. As I step along I am making a rattling sound like the many acorns we shall have next year."

<sup>7</sup>Related by, but not performed by, Shan Davis.

<sup>8</sup>Related by, but not performed by, Shan Davis.

Here he gathers wood for use on the last day. When he has finished, he goes on back toward Katimin, stopping at the little flat Arutanahevarakan (Ernest Conrad's place, not a Karok settlement. The name means "people staying on roof"). He prays as he looks down into the still water in front of the crag Auich:

"You have been still there for a long, long time. You will make the power stay fast and there will be plenty of salmon."

He goes on and stops at a little bowl-like depression above the highway near Katimin, near the place the men started shooting arrows this same day. He circles it to the left until he is opposite the point on the edge where he first came to it. There he stops and prays: "Five of the best old women [ixkareya], you have been sitting here since the beginning." About five steps farther he prays: "Ten of the best old gray-headed men [ixkareya], you have been sitting here since the beginning." (There are no actual figures or natural objects here suggesting men or women.) His saying this gives him more power and all that he has prayed for will stay fast. He says: "The ten baskets sitting there with the babies in them." Then he goes on to a big rock with a shallow depression in it, which stands just above the road. He moves as if to step on it, but does not press his foot down, merely holds it over the depression. "You have been lying here. The world is getting lop-sided." He feints a number of times (no set number, but the more the better) before stamping his right foot alongside the rock. "Now I am putting the earth back in its right position." Then he returns to the house and undresses. He goes to bathe, taking his kilt, belt, and pipe. When the pishishikiyavan has his meal ready, he eats. The night is spent like the preceding one.

Seventh day.--On the seventh morning someone, not the ipnipavan, has peeled a syringa stick a yard long and tied to it a piece of ararehana.ich bush (wild tobacco), which grows along the river. (The "real tobacco" which the Indians smoke is cultivated.) The rock on which these are laid is just below Evril's field. Whoever fixes the stick tells the priest it is there. He prays there before he picks it up.

"In the beginning you were laid on this rock. Now I am praying [wēn]. It seems that whoever left you there had bad luck and people were not living so well. Now as I lift you up, there will be good luck."

He picks up the syringa and wild tobacco and returns to the sweathouse. He inserts the stick between the paving stones, suspending the wild tobacco over the fire to dry it. When the tobacco is cooked, the ipnipavan scrapes the syringa stick with quartz fragments and puts the shavings in three tiny baskets about 3 inches in diameter and 1 inch deep. (Mrs. Dora Davis made the last three, but it is not always the pishishikiyavan who makes them.) The ipnipavan crumbles and pounds the tobacco to mix with the shavings, using two plain pestles 6 to 8 inches long (there were two in the sweathouse in 1939). The pestles are called avakomahuwan, "leader," and ifusahuwān, "follower," just like the two priestesses. The materials prepared are left in three separate piles till the last day.

The priest bathes and goes into the sacred living house to be painted for the first time this day. When ready, he sets out to Deer-lick Creek or Akunitram; the name refers to shooting arrows, there is no settlement there. It is up-

stream on the east side of the river, the farthest station to which the priest goes. The priest has been painted with extra-wide black stripes over his red paint. When he arrives at Akunitram, he prays and sweeps as usual downstream and upstream then proceeds with real sweeping, as he has done every time. This place is just northwest of Mt. Offield. After his usual smoke he puts his sticks down pointing toward the sacred mountain. He makes the fire only after the ipnipavan warns him of the approach of the archers. Now he comes down and turns up the hill above Tikpirishi (Offield's ranch). He goes around above the ranch to the place where he gathered wood on the sixth day and adds more wood to the pile.

He proceeds toward Katimin, passing close to Ernest Conrad's ranch. (Coming to a rock near there, where he was supposed to pray, Shan only stopped to look at it, as he never learned the prayer connected with it. Amtubichirem is the name of the rock; it means "little knoll with gray clay.")

Now he goes down to Katimin, disrobes, bathes, and cleans off the paint. Then follows supper and retirement to the sweathouse. Men who want good luck go to the mountains and bring sweathouse wood.

Eighth day.--The third-day shooting is repeated at Achi-ghanish. Even the babies may be taken to see the shooting. The priest repeats his third-day performances, including fire building at Sufakunit.haswa. This is because the old ritual has been forgotten. There are extra shootings only if necessary to synchronize with the Panamenik ritual.

Ninth day.--This is a repetition of the sixth day. There are two fireplaces for the arrow shooters at exactly the same place as on the sixth day, but the place is named differently: Chenach, "repeated again" (?). The priest repeats his sixth-day performance, including the fire at Asavwanach.

Tenth day.--Early on the tenth morning, the place where the priest bathes is cleaned by men, supervised by the ipnipavan. Then they clean the ground for about twenty feet in front of the sacred living house, leaving no grass or brush. This area, or part, of Katimin is called Yuhtimish (Kroeber's "Yuutimits"). After the bathing-place is cleaned, the priest bathes five times, finishing as the sun appears above the mountains. Then he goes into the sacred living house to be painted and dressed. He is painted heavily this time: red all over, black stripes heavier than before. (The assistant priest, imusan, is painted plain red; the ipnipavan is never painted.) His skin garment is worn over the left shoulder covering him in front, opening on the right side and secured by a belt. When he walks out of the sacred living house, he stands and prays on the cleared area. (On this day, the assistants--the imusan and the two priestesses [ikiyavan]--are supposed to enter the ceremony, but during Shan Davis' service as priest he never had them.) When he prays on the cleared area, he looks down into the still water below the falls (Katimin) and says to himself:

"This still water, you have been there from the beginning. This still water belongs to 'upstream net carrying bag' [sukrif]. All of the good luck will come into the little openings between the rocks along the shore. All the people will have good luck then in repairing the world."

Then the priest turns contraclockwise so he faces Mt. Offield. He looks at the mountain a moment, as he wants it to see him before he prays. Then he lowers his eyes and looks at the end of the ridgepole (enakiri) of the sacred house and prays.

"In the beginning you have been there, brought from the richest country in the world. I am here to give more strength to this timber for the rest of time, so people will have less sickness. I, the xadiara, am fixing the world over. I am bringing the world back into shape so the 'highest people' [yasarareshi, "richest people"] may have a better place."

He stamps five times with his right foot as he walks out of the area, then breaks into a run, heading toward the last fireplace, for which he has already gathered wood. No one must watch him. The ipnipavan lies hidden near the sacred house and shouts, as the priest leaves: "Kaiko aksanwa!" to warn people not to look.

The priest then goes to the riverbank, where he put mud on his head on the first day. On the way he prays at a little dry gulch as he steps across it:

"Absumxarak [water monster], now I am jumping over you so there will be no sickness. Anyone who steps over any other little dry gulch will have the same good luck that xadiara has."

He goes on past the place where he put mud on his head to the river bar upstream called Kashoknan, "sandy and stony bar." There he lets his otterskin "quiver" (akawa-kiri) drag slightly on the bar as he walks. He stops to ignite a fire with the fire drill (actually he twirls a match), and prays while he does this. He is carrying the three little baskets of tobacco and syringa shavings. Now he prepares to burn some of the mixture. As he gets a spark, he prays:

"You [the bar] have been sitting here from the beginning. The world has been tipped and now I will straighten it."

As he says the last words, the match ignites. This is supposed to straighten the world. He smokes plain tobacco in his pipe. The fire on the bar is in the place where the two priestesses will make their fire in the evening.

He does no sweeping for the fire on the bar. It is only a little fire of grass to burn shavings and tobacco. Then he starts up the side ridge from the river, never passing to the north side. He must not look over that side or bad luck will befall him. He goes on up to the flat Arutahan (an abbreviated name for Conrad's place, mentioned before). He crosses it and goes on uphill till he reaches the big fireplace (Ma'axustrim, according to Mary Ike).

The assistant (imusan) is supposed to be there to help him. (Shan had none so he worked alone.) On his way he breaks off manzanita branches with his hands to sweep with. Whatever he touches he must break off, no matter how difficult, so he looks for a likely branch first, before touching any. At this fireplace he lays his otterskin quiver and his buckskin garment down under an axawep oak tree so the bottom of the quiver points toward Mt. Offield. He keeps his belt in his hand. Then he sweeps to south and north and prays, saying that he is sweeping sickness out of the two ends of the world. He sets to work and sweeps in earnest until he has the place clean. The area to be cleaned is about seventy-five feet in diameter. He may use several brushes and he spends the day there. Sometimes, especially when he gets tired, he takes his buckskin garment and sweeps leaves on to it and carries them away.

When he is through sweeping he takes wood from the accumulated pile. He gets more and piles it until, when he kneels on his right knee, Mt. Offield is just hidden from view. Before he ignites the wood he breaks off a four-foot stick of

madrone with his hands and stands it at the south end of the pyre, about a foot from it. If this stick, burns too quickly, the luck will not be so good for anyone; but if it burns slowly, so he has to shove it in, then the luck will be excellent.

He has brought with him a fist-size river cobble. Before he builds the pyre, he buries this under the fireplace, with many others from previous years, by means of which he locates the place for the pyre exactly. He sights two or three times over the pile of wood to be sure the mountain is obscured from view. If the pyre sinks a little, he adds more wood. The wood is piled in any direction, an irregular pile, not placed with all pieces pointing upstream, as it is at Inam.

Before he ignites the big fire, he burns another basketful of tobacco and syringa shavings (not the basket itself, which is replaced in the "quiver"), but he says no prayer. He is burning this so everyone will have good luck and riches. He smokes as usual, lighting his pipe with the fire tongs, which he then lays down pointing toward the mountain.

He waits at the fireplace until the sun is pretty low. Then he goes to his rest-place, Amtupichiren. On the way down he picks a little bundle of buck-brush stems (Ceanothus integerrimus). He rests there a while, timing his departure by the position of the shadow on the crag Auich. He departs when the sun is low enough to cast a shadow at a spot on Auich called Akchipnamwana. iwich. He meets the ipnipavan, who awaits him near Arutahan. Then the ipnipavan precedes him, shouting occasionally "Kaiko aksanwa!" to warn people. They must not see the priest until dusk when he arrives at the standing-place (yuxpit, "new sand"), where people come to see him, especially those who have been helping him. New sand for the yuxpit is brought by the ipnipavan on the tenth day.

The priest's wooden stool (xadiara ikirivki), on which he has sat every day while being painted and when eating, is brought from the sacred living house by a priestess. These priestesses serve voluntarily. (The three times Shan officiated there were no priestesses, so the ipnipavan or someone else brought the stool.) The priest stands at the stool, which has been placed near the yuxpit. (See Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 19, for picture of this type of stool.) Near by a fire burns, but the woodpile is not built high enough to hide Mt. Offield.

In the old days the real Deerskin Dance might be performed on this occasion. Since 1912 only the imitation dance, with branches, has been performed annually to the songs of the Deerskin Dance. The dance is done while the priest stands looking at Mt. Offield. He has fasted and abstained from drinking since the preceding evening. When the dance is over (about 15 to 20 minutes), the ipnipavan shouts: "Kaiko aksanwa!" All lie on their faces or under blankets, since it is aksanwa (taboo) to look at the priest. The priest takes off his otterskin quiver, which he carries with the strap over his left shoulder so the quiver hangs at his right side, and lays it down. He takes out the buck-brush bundle and the last basket of tobacco and syringa shavings and puts them on a pile of dry grass, igniting the fire. He prays:

"The richest people who have much respect for xadiara will live long; those who have little respect will not live long. These are the words of the ixkareya ara."

This gives good luck to the people, including abundance of fish and game. It is aksanwa to see the fire; if anyone sees it, he will have very bad luck that year. Even the ipnipavan hides his face.

From early morning the xadiara has carried a small river pebble in his quiver. While the buck brush is burning, he walks twenty to fifty feet toward Mt. Offield and with his

right hand throws the pebble over a clump of bushes. No one sees him do this. He prays:

"This pebble goes over the bushes to Arutanah [the best place to live in the other world]. When the pebble strikes in Arutanah, everyone in the world knows that the irahiv is being made at Katimin."

He returns, walking backward in order to keep his face toward Mt. Offield. He puts on his otterskin quiver again. Then he picks up another little pebble and strikes the ipnipavan with it to inform him that the rite is over. He remounts his stool. The ipnipavan informs the people by shouting: "Chimi ta piruvaru" ("It is all over"). Then the people may come around. The priest stands there, and the people dance the Deerskin Dance (or its surrogate) all night. (In 1938 the priest, Freddie Maddux, went and changed his clothes and joined the people instead of maintaining the vigil.)

The people feast as well as dance while the priest stands. If steelhead is not eaten this night, it will be taboo for another ten days. The ipnipavan goes back and forth all night to maintain the fire on the river bar Kashoknan. Before dawn of the eleventh day men who want to be lucky ignite fires on the slopes of Mt. Offield. A man whose fire does not burn will die soon. This burning (kixahan) is to give the people longer lives and better luck. The term applies to no other brush burning, the word is evidently a form of kixha, "to burn hair," and is symbolically used. Young boys throw stones and shoot at them.

Eleventh day.--The priest and his assistants--imusan, ipnipavan, avakomahuwan and ifusahuwan (the two ikiyavan), and the xopitxariwan--go in procession, in the order named, from the yuxpit to the sacred living house, and thence to the sweathouse. (In earlier times, this procession took place at the coming of daylight.) The imusan carries the wooden stool in the palm of his right hand, his arm being folded back so that the hand nearly touches the shoulder. The ipnipavan carries the large basket-plate (muruk), which belongs to the ikiyavan. Throughout their service the avakomahuwan carries the cooking basket (ararasip) with no stones in it, the ifusahuwan the burden basket with one mush paddle in it.

For the first ten steps the priest tramps heavily, holding each foot up a moment, then stamping hard with it. He prays as he stamps. (Shan did not know the prayer; it had been lost a long time. Actually, Shan had no imusan and Peter Henry carried the stool.) After this the priest runs, as do his followers. At the sacred living house they divest themselves of clothing and ornaments and then enter the sweathouse through the small end opening (normally used as exit by sweaters) and sit down. They bathe before eating. The xopitxariwan go to their own camp to eat.

The priest and his assistants eat about 10 a.m. in the sacred living house. The ipnipavan shouts: "Kalko aksanwa!" and everyone must stay away. The cook (pishishkiyavan) prepares an individual dish for each officiant. After eating, the priest and the two priestesses bathe in separate pools.

Then the priest sits on an elevation upstream from Smith's store at Ukramisfusk, "behind the pond," to look down on the scene of merriment. This makes his prayers more efficacious for the people. He stays a short time while the last Deerskin Dance takes place. By this time the Panamenik people have arrived, having finished their world-renewal ceremony at Panamenik at noon on the tenth day of the Katimin ceremony.

For the next five days (or ten days, if he is a new priest) the priest combs his hair with the sticks (bakor) which have

served for his bath tally. (In early days the priest's hair was long.) After the retreat he hides the sticks in a hollow tree; they are never used again.

Shan Davis made the following comments on Harrington's account. Ishriv (Harrington, 'icriv)<sup>9</sup> means arrow shooting. Davis uses only three baskets of tobacco, not the ten sacks mentioned by Harrington. Davis says there is no black paint on the priest's belly. On the tenth day people plug their ears as Harrington describes.<sup>10</sup>

Harrington mentions a disk seat<sup>11</sup> at the tenth-day fire-place but, according to Davis, there is no seat there; apparently Harrington refers to the pebbles buried less than a foot deep to mark the right spot. Davis uses no poker for the fire; it always burns itself out. He uses two sticks for lighting his pipe and leaves these pointing toward Mt. Offield. He digs a small hole, not large enough to sit in, and fills it before he piles the wood. The wood is piled on the north side of the pebble cache, which the priest marks by a madrone stake. It is the imusan's duty to sweep in the wood ends at the sacred fire.<sup>12</sup> Davis had no imusan and did not sweep them in. The side of the fireplace opposite the priest is called Yoram, a term used by Harrington. When the tongs are laid pointing to the mountain, they also point to the fireplace in line between them and Mt. Offield.

#### DUTIES OF KATIMIN PRIESTESSES

Account by Dora Davis.--The account of the duties of the two priestesses (ikiyavan) was obtained from Mrs. Dora Davis, wife of Shan Davis, her son, Francis Davis, interpreting. The ikiyavan are not to be confused with the pishishkiyavan, the female cook for the priest. The pishishkiyavan still functions annually, but there have been no ikiyavan for many years.

The ikiyavan volunteer, and serve in pairs. One, the leader or superior, is called avakomahuwan; the follower, or inferior, is the ifusahuwan. (Dora served as ifusahuwan in two consecutive years. The first time she was about seventeen or eighteen years old and unmarried. On each of these occasions a married woman served as avakomahuwan. The first time, the priest was Tivipikuri, "put the ears in," or Dave Steve; the second, Ikūv, "silver-gray fox," or Sweet William, mentioned beyond in Kroeber's notes.)

The ikiyavan never accompany the priest on his wanderings. Like the imusan, they serve only on the tenth day, beginning their duties in the morning. (When Dora served, Tintin's wife, Yararaxan, "much married," instructed them in their duties and prayers. Just after daylight she told them to go to the sacred sweathouse and sit at the sununup, "pit exit," the avakomahuwan on the uphill side, the ifusahuwan on the downhill side. Looking south out of the pit, the avakomahuwan sat on the left, the ifusahuwan on the right. When Yararaxan came, they marched over to the sacred living house where the priest was and entered.)

The woman who has been keeping the sacred objects brings them in, as well as the paint for the ikiyavan. The avakomahuwan is painted first: red all over face and body, with a narrow black stripe, narrower than the priest's, across the face below the eyes; two narrow black stripes close together

<sup>9</sup>Harrington, p. 245.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 246.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., par. 3, p. 247.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 250.

on each lower arm (none on the upper). Then the ifusahuwan is painted: red all over body and face; black central stripe from the hair line to the throat below the chin, right down over nose and lips; parallel lines down over each eye from hair line to throat. The ifusahuwan has two longitudinal stripes on each arm, running from elbow to wrist on the inner side of the arm. (The ikiyavan should be painted in this way after death in order to go to "heaven," so Yararaxan told Dora Davis and her companion. The trail to the other world forks: one trail goes to Arutanahiti, "heaven," the other to Yumarari, "hell." The yash-ara [people with property] and priests and assistants go to Arutanahiti. Unbelievers [taboo breakers] go to Yumarari; they do not accumulate wealth anyhow. The believers are bound to have good luck.)

The two ikiyavan are instructed to keep their heads down and not to look at the sky, lest they be unlucky. They may not speak but must motion if they wish something done. They have not eaten or drunk since the ninth evening and continue their fast through this day. They are instructed to walk slowly and lightly. If they walk heavily, they may tip the earth, which is flat.

After being instructed, the ifusahuwan places the basket hopper (kiramnam, a term applied to all hoppers) on the stone slab mortar and holds it down with her legs over it. The avakomahuwan, beside the ifusahuwan, pounds shelled tan-oak acorns with a small plain pestle. The priest takes hold of the pestle at the second upstroke and brings it down easily on the third stroke. The ifusahuwan covers her eyes with her hands so she will not see the priest and become aksanwa, but the avakomahuwan may look at him.

The priest, already attired, goes out. The avakomahuwan touches the ifusahuwan's arm to apprise her of his departure so she may uncover her eyes. Then the ifusahuwan pounds acorns vigorously, so the meats scatter, a sign that there will be an abundance of acorns. The priest, on his return, must eat only the "chieftest" food, acorns of the tan-oak, although in the mountains he touches other oaks. After pounding the acorns to meal, the ifusahuwan puts the meal in the basket to be leached in the evening near the river.

They then leave the sacred living house and follow the priest, who has already left for the mountains. Each carries a basket for wood and wears a basket cap to keep the hair from her face. If hair falls over their eyes, there will be eye disease all over the world. They are barefoot and wear two-piece buckskin dresses with shell pendants. People, hearing the jangling of the shells, know the ikiyavan are on their way and avoid seeing them for fear of becoming unlucky. No people stay in Katimin at this time.

The two ikiyavan go to Asamnach to gather wood. No tool is used, but they may break the wood over a rock. Two baskets are filled and set side by side so they stand without support. The ikiyavan pray: "All these pieces of wood sticking up, may there be that many yash-ara [rich people] in this world." As they pray, they look at Mt. Offield and think of the mountain as themselves, the higher peak as the avakomahuwan, the lower as the ifusahuwan. Then each, breaking off two pieces of fir sprig, twists these into the hair roll on each side of her head and wraps each roll with bark from the sprigs.

They pick up their baskets and start back down the hill in the afternoon. At Amtupchihren they wait until the imusan arrives. He has been up to help the priest at his sweeping. As he approaches, they put their hands over their eyes, and peer between their fingers. If it is really the imusan, they cover their eyes tightly. If it is someone else, they take their hands away from their eyes. They do not talk to

the imusan, for he, too, is under speech taboo. After he is out of sight, they uncover their eyes and follow him. (Both times Mrs. Davis served, there was no imusan, but on some subsequent occasions there was.)

They take the wood to the yuxpit place and then get river sand for the yuxpit at a spot upstream called Asaruksuruk. Each carries up two loads of sand in tightly woven burden baskets. They step slowly and carefully. There is no prayer. They dump the sand on the ground and shape it into a conical pile. From the sacred living house they get the sacred stool for the yuxpit and the equipment for preparing acorn mush: tinwap, "sifter"; muruk, "winnowing"; taxwan, "mush paddle"; ararasip, "water-heating basket." When mush is cooked in it, the ararasip is called tarampukram (see Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 14, larger basket). They take the acorn meal to the river bar Kashoknan.<sup>13</sup>

Some woman has placed a basket of wood beside the path for them. The avakomahuwan goes on past the basket to the bar; the ifusahuwan, coming behind, leaves her burden there and prays: "This will be the high ridge; this will be the ridge of the panther. That is what I am coming to now. Everyone will escape harm by panther, Xurishakara.ifapbi." This is the word of respect for panther and means "pretty young lady" (ifapbi, "girl"). The regular word is Pirishkarim, but no one uses it lest Panther be angered.

Then the ifusahuwan takes her own basket containing the mush paddle and joins the avakomahuwan at the fireplace on the bar Kashoknan where the priest has made a fire in the morning before starting for the mountains. The avakomahuwan gets the basket of wood, builds a little fire, and heats water. The priestesses look at Mt. Offield, but not at the sky. The ifusahuwan makes a leaching basin (takiri) in the sand and they leach two basketfuls of acorn meal. After this, each fetches a basket of river water.

It is now near evening. They paint themselves, using the water in the basket for a mirror (pimuschihiwan, "to see oneself in"). They must not paint each other or speak. When done, they empty the water.

Next the avakomahuwan removes the leached meal with her hands, cutting around the edge of the damp meal with her right fingers close together and pressing her left palm against it to make the meal adhere. Then she washes off the sand with water splashed on with her right hand. When they have cooked the acorn mush with hot stones, they leave everything and run to the sacred living house, reaching there before the priest arrives.

The "fasting boys" (xopitxariwan) are at the yuxpit. As the two ikiyavan pass, the boys follow them to the sacred living house. The ikiyavan must not look to either side, though people are sitting alongside their path.

The ikiyavan stay in the sacred living house until the priest has burned the buck-brush bundle. Then somebody notifies them to come to the yuxpit and they and the boys go down. The two ikiyavan continue to the river bar, where they maintain a fire all night. They sit there with knees up, or at least one knee up, for it is taboo to straighten their legs when sitting. The avakomahuwan alone prays, silently. They return to the yuxpit and the sacred dwelling long after dark, followed from the yuxpit by the xopitxariwan. They go back and forth ten times during the night, maintaining the fire on the bar. The fire signifies keeping the world light, so day will come; otherwise it would be night all the time. The ikiyavan must not sleep during this night or they will have short lives. They make their last trip to the fire just before dawn. They bury the cooking stones, wooden sticks,

<sup>13</sup>Cf. "kashōninan," App. II, story 5.



etc., under the fireplace and cover the whole with sand from the leaching basin.

They shape the sand to make a miniature Mt. Offield, the avakomahuwan making the higher peak, the ifusahuwan the lower, and both praying.

"Everyone will have good luck and everything will grow and there will be plenty of game and fish."

When the miniature is finished, they take the fir trimmings from their hair rolls and insert the little fir needles in the mountain model. Each puts her needles in the part she has made. They pray that all kinds of trees will grow well. The ifusahuwan now thinks of herself as Satimui, the lower peak; the avakomahuwan thinks of herself as Matimui, the upper peak.

The real mountain is an immortal, who looks upstream until the Inam and Katimin irahiv, after which he faces downstream until the Amaikiaram spring ceremony. Then he faces about and looks upstream until the next Katimin irahiv. (Dora did not know whether the mountain faced downstream to see the Panamenik irahiv.) For the priest Mt. Offield is a male immortal, for the ikiyavan it is two female immortals.

The avakomahuwan stays at the miniature Mt. Offield while the ifusahuwan washes the mush paddle in the river. The ifusahuwan prays, silently.

"I am washing this for the world to sit solidly, so people may have luck all over the world."

She lets the paddle float as she prays. She picks the paddle up quickly, saying, "Now I am taking the paddle out. Now the world will be solid." Then she returns to the miniature mountain.

The two ikiyavan load their baskets. The ifusahuwan puts the mush paddle in her basket; the avakomahuwan takes the rest. The avakomahuwan leads the way downstream to a spot where, putting down their loads and taking off their clothes, they immerse quickly and completely, so their heads are under water. This quick bath does not damage their paint much. They dress, pick up their loads, and proceed uphill. They have not eaten or drunk since the night before.

They arrive at the yuxpit about daylight. Then all the officiants form a procession with the priest in the lead. The priest takes the ten heavy steps previously described. Order of procession: priest, imusan, avakomahuwan, ifusahuwan, ipnipavan, xopitxariwan, kizahansa (the men who burn Mt. Offield).

Traditionally, two men who have sweated eat a small quantity of the acorn mush at the yuxpit, using their fingers. (They are called asipakramniwan, "reachers into the cooking basket.") This is supposed to give them, and also others, good luck. (This was not done when Mrs. Davis was ifusahuwan; the two ikiyavan smeared the mush over the basket walls with their fingers, but ate none.)

In the sacred living house the priest, the imusan, the avakomahuwan, and ifusahuwan discard their ceremonial attire. The ipnipavan, the xopitxariwan, and the kizahansa go home, the ipnipavan to return later. Those undressing in the sacred living house go to bathe and get rid of all paint, returning to the sacred living house, where food is served them by the pishishikiyavan in individual dishes. Acorn, salmon, and tas, a sweet angular tuber roasted in ashes, are served. Then they go and bathe again.

If any food is left over, the pishishikiyavan puts it all in one basket, takes it to the Oregon oak near Smith's store at Katimin, and throws the food up into the foliage, saying:

"I am giving to you what the priest has left over from

his meal. I am feeding you too, so all people will have the same good luck as the priest has."

The name of this tree is Xuntaiwananamhiti, "much mush waste."

The priest, the imusan, and the two ikiyavan stay ten more days in the sacred sweathouse, if they are officiating for the first time; otherwise they stay five days. They eat their meals in the sacred living house, the pishishikiyavan cooking for them without payment. (Dora Davis stayed only five days each time, on account of menses. On returning home she ate from a separate dish for fifteen days, besides building a little fire before each of the two meals, morning and evening.) None of these officiants can eat salmon head or breast for twenty days, or everyone else will have headache.

The two ikiyavan, the priest, and his helper pick syringa (*xavish*) sticks on the morning after the ceremony to use for combs while they are in the sweathouse, the more sticks the better. On the day before the last in the sweathouse, they pick serviceberry to bind the syringa sticks in a bundle. The syringa stems are then scraped with river-mussel shell, and the shavings are tied in the center of each bundle. On the last day of the sweathouse retreat each one takes his bundle and puts it in a hollow oak tree, without a prayer. Then they go home to eat.

For one year the priest, the imusan, and the ikiyavan must not have their hair cut or there will be many widows; in other words, it will bring death. They must not look at a corpse for a year, for fear of causing many deaths.

Notes from Mabel Bateman.--The following notes from Mrs. Mabel Bateman, now of Yreka, were recorded in 1942. She was about sixteen years old when she first served as ikiyavan and was then living in a log house at Tikbidish, where Mamie Offield's home is now, on the lower slopes of Mt. Offield. Mabel's mother had been an ikiyavan after she was married. Phoebe Maddux, full sister of Mabel's mother, was ikiyavan at Panamenik when she was fifteen; she was an informant of Harrington. (Shan Davis, however, said that Phoebe had not served as ikiyavan or pishishikiyavan at Katimin.)

The first time Mabel served, she was the leader, avakomahuwan; Afinet, (Mrs. Lucy Orcutt, an Ishipishi woman) was the follower, ifusahuwan. After serving, Mabel stayed in the sweathouse ten days; Lucy, having served before, only five. The priest was Dave Myers. There was no assistant priest, imusan. The pishishikiyavan, or cook, was Lizzie Evril (full blood).

Mabel calls Mt. Offield Ixkareya Tuiship ("immortals' mountain"): the low peak, Satimui; the high peak, Matimui. The immortal who turned into a rock on the Katimin (east) side of the river established the rules about Mt. Offield. It is forbidden for any member of a family in which there has been a death to go on Mt. Offield for a year afterward. In old times for the same period bereaved persons did not drink water from the immortals' spring, near McLaughlin's house at Katimin. Karuk xās is one name for the spring; when it is used as the bathing place for the priest and the ikiyavan it is called Pukramkam. The rock on the Ishipishi (west) side of the river was once Ixkareya Pinefish, "Immortal Coyote," a priest in the time of the immortals, who carried a basketry wallet (*wikyapu*).<sup>14</sup>

The teachers who instruct the priest and the priestesses are called kifaran. They are not paid. A man teaches the priest, a woman the priestesses.

<sup>14</sup>A basketry wallet carried in the hands, as pictured by Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 29.

The ikiyavan are painted with vertical stripes (cf. Dora Davis' account). Before beginning their duties they bathe ten times in the spring Pukramkam; also before eating. The priest bathes first, then the ikiyavan.

The ikiyavan and the imusan eat with the priest. When they are about to eat, someone shouts, "Kaiko aksanwal" to warn people to be quiet. If the officiants are interrupted, they must eat no more until next day.

After preparing the acorn mush, the two ikiyavan make a model of Mt. Offield from the damp sand of the leaching basin. They also carry the baskets of sand for the yuxpit; the piled sand for the yuxpit does not represent the mountain. Its purpose is to make the world good and everyone happy.

At the end of the year the ikiyavan become ipnipavan. They have to "finish their work." They follow the new ikiyavan, holding the torch for them for their night duties.

The girls who follow the archers are of premenstrual age. Their faces are painted and they wear festive garb. They come back and change their dresses when the archers are about to return. There is no special name for these girls except ihriv, "followers."

(The year Mabel served, they did not have the Deerskin Dance.)

The two or three boys who burn Mt. Offield so that next year there will be no new widows are called kixahansa. Kixha means "to burn the hair," as a widow's hair is singed. The burning of the brush and grass on Mt. Offield is done on the night that the priest stands up.

For a year after the irahiv the officiants--the priest, the imusan, and the ikiyavan--cannot attend a funeral. Certain foods are also taboo for them: dog salmon cannot be eaten or manzanita berries, which will bring smallpox, or grapes, which will make people's eyes glaze and cause death. They may eat the back of winter salmon but not the belly; that will give people heart trouble. They may also eat acorns and deer meat. The officiants must not run fast or they will cause earthquake. They must not swing their arms in walking or they will spoil the world.

#### 1942 CEREMONY: OBSERVATIONS

In September, 1942, while Gifford was in Karok territory, the Katimin world-renewal ceremony took place. With Mrs. Emily Donahue (Mary Ike's daughter) as interpreter, he recorded the following notes.

On September 7 Henry Davis (one of the sons of Shan and Dora Davis) began his service as priest. No one appointed him. They (apparently the Davis family and other local residents) talked it over and Henry offered to officiate. The sweathouse was "fixed up" a little and Henry entered it about 4 p.m. Shan Davis, a former priest, undertook the ipnipavan' duties of looking after Henry, he and others going into the sweathouse with him. Henry's sister Sadie served as pishish ikiyavan, cooking for him and his alternates in the sacred living house. Henry was in his twenties and this was his first time as priest.

Just before noon on the ninth of September Gifford and Mrs. Donahue motored to Katimin. Two little girls were sitting by the roadside. They were painted with a vertical streak of red on each cheek, their hair was done in two rolls, and they wore beads. The archers, several men and boys with bows and arrows, were sitting apart. They had followed part way along the priest's trail. All were fasting. Just before noon they went down to the camp, upstream from the sweathouse, to eat. Meanwhile the priest was away in the hills.

In the late forenoon of September 10 Gifford and Mrs. Donahue again went to see what was happening. The two little girls were no longer functioning; they had gone to school. The archers were returning to camp to eat. Henry Davis had been replaced as priest by his father, Shan Davis, who could be heard calling as he went up the hillside. Henry Davis ate with his family; this was all right since he had not gone entirely through with the ritual, Mary Ike said. It was arranged that on September 11 Bernard Jerry was to be priest and would "stand up" at the yuxpit that night. Thereafter he must eat by himself ten days and keep away from crowds.

Although formerly there were several sweathouses at Katimin, the present one is the only one ever used for the pkiavish. Mary Ike said the term wenaram applied to both the sacred sweathouse and sacred living house, since the priest used both.

On September 11 Bernard Jerry replaced Shan as priest. He had never served before, but his son Abner Jerry had done so, even though a congenital defect made him somewhat slow and shuffling in gait. About 11 a.m. Bernard went to one of the fireplaces in the hills.

In the evening, just at dusk, Gifford, Mrs. Gifford, and Mrs. Donahue went to see the priest standing up at the yuxpit. He stood facing Mt. Offield, which could not be seen on account of a growth of pepperwood. Every now and then he sat down on a broad round wooden stool about six inches high, its top wider than its bottom. It was apparently of redwood, though this fact was not verified. Behind it was a conical pile of sand, the yuxpit, about eighteen inches high, on the edge of which the stool partly rested.

The priest wore tennis shoes (he should have been bare-foot), long dirty white drawers, and an undershirt. Around his body was a ragged deerskin, on his head a piece of otter-skin was tied. At his right side was a crude bag of deerskin containing buck-brush twigs (*Ceanothus integerrimus*) to be burned and two sticks, which projected behind him. When he sat down, his knees were drawn up, his elbows resting on them, his feet were flat on the ground, which sloped away slightly in front of him. He did not look constantly toward the mountain, as he should have, but turned his head toward the crowd at times.

A small fire burned at the priest's right. Fifty yards away up the hill was another fire, around which were collected women, children, and some men. There were only a few men to dance, but there were plenty of boys. Before the priest burned the twigs, the imitation Deerskin Dance was performed seventy-five yards away. The dancers had broken off branches to carry, but no stones representing obsidian blades were used in the imitation Deerskin Dance. Afterwards the dances were fairly close to the priest and sometimes downhill a bit and facing him, which was not true of the first.

The priest began standing at the yuxpit at sunset. After dark he ignited a large bonfire, and all were supposed to hide. "Everybody hide!" was the warning shouted by Shan Davis, who was ixkareya hosesan, "the one who takes care of the priest." The people, except unbelievers, covered their heads with blankets or lay on the ground with faces averted or simply bowed their heads with backs turned for several minutes while the buck-brush twigs, which the priest had carried during his travels, were burned in the fire. The twigs were called anav, "medicine." After the burning, Shan called out: "All come back." Then the imitation Deerskin Dance was performed several times in each of two or three places, the dancers always facing the priest. Some of

the audience used electric torches to illuminate the dancers, as the night, although starlit, was very dark. The dancers wore no feathers or other costume but merely carried foliage. There should have been only three singers; instead all the dancers sang.

Gifford's party left about nine o'clock, not waiting for the priest to leave for the sweathouse, to which Shan conducted him.

The priest traveled definitely specified trails, one of which was pointed out to Gifford. It led through the growth of trees and bushes on the slopes just above the river at Katimin. The priest used this trail every time he set out for the hills. Other people, however, may use it too.

On September 12 the people played the many-stick game (ararestix). Had the real Deerskin Dance been performed, it would have been danced this day also and the priest would have looked on from a distant vantage point uphill. In the late afternoon the War Dance was performed. Normally all the dancers were men, who carried brush instead of the weapons of earlier days. On this occasion only four men took part: Bernard Jerry (the priest) with a rusty sword or large knife, Dumphrey Pepper with a large, old, rusty gun, Shan Davis, and a fourth man. The priest should not have participated but should have been in seclusion.

The War Dance songs and movements were different from those of the imitation Deerskin Dance, in which the dancers imitated the movements of deerskin and obsidian holders. The War Dance had a stamping step, and two performers danced in front of the line, but not with the graceful movements and long strides of the imitation-obsidian holders. The dance was about three hundred yards upriver from the spot where the imitation Deerskin Dance was performed. There was no yuxpit, and the priest was not present officially.

SACRED LIVING HOUSE AND SWEATHOUSE

The following notes, diagrams, and photograph give details of the Katimin priest's sacred house and sweathouse. The photographs showing these structures (pls. 3,c, 4,b-d) were taken by Kroeber in 1902; another view is reproduced in Kroeber's Handbook, plate 12. On June 30, 1939, W. Egbert Schenck and Gifford drew the plans (figs. 1, 2) and recorded the description.

Sacred living house.--Measurements for the priest's house are approximate. The house was situated in a depression on the hillside, with banks on the north and east which had caved in; there were many broken boards. The ground in front sloped and there were no surface signs of a stone pavement, as in front of many houses in this region. The ridge of the house was composed of two logs--one off center--supported by end planks. From these two logs, two horizontal poles were suspended by hazel withes.

The entrance was 18 in. to one side of the center line of the ridge. Within, the floor of the fire pit with its five sides was 15 in. below the surrounding bench. The sides were banked with single planks placed horizontally. Vertical boards framed the four corner posts of the house floor; these were 2 in. thick by 12 in. wide and about 24 to 30 in. high. The planks were apparently of Port Orford cedar (*Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*), commonly used for houses.

Sweathouse.--The center line of the sweathouse, running approximately north and south, lies about 25 ft. west of the center line of the sacred living house. In 1939 the cliff edge had eroded to within 3 ft. of the west side of the sweathouse. With the gradual sliding of the cliff into the river, the sweathouse will probably not last long.

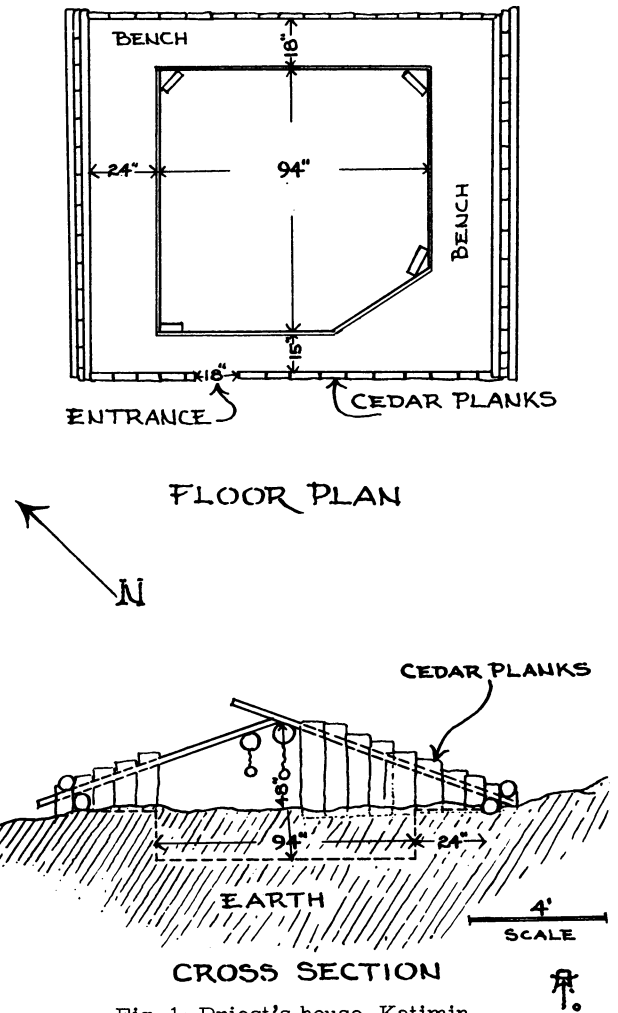


Fig. 1. Priest's house, Katimin.

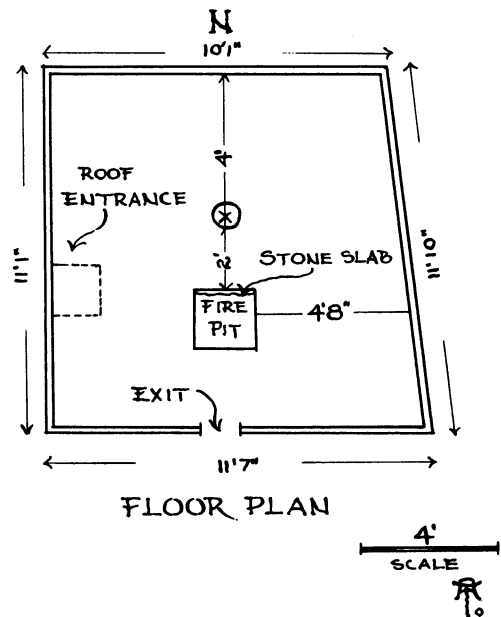


Fig. 2. Sweathouse, Katimin

Within the house the supporting post for the ridgepole rises only 4 ft. 11 in. above the floor in which its base is buried. The base does not rest on a stone. The distance from the center of this supporting post to the north wall is 4 ft., to the edge of the fire pit to the south, 2 ft.

At the north end the ridgepole is a short separate piece which slopes down from the level (4 ft. 11 in.) of the top of the house post to 3 ft. 6 in. at the edge of the house pit, at an angle of about 35 degrees below the horizontal. On the east side (uphill) the wall is of vertical boards about 22 in. long, sloping inward about 1 ft.

Running lengthwise (N-S) are four horizontal stringers, two from the edges of the pit, two between the ridge and the sides, supporting rafters. These four timbers are in addition to the ridgepole. On the south side the horizontal timber or plate rests on two upright short posts at the corners. Between the side and middle roof stringers the horizontal distance is between 2 ft. 4 in. and 2 ft. 6 in. These middle roof stringers rest on end boards. Outside on the east, roof board ends are buried. In both sweathouse and sacred house the east roof boards overlap the west roof boards.

The rectangular fire pit is 8 in. deep, faced by a stone slab on its north side. Its north and south faces are 22 in. long, the east and west faces 20 in. The north end of the pit is in line with the center of the roof opening, which is on the west side of the structure. The roof entrance measures 17 by 14 in.

The exit pit outside the south side is 2 ft. wide by 4 ft. 4 in. long; the pit is about 1 ft. deep and now has more or less dirt in it. There are flagstones around the exit area. The actual exit, a little east of the N-S line of the ridgepole, is closed with an oval wooden plug 16 by 13 in. in diameter.

#### DEERSKIN DANCE

Sieruk-pihiriv, "across-ocean-widower," was the immortal who established places where dances were to be held, according to Georgia Orcutt. He told his son not to take everything away from this world, but to leave some ornamental things for the Indians to play with hereafter.

No Deerskin Dance (wuwuha or wuwuhina)<sup>15</sup> can be given except as an accompaniment of a world-renewal ceremony. Mary Ike thought wuwuhina, the name of both Deerskin and Jumping dances, might refer to shouting, which is a feature of both. She said that the former is sacred and can be given only with the pikiavish, whereas the latter is "just playing." Her statements concerning the Jumping Dance are not borne out by the record, which shows it to be sacred also, even though it does not accompany the world-renewal ceremonies at Panamenik, Katimin, and Inam.

There is no medicine for the Deerskin Dance other than that made by the priest of the pikiavish, and he serves all dance groups and "owners." There is no privately owned medicine for this dance. Mary Ike confirmed this by saying that there is no "medicine man" sitting at the end of each line of dancers. The "medicine man" is the priest of the world-renewal ceremony.

Although in theory the real Deerskin Dance is biennial at Katimin, it seems not to have been performed with any such frequency. Mary Ike, a woman of about ninety in 1942, had seen it there only five times; in addition, she had seen it twice at Panamenik. Georgia Orcutt, about seventy in 1942, had heard of it only three times at Katimin and had attended

it once as a girl. At that time her mother had dressed her in a buckskin dress.<sup>16</sup> Emily Donahue, Mary Ike's daughter, had seen only the last performance at Katimin in 1912.

According to Georgia Orcutt, the Katimin Deerskin Dance came in the same years as the Orleans Deerskin Dance--not in alternate years. The day after they finished the dance at Orleans, it began at Katimin, but the Katimin "owners," not the Orleans "owners," gave it at Katimin. The Panamenik people attended, however, and lent their regalia. They might participate individually in the dance but not as a team representing Panamenik.

Every year that the real Deerskin Dance (wuwuha) was not performed the imitation Deerskin Dance (wuwuhi istava) was substituted on the night the priest of the world-renewal ceremony stood at the yuxpit. The dancers carried any kind of foliage (pepperwood, for instance) in place of deerskins and natural stones or sticks in place of obsidian blades. The steps and songs were those of the real Deerskin Dance. Its purpose was to help keep the priest awake on the last night of the ceremony.

According to Mary Ike, at each Deerskin Dance some new songs were usually introduced. There were only three singers, who stood in the middle of the line of dancers. The boat dance at Katimin was performed above the falls on the morning of the day the priest was to stand up. Mary had never seen it, although it was given in her time. It was held only on the occasion of the real Deerskin Dance.

People from various places brought their regalia to lend to the Katimin people. They did not necessarily dance with it themselves. In going upstream to Katimin, boats could be used to the lower falls (at Ashanamkarak), then people walked from there; or some might walk all the way. There were trails on both sides of the river.

The ceremony began with an evening dance on the river bar. Next morning (second day of the dance) came the boat dance, which began at Ishipishi and ended on the Katimin side, with only one crossing of the river. Following the boat dance they danced on the river bar at one place opposite Ishipishi. Next they danced on the river bar on the Katimin side, repeating many times. Then they moved up the hill and danced at the place where the priest stood up. He saw the dance then for the first time. He stood all night in early days and the dancing was to help keep him awake. Each "owner" (or group of "owners") gave his dance separately. As one group of dancers finished, the other moved into place. Each group tried to outdo the other in display of regalia, the best and most numerous being shown at the last dance.

Next day, the third, they danced also and the priest looked on from a station above on the hill, where he sat or stood alone. The dancing started in the forenoon. Only at the last dance on the third afternoon (at four o'clock) did the competing groups dance simultaneously (cf. Rekwoi). Two groups were all Mary had ever seen. One was Assipak Jim's group, combined with Abner Van Zandt's; the second was the group belonging to Happy Jack's father and Usich. No boat dance or river-bar dance was performed on this third day.

**Regalia.**--It was only in the real Deerskin Dance that obsidian blades<sup>17</sup> were carried. Basket cradles were used by the owners of the blades to carry them in safety to the dance place.

<sup>16</sup>On this occasion Georgia saw Mrs. Lucy Malone, a Karok, for the first and only time. Mrs. Malone lived in the Happy Camp region in 1942.

<sup>17</sup>Illustrated in Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 30; also in Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 2.

<sup>15</sup>Mary Ike also gave "sak wuwuha" as another designation for Deerskin Dance and "sivdu warak" for the dance performed in boats at Katimin and Panamenik.

Eagle tail feathers, with the distal end cut off square and white axillar down feather attached to the square end, were used as hair ornaments for both the Deerskin and Jumping dances.

Beaver teeth were used on headband ornaments<sup>18</sup> for the Deerskin Dance, along with sea-lion (ipar) teeth, which were imported and ground down on stone. For the back of the headdress in the Deerskin Dance tail feathers of any kind were used, attached as fringe to a rectangular net. These were worn with the sea-lion-teeth headdresses. Ring-tailed-cat skins were worn as ornaments in the Deerskin Dance.

When the real Deerskin Dance did not accompany the world-renewal ceremony at Katimin, the imitation Deerskin Dance did. Then there were no dancing parties competing in display of regalia and no special camps where the privilege holders (dance "owners") dispensed hospitality to visitors. Evidently the feeling was that the dance (either the real thing or the imitation) was an integral part of the ceremony and must be given.

Katimin Deerskin Dance "owners."--The privilege of giving the Katimin Deerskin Dance was vested in certain families. The ideas of several informants on "ownership" are presented below. We shall refer to the possessors of the privilege as the dance "owners." In presenting dances, various owners might combine their dancers into one team, though each owner might maintain his separate camp, where he fed people. The Katimin dance was given only at Katimin.

Three informants, Mary Ike, Georgia Orcutt, and Ben Tom, agreed unanimously on the following as dance owners (or better, representatives of dance-owning families): (1) Abner Van Zandt, (2) Jim of Assipak, (3) Usich or Iharetamvarat. Owners named by Mary Ike and Ben Tom but not mentioned by Georgia Orcutt were (4) Ned (Happy Jack's father) and (5) Ararastyuun or Beggar Jim. Named by Ben Tom but not mentioned by either Mary Ike or Georgia Orcutt were (6) Mukasnamich, (7) Xumaru Jack, and (8) Maggie Billings' mother. Named by Georgia Orcutt but denied by Mary Ike and Ben Tom was Onnenimich. Waskak, or Jack Pepper (father's brother of Dumphrey Pepper), of Katimin, was named as a dance owner by Mrs. Ellen Allen of Orleans. This was disputed by Mary Ike and Georgia Orcutt who both declared that the Pepper family never owned any dance. Georgia emphasized the point that only dance owners feasted the people at dance time and that the Pepper family was not sufficiently well-to-do.

The transmission of the dance-giving privilege was always by blood, never by marriage. It could never be sold. The heirs need not exercise their right; this was true in earlier times as it is today. Apparently, the most frequent transmission was from father to all sons. However, daughters, nephews, and nieces, might inherit if there were no sons. Though both men and women inherited the privilege, men took the more active part in presenting the dance.

The following are examples of ownership of the privilege.

1. Half-breed Abner Van Zandt (deceased) of Ishipishi and his half-breed half-sister, Mrs. Mattie Mahoney Hillman, inherited the privilege from their mother and their mother's brother (both Karok). In later life their mother married Ben Tom, a Karok, but the marriage did not give him ownership, which remains vested in Mrs. Hillman and her children, even though they may never give the dance. Mrs. Hillman also owns dance regalia, which she lent to the Hupa for their Deerskin Dance in 1941. She

could sell the regalia if she wished, but could not sell the privilege of giving the dance.

2. Assipak Jim of Assipak, a site a short distance upriver from Hickock's mine, on the west side of the river. He has no living heirs. Ben Tom and Mary Ike agreed that this owner and the mother of Abner Van Zandt (1) had a joint dance team at Katimin. Mary said also that they united in one camp to feed guests, whereas Ben Tom, last husband of Abner's mother, asserted that they maintained separate camps. Possibly these statements refer to different occasions.

3. Usich, "fir cone," or Iharetamvarat, "pre-dawn light from upriver," a Deerskin Dance owner who instructed the priest and other officiants in the pikiavish medicine. (Women never knew this medicine.) Usich has no living heirs.

4. Ned of Xumnipak, on the west side of the river upstream from Dillon's Creek, father of Happy Jack. Happy Jack had no offspring (1942). Mary Johnnie also owns the Katimin Deerskin Dance "through relationship to Happy Jack." Mary Johnnie's father and Ned were paternal parallel cousins; their fathers' fathers were brothers who lived in Kiriviramishi, "the best house," in Ashanamkarak. Ned's father was Eimxara, "tall shaman."

5. Ararastyuun, or Beggar Jim, of Katimin. His son and heir, Pete Henry (see his portrait, Harrington, pl. 2, a, b), never married and had no heirs. Ararastyuun's house near the yuxpit had to be vacated during the high river of 1889-1890. Kroeber's 1902 informant, TDBB, stated that the Deerskin Dance at Katimin belonged to Henry.<sup>19</sup>

6. Mukasnamich, of Aftaram, transmitted the dance privilege to Barney Skanks, his sister's daughter's son. Barney left no heirs. Mukasnamich and Usich (3) presented a single dance team. Kroeber's 1902 informant, TDBB, states that "the upriver party is represented by Skanks, who is the yashara of Aftaram."

7. Xumaru Jack, deceased, mother's brother of Sally and Daisy Jacobs, owner of the Inam Deerskin Dance. Informant Ben Tom said that he owned the Katimin dance also, but this statement was not corroborated by other informants.

8. Maggie Billings' mother, of Yuxtuyurup, a part of Katimin; her husband was from Inuxtaakats. Maggie (living in 1942) would have her own campfire and would feed her guests on the occasion of the Deerskin Dance. She possessed no dance regalia.

Asked to explain just what she meant by "owning the dance," Mary Ike said it was difficult to explain. To illustrate, she cited the case of her late husband, Little Ike, who was not a dance owner. Even though he owned two woodpecker-scalp rolls, he did not have the privilege of initiating the Jumping Dance nor, though he owned some appurtenances of the Deerskin Dance, such as beads and an obsidian blade, was he a dance owner. He lent these to Happy Jack's father, an owner, when the Deerskin Dance was given. Mary emphasized that the owners of the privilege of giving the dance need not necessarily have regalia themselves, since they might borrow pieces.

<sup>18</sup>See Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 3; Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pls. 7 and 30.

<sup>19</sup>Pete Henry or his father.

Mary thought that the privilege of giving the Deerskin Dance was owned among the Hupa and Yurok as among the Karok.

Mary Ike listed the following as not dance owners:

1. Her husband, Little Ike, whose mother was from Asammam; his mother's mother, from Wuppam.
2. The Shan Davis family. Shan's mother, from Katimin, owned no dance. His father was a half-breed from Crescent City.
3. Dora Davis' family. Dora's home place was Inuxtaakats, above Hickock's mine. In the high water of 1889-1890 they were washed out and had to move across the river.
4. The Pepper family, originally from Katimin.
5. Maggie Charlie's mother, from Pasiru'uvra, and her father, probably from Inninats.
6. Ben Tom, born at Kochiivisyarakam (opposite Kochi at Spink's ranch upstream from Katimin) was always poor and owned no dance, even though, late in life, he married a dance owner.

Mrs. Georgia Orcutt named as nonowners the people of Inuxtaakats in general, mentioning in particular Mrs. Elsie McLaughlin and her half-breed daughter and two sons: Mrs. Lottie Beck, Charles McLaughlin of Ti'i, Alpha McLaughlin of Katimin.

Ben Tom himself said he was not a dance owner. On September 17, 1942, when he was seventy years or more old, Ben had the following to say. He had never been priest at either Inam or Katimin, but had served as a sort of helper at Katimin on many occasions, carrying the light to conduct the priest to the sweathouse. He used a lantern; earlier a pitch-covered stick was used. Ben had danced many times in the Deerskin Dance. He had not been a singer or obsidian carrier. He had danced with deerskins and branches.

#### WAR DANCE

Following a day of playing the many-stick game the War Dance (sivstap), the last act of the Katimin pikiavish, is performed in the late afternoon of the last day of the ceremony, that is, the day following the last Deerskin Dance or the imitation Deerskin Dance. It is danced as the sun descends behind the mountains on the day after the priest ends his duties. The origin of this dance is attributed to Coyote, who lived at Orleans. (See App. III, story 4.)

According to Mrs. Ellen Allen, the War Dance is a kahi, "upriver," Karok dance. The War Dance has never been part of the ritual at Panamenik; there it was performed only as a real war dance of victory or at settlement of indemnity for the slain. Thus the Katimin and Inam war dances are really ritual imitations, with no slaying as the incentive. In earlier days, however, the real War Dance was performed at these places also on the occasion of feuds. So far as informants' memories go, the imitation War Dance has always been part of the Katimin and Inam world-renewal ceremonies. No one owns the privilege of giving this dance, all informants said.

Dancers of the War Dance sometimes come in from the woods shouting and firing guns or they may carry only branches. In the old days they wore quivers under the right arm, held by a strap over the left shoulder, and carried bows and arrows. The dancers sometimes moistened alder bark (epas) and reddened their faces with it. The men danced abreast and all sang. Sandy Bar Joe gave two names for the Katimin War Dance: the usual term sivstap and kahi it tuwarak, which he said meant "come on down last night."

In the real War Dance at Panamenik three of the men sang while dancing; no musical instruments were used. Only white eagle feathers were worn in the hair, one to each man; in modern times, these are stuck in a white man's hat.

In reply to the question whether medicine to prevent killings accompanied the Katimin War Dance, Mary Ike said: "It goes with the medicine man (priest) of the irahiv." Georgia Orcutt confirmed this, saying that no medicine was made for the annual Katimin War Dance except the regular pikiavish medicine, but when the War Dance was in earnest (as at Panamenik), a special medicine was made to insure peace.

Formerly, for two or three days after the War Dance people would stay around and play the many-stick game. Now they all get drunk and go to Orleans.

#### DATA COLLECTED IN 1902 (Kroeber)

Data from informant TDBB.--At the New Year ceremony at Katimin the ikxarey-arar, or formulist, has two periods of living in the sacred house. The first period lasts ten days and ends with New Year proper. The second period lasts five days, during which the Deerskin Dance is performed.

During the first ten days the formulist goes each day to a different place in the hills to make medicine there. He is followed by a number of young men carrying bows and arrows, shooting at marks for bets, and having a good time. Young girls who have not yet reached adolescence may go with them, but no older women. The formulist goes ahead of the party to the proper place, starts the fire there and speaks his formula, after which he returns to the camp. The young men may remain for a while longer, amusing themselves.

The first day they go straight back up from Katimin, the second, behind Ishipishi, and so on, to a different place each day. The spots visited were the same each year, and in the same order. All of them seem to be upriver or across the river or back from Katimin, none down river. The first day, the young men breakfast before they start, but on all other days they do not eat until they come home. Some of the places visited have a rock or similar feature, but at some nothing in particular is visible. On the last day the spot visited is Ahiram-avaxkam, partway up Uyak Mountain to the north of Katimin.

During these ten days the ikxarey-arar eats in the sacred house and sleeps in the sacred sweathouse, and he washes several times a day in a little shady pool, called xuripat uyisirirar, in the little stream or trickle immediately north of Katimin. (Ordinarily the old men of Katimin bathe in a little "lake," called Ash-pahokuram, adjoining the town.) During these ten days the formulist eats twice a day, salmon and acorns, and may drink water, but he eats no deer meat.

During these ten days, or at least part of them, the people leave their houses in Katimin and camp at the foot of the bluff on the sand by the river. Every night a number of men enter the sweathouse where the ikxarey-arar is, to sing and help keep him awake, because it is better the less he sleeps.

The tenth day, when the formulist goes to Ahiram-avaxkam, is the important one. While he is on his way there, somebody has brought in wood--I think pitch pine. The two kiavan, or girl assistants, take this wood (?) to Asha-uruxshuru, a large roundish rock at the edge of the water just upstream from the sandy beach from which one crosses to Ishipishi. Then they go to cook acorns at Kashoxnan or Chiniakra, a gravelly spot a scant hundred yards farther

upriver. These cooked acorns are later on taken up to yuxpít, the central spot of the ceremony, after the formulist is there; and several young men come forward and eat this acorn soup.

The yuxpít is on a slight slope upriver but downhill from Katimín, in a grassy spot where a log house now stands [1902]. This open space is now at the brink of the bluff down to the river. A few feet beyond it, next to a large pepperwood, is where the Deerskin Dance is made. The yuxpít itself [which corresponds to the stone altar at Ashanamkarak] is a small heap of sand scarcely a foot high. It is now [May, 1902] overgrown with grass like all the area around it, and from a little distance it is scarcely visible. The heap or mound was originally farther out, but slid off with the rest of the bluff as so much of Katimín has done. It was therefore brought back, because people did not want to lose it, and placed where it is now. At each New Year the two girl assistants clean or repair it. They also go down to the boat landing beach and bring up a fairly large cooking basket not quite full of sand and add it to the yuxpít.

During all of the ten days the ikxarey-arar stops eating if any one sees him, and goes into the sweathouse. Therefore, when he is about to begin to eat, someone calls out that he is eating now. Then the people all go indoors until they hear it called out that the ikxarey-arar has finished eating.

On the evening of the tenth day the fire is made which no one may look at. It is a small fire, made of a bundle of brush less than a foot thick. It takes perhaps twenty minutes to burn up. The fire is made next to the yuxpít. All of the people sit about, especially uphill from it, and cover their heads and faces while the fire is burning. They uncover only when it is completely burned out.

The ikxarey-arar stands on the yuxpít all the rest of the night. There is a stool kept in the sacred sweathouse and set on the yuxpít this evening on which he stands motionless. When he becomes too tired, he sits down on the stool for a time, then stands up again. Between ceremonies, the sacred stool is kept covered up in the sweathouse; and with it is a sacred stone. The latter is uncovered briefly, say perhaps for two hours in the sweathouse, but not taken out of it.

While the formulist stands on the yuxpít, he holds a quiver clamped under his right arm or in his right hand. This holds the fire drill with which he starts the ceremonial fires (at the ten places). The same drill is used year after year until it wears out, when a new one is made. At the back of his head the formulist has something standing up, perhaps a stick or piece of bone wrapped with some kind of fur. All night people sit about him talking and having a good time, to help keep him awake because he may not sleep. Hearing the people talk helps him. The two girl assistants move about now and then, up the hill or down to the river, in order to help them keep awake.

The preadolescent girls who accompany the marksmen into the hills have red vertical streaks, or red and black, painted on their faces. The ikxarey-arar is painted only with black. He would not use red.

The second period of the ceremony lasts for five days, during which the ikxarey-arar continues to live in the sacred house and the two kiavan also still officiate, but the ikxarey-arar no longer makes any trips into the hills. If it is a kiavan's first experience in assisting, she must remain (under restrictions) for ten days instead of five. The people still are camped down by the river. The Deerskin Dance, which lasts from two to five days, is started so as to end on the last of the five days of this period.

The dance is now [1902] held on the sandy beach at the foot of the bluff, but formerly, before so much of this had

slid off, they danced on the grassy level above. On the final day they danced under the pepperwood near the yuxpít heap of sand. They danced both in the day and in the evening. The last day is always the finest. There are two alternating parties, one for Katimín, the other for upriver. The Deerskin Dance at Katimín "belongs" to Henry. He is the yash-ara, or rich man, who provides the valuables to dance with and feeds the visitors; all, of course, with the help of his friends. The upriver party is represented by Skanks, who is the yash-ara of Aftaram. These two dignities are hereditary. They were arranged long ago when the spirits (ikhareya) instituted the dance.

At Katimín there are several possible ikxarey-arar, including Sweet William,<sup>20</sup> an old man who lives opposite Luther Hickock. One man may officiate for a good many years in succession, but sometimes they relieve each other. The formula or prayers are not bought and sold or transmitted by inheritance from father to son as property is. The older men try out the young ones and when they find one who is interested and has a good memory, they teach him what he needs to know as ikxarey-arar so that the ritual will not die out.

When Katimín was burned by the whites soon after they came into the country, the sacred house was destroyed, but the sacred sweathouse was only damaged. Indians from elsewhere had come to protect their local relatives from the whites and managed to preserve the sweathouse.

When this sacred sweathouse is to be repaired, the roof is not opened out. The interior must not be exposed; new planks are put on top and the old ones slid out underneath them; or the new ones are slid in from below. In 1902 this sweathouse was almost at the edge of the bluff, which had been sliding off into the river, with only a narrow platform of stones in front of it.

At the time of the Deerskin Dance the dead of the preceding year were paid for by the yash-ara to whom the dance "belonged"; for instance, at Katimín by Henry. The payment would be in the neighborhood of a string of dentalia. Payment was made to friends who were in the habit of lending the rich man regalia for the dance. A poor fellow townsman, unable to contribute, would not be paid for a death in his family. The informant said the system was the same as at Weitspus.

Data from Mary Ike.--The house wenaram at Katimín is like a sweathouse. It belongs to New Year's; it is where they begin to make that. It does not any longer have the boards of the original house, but the lumber is renewed from time to time.

Observation at Katimín, by Kroeber.--The sacred house is just behind the sacred sweathouse, at perhaps ten yards farther back from the edge of the bluff. It is much the same shape and size as the sweathouse, but is higher. The pit inside nearly fills the house, the ledge or terrace at the ground level being quite narrow. The structure stands in a hollow in the higher slope and a good deal of water drains into it. No furnishings were seen in it. The roof boards are not laid on very closely and many of them are old and weathered. I noticed no sign of a door. The ridgepole is about five feet above the ground. This ridgepole runs north and south, parallel to the river, like that of the sweathouse, whereas a living house would have its ridgepole running toward the river. At the eaves the roof comes nearly to the ground. The house seems somewhat longer than wide, but without as much excess as the sweathouse has. An informant said that the sweathouse was a good deal like the menstrual hut formerly used.

<sup>20</sup>Who was fatawenan on the second occasion that Gifford's informant, Dora Davis, served as ikiyavan. See notes from Dora Davis, p. 26.--G.

# KAROK: AMAIKIARAM

(Gifford)

Amaikiaram lacked the world-renewal ceremony as performed at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik, but possessed two ceremonies performed nowhere else in Karok territory, the First Salmon Ceremony and the Jumping Dance. The First Salmon Ceremony has parallels at Yurok Weikwāu and among the Hupa. The Jumping Dance was also performed by the Hupa, at several Yurok places, and by the Wiyot of Mad River.

Kroeber described the essentials of the First Salmon Ceremony (Handbook, pp. 104-105). His brief account of the Jumping Dance gives the impression that it immediately followed the First Salmon Ceremony, whereas it actually came three or four months later. Kroeber's Handbook material was utilized by Erna Gunther, whose paper "A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony" incorporates the Amaikiaram ceremony in her distributional study of first-salmon rites.

John P. Harrington, in his Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California, discusses the First Salmon Ceremony in the spring and mentions the Jumping Dance performed in July.<sup>1</sup> In his enumeration of the Karok months (pp. 82 and 83) a synonym for "sixth moon" refers to the spring salmon ceremony and a synonym for "ninth moon" to the Jumping Dance. He applies the term New Year only to the ceremonies at Clear Creek (Inam), Katimin, and Orleans (Panamenik). Kroeber's 1902 informant, however, like Roberts' informants below, referred to the Salmon Ceremony as a New Year rite. Gifford's informants did not speak of the Amaikiaram ceremonies as pkiavish or New Year ceremonies.

An account derived from two unnamed female informants appears in Helen H. Roberts' paper "The First Salmon Ceremony of the Karuk Indians." Mary Ike (one of Gifford's informants) identified these two women. Roberts' No. 1 informant was Phoebe Maddux, who was also J. P. Harrington's principal informant; her No. 2 informant was Mary Ike herself. Miss Roberts records, apparently mistakenly, the same title for the salmon ceremony priest that Gifford's informants (Mary Ike included) gave for the priest of the Jumping Dance only.

Cultural elements for the First Salmon Ceremony are listed by Harold E. Driver in Culture Element Distributions: X--Northwest California. Elements 268-282, column K2, were obtained from informant Frank Ruben of Orleans, whose account of the ceremony appears on page 380 (notes on element 268).

## Scheme: Amaikiaram

First Salmon Ceremony  
(in March and April)

<u>Day</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Other Participants</u>
1-8	In sweathouse	Singers in sweathouse
9	In sweathouse	Assistant priest and woman wood-getter begin duties
10	With assistant, cooks salmon	Assistant eats salmon; altar built

<sup>1</sup>Tobacco among the Karuk, p. 7.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Other Participants</u>
11-14	Both priests in retreat for ten days in sweathouse	In retreat; a woman may join retreat for ten days
15	In retreat	In retreat; wood-getter boils corms
16-18	In retreat	In retreat
19	In retreat	In retreat; ceremonial articles hidden
20	In retreat	In retreat

## Scheme: Amaikiaram

Jumping Dance in July

<u>Day</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Dances</u>
1	In sweathouse; "fishes for luck" at Asatak	At Amaikiaram
2-8	In sweathouse	At Amaikiaram
9	In sweathouse; "fishes" at Asatak	At Amaikiaram; also at Asatak
10	"Fishes" at Asatak	At Asatak
11	Goes into retreat	At Salmon River mouth on alternate occasions
12-20	In retreat	

## FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

Account by various informants.<sup>2</sup>--Among the Karok the First Salmon Ceremony was formerly held annually only at Amaikiaram on the west bank of the Klamath, the sacred fire being built at a spot directly opposite on the east bank, below the village of Ashanamkarak.<sup>3</sup> Amaikiaram was said to mean "where you or they make salmon," in reference to the drying of salmon (ama) there. The term "inam," meaning the place where a world-renewal ceremony is held, was not used at Amaikiaram.

The ceremony, it was said, like the world renewals at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik, belonged to no one person; everybody "owned" it. It took place, according to Charles James and Mary Ike, in March or early April in the Karok month ixrivkixan, "month six." Mary Ike and Sandy Bar Joe said it was timed by the phase of the moon. On the last day of the moon the priest and assistant priest crossed the river to cook and eat the first salmon.

The First Salmon Ceremony was not called irahiv or pkiavish but was referred to as idurūm or iduramva, meaning "to run away hiding" (in order not to see the sacred fire

<sup>2</sup>The principal informants were Mary Ike, Georgia Orcutt, Sandy Bar Joe (or Joe Jack), Charles James, and Sally Jacobs. Sally had never attended the First Salmon Ceremony at Amaikiaram or the Jumping Dance held there in July. In 1939 Mrs. Mamie Ofield acted as interpreter for Mary Ike; in 1940 and 1942 Mrs. Emily Donahue, Mary Ike's daughter, served.

<sup>3</sup>Harrington, p. 7.



or its smoke when the salmon was cooked on the last day). In the morning, before the fire was ignited, someone on the Amaikiaram side of the river shouted "Iduramva!" (The warning "Kaiko aksanwa!" of the three pikiavish ceremonies was not used here.) Then everyone went up into the hills without breakfast and picnicked there. Mary Ike's family used to go into a canyon just upstream from Ashanamkarak, where there was a secluded little flat, out of view of the sacred fireplace. Ben Tom said he always went to the "picnic" at Amaikiaram when the priest made the "smoke" and the people had to hide uphill. He spoke of the First Salmon Ceremony as *irurahiv*; Charles James called it *sarukatokiem*, "to make fire by the river."

This igniting of the fire, seen only by the priest and his assistant, was the most sacred act of the ceremony. The smoke, said to rise vertically, was the most sacred of all the ceremonial smokes. "Vultures come back the day of the Amaikiaram smoke. They know they are going to eat salmon." A person who saw the smoke would be taboo (*aksanwa*) or accursed; he might die by being bitten by a snake or by some other accident. People as far away as Katimin and Panamenik avoided looking in that direction. Mrs. Ellen Allen told of one skeptical half-breed who looked at the smoke, which was going straight up to a high altitude. The next fall he was killed by a rattlesnake.

There were no dances connected with the First Salmon Ceremony, all informants agreed, and no payments to be-reaved persons were made before it. The Jumping Dance, held three or four months later, seems to have had no relation to it.

The titles of the priest of the First Salmon Ceremony<sup>4</sup>--*fatawenan*, *xadiara*, or *ixkareya ara*--were the same as those of the priest of the *irahiv* at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik. The Amaikiaram priest, however, did not travel and build fires at various spots, as the others did. For ten days he spent most of the time in the sweat-house, sitting impassively, thinking and wishing for abundance of salmon, acorns, and other food in the coming year. His sweat-house fire kept people from feeling cold. While officiating, the priest ate only acorn soup. He did not eat of the ceremonially cooked first salmon; that was the function of the assistant priest (*sarukiruiishrihan*). When the priest ate, he must be alone, and there must be no noise. If he heard a noise, he quit eating.

Sandy Bar Joe said that each afternoon about four the priest went uphill with elkhorn chisel and maul to cut down a young madrone, making medicine in order to cut deep. Trimming off the branches, he carried the sapling down on his shoulder and stood it against a huge hollow pepperwood trunk. The poles<sup>5</sup> thus felled were left to rot; they were not used for any purpose, except to insure abundance of salmon and acorns. The practice appears related to the Inam custom of putting a madrone branch in the stone enclosure on the river bar to increase the salmon run.

There were various names for the assistant priest:

<sup>4</sup>H. H. Roberts, *First Salmon Ceremony*, p. 428, gives the title of the priest as *Ex'Ene'evā'sθan*; this was denied by all Gifford's informants, the title (recorded as *ixmeavasan*) being applied by them only to the priest of the Jumping Dance performed in July.

<sup>5</sup>The account by Mary Ike beyond states that only one pole a year is cut. Gifford failed to get the testimony of a third informant on this point, since he interviewed Sandy Bar Joe, the second informant, at the end of his last season's investigation.

*sarukamavan*, "down the hill he eats"; *sarukiruiishrihan*, "down the hill to roll it" or "he rolls it down there" (also translated as *saruk*, "down by the river," *ruiishrihan*, "to lay something down"); *sieruktuamvar* (*sieruk*, "to cross river," *tuamvar*, "to eat fish"). The assistant priest brought the dugout canoe to ferry the priest to the eastern bank where the sacred fire was built. The canoe paddles were kept at Amaikiaram in the hollow tree against which the priest placed the madrone saplings. (In 1940 Gifford saw rotting paddles in the tree.)

The assistant priest fished for the salmon and he alone ate this first one, which he cooked at the sacred fire. This part of the ceremony took place about noon, the people returning from the hills by evening. For ten days afterwards the two priests must remain continent or they would become *aksanwa*, "unlucky," and get hurt. For ten days also they must eat no steelhead.

The first fish caught was cooked and eaten ceremonially, regardless of its size. Theoretically, the assistant priest must eat the whole fish except the bones, which were buried in the fire. Often, however, an officiant ate only a small portion. Anyone who could devour the whole fish would be lucky.<sup>6</sup> Sandy Bar Joe's brother, as assistant priest, nearly succeeded in consuming all the salmon. Another assistant priest, *Kadomaninamich*, served seven times; he was very lucky as a result, marrying into a wealthy family. (He was the youngest of the eight brothers of Little Ike's mother, Sally Jacobs said, and half-married the Wuppan woman *Xerarehan*, ultimately taking her to Amaikiaram. Her family owned the privilege of giving the Jumping Dance at Amaikiaram and she possessed many Jumping Dance regalia.)

There were two female participants in the ceremony: the *pishishikiyavan*, who cooked for the priest, and the *ahopikiyavan* or wood-getter. The *pishishikiyavan* sang into or over a basketry bowl of water to bring the priest good luck in getting money.<sup>7</sup> After the assistant priest ate the first salmon, she made "good-luck" medicine for him, as Mary Ike describes beyond.

Two structures were used in the ceremony, the sacred living house, called *wenaram*,<sup>8</sup> and the sacred sweat-house. The *wenaram* had other names: *fatawenan kiriviram* and *ixkariyaara kiriviram*, the last being translated as "spirit person's house." Mary Ike said *wenaram* analyzes as *wen*, "to perform," *aram*, "at place"; also, she and her daughter, Mrs. Emily Donahue, suggested a connection with the term *uwenati*, the act of the priest speaking a formula. A different interpretation was given by Georgia Orcutt, who said

<sup>6</sup>Little Ike's mother's youngest brother served as *sarukiruiishrihan* seven times. He was very lucky as a result.

<sup>7</sup>Mrs. Bessie Tripp served in this capacity at the last ceremony. She was not interviewed.

<sup>8</sup>Evidence of the limitation of this term to Amaikiaram is contradictory. In 1939 Mary Ike asserted that it was not applied to sacred living houses at Panamenik and Katimin; the statements of Georgia Orcutt (1940, 1942) and Ellen Allen (1941) corroborated this. In 1942 Mary Ike reversed her statement in part, saying that the word was used for the Katimin sacred living house. Kroeber lists it (*Karok Towns*, p. 32) for Katimin. Ben Tom (1942) said there was *wenaram* at Amaikiaram and Katimin, none elsewhere. Shan Davis, four times *fatawenan* at Katimin, said that *wenaram* was used only for the Amaikiaram structure. Sandy Bar Joe applies *wenaram* to the sacred living house at Panamenik also.

that wenaram seemed to mean "beginning place of idurûm," a statement of fact rather than an etymology.

The wenaram at Amaikiam was occupied as an ordinary dwelling, the occupants moving out for the First Salmon Ceremony. In 1882 the wenaram was the home of Amaikiam Joe (called Pa-wenaram by Ellen Allen), who often served as priest. During the ceremony the priest ate his meals in the wenaram. Some medicines were also made there.

The sacred sweathouse was called wenaram kimachiram, "wenaram's sweathouse," or ixkareya kimachiram, "spirit person's sweathouse." The name of the sweathouse was Ikriripan.<sup>9</sup> It stood near the brink of a steep descent to the river, about thirty feet downhill from the sacred living house. The rear exit was on the uphill end (roughly, west), the main entrance on the downstream side (roughly, south). A stone seat stood outside the entrance, another at the exit.

In addition to these main structures another living house, uphill from the sacred living house, possibly figured in the ceremony. This house, called Fumtapsiruwam (fumtap, "to blow the smoke on"), was used for purification of persons who had become aksanwa through seeing either priest functioning. So Mary Ike first said, though she subsequently denied it, saying that the place for such purification was a large rock on the west side of the river.

The First Salmon Ceremony at Amaikiam was unique in having a stone "altar." Kroeber (Handbook, pl. 6) pictures this altar; see also plate 4, e, f, of the present work. It was built at the site of the fire used to cook the first salmon and was left for freshets to wash away.

Two (originally ten) sacred stones,<sup>10</sup> called ixkareya-kuna (said to mean "crooked immortals") were set on top of the Amaikiam sweathouse so as to "look" downriver during the ceremony. Mary Ike described them as about a foot long, reddish, and "bent" in an obtuse angle. She said that when all these stones disappear, the Karok will cease to exist. Georgia Orcutt said these stones were used for the Salmon Ceremony only, not for the July Jumping Dance.

The priest blew unburned tobacco from his hand as an offering to the sacred stones.<sup>11</sup> According to Sandy Bar Joe, ten sacks of tobacco were used by the priest at the First Salmon Ceremony. These were called by the special word chirrixus, not merely "ten sacks of tobacco."<sup>12</sup>

In mythical times the fish-eating Raccoon (akuat),<sup>13</sup> was assistant priest for the First Salmon Ceremony. All informants connected Raccoon with the assistant priest who ate the salmon. He was painted with sweathouse soot to represent Raccoon, with two or three horizontal bars on each cheek,

one on each thigh, two on each calf, and six on breast and abdomen. The priest had a black crescent painted on his breast and a transverse band on the upper part of each arm and on each leg below the knee. According to Mary Ike, this design represented Varied Thrush. However, the myth on the release of the salmon (App. III, story 6), part of which refers to the First Salmon Ceremony, does not mention either Raccoon or Varied Thrush. The actors in the myth are ixkareya with human attributes, the only one with an animal name being Coyote.

After the ceremony the two priests cleaned off the black markings with moistened dust from Equisetum stems which had been used to polish arrows. The dust and paint thus removed were kept for making deer medicine, being wrapped in leaves and hidden in a hollow tree. If brought into the house or sweathouse, the medicine would lose its potency.

Near the road from Auich to Orleans on the west side of the Klamath River is a pond called Otiabixanam, a mile to a mile and a half downstream from the Forest Service bridge at Auich. Here the immortal salmon owners washed the flint or obsidian knife (yuhidim) with which they cut salmon and here their human successors did likewise.<sup>13a</sup> (Fig. 3 shows the outline of a flint knife of this type from Panamenik village at Orleans.) In July, about the time the Jumping Dance was held, the salmon priest and his assistant bathed in this lake. Mary Ike also said that "the ixmeavasan, the priest who makes medicine for the Amaikiam Jumping Dance, bathes in the lake where the salmon knife is washed."<sup>14</sup>

Account by Mary Ike.—The people who are giving the ceremony watch the sunrise from the sacred living house (wenaram) at Amaikiam. When the sun rises above a certain clump of trees on the ridge back of Ashanamarak, they know that the time has arrived. Then they make the fire to warm the stone-slab floor of the sacred sweathouse Ikriripan.

The priest sweeps out the sweathouse with some special kind of foliage, saying: "I am sweeping all the disease away. I'm sweeping it away from one end of the earth to the other." Every morning and every evening after the fire dies down, he sweeps and says the same thing. Each morning and evening someone sweeps the trail for him up to his bathing-place.

When the priest bathes, he says: "I am getting into salmon blood." After bathing, morning and evening, he goes to the sacred living house to eat. His food is broken up into small bits. Everybody goes outside while he eats, and he must hear no noise. After eating he bathes in the creek again; he does not bathe in the river.

On the first day, after he has been in the sweathouse a short time, he goes up the hill to cut a madrone pole. He cuts it with an elk-horn chisel and a stone maul, holding his breath while each chip is being detached. If he does not hold his breath, the salmon will all go up the river without stopping at Amaikiam. When the tree is cut sufficiently, he breaks it off with his hands and strips it of foliage. He carries it down the hill on his left shoulder and sets it against a pepperwood tree near the sweathouse. One such pole is cut each year and left there to rot.

The priest stays in his sweathouse nine nights before

<sup>9</sup>It is mentioned in the myth about the origin of the bow and arrow.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Kepel use of stones. Waterman and Kroeber, *Kepel Fish Dam*, p. 53.

<sup>11</sup>Little Ike, informant Mary Ike's deceased husband, served once as priest (xadiara) and once as assistant priest (sarukiruii-shrihan). Mary Ike and Bessie Tripp are the only ones left who officiated in the First Salmon Ceremony.

<sup>12</sup>Harrington (p. 236) states that only five were used at Amaikiam. He pictures models of the sacks made by Mary Ike (pl. 36, facing p. 185).

<sup>13</sup>Raccoons were not molested or used for any purpose by the Karok, according to Georgia Orcutt.

<sup>13a</sup>Mary Ike states beyond that they washed the knife in the river.

<sup>14</sup>Possibly the acts described indicate some sort of esoteric connection between the First Salmon Ceremony and the Jumping Dance, despite informants' statements that there is no connection.

the rite on the riverbank when the fire is made and the salmon cooked. Every night men join him in the sweathouse to sing songs about various "salmon"--dog salmon, steelhead, Chinook; they do not sing about eel, trout, or sturgeon.

On the ninth day the assistant priest (sarukiruiishrihan) enters the ceremony. He is the man who lays out the salmon so the priest can cut off its tail. Whoever wishes may undertake the job. The sarukiruiishrihan has no duties until the ninth day. On the ninth day, too, they look for a virgin girl from Ashanamkarak to be the wood-getter (ahopikiyavan). She crosses the river to Amaikiaram. The men sing all night.

About four o'clock on the morning of the tenth day--the day before the new moon appears in the west--a number of men start shouting, first at the sweathouse, then at four other places, the last being the huge rock across the river from Ashanamkarak. They shout: "Ixiduram!" ("Go and hide!") Then they shout five more times as they return to the sweathouse, making ten warnings in all. The people then leave.

Two men now ferry the girl wood-getter back to the Ashanamkarak side. With one of them she goes up the hill above Ashanamkarak to find a small dead madrone that she can readily cut down. She holds her breath each time as she cuts, using an elkhorn chisel and stone maul. She puts all the wood in a burden basket, picks up the chips, and carries the load to the fireplace at the river's edge. The man who went with her ferries her back to Amaikiaram. He enters the sweathouse and the girl the sacred living house, where she busies herself on basket-making or something else so she will not look around.

The priest and his assistant now cross the river to the fireplace on the Ashanamkarak side. The assistant priest paddles, while the priest sits quietly. If the paddler has difficulty, then, and then only, the priest may help. The priest smokes his pipe twice on the Amaikiaram side before embarking and once on the Ashanamkarak side. He blows smoke in all directions, praying as he does so. Also, each time he blows powdered tobacco from the palm of his right hand. He does not use incense root.

The assistant priest levels a place for the fire. (No sand pile, yuxpit, is used.) The priest kneels and drills fire, using cedar bark for tinder and a willow-root drill. The assistant tends the fire, made of the madrone wood brought by the virgin. Neither he nor the priest may look at the ascending smoke. The priest cuts the salmon, which may have been caught two or three days before, with a yuhidim knife.<sup>15</sup> (Any other salmon caught before the ceremony are kept and used later.) The two priests do not talk. The assistant priest eats the salmon, after cooking it on the coals, not suspended on leaning sticks. He may eat much, only a few bites, or sometimes only one bite. The priest watches him but does not partake. The salmon is half-cooked, and the assistant vomits it, for it makes him sick. The vomit is supposed to bring him good luck, but he is not allowed to induce vomiting with his fingers.

When the assistant priest has finished, he puts all remnants of the salmon on the fire, making a dense smoke. Afterwards he goes to a flat rock at the river's edge and washes the knife.

<sup>15</sup>According to Georgia Orcutt, the yuhidim type of knife, the type always used to cut the first salmon, was not hafted. According to Mary Ike, it was. See fig. 3 for outline of the unhafted knife found at Panamenik. The knife used in the Hupa First Salmon Ceremony was also unhafted.

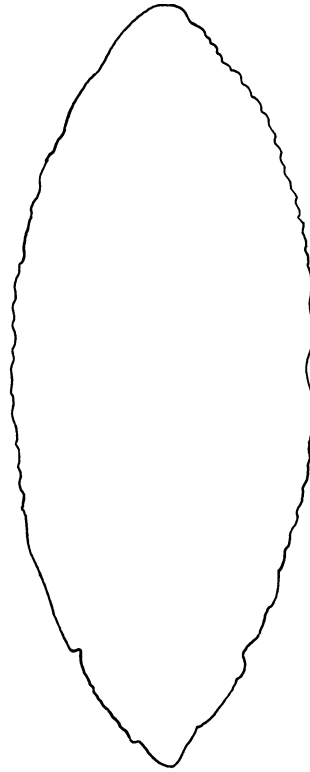


Fig. 3. Flint knife from Panamenik (reduced thirty per cent)

The two priests build a rock pile (Kroeber's "altar") at or near the cooking place. It is a round, solid pile, about two to two and a half feet high. After building it they bathe in the river. Then they return to the Amaikiaram side and enter the sweathouse, where they remain in seclusion ten days. On their return many men sing songs in the sweathouse, and someone goes to the edge of the bluff and shouts for the people to come back, calling, "Come home!" The virgin goes to bathe in the creek back of the dance place at Amaikiaram.

After that any woman (but no man) may enter the sweathouse and stay the ten days with the two priests. This will give her good luck, but it has nothing to do with her becoming a shaman (eim). She does not sweat with the men; she merely sits there, going outside when they do their daily sweating. (When Little Ike's mother's sister stayed in the sweathouse with the priest for ten days after the ceremony, she ate only twice in ten days. When Little Ike's father's sister stayed, she ate only once in ten days. They ate cold acorn gruel. She was a shaman, "the best on the river.") Women who make this sweathouse retreat must be "virgins," but probably this means merely unmarried or continent.

The priest and his assistant bathe in the river, not in the creek as the priest has done during the ten days before the ceremony. They have to sit when conversing; they must not talk standing. In the sacred living house there are two wooden stools for the priest and assistant priest, but in the sweathouse stones, not wooden stools, are used as seats. Nor is a wooden pillow used there. Mary thought the priest used his broad belt, folded, as a pillow. They eat only once a day, about 5 p.m. The cook (pishishikiyavan) boils acorn soup and bakes Brodiaea corms (tayish) in the earth oven,

going to the sweathouse to inform them when dinner is ready.

Five days after the ceremony of eating the first salmon, the virgin wood-getter, who has been in retreat in the sacred living house, gets two river cobbles, heats them, and boils salmon with them. If no salmon are available, she boils corns, so-called "Indian potatoes." No one eats them. The water is thrown in the river, as are also certain small stones in the cooking basket which has been used to cook acorn gruel for the priests. The people present shout, "Inai yarixva" (meaning "salmon ---"). Afterwards people prepare salmon in the usual way without restraint.

On the ninth day after the "smoke" (the nineteenth day from the beginning of the ceremony) the priest and assistant go uphill on the Amaikiam side, wrap their ceremonial fire drill and flint knife with grapevine, and put them under a big tree, along with the crooked stone or stones set on top of the sweathouse during the ceremony.

On the tenth day the wood-getter puts away the two cooking stones and the two sticks used in boiling salmon. She takes them up the hill from Amaikiam, adding them to a pile accumulated from past years. The pile is still to be seen above Nelson's house, but below the present automobile road.

Daily for ten days the woman who cooks for the sweathouse occupants in retreat makes good-luck medicine for the assistant priest, after preparing the evening meal. The immortals told people to do this. She goes down to the river and throws her basket cup into an eddy on the Amaikiam side. If it tips over, she will not live long. If it floats back to her without tipping over or shipping water, she picks it up, dips up water, and looks across to the sacred fireplace on the Ashanamkarak side. She says: "I am dipping the water from Asaxususkam."<sup>16</sup> The longest dentalia are in the cup. The dentalia under the rock Hivnukwaraishvaiikam<sup>17</sup> are rolling into this cup." Then she runs back up the hill with the water and gives it to the assistant priest to drink. He drinks it before he eats. She fetches water from a spring for the priest, but it is not medicined. After that, she goes out; she does not watch them eat.

For two or three months after the First Salmon Ceremony, as after the world-renewal ceremonies at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik, the priest must not touch boards, because boards are used in burying the dead. For two months he must eat seated and must not drink water.

If anyone looks at the sacred smoke ascending to the sky on the day the first salmon is cooked, he will die shortly. To offset this curse, medicine can be made. The priest, or someone else, makes medicine on a large flat-topped rock on the Amaikiam side of the river to remove taboo from anyone who has become aksanwa from seeing the priest, the sacred fire, or its smoke, and to ward off evil luck. The purification consists of the priest's scattering tobacco and saying the appropriate words. The aksanwa person does not have to be present for the purification to be effective. This medicine is expensive, costing one string of eleven of the largest dentalia or ten American dollars.

Stories are told about the dire fate of unbelievers. One man who saw the smoke, Phoebe Maddux's brother, did not

<sup>16</sup>"Big smooth rock." A large smooth rock on the Ashanamkarak side of the river.

<sup>17</sup>A large rock below Ike's ranch, upstream from Asaxususkam, also on the Ashanamkarak side. The name means "where women sit looking over."

believe he would die and refused to have the medicine made. Shortly afterward he fell over a cliff. Two Nelson boys (quarter-breeds) died within a year after they had watched the fire. (These were evidently the two white boys Shan Davis mentioned as dying after viewing the smoke.) Ben Donahue, brother of Emily Donahue's husband, made a model rock pile for pay so someone could photograph it, although Little Ike warned him. Not long afterward Ben died.

Mary Ike and Mamie Offield named four men who had served as priests at the Amaikiam First Salmon Ceremony.

1. Amaikiam Joe, occupant of the sacred living house, a kindly man with a perpetual smile, who was the mother's brother of Mamie's first husband. He is probably the Joe referred to in Kroeber's account. He trained younger men to serve as priests.

2. Puukwenas or Albert Sanas, son of Amaikiam Joe.

3. Upas or Ed Sanas, nephew (brother's son) of Amaikiam Joe.

4. Little Ike, husband of Mary Ike; he was Kroeber's informant in 1902. He was related somehow to Amaikiam Joe.

#### Kroeber Data: LI, Informant (1902)

New Year at Amaikiam is made in the spring when the salmon first come. It is then that the fire is made at the altar across the river at Ashanamkarak. The formulist goes into the sweathouse for fifteen days or so and eats very little. Five or six men help him there, singing salmon. If it has been possible to catch a fresh salmon, it is cooked on the fire at the altar; otherwise the cooking is omitted. Until this altar fire, people did not eat fresh salmon; at any rate, some of them did not, particularly men who had dreamed of women, or women who had dreamed of men.

The other New Years came in early fall. The first one was that at Inā'm. Next came the one at Orleans, and about two days later that at Katimin.

There is no singing for salmon, except in the sweathouse in Amaikiam when they make New Year. Then they sing all night. Two men are in charge of this. The head man is called fatawēnan; also isivsânēn pikiavan, which means "he who fixes the world up." He is painted with a black stripe across eyes and nose, and one across his breast. His assistant is called Sharuk-inuhishrihan, "he who leaves [salmon] down by the river," or Sharuk-amavan, "he who eats [salmon] down by the river." This assistant has red paint on his face and body, and black lines along the front and back of his arms, a black line down his back, and two black lines down his breast and belly, going down each leg to the foot.

There is also a woman assistant called ahō-pikiavan, "firewood-maker." She is ferried across the river from Amaikiam by any two men, who land her above the uppermost of the tivinu-kuvaram rocks. From there she goes up the bank past Ike's house [of 1902] and up the hill, carrying her wood-gathering basket, her elkhorn wedge [paramar], and a stone maul [taknurisin]. She does not have to go very far, only till she comes to some small madrone tree. This she cuts down with her wedge hammered with the maul, and then splits and breaks the sapling up. She must leave none of the wood but has to bring it all back, taking it to the stone altar where the fire is to be made. No woman may pass up-river of this altar. Having left the firewood there, she walks

over the point of land back to the boat and is ferried back to Amaikiam. She stays in the wenaram all day, fasting, by a little fire. She does not look around, but down, perhaps working at a basket.

All the men who participate in the sweathouse also fast the whole day. Nowadays there may be three or four such men; formerly there were likely to be five or six. At daylight, before the woman crosses to get the firewood, these men come out of the sweathouse and shout, then move to another spot and still another, and finally to tivinu-kuvaram, and shout. After that they move back downstream, shouting again at the same places, approaching the sweathouse. This makes seven times that they shout; namely, in order, at shunupni, yux-tivinu-kuvaram, shamvano-kanôkam, tivinu-kuvaram, shamvano-kanôkam, yux-tivinu-kuvaram, shunupni. At each place they twice shout: "Simi-kik iruramvé!" ["Do you all run away!"] It is the fatawënan who tells them to shout this, while he stays in the sweathouse. They are notifying the people of Amaikiam and of Ashanamkarak to go up into the woods and picnic [eat outdoors]. So when the sun is up, the people here at Ashanamkarak go to the near side of the little creek which flows in upriver, then up the hill to beyond the present trail; and there they cook acorn soup for everyone. But they fast until then. Likewise, the people of Amaikiam go uphill from their town and do the same there; but they do not travel all the way to the top of the ridge. They may eat anything that day except fresh salmon. When they have climbed up to these places where they will eat, one or more of the men in the sweathouse come out once more and shout to them to stay where they are.

The people who are out in the hills this way do not look down towards the altar, for if they saw smoke from the fire there, it would be bad for them: they might get hurt in an accident or die.

When the fatawënan in the sweathouse is ready, he asks who is coming with him. The others say to one another, "You had better go," and "No, you go." Finally, one says, "Well, I think I will go with him." So he goes out to wash; then, returning to the sweathouse, he sits on a flat rock there and he and the fatawënan paint. The others continue to sing. They sing harder all the time. When the fatawënan starts to crawl through the small sweathouse exit, they stop singing, but resume until the sharuk-amavan also crawls out; then they stop for good. While the fatawënan and assistant are across the river at the altar, those in the sweathouse may talk a little, but not loudly. Sometimes they roll string on their thighs. It is perhaps around noon when the fatawënan crosses. Then perhaps about four o'clock they hear his step as he returns, and they begin to sing, the same song as in the morning: it has no words. A little while afterwards the sharuk-amavan returns, and they sing again. After that they may speak in their normal voices again.

All during the day when the fatawënan and sharuk-amavan are together at their work they do not speak, but communicate by signs.

Toward sunset they have finished singing in the sweathouse and are talking with one another again. Then all of them, except the fatawënan and sharuk-amavan, come out and shout together: "Kik piruravôk, Kik piruravôk!" ["Do you all come back!"] Thereupon the people all come back from the hills to their homes.

The fatawënan and his assistant take no food or water for two or three or even four days. Sometimes they fast only over one night. Sometimes they are all strong of body and

do not eat for two days, or even three days. All the time that they are fasting they stay in the sweathouse. Those who are with them in the sweathouse eat on the evening of the day that the fire is made; so does the woman assistant.

For the ten days beginning with the fire at the altar, the fatawënan and sharuk-amavan spend their days in the ama-wënam and their nights in the sweathouse and take food only once a day at the end of the afternoon. They may fast completely for as many days and nights as they like, but only the first one is obligatory. During these ten days they eat acorn soup, but no salmon or meat. Nowadays they are also allowed rice, apples, and coffee. They come out of their confinement and partial fast quite thin. There is no particular rule as to what woman cooks for them.

A man dreaming of a woman, or sleeping with a woman, eats no fresh salmon before New Year's, for fear of slipping on a rock and being hurt, being bitten by a rattlesnake, or otherwise losing life or limb.

When the fire is made at the altar, both the priests may help cook the salmon, but only sharuk-amavan eats of it, not fatawënan. The sharuk-amavan rebuilds the stone altar, makes the fire, and does other manual work as necessary. The fatawënan puts out tobacco in the proper places and speaks his formula or prayer inside of him; that is, he thinks it without uttering it aloud. The sharuk-amavan may look at the fire because he has made it. The heap of stones now [May 1902] is rather low. Sometimes it is built up higher. Both men paddle the boat as they cross the river.

Before the fire at the altar the fatawënan is in the sweathouse for fifteen or twenty days, or a month, singing every night with others to help him. They sing the salmon song. Only one man, Joe, knows how to sing that now.

Formerly it was not always the same man who acted as fatawënan year after year, because there were many who knew how to make the medicine and they might take turns at it.

Once twenty Tolowa came to attack Ashanamkarak. It was New Year, and all the people had gone up into the woods so as not to see the fire. The Tolowa found only the formulist and his assistant working at the altar. They decided these two men must be some kind of very real persons, and they went back without attacking them. But [apparently they had seen the smoke from the altar and] only one of them reached home: nineteen died on the way. One would die from the bite of a little lizard; another would be killed by a twig with a few leaves falling on him; some just fell over of themselves and were dead.

Whoever sees the smoke from the altar dies unless the formulist says a medicine formula for him. He is paid for this [although not for making the ritual]. He would not make this preventive medicine, without pay, even if it were for a friend or relative.

#### JUMPING DANCE

The Jumping Dance, given by the Karok only at Amaikiam, was performed in July. The last performance was in 1895<sup>18</sup> or possibly in 1899 (see Kroeber's notes from TDBB). It was apparently biennial, though some tradition makes it annual in ancient times. Georgia Orcutt, however, said the immortals ordained a biennial performance. All Gifford's

<sup>18</sup>Harrington, p. 7. Informants said that the Fourth of July fell within the dance period on this occasion.

informants agreed that it had no connection with the First Salmon Ceremony held annually in the spring at Amaikiaram or with the annual world-renewal ceremonies of Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik. There was no imitation Jumping Dance comparable to the imitation Deerskin Dance with boughs.

Georgia Orcutt said the Jumping Dance always came in July because the immortals so ordained. The Karok calendar, as given by Harrington,<sup>19</sup> has a name for their ninth month ("July") which is related to the name for the Jumping Dance, 'ahavārahiv. The various names Gifford's informants gave the month are similar. Charles James called it Ahavarakusr, the dance Ahavarahiv; he said ahavara meant "to set fire in hollow tree." Mary Ike gave the month as Ahavarakusra, "month of the Jumping Dance." From Georgia Orcutt, Gifford heard the month's name as "Avarakusra." These names are applied to the month whether the dance is performed or not.

For the dance Mary Ike gave several names: wuwuhakam, "big dance"; sak sīb, and ishgakcip or ischaksiv, which means, literally, "jumping dance." This last is a descriptive designation rather than a true name.

The Karok denied deriving their Jumping Dance from the Yurok or Hupa, insisting that the immortals established it. According to Mary Ike, Sieruk-pihiriv ("Widower across-the-ocean"), an immortal, told his son Yurukbasakirei ("Only person-living-downstream") not to take everything across the ocean but to leave something for human beings to play with and to have dances. Sieruk-pihiriv said that giving the dance every two years would help to make the world right, but that it was not so important as the world-renewal ceremonies, which must be held every year.

The purpose of the dance was "to fix the world right," Mary Ike said in 1939. Anyone might dance, no matter where he came from. For instance, Ben Tom, a poor man, was impressed into the dance but did not know for whom he was dancing. Georgia Orcutt said it was to make everybody happy, to prevent sickness, and to make good weather. "Since the Karok quit the Jumping Dance, people sicken and die." The immortals predicted that people would die off if they abandoned the Jumping Dance. According to Karok mythology, the immortals said that no vegetation would grow on the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance ground as long as there were Karok in this world. At the close of the Jumping Dance the people wept as they thought of their departed relatives.

The Jumping Dance could not be performed without a priest (ixmeavasan) in the sacred sweathouse Ikriripan throughout the nine days of the ceremony. A woman attendant prepared his food. When the dance was performed on the ninth day on the shore upstream, he "fished" from the near-by rock Asatak, using a fishing pole which he had placed there before entering the sweathouse. This rock stands near the west bank of the Klamath River downstream from the present U. S. Forest Service bridge at Auich (Sugar Loaf) and about 600 feet below the confluence of the Salmon and Klamath rivers.<sup>20</sup> No one should watch the priest, lest it spoil his luck in getting money.

Either dentalium or incense root (tishwuf) was used on the fishing line, but informants differed on this point. Sandy Bar Joe said that tishwuf was "wild celery." Both he and Mary Ike asserted that dentalia were used on the line.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>Harrington, p. 83.

<sup>20</sup>I am indebted to Mr. Carl Langford for the measure of distance.

<sup>21</sup>See Spott and Kroeber, Yurok Narratives, pp. 217, 218, for fishing out dentalium beads from the river.

Charles James, priest in 1895, said he used incense root. Mary Ike and Georgia Orcutt said the stick used as a fishing pole was a piece of syringa (xavish), which the priest broke off with his bare hands. Charles James used a piece of hazel.

Charles James, when "fishing" as priest on the evening of the dance near Asatak, said: "I am fishing in the upstream ocean [Kahayuras]. I am pulling out the good luck." He did this ten times at brief intervals before the evening dance. Afterwards the fishing pole was deposited in a hollow tree on the ridge above the rock and the incense root hidden away to be used later for good luck in playing the many-stick game.

The leader of the Jumping Dance stood in front, facing the line of dancers. He wore regalia and, like the male dancers, carried a wikyapu, a flexible twined basketry wallet with warps of sedge.<sup>22</sup> All the dancers except two were men; a virgin girl danced at each end of the line. Sandy Bar Joe said the performance was the same as among the Hupa. The dancer swung the wikyapu in his right hand up in the air, then brought it down to his side synchronously with the jump. After doing this three or four times, the men sat down on stones which were behind them. Then they put their wikyapus on the ground in front and all jumped together, holding hands.

The Jumping Dance ended at one of two places, alternately: one year at Asapipmam, on the east side of the Salmon River below the bridge, on the site of Carl Langford's mine;<sup>23</sup> the next, at the rock Asatak. In 1895 the two groups of dancers moved upriver to Asatak on the ninth day.

The following anecdote, related by Hupa informant Shoemaker John in 1940, illustrates the extreme localization of the two great dances, Jumping and Deerskin, substantiating Karok statements that these must be performed only at their proper places. Shoemaker John, in company with some Karok, visited the Jumping Dance ground at Amaikiaram after the 1895 dance. Jokingly he went through the motions of carrying an obsidian blade, as in the Deerskin Dance. At once his Karok companions stopped him, saying that he would spoil the world, for the Deerskin Dance could not be performed at Amaikiaram.

Notes from Mary Ike.--The following account of the Jumping Dance is an integration of materials obtained from Mary Ike in 1939, 1940, and 1942.

When preparing for the Jumping Dance, the rich men who gave it inquired who would be the priest (ixmeavasan) to stay in the sweathouse for the ten days of the ceremony. The priest need not belong to a family that "owned" the dance. Any man who wished to serve could do so. He was instructed by a former priest if he had not served before. He was not paid but, if he could stand the ordeal of fasting and sweating and observed the taboos, he would have good luck afterwards. The service was more trying than that of the officiant for the world-renewal ceremony since no one could substitute for the priest; he had to go through with the ten days' observances.

<sup>22</sup>Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 29, pictures dancers' costumes, including wikyapu and woodpecker headbands.

<sup>23</sup>Georgia Orcutt said that Asapipmam (asapip, "cottonwood"; mam, "above") was on the east side of the Klamath River just below the Salmon River bridge. Mr. Carl Langford described the site of his hydraulic mine as below the Salmon River bridge at Somes Bar, a few hundred feet above the confluence of the Salmon River with the Klamath.

The priest did not travel and light fires, as did the priests of the world renewals. He had no helper and stayed alone in the sweathouse Ikriripan for the first nine days of the dance at Amaikiaram. He slept there and sweated daily and sat on a rock by the river. He bathed in the creek Katimstuuf (next creek upstream from the one at Amaikiaram). Daily he cut wood for the sweathouse fire. A young virgin cooked for him and was the only person who saw him during his retreat. She made medicine for him, just before he drank in the evening so he would not become too thirsty during his fasting periods.

The priest ate only every other day, if he could stand the fasting. One man went five days without eating, eating on the sixth afternoon. When the priest ate, usually just before sunset, he sat on a little platform under a pepperwood tree called Bahiphapanapnap, "bushy pepperwood tree," which grew at the living house called Fumtapsiruwam. The wenam or sacred living house of the First Salmon Ceremony was not used. When eating and bathing, the priest prayed for money for himself. His only motive in all he did was "good luck for himself. He was not doing things for everybody's welfare."

Any virgin might cook for the *ixmeavasan*; often she was a young relative. A woman who was married or going with a man could not serve; a deflowered woman would spoil his luck. This helper, called *yeribaxwahuyam*, received no pay for cooking. She watched the dance daily and slept at her home. She was usually fifteen or sixteen years old; it did not matter whether she had had her first menses.

At dusk on the first evening of his sweathouse stay and at dawn the next morning the priest fished for dentalia from the rock Asatak opposite the mouth of the Salmon River, where the Jumping Dance was performed on the ninth and tenth days. He fished only a few minutes, putting one shell on the end of the fish line and dangling it from the rock into the water.

After this the priest did not leave the sweathouse except for daily excursions in the early morning for sweathouse wood, usually small fir branches from high on the tree mixed with dry wood. Mary thought the priest used a hatchet; in olden days he used his bare hands to break off the small limbs. Often he sang a wailing sort of song while gathering wood, thinking about his dead relatives.

On the evening of the ninth day the priest came out of the sweathouse and went to the spot at Amaikiaram where the dancing was taking place. The dancers divided and he passed between their lines, proceeding to a bathing place, not at the river. On his return, the dancers divided again to let him pass. Putting on a small woodpecker headband (or imitation) he sat down behind the dancers. (The name of the headband, *ixninihas*, means "one-sided" or "lop-sided.") There was no fence behind the dancers' line.

Then the priest went in turn to the places they would dance next, sweeping each clean: first, *Sofnaikanokamish* (Sofnai Point) and *Kamputipivnech*, "acorn knoll," on the west side of the river; then up the river to *Asatakyunuka*, "where the rock is cracked off downstream," and on to *Asatak*, the flat behind the rock where he had fished for luck. He stayed there, his sweathouse duties being finished.

After the priest had swept on the ninth day, the dancers performed twice at each place he swept until they arrived at *Asatak*. They danced there on the ninth evening, spending the night there. On the tenth day they danced until about 3 p.m. The priest removed the fish pole from the rock. Girls brought his supper and then his duties were over.

The priest was not called *fatawenan* or *xadiara* like the priest of the First Salmon Ceremony and the world-renewal ceremonies. Moreover, from the native viewpoint the sweathouse retreat and the priest's activities did not constitute a world renewal, a *pikiavish* or *irahiv*. There was no food tabooed to the people until the Jumping Dance was held. The dance was "just for pleasure, just for a good time."

The priest must be continent for a year after his retreat if he wanted to have good luck. Mary's mother's brother Reuben served as priest and remained continent for a year. He was very lucky, everything came easy to him. One priest never had "luck" after serving because he went with a woman five days after he came out of the sweathouse. Frank Ruben wanted to be priest, but they said he had better not, because he had a wife.

When a Jumping Dance was planned, the women were told in advance to make basket plates, basket bowls, etc., for serving food at the accompanying feasts. These containers were lent by their owners. Dance regalia, which might be owned by anyone, were lent to the givers of the dance, i.e., to those who owned the privilege of giving the dance. Hupa and Yurok visitors brought dance regalia to lend. As a rule the dance owner who had the most friends owning regalia made the most impressive showing. The deferential attitude of the lender was expressed by Mary Ike as follows: "You go ahead, because you are rich; I'll come behind, because I am poor."

There might be as many as four groups of dancers in the Jumping Dance, each performing for a dance owner, who maintained a camp where he dispensed hospitality. Owners competed in providing the best dance. At one end of the line of dancers might sit a formulist, possibly the dance owner himself, who had spoken a formula over a piece of alder bark. Mary Ike did not know what the formulist said when he "medicined" the alder bark. The purpose was "to make the dance come out good, to make the dancers feel good, and to make the dancers of his group look better than the dancers of the competing groups." Some groups lacked a formulist, apparently because no one knew the formula. This was a matter quite apart from the functions of the priest in the sweathouse.

For the first five days of the dance the dancers carried basketry wallets. Commencing on the sixth day, each male dancer carried a fir pole about eight feet long, painted with red and black bands. They leaned these forward and backward in unison before each jump. When the dancing was over, these poles were stuck in the ground. Dancers broke off the tips to use for medicine when they were hunting to prevent attack by grizzly bears.

Girls in their best dresses danced in the middle of the line. They did not hold poles. There was no fence in front of the dance took place as at the Hupa dance at *Takimliding*.

The first nine days they danced daily at Amaikiaram, moving up to *Asatak* in the afternoon of the ninth day. On the tenth day the greatest display of regalia was made. On alternate occasions they danced one more day, making eleven days in all. This extra day, the dance was at *Asapipmam*. The priest did not go to that place. When asked why they danced there, Mary Ike replied: "*Ixkareya* made it that way. They have to follow his ways."

Mary Ike had seen the Jumping Dance at Amaikiaram five times. She named the priests for the five occasions as follows: (1) *Chinannach* of *Wuppam*; (2) *Charlie* of *Amaikiaram*;

(3) Reuben of Xatsipida, Mary's mother's brother; (4) Red Cap Johnny of Wuppam; (5) Charles James of Xatsipida, Mary's cousin through her mother's brother Whitey.

The fourth time Mary saw the Jumping Dance, there were three competing teams, Wuppam, Chamikninach, and Chinas-Taxasufkara. This last team used regalia lent by the Vonvirak and Saxwuram people. The fifth time, at the 1895 dance, there were two competing teams, one from Wuppam, the other from Chamikninach. This last consisted of Sandy Bar people, so called because they moved to Sandy Bar, hitherto unoccupied, after the whites took their land at Chamikninach. Sandy Bar Jim was the end man of the line of Chamikninach dancers.

This last Jumping Dance in 1895 was made for Red Cap Tom's father, Paaxsipidox (person from Axsipidox, Bald Hills in Chilula country; his father's father was from Axsipidox). He was getting old and they wanted him to see another dance before he died. As a dance owner, he sat at the end of the line of Wuppam dancers. The owner sits at a vantage point for viewing the dance, so that he may adjust the feathers of performers if they become disarranged. Mary Ike was not certain that Paaxsipidox was making medicine on this occasion, as Georgia Orcutt asserted in 1940.

Notes from Charles James.--Charles James, who served as priest in 1895, was the last priest of the Jumping Dance. He was then a young man and was asked to serve by his aunt's husband, Red Cap Tom of Wuppam, a dance owner, who maintained a camp at Amaikiam during the dance. This was the only time Charles James ever attended the dance. He must then have been twenty years old, since he was sixty-five on March 13, 1940.

Red Cap Johnny, who had been priest, was dead when Charles undertook the office, so Red Cap Tom instructed him. Red Cap Tom had never been priest and did not know all the words the priest had to say. In olden times there were many formulas, but there was no longer anyone to instruct Charles in these.

Charles said the Jumping Dance was not a pikiavish or "world-fixing." Its purpose was to keep down disease. In the sweathouse he prayed for luck for himself, for food for the people, and for prevention of disease. He thought rather than uttered these prayers. He wished for many salmon, but he did not mention eel or sturgeon.

He remained alone for the ten days he spent in the sweathouse, seeing virtually nobody except the cook. It was not bad luck for a person to see the priest, but he had no visitors, day or night. He slept on a wooden pillow in the sweathouse and did not dream.

Charles described his daily procedure as follows. He made fire with matches in the sweathouse morning and evening. When he made it in the morning, he said: "I wish there will be many acorns. I wish there will be many pine nuts. I wish everything will be good. I wish there will be no sickness."

In the morning after making the fire, he swept the ground in front of the stone platform outside the sweathouse for a distance of about twelve feet. As he swept, he said: "I am sweeping away yellow-vomit sickness [sukkit]." He did this for ten mornings. The trail from the sweathouse to the pool was not swept.

When he bathed in the pool in the creek at Amaikiam (well back from the river), he prayed for good luck for himself: "I wish that I shall have good luck," he said as he threw water on himself. As he swam in the pool, he said:

"I am swimming in the upstream ocean." (This was Kahayuras, mythical source of dentalia.)

The longer he refrained from food and water during his retreat, the better the luck he would have. He partook only of "acorn water" and a little fresh salmon once in a while, but ate no acorn bread. The cook would inquire if he wanted to eat this day. For the first five days, Charles said, he went without food and water. Mary Johnnie, his young cousin, cooked for him. (She was living in 1942.) Charles said she could eat all she wanted. She ate with other people at the camp place and the priest avoided this spot when he was out hunting for wood. When he ate, he did so outside the sweathouse, never in the sacred living house (wenaram) at Amaikiam. Charles said he had never been in that house. No one lived in it when he was priest.

Charles went out the middle of each day for sweathouse wood, climbing the trees and trimming the limbs with a hatchet. Formerly these were pulled down with the bare hands or split off with elkhorn wedge and stone maul. He went daily to one particular tree, upstream from Amaikiam and above Kadookam. It was visible from Ike's place across the river at Ashanamkarak. When carrying the wood back to the sweathouse, he made a noise like crying, but shed no tears. He did not pray or speak a formula when wood gathering. Toward the end of his seclusion he did not pack much wood because he was weak from fasting.

Charles fished with a six-foot pole with incense root suspended from a three-foot string. The root was given him by Red Cap Tom on the last day just before he left the sweathouse. He used store string for the line. When fishing, he talked only about good luck for himself; he said nothing about money or salmon. When he cut the fish pole, he made no speech for luck. He used no tobacco at any time.

After he arrived at Asatak, the dance place below the present U. S. Forest Service bridge, he had his face painted red below the eyes. This was the only time he wore paint during his service as priest. He wore modern shirt and trousers. Before being painted, he placed his good-luck fishing pole on the rock in the river.

After the Jumping Dance was over, the priest went somewhere in retreat for ten days, during which he must keep away from people. Charles went downstream to Wuppam for his retreat; his aunt, Mrs. Red Cap Tom, fed him. During the ten days he walked around but did not sweat himself.

Notes from Sally Jacobs.--Sally had never been to the Jumping Dance at Amaikiam, so her knowledge is hearsay. She said that the Jumping Dance in July was not an irahiv or pikiavish. A dance owner could give it only at Amaikiam, no matter where he lived. If people neglected to make the Jumping Dance and the "medicine" in the sweathouse, everybody would become drowsy and be lacking in energy. There must be a priest in the sweathouse throughout the dance; otherwise it could not be given. The priest ate only three meals in ten or eleven days, and these only of acorns. He should eat no salmon.

Married men, as well as bachelors, might fill the office, but the priest should remain continent for at least a year after serving. One priest spoiled his luck right afterwards by drinking and going with girls.

Notes from Sandy Bar Joe.--Sandy Bar Joe had never served as priest but he was present at the last Jumping Dance at Amaikiam in 1895. The following notes were set down in 1942.

The priest went daily about 4 p.m. for sweathouse wood.



He made "medicine" by wishing when he cut the wood with an elkhorn wedge (paramva) and a stone maul (taknuris). He could watch the Jumping Dance from behind bushes any time he wished, but he must not let himself be seen.

On the tenth day of the dance the priest sat on the rock Asatak in the river. This rock was reached by wading and from it he could see the dance on the shore. He watched it from the rock while he "fished" for good luck. On the alternate occasions when the dancers crossed the river by boat to Asapipmam, the priest still remained on the rock.

The water flowing around the rock prevented the thoughts of any "girl friend" reaching him and thus protected his luck. For two months after the dance he was supposed to eat alone and to avoid women. One priest, however, went with a girl the very night he came off the rock.

Sandy Bar Joe contrasted Karok practice with that of the Hupa and Yurok at Takimiding and Weitspus. At those two places, he said, the formulist put incense root (tishwuf) in the fire and prayed. The Karok used no tishwuf, he insisted, employing tobacco instead. In the last Karok Jumping Dance, in 1895, there were two teams of dancers, representing respectively Wuppam and Chamikninach. Hupa and Yurok friends and relatives lent their regalia for this occasion. Red Cap Tom's father, at one end of the line of Wuppam dancers, "blew tobacco, rubbed fine in his hands, for the good of the world."

Notes from Georgia Orcutt.--Georgia Orcutt had seen only one Jumping Dance. She provided the following information in 1940 and 1942.

The names pikiavish and irahiv did not apply to this dance or to the activities of the priest, or ixmeavasan, as the sweathouse occupant who made "medicine" for the dance was called. The purpose of the whole affair--the dance and the seclusion of the priest--was to make everything right, so there would be plenty of food, no sickness, etc. The priest served, however, for his "own luck," not on behalf of all the people. He seemed to be praying for money--for his luck.

There could be no Jumping Dance without the priest. He did not travel around and make fires, like the priest (fatawenan) of the pikiavish. If acceptable to the dance "owners," one might serve as priest as many times as one wished.

The priest was instructed in what he was to do during his ten days' seclusion in the sweathouse. He did not pay the old man who instructed him. This instructor was called xokiferan (according to Mary Ike, ukifanti), like the fatawenan's instructor. Today no one knows what the instructions were.

The Jumping Dance began on the day the priest entered the sweathouse. Before it, payments were made to bereaved people. The priest had no visitors during his ten days' stay in the sweathouse.

The Jumping Dance was abandoned before the First Salmon Ceremony. It is therefore impossible to tell whether the biennial Jumping Dance could be given without a previous performance of the First Salmon Ceremony, an annual rite. Neither Georgia Orcutt nor Mary Ike thought there was a connection between the two. Georgia pointed out, however, that both had to be made at Amaiklaram. Panamenik and Chamikninach people, who "owned" camp places at Amaiklaram, took paraphernalia for the dance upstream in boats. All the things used for the dance were afterward put away and wholly different ones used when the pikiavish and Deerskin Dance were made later at Pana-

menik. Georgia told this to emphasize the point that the Amaiklaram Jumping Dance was not a pikiavish or irahiv.

Charles James, Georgia's mother's brother's son,<sup>24</sup> was the last priest of the Jumping Dance at Amaiklaram. His parents had died young and he stayed with Red Cap Tom. Someone told him he had better try being priest in order to acquire luck. He was encouraged by the prosperity of the preceding priest, Red Cap Johnny of Wuppam. If you went into the sweathouse having nothing and tended strictly to business, you would have luck afterward. On the last day, when Charles went to the dance at Asatak, he was warned not to eat with the people. He did not heed, but ate with the people after the dance. Since then he has had no luck. He has five children and his wife is dead. He has nothing now except a shack. He works for the whites but still he never has anything.

Georgia said that Reuben was not very good as priest, for later he had no luck to speak of. In her opinion, Red Cap Johnny of Wuppam (the fourth priest listed by Mary Ike) was the best one, since he was very lucky afterward at gambling with white men's cards. His mother was a blind woman. Red Cap Johnny was a hard worker, who labored in the mines. Money, nice horses, and other desirable things came his way. His fasting as priest helped; he obeyed all the rules and ate alone from his own dishes. He went five days without food while he was in the sweathouse. He always prayed for money. He had good health. Things came out just right for him, except that his first wife, a Saxvuram woman, was unfaithful, so he divorced her and married a Katimin woman.

On the last day of the dance at Amaiklaram in 1895 a formulist (not the priest) sat near one end of the line of Wuppam dancers. This was to "make the dances look better." He used alder bark, which he did not place in water but gave to the center dancer, the one who did not sing. This dancer rubbed it on his hands, as did the two singers on either side of him. No one else used it. Georgia did not know the designation of this formulist but did know that he was not called ixmeavasan, fatawenan, or xadiara.

On this occasion the formulist was Red Cap Tom's father, a Wuppam dance "owner." He taught the formula to Georgia's husband, Henry, who never told it to Georgia. During the days of the dance the formulist sat by the fire where the dancers dressed. He brought the alder bark only on the last day and did not speak the formula at the dance place. He spoke it as he got the alder bark, when he was entirely alone.

At the 1895 dance Sandy Bar Jim (Bob, according to Sandy Bar Joe) stood near the end of the line of Chamikninach dancers, since he was the "owner." He made no medicine, so far as Georgia knew. It was always customary for the owner (or owners) to stand near the end of the line of dancers in both the great dances. Georgia insisted that the dance would be given whether the owner made medicine or not.

Georgia doubted whether Ben Tom, who was impressed into the dance, sang in this Jumping Dance, since there were only three singers and they had to know the songs well. The best singers were two Yurok brothers from Johnson's<sup>25</sup> (a Yurok village called Fidupom or Filipam-yusta by the Karok).

<sup>24</sup>Another time she said "mother's sister's son."

<sup>25</sup>According to Kroeber, Wohtek and Wohkero, sometimes also Ko'otep, are included under "Johnson's."

Notes from Ben Tom.--Ben Tom or Apachi ("worms in deer's head") took part in the last Jumping Dance (1895), the only dance he had ever seen. He did not remember seeing Red Cap Tom's father as formulist; in fact, he did not see a formulist. He both danced and sang (probably shouted). He carried a wikyapu. As he went uphill, he got laughing so he could hardly sing at the idea of being in the dance. He was not yet married, but he was a "middle-aged" man. He was not a dance owner and he did not know who owned the regalia he wore and carried, nor could he remember who asked him to take part. He danced in only one performance, when they were moving camp uphill. He attended the dance in the daytime, going "home" at night; he did not stay at the camps in Amaiklaram. Many others did this, though there were also many who stayed.

Data Collected in 1902

(Kroeber)

From informant LI.--The Jumping Dance at Amaiklaram lasts ten days. The finish on the last day, or last two days, may be made at the mouth of the Salmon, either at Ashatāk, opposite the mouth where there is a sand bar and great rock, or at Ashapipmām, just downriver from the mouth of the Salmon on the same side. The dance spot here is on the hill, about where the half-breed Frederick had his house in 1902.

After the Jumping Dance from Amaiklaram ends (at the mouth of the Salmon River), it moves itself upriver. People do not go with it; it travels by itself. Once when the people stopped dancing at Ashapipmām, a woman saw it move up from there. She was living opposite the mouth of Salmon River and was sitting outdoors as it became dusk, when she heard singing and shouting. Looking up the ridge, she saw a dance but no people: just feathers and long sticks were moving. She was called "Old woman of Shihitiri." Shihitiri is where the fence now stands opposite Frederick's place. There formerly was an Indian settlement there, as also at Shihitiri-h-karaum, just above it. This woman grew to live very old, all shrunken from age and nearly blind. I think I saw her, although I cannot remember. My father once asked her about having seen this dance go up the hill, and she told him that she saw only the feathers moving.

The sticks referred to are quite long, and are painted red, black, and white. Eight of them are used with the Jumping Dance, four "on each side" (end of the dance line?). They are called "axavareiktīn." They are not used downriver or at Hupa when they make the Jumping Dance there; although the people here used the dance baskets, wikyapur, as they use them elsewhere. When the Jumping Dance finished at Ashapipmām, these long sticks are broken and stuck in the ground.

From informant TDBB.--The Jumping Dance was made only at Amaiklaram. It was danced for ten days just behind the town, near the big pepperwood trees there. The "bosses" of the dance were Redcap Tom and Captain of Orleans--both living well downriver. There were two competing parties in the dance for which these two men contributed the regalia--helped, of course, by their friends from all along the river. There was no party in the dance representing either Amaiklaram or Katimīn. The dance came about July, several months after the First Salmon Ceremony. The last Jumping Dance was made about 1899.

Sticks used in this dance were longer than a man,

slender, painted red and black. When the dance was finished, the young men fought over them, trying to get them away from one another. This went on until all the sticks were broken and thrown away.

There was a special medicine made for this dance, though the Deerskin Dance did not have a medicine (apart from that for the New Year ceremony). There were several men who knew this Jumping Dance medicine. One of them would make it for good luck. He fasted for the ten days of the dance, being allowed to eat once every five days. He also was not allowed to drink--in fact, the fast was total, even acorn soup being excluded. Some men actually would endure this fast for ten days. Others became weak and short-winded and would have to lie down. Then people would say, "Well, let him eat if he wants to," and the women would cook for him.

Formerly, on the last day of the Jumping Dance they camped downriver from Katimīn at the mouth of the Salmon, at Itiwūntunuwa, on the same day that the people of Amaiklaram came upriver to the dance at Ashapipmām. The two places are on opposite sides of the mouth of the Salmon, Itiwūntunuwa on the north and Ashapipmām on the south. This was for the final day. This finishing dance used to be made long ago, but perhaps no one is still living who has seen it.

OWNERSHIP OF DANCES

There was a strict limitation of dance ownership as well as of localization of the performance. No matter where the dance owner lived, the dance could be given only at certain places in the Amaiklaram region. It is to be noted that neither Amaiklaram nor Panamenik, where dances were held, was the ancestral home of dance owners.

Four villages, all downstream from Amaiklaram, were privileged to give the Jumping Dance there as well as the Deerskin Dance at Panamenik. These villages are all now deserted. Listed in order, going upstream, they were: (1) Wuppam, at Red Cap Creek near the downstream limit of Karok territory; (2) Chamikninach (destroyed by the whites),<sup>26</sup> on the east side of the Klamath below Orleans; (3) Chinās, on the east side of the Klamath just above the Orleans bridge; (4) Taxasufkara, at the mouth of Peach Creek. References to the dances mentioned only the villages, not the individual dance owners: for example, Wuppam wuwuha, not Red Cap Tom's wuwuha, or Chamikninach wuwuha, not Sandy Bar Bob's wuwuha.

Chinās and Taxasufkara combined their dancers in one team, at least in late times. However, they camped and cooked separately, although close together, at both the Amaiklaram and Panamenik dance grounds. In 1895 they were not represented, the two teams to perform the Jumping Dance that year being from Wuppam and Chamikninach. Probably a decrease in population accounts for this co-operation of Chinās and Taxasufkara, as well as for their absence in 1895. According to Kroeber's data from TDBB no party in the dance represented either Amaiklaram or Panamenik.

All informants agreed that only certain families in these four villages could give the Jumping Dance at Amaiklaram or the Deerskin Dance at Panamenik. The privilege was inherited, women as well as men transmit-

<sup>26</sup>Kroeber (Karok Towns, p. 33) renders Chamikninach as Tšamikininatš.

ting it, and it was never sold. Moreover, it could not be acquired through marriage. Since the Jumping Dance owners also owned the Panamenik Deerskin Dance, they were doubly privileged as compared with the owners of the Katimin Deerskin Dance.

Pressed for the Karok words for "dance owner," Sandy Bar Joe gave pawuwuha muaup, "person dance owner." He gave the name of the Jumping Dance as wuwuhakam, that of the Deerskin Dance as pufich wuwuha. For "dance owner" Mrs. Orcutt gave wuwuhanawat, said to mean literally "dance man."

The owners of the two great dances constituted the top crust of society, compared with whom all others were inferior. It was believed that at death the soul of a dance owner went to Arutanah, a particularly pleasant part of the other world. The owner group was not coterminous with that of the yash-ara or rich people; one might be a yash-ara, yet not a dance owner. On the other hand, all dance owners seem to have been regarded as yash-ara, an identification justified by the dance owners' responsibility for feeding the public, though it is true that they were helped by donations of food from others. The rich men who were dance owners also supplied the principal food for the annual Panamenik pikiavish, even though the Deerskin Dance was given only infrequently. Thus the Wuppam privilege holders brought food to the pikiavish, and other owners did likewise. Every day the people were fed on acorns.

A factor which perhaps contributed to the deterioration of the dances in later days was exemplified by the attitude of Sawmill Jack, the principal or sole owner in later times at Texasufkara. He "was a stingy man; he did not feed people much. He had difficulty getting dancers and usually fifteen or more were necessary for a dance."

The women of dance-owning families bore the brunt of preparing the feasts at the great dances. As a result they did not have much opportunity to watch the performances. Sometimes women of the owners' villages who had married and moved away would return to help, even though they were not owners themselves. For example, Irene George and Mrs. Jake, formerly of Wuppam, who were not dance owners, would come from their homes far upstream at Cottage Grove to help prepare for the Jumping or Deerskin Dance. Other Wuppam nonowners also assisted.

Anyone might own dance regalia. Indeed, it was a form of wealth that most people liked to accumulate. Regalia were often lent to the hereditary dance owners by friends who did not have the privilege of giving the dance. Hupa, as well as Yurok, friends lent their regalia to Karok dance owners, and vice versa; Panamenik and Katimin owners, however, never gave a joint performance. The idea was for each team of dancers to make the greatest possible display, and the owners used borrowed regalia as well as their own to equip the dancers. In preparing for either great dance, the local owners--for example, those of Chamikninach or Wuppam--conferred secretly. Perhaps this secrecy was due to the competition between the different groups of local owners whose respective dance teams represented the ancestral villages of the owners.

The possession of regalia, however, did not entitle one to give the dance; that was a privilege limited to the hereditary dance owners. As Sally Jacops expressed it, no upstart could accumulate a lot of regalia and then set out

to give one of the two great dances. Conversely, as Ben Tom explained, a dance owner who possessed no regalia still had the right to give the dance, borrowing from others. Ben made a sharp distinction between owners of the dance and owners of regalia, asserting that dance ownership was purely hereditary and could not be acquired by purchase or marriage. He himself had married a dance owner, but he did not thereby become one. All informants, owners and nonowners alike, made similar categorical statements. Sandy Bar Joe emphasized this distinction, giving as example Little Ike, who was not a dance owner although he had many regalia. Mary Ike, Little Ike's widow, confirmed this statement.

Two 1942 informants, Sandy Bar Joe and Georgia Orcutt, cited the case of a wealthy Saxworam man, Chiskats or Isshophnimits, who owned a large obsidian blade, many woodpecker headbands, and other regalia. About 1892 he came to a New Year ceremony at Panamenik with his regalia and people, intent on having a team of dancers in the Deerskin Dance. When he was refused the privilege, he wept.<sup>27</sup> Georgia said it was not Sandy Bar Bob, a kind man who hesitated to hurt anyone's feelings, who forbade him to give the dance. Camp Creek Johnny did so, acting on behalf of the rightful owners. Thus the attempt failed to add a fifth village to the traditional four giving the dance at Panamenik.

The lists of dance owners below show the lines of inheritance of the privilege (indicated by Arabic numbers at left). The ancestral homes of these owners were at Wuppam, Chamikninach, Chinas, or Texasufkara. Some of the men were also managers of the Panamenik pikiavish, but not all managers were dance owners, as comparison with the list given in the chapter on Panamenik shows.

Wuppam.--Not more than six families from Wuppam are represented in the list of dance owners. If complete genealogies had been recorded, it is not unlikely that some of these families might prove to be related.

#### Wuppam Dance Owners

- |     |     |                                    |   |
|-----|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| (1) | ... | Paaxsipidox                        | Red Cap Tom                                   |
| (2) | ... | [Red Cap George —<br>Red Cap Dick. | Mrs. Lucy Woods                               |
| (3) | (M) | Xararehan ———<br>(Sophie Sam)      | [Henry<br>Peter Tom<br>James Tom<br>Ewena (M) |
| (4) | ... | Wuppamyuwadi ———<br>(Steve)        | [Wuppamyuwadi (Philip)<br>Mrs. Mabel Bateman  |
| (5) | ... | ...                                | [Daisy Jones<br>Ewing (M)                     |
| (6) | (M) | [Kidakviaraha (M)<br>Jack ———      | Stivyasa (M)                                  |

Chamikninach.--Four families are represented by the individuals tracing ancestral homes to Chamikninach who were mentioned by informants as owners. Following the destruction of Chamikninach by the whites some of the

<sup>27</sup>Sandy Bar Tom of Chamikninach told Georgia of this incident.

Chamikninach Dance Owners

(1)	[ Captain of Tishanik (Ipkopbiwan)	...	...	...
	Ixtupkidisha (M) (Tupgidi)	-----	[ Sandy Bar Bob (Huchhuckatsa)	-----
			-----	[ Sandy Bar Jim Tom Max Mrs. Mamie McClellan (F) -----
				Sandy Bar Joe
			Sam (Hanchione) Camp Creek George Awansatyap (M)	... ... ...
(2)	...	(M)	(M)*	Mrs. Mabel Bateman
(3)	...	...	Jack of Tishanik	...
(4)	...	(F)	Ikiyas or Ikiyarap (M)	Mrs. Georgia Orcutt

\* In the Wuppam list Wuppamyuwadi is named as Mrs. Bateman's father, but I do not know whether he was the son of Awansatyap's brother. As things stand, Mrs. Bateman appears in three lists, twice through her father, once through her mother.

village people moved across the river to Panamenik and to Tishanik below that. Others settled, also on the west bank, above Panamenik at Sandy Bar.<sup>28</sup>

Chinas.--The dance owners whose ancestral village is Chinas belonged to three families.

and Mrs. Jake; (3) a man called Chirupoxifmaat, "married at Chirupox," who was not a poor man; and (4) Awaxi Jack, a regalia owner.

Only one Chamikninach man, Edaas, was named as owning no dance.

Chinas Dance Owners

(1)	...	...	[ (F) ----- (M)	Mrs. Georgia Orcutt ...
(2)	(F)	(M)	(F)	Mrs. Mabel Bateman
(3)	...	(F) -----	[ Makovarigeshav (F) (F)	... ...

Taxasufkara.--The dance owners from this ancestral village belonged to three families.

Red Neck, a male relative of Makovarigeshav and hence from the ancestral village of Chinas, owned many wood-

Taxasufkara Dance Owners

(1)	Saruxkinvavaara (F)	Sawmill Jack	...
(2)	...	Mose	(F)
(3)	...	Emma -----	[ Mrs. P. L. Young Mrs. Nelson

Nonowners.--Four families whose members traced descent from Wuppam did not own either of the dances. The representatives of these families were: (1) Little Ike's mother's mother; (2) the mother of Irene George

pecker headbands, but it is uncertain whether he was a dance owner.

No names were obtained of Taxasufkara families who did not own a dance.

<sup>28</sup>One Karok name for Sandy Bar is Kasannukits; another, more commonly used, is Taxasufkarayuskam, "opposite Taxasufkara."

Hitherto unoccupied because of lack of spring water. People camping there drank river water. Now wells have been dug.

# KAROK: PANAMENIK

(Gifford)

Panamenik was an important Karok village situated on the west bank of the Klamath River slightly below the modern town of Orleans. Downstream, near the mouth of Camp Creek, the Deerskin Dance was performed.

Kroeber, in his Handbook,<sup>1</sup> comments briefly on the similarity of the Panamenik ceremony to that at Katimin. A detailed account of it, based on the accounts of two male informants, is given by Phillip Drucker. His map<sup>2</sup> showing the route of the priest should be consulted in connection with this chapter. The culture element paper of Harold E. Driver presents data recorded from Frank Ruben of Orleans; the elements 2559-2654 probably refer to the Deerskin Dance of Panamenik.

## Scheme: Panamenik

<u>Day</u>	<u>Archers</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Dances</u>
1-7	Follow priest; shoot at target	Travels (E or W of river)*	
8	Follow priest; shoot at target	Travels (E, W?) of river	Deerskin Dance
9	Follow priest; shoot at target	Travels W of river	Deerskin Dance
10		Begins sweat-house retreat of 5 or 10 days	Deerskin Dance
11-13		In retreat	
14		In retreat; puts away old equipment at Chamikninch	

\* For priest's itineraries, see tabulation, p. 53.

A sweathouse and a dwelling served the priest of the annual world-renewal ceremony. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck examined the stone-walled house pit of this dwelling, which adjoins the downstream side of Georgia Orcutt's present house, an eighth of a mile downstream from the limits of modern Orleans. Georgia's house is built actually on the site of the sweathouse. The following observations were made in 1939.

The house pit, of 4 feet average depth, was oriented so that its corners are NW, SW, SE, NE. The short sides (NW-NE and SW-SE) were 13 feet long, outside measure, the long sides (NE-SE and NW-SW) 15 feet. The two-step stairway, 2 feet, 3 inches wide, was on a long side, 2½ feet from the NE corner. The circular fireplace was near the center of the house pit, the edge being 7 feet from the NW-SW side and 6½ feet from the SW-SE side. Its inside diameter was 28 inches, the outside diameter 39 inches. The embedded cobbles of the fireplace all sloped inward. The walls of the house pit were of river cobbles, chinked with flat fragments which helped to wedge them in place. The dimensions of the house itself could not be determined.

<sup>1</sup>P. 104.

<sup>2</sup>Drucker, Karok World-Renewal Ceremony, p. 24.

## THE CEREMONY

Sandy Bar Joe's account.--In 1942 Sandy Bar Joe recounted his single service as priest, the next to the last time they had the pikiavish and Deerskin Dance at Panamenik.

He received his instruction as priest from two former priests, his mother's father, Sandy Bar Bob, and Captain, Sandy Bar Bob's maternal half-brother,<sup>3</sup> who got his name from the whites because he directed the pikiavish. Captain instructed Joe in the medicine and what he was to think or pray for inwardly (huwastona, "to pray or make medicine by thinking, not talking"); the word is also recorded by Gifford as "xuswetasma").

Each morning, before leaving for the woods, Joe bathed ten times in the river, completely immersing himself. The usual time to start the daily trip was about 9 a.m.; he returned about 5 p.m. At night he stayed in the sacred sweathouse (ixkareya kimachiram), where Georgia Orcutt's house is now. He ate his meals in the living house (wenaram). This dwelling, called also ixkareya kiriviram, had the only stone-walled house pit that Joe knew of; it dated from long before the arrival of the whites. After he finished, he spent ten days by himself in a shack at the downstream end of his property at Sandy Bar.<sup>4</sup> He cooked for himself, having no female attendant at that time.

The year Joe served as priest, Sandy Bar Bob, a Chamikninch "owner," was managing the whole affair. Sawmill Jack of Taxasufkara, a dance owner, also took part. He was stingy and unpopular, not as hospitable in asking people to eat at his camp as some others, Sandy Bar Bob, for instance. Hence he had difficulty getting dancers, whereas Sandy Bar Bob had friends everywhere who would help him. Four or five times Sawmill Jack dropped out of the Deerskin Dance, then resumed again. He participated in the last pikiavish and Deerskin Dance given at Panamenik.

Joe did not pay for his instruction as priest. He served for the whole ten days; no one spelled him. He had only one helper, a man called asipakaramniha, "to reach hand in with basket cup [asip]," to feed him in the sacred dwelling. Formerly there were several helpers. The priest smoked in the sweathouse but ate in the dwelling. Joe, who does not smoke now, smoked in the sweathouse, and blew the left-over powdered tobacco from his hand. He prayed only when blowing the tobacco, not when smoking. He used matches for the fires on the mountain, though he carried a fire drill. Sandy Bar Bob and Captain could make fire quickly with the drill, but Joe never learned. Joe carried a large woven wikyapu, much bigger than the one used in the Jumping Dance, and in it he had the fire drill, pipe, and black paint of sweathouse soot. After making the fires at each mountain place, he sat under a tree on a flat rock stool and smoked. This was done at every fire station.

<sup>3</sup>The relationship is stated differently in the list of Chamikninch dance owners in the Amaikaram section; that is, if this is the same man as the "Captain" there noted. This man was about five years older than Sandy Bar Bob.

<sup>4</sup>Corroborating this, Georgia Orcutt said that he did not spend the ten days' retreat in the sweathouse, when he should have.

Joe's food was acorn soup, huckleberries, and salmon (either fresh or dry), given him in the wenaram at dusk. He could eat no deer meat; the priest never eats deer meat. There were no restrictions on the amount of food he could eat. When he ate in the evening, someone called out that the priest was about to eat so people kept away. If anyone came in while he ate, he would have to quit eating and would get nothing until the next night.

The priest began his duties with the waning moon. The pkiavish lasted ten days, ending on the last day of the old moon. Two days after its close at Panamenik, the Katimin priest stood up for his vigil at the yuxpit.

On the eighth evening of the priest's duties at Panamenik the boat dance was performed at Chamikninach with deerskins, but without flints. Just before the boats came, the priest bathed in the river. Then he made medicine on the sand bar on the Chamikninach side, and everybody hid. On the next day he sat under the madrone tree at the present site of the sawmill near Camp Creek below Orleans. There he made a fire and smoked his pipe. People must not look at him. He bathed ten times that night in Camp Creek.

The priest was painted red with mineral pigment, except for two black horizontal bars on each cheek, one bar on each arm joint, three on the chest, one on each joint of each leg. He was painted this way on the ninth evening when he appeared at Tishanik. He started from the madrone tree, crossed Camp Creek on two small logs placed side by side for him, and then started stepping high as he approached the dance ground at Tishanik. For one hundred and fifty yards he lifted his right foot as he walked so that his knee was flexed at a right angle and brought his foot down hard.<sup>5</sup> He walked very slowly because he was thinking his medicine. Toktaparavara, "stepping and praying," this part of the ritual was called. Joe did not know whether stamping with the right foot meant "stepping on the world," as Mrs. Allen said.<sup>6</sup> The priest was instructed daily in his duties. At each fireplace he swept an area clean, to sweep away disease, and piled dead wood to prevent the winter cold, heaping the wood just high enough so he could not see over the pile as he sat on his stone seat. There were stone seats at nine places and he prayed inwardly, as he sat on each, to make the world solid and prevent earthquakes.

Daily for nine days archers followed the priest, keeping out of his sight. There were two teams of archers and each man had five shots in succession. They bet on the results of the shooting. Small boys retrieved the arrows, set up the target peg, cleared away grass and brush, etc. Sometimes the archers went to the same place on successive days.

Sandy Bar Joe gave a day-by-day account of his activities as priest.

First day. He went back of Hillman's ranch on the east side of the river to Katipirimam (see Drucker's map), crossing the river in a canoe paddled by Sandy Bar Bob. He swept the ground, assembled wood, ignited the fire, sat down and smoked, now and then stirring the fire. He stayed until it burned out. He did not sight over the pile at the mountain. About five o'clock he re-

turned and was ferried back to Panamenik. He sat outside the sweathouse awhile, then bathed in the river. After supper, which was served in the wenaram, he went into the sweathouse with other men. He slept when he liked.

Second day. He went to Mike Brown's mine on the west side of the river, a place called Chivkach (evidently Drucker's "Chivikich," visited, according to Drucker, on the third day). He repeated the same performance as at Katipirimam. Again he did not look at the mountain when piling wood. Small boys and girls followed the archers.

Third day. To Katipirimam again, where he repeated his former performance because the moon was still too large and it was feared that the observances would not end with the last night of the moon. Sandy Bar Bob was responsible for this reckoning.

Fourth day. To Isrikiluk (visited on the second day, according to Drucker). There was target shooting, not at the usual peg but at a stone first. On the flat (the present Orleans airfield) the archers threw a round stone. They shot toward the spot where it landed, but since it often rolled on and was lost in the grass, they were frequently wide of the mark. At Panamenikmam, against the hill behind Orleans, the stone was added to a pile from previous years, and the shooting proceeded up the hill, pegs being used as targets.

Fifth day. He repeated the Chivkach visit of the second day. The shooting was the same as on the fourth day.

Sixth day. To Tishanikumam, a mine above Tishanik. No shooting this day. The priest went all alone. Perhaps this is Drucker's sixth-day visit to Tishanixsu, "now called Ohoahaku."<sup>7</sup>

Seventh day. To a Camp Creek place called Tishanik-masup. No shooting here. Camp Creek George, brother of Sandy Bar Bob, used to live there; it was not an old village.

Eighth day. To Chamikninituripa (Chamiknin hill). As the priest approached, he ran the last fifty yards, shouting (the only place this was done). He swept an area twelve or fifteen feet in diameter. Then he piled wood in the cleared place until, when he sat on a stone seat, Mt. Offield was no longer visible over the woodpile. Mt. Offield is the sacred mountain of the Panamenik and Katimin world-renewal ceremonies, Joe said. He called it Katimin tuiship, "Katimin Mountain"; *ixkareya* tuiship, "immortals' mountain." Anyone who eats on the mountain will die. Thus Joe accounted for the deaths of four successive United States Forest Service lookouts stationed on its summit: Frank Offield, George Tripp, two whites. In 1942 a half-breed from Cottage Grove was the lookout.

Joe ignited the fire. Then he filled his pipe, blowing the excess powdered tobacco from his hand while praying silently for plenty of vegetable foods, fish, deer, etc. This was the only day that the priest looked at the holy mountain. He made the same medicine as on previous days. (Anava, "medicine"; *anava tanikiava*, "to make medicine.")

Ninth day. To Chamikninsiyarakum, site of William Solstrom's<sup>8</sup> mine on the west side of the Klamath River,

<sup>5</sup>Mary Ike said that the priest dropped to his knee and looked around.

<sup>6</sup>See p. 50.

<sup>7</sup>Drucker, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup>Solstrom, a white man, once killed an albino deer the day before the Deerskin Dance at Tishanik. He sold it to Sandy Bar Jim for sixty dollars. It was used in the dance, still bloody.

after the boat dance had been performed. Bob painted Joe in the morning, using red and black paint mixed with marrow so it would not sweat off. There was no shooting on this day. When Joe returned, he went to the place where the sawmill is now and sat by the big madrone tree. He built a little fire and smoked there. About 5 p.m. he went to Tishanik bar, stepping heavily, as already described. until he reached the spot where the fire was to be built. Until that time people could not look at the priest as he traveled about; whenever he went abroad, he shouted to warn them. When he used this peculiar step, people could look at him for the first time.

The priest had no supper; no acorn mush was cooked for him, as it was at Katimin. The Deerskin Dance started just before dark. During the priest's night vigil at Tishanik he sat on a stone seat or stood at the yuxpit, but did not look at the mountain. Ten times in the course of the night he bathed in Camp Creek. Next morning he walked to the wenaram (ixkareya kiriviram) for breakfast. Thereafter, if he wished, he could watch, from the concealment of the brush, the Deerskin Dance on the bar below Tishanik.

The guests were served food at three camps: (1) Sawmill Jack's, of Taxasufkara, (2) Red Cap Tom's, of Wup-pam (this camp included Daisy Jones and her brother Ewing, Red Cap Dick, and Red Cap George), (3) the camp of Chamikninach or Sandy Bar people. The Chinas people had ceased to participate, so Sawmill Jack was alone in feeding visitors; usually Taxasufkara and Chinas combined. The Chamikninach people were the most numerous of the owners and could best entertain.

Joe insisted that the pikiavish started only with his public appearance at Tishanik on the ninth evening. (See similar statement concerning the beginning of the Katimin pikiavish.)

Joe said that any man could become priest, but that, in the Panamenik region, Chamikninach men usually officiated and served as instructors, because they were best informed. Joe knew of no Taxasufkara or Chinas man who had served as priest.

Once Sandy Bar Jim went through the whole ten days of service as priest. Sometimes in the old days, just as in the recent past, the priest had to be relieved by an alternate. A priest who did not finish the ceremony was supposed to eat by himself five or ten days just like one who had completed his service; otherwise he would have bad luck. Joe said he had had good luck ever since he served; he had either worked or mined all the time. Now he has a county pension.

No one owned the formulas used by the priest for the pikiavish. They were taught him by older officiants without pay. No one could make medicine except the priest and the two priestesses (ikiyavan).<sup>9</sup> The priestesses might be either virgins or women who no longer had husbands; no woman who was having sexual intercourse could serve. These two women got wood. They did not follow the priest on his daily tours. There were no priestesses when Joe served. Some years they were hard to get. If there were priestesses assisting the priest, they had to bathe ten times in Camp Creek on the night the priest stood up at the yuxpit at Tishanik.

At Hoopa and Weitspus there was a formulist who sat

near the dancers and burned tishwuf, "incense root," in the fire. The Karok had nothing like this, Joe said.

Notes from Ellen Allen.--"On the last day, before the fatawenan stepped on the world, he shouted from a hill on the west side of the river to his two ikiyavan, who were bringing wood on the east side of the river, to 'tip the wood basket [atimnan] down,' then to 'tip the wood basket up.' This referred to salmon, so there would be many salmon downstream and upstream. The wood was carried to a place near Camp Creek by the two ikiyavan.

"On the last day, when the fatawenan was about to leave to climb up to a vantage point from which to see the dances, he took one stride and posed with his right foot forward and leg flexed at right angle at the knee and shouted: 'Now you step on the world.' The people had been instructed to hide, so they heard, but did not see, his step."

Notes from Georgia Orcutt.--Georgia Orcutt, who served twice as priestess (ikiyavan) with other women, gave the following account of the Panamenik world-renewal ceremony.

Georgia was as yet unmarried when she served. The first time, her companion priestess was a half-breed named Jane Evans (living in 1940), the second time, a full-blood Karok named Alice (dead in 1940). Georgia was the leading priestess (avakomahuwan), the others followers (ifusahuwan). They did not shape the moist sand of the acorn-leaching basin to form a miniature Mt. Offield, as the priestesses at Katimin did. Georgia did not eat for two days while serving; the first time, after her fast, she spent ten days in the sweathouse, the second time, five days. If the priestess drank water, she might die. If other taboos were broken, birds would eat the acorns.

Georgia's half-breed half-sister (widow of Red Cap Tom), who died in 1942, served once as pishishikiyavan for the Panamenik priest. Whoever touched the pishishikiyavan must bathe, lest he or she become ill.

In earlier times two virgin boys called asipakramlem ("put the hand in food basket") served with the two priestesses. The boys' age did not matter as long as they were obedient and restrained. At Panamenik the priest ate in the living house in the evening; the four assistants ate with the people, not with the priest. The two girls and two boys ate all the food left by the priest after his last meal.

The four assistants accompanied the priest to Chamikninach the evening of the seventh day and remained there with him all night. They fasted and went without drinking that night and the next day. There was no sweathouse at Chamikninach. People camped at Chamikninach, but out of sight of the priest, who with his four assistants camped by the river. Somebody got firewood for them. They kept awake all night, but there was no talking. The priestesses sat with legs folded under them parallel, not crossed; the young men sat as they wished. The priest smoked, sitting on a rock with his elbows on his knees. He looked wherever he liked, not just at one place.

The next day (eighth) at Chamikninach, the Deerskin

<sup>9</sup>Drucker spells ikiyavan, "kiyawun."

Dance was performed. The priest's young assistants stayed at his camp while he paddled himself across from Chamikninch in the morning, everybody hiding as he did so, and ascended the hill above Camp Creek. In the evening the four young attendants paddled across and joined him at the Tishanik (Camp Creek) dance ground. They had had no food or water and at Camp Creek neither they nor the priest ate or drank, except that the priest ate acorns by himself. They stayed awake all night. That night and the next day the Deerskin Dance or its surrogate was performed at Camp Creek. The Deerskin Dance was presented biennially, the imitation dance with branches being given in alternate years. The first time Georgia was priestess they used deerskins, the second time branches.

On the following morning (ninth) the priest and the priestesses marched to Panamenik, the priest leading, followed by the avakomahuwan, then the ifusahuwan. In earlier times the two boy assistants immediately followed the priest. They staggered as they walked because of hunger and fatigue. All entered the sweathouse--no one else was there. The first time a priest served, he stayed in retreat in the sweathouse ten days, the second time five days. The occupants of the sweathouse were fed by the pishishikiyavan in the adjacent sacred living house. In the daytime they sat outside in the sunshine. The assistants were permitted to speak only when seated; the priest must not talk at all. Archaic language was spoken by both male and female ritualists in the pikiavish.

On the fifth day of retreat they went breakfastless to Chamikninch to put away the old things used. The new things were not put away. Still fasting, they returned to the sweathouse at Panamenik in the afternoon and in the evening they ate and drank again.

Food was eaten only in the sacred living house where the pishishikiyavan cooked, not in the sweathouse. When the officiants were about to eat, someone shouted: "Kaiko aksanwa!" to warn people, as it was wrong for people to see them eating. Each morning the pishishikiyavan took the left-over food--that is, food not eaten in the evening by the priest and the priestesses--and buried it under an oak which stood about one hundred yards upstream from Georgia Orcutt's house. The cooking stones also were buried there after the pishishikiyavan had completed her duties. Earlier, while the priest was in the hills making fire, young women, who were fasting, picked up acorns under this tree and tossed them over their shoulders as though into a burden basket, saying, "Kux, kux." This was supposed to produce plenty of acorns and also to guarantee that their babies would grow up. "Izkareya made it that way." (The meaning of "kux" was not learned.)

The purpose of the pikiavish was to drive away sickness and to ensure an abundance of vegetable foods and salmon. The rite had nothing to do with deer. The burning off of the land plus the medicines made by hunters were what made the deer numerous.

Acorns were filled with deer marrow in order to keep birds from eating young acorns, hazel nuts, and other vegetable foods. Drucker says this was "to keep the bugs from eating up all the acorns."<sup>10</sup>

Georgia named four men as head managers, who taught the priest his duties and the medicine formulas. All had previously served as priests. The selection of head managers was based on their experience, efficiency, wealth, and, probably, personality. Georgia listed the following in chronological order.

1. Impa.uus, "house below the trail," or Bahauls. The site of Georgia's house was also called Bahauls. This man was the earliest manager Georgia knew by name; he died before her time. Impa.uus, the son of a Panamenik man, did not own either the Deerskin or Jumping Dance.

2. Ikiyas, "everything looking right," or Ikiyarap, Georgia's father, succeeded Impa.uus. He died when Georgia was five years old. His mother came from Chamikninch. Ikiyas was a dance owner and, when dying, he requested Georgia to keep his dance regalia. Subsequently she lent them for use in the dances.

3. On Ikiyas' death, Ixtupkidisha (Tupgidi) "took the job of running the Panamenik pikiavish." He came from Chamikninch and was an owner of the Deerskin and Jumping dances.

4. Sam (Hanchione) of Tishanik, son of Ixtupkidisha. He came from Chamikninch and had served as priest many times.

Other less important men who also managed or had a hand in managing the Panamenik irahiv in Georgia's time were: (5) Ipkopiwan, or Captain, of Tishanik; (6) Camp Creek George; (7) Peter Tom's father; (8) Camp Creek Johnny. All these served as priests, sometimes relieving one another. They were all related; all controlled the irahiv grounds and owned dance regalia for the Deerskin Dance. Most of them also owned the privilege of giving the Deerskin and Jumping dances. (Cf. section on dance owners at Amaikiaram.)

Georgia then named a number of men who, though they had served as priests for the Panamenik pikiavish, were not regarded as managers.<sup>11</sup>

1. Makovari, or Makawachi, a priest after Georgia's father's time, from Panamenik. Not an owner of the Deerskin or Jumping Dance.

2. Pansivripa, from Panamenik. Not a dance owner.

3. Kidakviaraha. He owned both the Deerskin and Jumping dances through his father, a Wuppam man.

4. Stivyasa, "ear sharp," son of Jack, brother of Kidakviaraha. He owned both dances through his paternal grandfather, a Wuppam man. His grandmother, mother of Kidakviaraha and Jack, was from Panamenik.

5. Sandy Bar Bob (Huchhuckatsa) from Chamikninch, a dance owner.

6. Sandy Bar Joe, one of Gifford's informants. His father was from Amaikiaram, his mother from Chamikninch. Joe owned both dances through his mother.

<sup>10</sup>Drucker, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Mary Ike also mentioned a Horace Evans, who may be one of these listed by Georgia.



7. Sandy Bar Tom, Sandy Bar Bob's son, was the last priest to officiate at Panamenik. He remained in retreat five days in the sweathouse after finishing his duties. When he came out, he announced: "There will be no more Deerskin Dance, because the half-breeds make fun of it." Tom owned both the Deerskin and the Jumping Dance through his father.

The formulas or medicines used by the priest were never sold; they were taught without charge to new priests, so they could carry on the pikiavish ceremonies. Sometimes a succession of men were needed to perform the priest's duties at one pikiavish. "The last one knew the most." Ixtupkidisha, Sandy Bar Bob's father, instructed the priest. After him his three sons, Bob, George, and Sam, served as instructors. These Chamikninach people were reputed to be specially versed in the formulas for the pikiavish, teaching them to the men selected to serve as priests. This instruction was given in the sweathouse; no outsiders were allowed to listen. When the priests grew old, they became advisers and instructors of younger priests. Georgia could not remember the word for manager.

Georgia said that the Wuppam people did not know how to teach the priest, but the Chamikninach and Panamenik people did. The Chinas women, but not those from Taxasufkara, knew how to instruct the female officiants. At another time she partly contradicted herself, saying that the women who taught the two priestesses might be from anywhere, "not necessarily from Chamikninach," whence came the instructors of the priests.

The immortals initiated the Panamenik irahiv. They tried it several times, but at first many people died. Gradually they improved the ceremony until it became beneficial. Georgia Orcutt said there was no sacred mountain for the Panamenik irahiv comparable to Mt. Offield for the Katimin irahiv. However, on one day of his travels as priest, Sandy Bar Joe gazed at Mt. Offield as part of his ritual, but in the Panamenik ceremony the mountain played a minor role as compared with its importance at Katimin.

Georgia said everybody liked the yash-ara, "rich people," who gave the Deerskin Dance, for they were generous in feeding the people, entertaining the poor as well as the rich. A poor man would depart thinking what a fine man his host was. No person was snubbed because of his poverty. Now, Georgia said, people are envious of anyone who has something like a nice house or garden. (Georgia has both.)

Georgia described the daily travels of the priest as follows.

First day. The priest made his first fire at Pinitskri, near the present Orleans dance hall, about 9 a.m. He then re-entered the sweathouse, where he had already received instructions from an old man. No one looked at the Pinitskri fire, everyone hiding at a place on the riverbank. When the fire was out, someone shouted for the people to return. The priest set out from the sweat-house for his first mountain fireplace, Tuyukmam.

Second day. The priest went to Isrikiluk. The men and young women fasted but old women and small children ate while the priest was afield. In the afternoon

they moved from an oak tree on the flat near the present airfield. Then young men went back on the flat, where the airfield is now, shooting arrows without flint points.

Third day. The priest went to Chivikach. Again the people fasted until about 4 p.m. Young men shot arrows again, beginning at Panamenik and going up to the place where the priest made the fire at Chivikach. There was no shooting on the return.

Fourth day. The priest went to Witkitiwarum. No shooting.

Fifth day. The priest went to Tishanikumam. Young men started shooting on the gravel bar at Tishanishumu and followed up to the place where the priest made the fire, shooting all the way. There was no shooting coming back. Every night the priest returned to the sweathouse at Panamenik.

Sixth day. The priest went first to Kusrakpimusam, then to Ohoahaku. Everybody hid when he started, as they did on the first day, because it was bad luck to see him going. He started before daylight, so as to observe the moon from Kusrakpimusam ("place of observing moon [kusra]") on the west side of the river north of Camp Creek. He made a small fire there and then went on to Ohoahaku, where he made his usual fire. Young men did not shoot on this day.

Seventh day. The priest went to Kuwairam ("where hunter wears deer mask") on the east side of the Klamath. A man ferried the priest from Panamenik downstream to Chamikninach. During the day the priest had made a fire at Ahaiseram ("build up fire") on the same ridge as Ihvriparum (which is not a synonym for Ahaiseram as Drucker states [p. 261]). Actually he followed the ridge upstream from Chamikninach, then descended a spur to the river at Katipiramam (a place made by the immortals), where he was picked up by boat and ferried downstream to Chamikninach. That evening everyone moved down to Chamikninach to have a good time. They hid by the river when the priest returned. That night he did not go back to the sweathouse at Panamenik but camped on the east bank of the river. There were three camps at Chamikninach, two from Wuppam and one from Panamenik.

Eighth day. The priest crossed from Chamikninach to the west side, alone in a canoe, for no one must see him; all were in hiding. He landed below the mouth of the little creek Afchiwitsu, downstream from Camp Creek. He did not pull the boat up high on the bank, since the immortals had made a place where the water would not carry it away. He then went up to Chamikninisarakum on the hill above Camp Creek and made a fire. There was no arrow shooting. If it was the appropriate year, the people resumed the Deerskin Dance, which had begun the night before with a boat dance at Chamikninach. At this time the priest ate acorns by himself.

At sundown of the eighth day the people moved, without eating, from Chamikninach across the river to Camp Creek. The Chinas (Chineshiship) people came across, doing the Deerskin Dance in boats, to the oak tree downstream from Georgia's house, thence to Camp Creek, where they camped at their own camp ground and had supper. (Georgia had seen this boat dance only once.) The priest came down from the hill and stood (or sat) with his assistants all night without food or water. Although they bathed, it was taboo to drink water when doing so. They were not permitted to lie down, sleep, or converse.

Ninth day. In the morning the priest and his helpers went to Panamenik about eight o'clock. They had breakfast, then slept all day in the sweathouse, while the dance went on at Camp Creek. In the evening the people ate supper.

The Deerskin Dance lasted two days and nights only and was performed only in alternate years. If someone died, the dance was postponed. But if all preparations were made and someone died, the dance was given after money was paid the bereaved, who might then come and watch. On the first day of the pikiavish and at the end of the dance, the people wept as they thought of departed relatives.

After the pikiavish was finished, the priest entered the Panamenik sweathouse for his retreat, remaining ten days, if the occasion was his first service as priest; five days, if it was a later service.

Comments on Drucker's account.--Philip Drucker's description<sup>12</sup> of this ceremony is based on data recorded from Louis Johnny and Peter Tom. Louis Johnny came from Ishipishi after he was grown. He was a son of Camp Creek Johnny by an Ishipishi woman who subsequently became the wife of Hans Larson (white). Peter Tom was a son of Camp Creek Tom and Sophie Sam of Wuppam lineage. (See discussion of dance owners in section on Amakiaram.)

The following notes record comments by Gifford's informants on some points in Drucker's account. The personnel of the ceremony varied from year to year and differences in reports of it are probably due to such variation, as well as to minor deviations in the ceremony itself.

Georgia Orcutt asserted that neither of Drucker's informants had ever served as priest for the Panamenik world-renewal ceremony. Camp Creek Johnny, Louis Johnny's father, was related to Georgia's father and was a manager and priest of the Panamenik irahiv but not an owner of the Panamenik Deerskin Dance. He was the man who forbade the Saxworam people to give the dance (see p. 46).

Georgia gave okwakus (Drucker, "okwakos") as the name of the irahiv month, September. This is the eleventh month of the Karok calendar, the month of irahiv ceremonies at both Panamenik and Katimin. It is spoken of as "thrown away," not counted.

Georgia commented on certain places mentioned in Drucker's account. Tishanishunu (Drucker's b on map 1) was a camp and dance place on a gravel bar upstream

from the mouth of Camp Creek. Tishanik was the village just uphill from this dance place. Behind Tishanik, on top of the hill, was a place called Tishanikumam, where the priest made a fire, which no one looked at and which cured sickness. Tishanixsu was Camp Creek; it is not to be equated to the Ohoahaku fireplace. Sehp is on the west side of the Klamath.

Shan Davis, in discussing Drucker's account, said the priest was anointed with deer marrow, not tallow. The ipnipavan broke the lower foreleg bone of a buck deer and extracted the marrow, called sakanekorekpat. The term is used for the marrow from this bone only.

In 1939 Mary Ike and Mamie Offield, interpreter, discussed the Panamenik world-renewal ceremony. Mary Ike said that, although the two great dances were privately owned, the pikiavish or world-renewal ceremonies were not.

According to Mamie's mother (deceased), at each fireplace the priest visited there were buried ten "ih-kareyo stones," as Drucker calls them, to each of which the priest offered tobacco. These were ten ixkareya men who turned into stone at the sacred fireplaces visited by the priest. Five of the ten stones at Panamenik are said to have vanished. When all the stones disappear, the Indians will cease to exist.

At Katipiramam the archers do not shoot arrows, but scrape one another with fir burrs and shout. This is done only in the Panamenik irahiv. Taxivshunos means "act of scratching off."

Arrows were shot for the pikiavish at the present baseball ground at Panamenik. This is probably Shnev-aishninam, mentioned by Drucker.

Besides looking at Mt. Offield, the Panamenik priest gazes at a mountain called Panamenikuuy (uuy, "mountain") behind the ranger station at Orleans. At Bacon Flat on that mountain, facing Orleans, fires are set at the time of the irahiv, as they are on Mt. Offield at the Katimin irahiv.

Each time the priest of the Panamenik ceremony dropped to his knee--on the ninth day, as described by Drucker--he looked all around at the places on the mountains where he had been. He was reciting a formula as he went along.

Drucker gives two accounts of the priest's itinerary during the Panamenik ceremony. In the following tabulation these accounts are compared with the versions obtained from informants Sandy Bar Joe and Georgia Orcutt.

#### Panamenik Priests' Itineraries

<u>Days</u>	<u>Drucker 1</u>	<u>Drucker 2</u>	<u>Sandy Bar Joe</u>	<u>Georgia Orcutt</u>
1	Tuyukmam, W	Tuyukmam	Katipirimam, E	Tuyukmam
2	Isrikiluk, W	Isrikiluk	Chivkach, W	Isrikiluk
3	Chivkich, W	Chivkich	Katipirimam	Chivkich
4	Tishanik, W	Tishanik, (?)	Isrikiluk	Witkitiwarum
5	Kusnachanimnam, W	Witkitiwarum, E	Chivkach	Tishanikumam
6	Tishanixsu (= Ohoahaku), W	Tishanixsu (= Ohoahaku); also Kusnachemusnaovich	Tishanikumam, W	Kusrakpimusam, W Ohoahaku
7	Witkitiwarum, E	Ahaiseram (= Ihvriparum)	Tishanikmasup, W	Kuwairum, E; Ahaiseram
8	Ihvriparum, E	Sehp	Chamikninituripa, E	Chamikniniyarakum
9	Sehp, W		Chamikniniyarakum, W	Sweathouse retreat begun
10	Sweathouse retreat begun		Sweathouse retreat begun	

<sup>12</sup>Drucker, map 1 and pp. 23-26, passim.

## DEERSKIN DANCE

Notes from Mary Ike.--Mary Ike described the Panamenik Deerskin Dance, which she called sawuwuha, a term which indicates its performance close to the river. It was performed in a number of places, sometimes in boats. Mary Ike's comments refer especially to a photograph of the 1910 dance (pl. 2, a). The dance was last given at Panamenik in 1912.

In the Deerskin Dance the skins were held in three positions: (1) horizontal, (2) raised to right, (3) raised to left. This was accompanied by singing. In the evening of the eighth day when the dancers moved to Camp Creek after dancing all day at Chamikninach, the priest, followed by the two ikiyavan, walked in front of the dancers, who raised the deerskins to let them pass. They passed from the fireplace to one end of the line of dancers (the right end in the picture) and, after going to the other end of the line (left in picture), they followed the trail down to Camp Creek to bathe.

The dancers in the center of the line wore headbands with sea-lion teeth and carried obsidians; sometimes as many as four men had obsidians, and these men did not carry deerskins. Before the dance began, the obsidian holders remained in a squatting position. When the deerskins were held down horizontally (as though the deer were walking), the three middle dancers holding skins sang.

The Deerskin Dance was not given as magic for more deer; it was just a show. It cost the owners a good deal because of the free food provided for the spectators.

Notes from Georgia Orcutt.--For two years before a Deerskin Dance women made basket dishes in preparation for feeding the crowd. Georgia showed Gifford the following articles used: an openwork basket plate, 8 inches in diameter, for an individual serving of salmon; a tightly twined basket bowl, also 8 inches in diameter, for serving acorn mush; a mussel-shell spoon used by women. These objects were prepared by the families that "owned" the dance, not by everybody. Georgia's father's family, from Chamikninach, made them for the Panamenik piklavish.

Georgia said that, when the Deerskin Dance was held at Panamenik, groups from different villages made up six camps at which people were fed. She had seen the Chinas and Taxasufkara people give the dance twice. Her mother's folks from Chinas camped at a place called Tishanishunu at Camp Creek below Panamenik where Georgia's garden was in 1942. The Taxasufkara people's camp was separate from, but close to, the Chinas camp. The dancers of the two groups, however, comprised a single dance team.

In Georgia's youth five rich men owned the Panamenik Deerskin Dance. In the fall, two years before its performance, the owners urged the women to gather large quantities of acorns and to make many baskets. This request was repeated the second fall. The men arose early to gather sweat-house wood and worked hard in the sweat-house every day, fasting until noon. They made blankets of deerskin, with the hair on, to equip the dancers, and rectangular nets for head ornaments. Women prepared the fibers, men made the string and manufactured the net. The netted headpieces worn by the four obsidian carriers were extra long, with feathers on the bottom, mostly crested-jay and sparrow-hawk feathers. The netting needle used in the manufacture of these nets was a small one of elk horn.

In August they dug and cooked soaproot in the earth oven, also "wild potatoes," which would keep after cooking. Small bulbs, with the tops on, were twined on thin grapevine withes so they would not get lost. They looked nice, hanging thus. They were cooked in the earth oven on the string. In August, too, men collected sugar-pine nuts. Manzanita berries, both black and red, were picked on the higher slopes of Orleans Peak, as well as the Western serviceberry called afishi (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), which came from halfway up to the Orleans Look-out. The berries were dried in the sun for a short time and were eaten uncooked; they would keep for a year.

The rich men never said: "We are going to have the Deerskin Dance"; they merely urged the accumulation of supplies. The people, of course, suspected the purpose. At the last minute, the rich men announced the dance. When all was ready, word was sent to the Yurok, so they might come. The Hupa were not notified because the Karok did not like them; very few came to the Karok dance. The Hupa (Tishake) were "devil people," and the Karok did not mention them, lest sickness come.

People came from many places for the good time. The Yurok came in canoes to look on and to help in the singing and dancing, bringing their dance goods to lend their Karok friends. Shregon George, a rich Yurok, for instance, lent his regalia. The Yurok of Johnson's on the Klamath all came, since many Karok of Wuppam had married downriver. The Yurok knew the Deerskin Dance songs best; the Hupa knew them least well. The dance was the same everywhere but the songs varied.

In the years when the Deerskin Dance was not held, the people danced with brush and stones instead of deerskins and obsidians. Wuwuhi ichwa (ichwa, "play") was the name of this imitation dance. The real dance was called wuwuha.

The Wuppam people presented one dance, the Chamikninach people a second, and Chinas and Taxasufkara combined for the third. Sawmill Jack of Taxasufkara and Georgia's maternal uncle of Chinas were the last two from those places to give the Deerskin Dance jointly. This was before the high river of 1889-1890. Sawmill Jack gave it alone in 1912.

If one group was short of regalia, it might borrow from another. Georgia told of the Chamikninach people lending an obsidian to the Wuppam people who did not have any. According to Georgia, there was little or no competitive spirit in the dance presentation.

Notes from Mamie Offield.--When Mamie Offield saw the dance, there were six places represented: Wuppam, Chinas, Panamenik (Drucker's three villages, of Wopam, Chineshiship, Panamenik) plus Saxwuram, Chamikninach, and Hulawidok ("wrestling place"). The last three gave their dances together; that is, Saxwuram and Hulawidok lent their regalia to the Chamikninach owners, for Mamie added that Chamikninach was the head, the other two followers. Vonvirak also supplied regalia and dancers, which makes a seventh village participating, unless Hulawidok is part of Vonvirak or one of the other towns. The dances from these various places formed three teams, no doubt under the three owner groups of Wuppam, Chamikninach, and Chinas-Texasufkara. Mamie did not say this, but she did remark that Chinas and Saruxkinva, which is part of Taxasufkara, danced together as one team. At the time, Gifford had not yet learned about the ownership of dances or he might have clarified Mamie's somewhat confusing statements.

The first day of the Panamenik Deerskin Dance, the performance took place at Chamikiniichkakukum on the east side of the river on a flat upstream from Boise Creek. (This is probably Drucker's "Chemikninich"<sup>13</sup> and Gifford's Chamikninach.) On the west side, the dance was started by two Saruxkinva (Taxasufkara) leaders

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

just above the mouth of Camp Creek at Tishanishunu,<sup>14</sup> a dance ground, flooded by freshets, which was stony in earlier days as it is today. Then it was danced a little way back on the flat. The groups competed to make the best show. On the last day of the dance, people dressed in their finery.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., b on map 1, p. 24.

# HUPA: TAKIMIÐING

(Gifford)

The earliest accurate account of the Hupa world-renewal ceremonies, with the accompanying formulas, was published by Goddard in two papers, in 1903 and 1904, respectively. *Life and Culture of the Hupa* describes the ceremonies (pp. 78-87); *Hupa Texts* presents the formulas, prayers, and origin stories associated with the rituals, including those of the Jumping Dance (pp. 226-232, 234-236), the Acorn Feast (p. 233), and the First Salmon Ceremony (pp. 265-269). Kroeber's 1925 *Handbook*<sup>1</sup> abstracts Goddard's descriptions. In 1939 Driver's elements 268-282 (cols. H1 and H2) enumerated the traits of the first-salmon rite; elements 2559-2692 those of the New Acorn Ceremony, the Deerskin Dance, and the Jumping Dance. In 1940 Goldschmidt and Driver devoted an entire paper to the White Deerskin Dance, including speculations on its origin.

Gifford's findings, obtained from Hupa informants in 1940 and 1942, corroborated Goddard's data. Kroeber's surmise that the Hupa Jumping Dance performed in the spring may have "once rested upon a similar salmon ceremony made at Takimíðing"<sup>2</sup> received no support from Gifford's sources, unless the dam described in 1942 by an aged informant was connected with a first-salmon rite. The first-salmon rite conducted at Sugar Bowl in the spring, it was said, had no connection with the spring Jumping Dance. It seems, therefore, that we must consider the Jumping Dance a disease deterrent, as the natives assert. The concept involved is of world renewal as much as in the ceremonies for salmon, acorns, and eels. The dance is a prophylactic ceremony for good health.

The Hupa ceremonial sequence stands as originally set forth by Goddard.<sup>3</sup>

1. Eel ceremony in March in Hoopa Canyon, beyond the north end of Hoopa Valley. This seems to have had no connection with the sacred living house (xonta nikyao) at Takimíðing.

2. Prophylactic ceremony called the "winter dance," held in late spring at Takimíðing and Miskût.<sup>4</sup> The ceremony included performance of the Jumping Dance but had no connection with the First Salmon Ceremony.

3. First Salmon Ceremony in Sugar Bowl, held in spring. There was no sacred living house in connection with this ceremony.

4. White Deerskin Dance, "summer dance," held in August or September for ten days. Performed, along with the Jumping Dance, in alternate years, 1939, 1941, etc.

5. Jumping Dance, ten days after the Deerskin Dance, held for ten days accompanying the Acorn Feast.

The sequence of events varied, as the following records indicate. Goddard's sequence was Jumping Dance, First Salmon Ceremony at Sugar Bowl, Deerskin Dance, Jumping Dance, Acorn Feast. In 1901 Kroeber observed the Acorn Feast, October 13, followed by the Jumping

Dance on October 16. In 1939 Gifford's informants gave the sequence as Deerskin Dance (August), Jumping Dance (late September), Acorn Feast ten days later (early October). Gifford's and Goddard's sequences for the late summer and fall coincide. There were actually slight variations in sequence from year to year, as Kroeber observed.

The Hupa had no ceremonies for the Tan, the gods who owned the deer.<sup>5</sup> In connection with the deer hunt there were only individual observances by hunters, as among the Karok and Yurok.

The Hupa agree with the Yurok and Karok that a race of immortals (kixunai) preceded men on earth and established human ceremonies and institutions. Spoken formulas and myths refer to the acts of the immortals. The Hupa informants in 1940 asserted that the original plan was for the immortals to live here forever, but that the wives of their leader, Yimantuwingyai, ruined the world by burying their children alive.<sup>6</sup> Thereafter, the appearance of smoke on the mountains heralded the advent of human beings.

The sacred living house pictured by Goddard<sup>7</sup> and the sacred sweathouse (taikyuw)<sup>8</sup> are said to date from the time of the immortals. The former contains the sacred wooden stool, a circular redwood block broader at top than at bottom; the latter, the sacred wooden pillow.<sup>9</sup>

Sacred stones, which mythology says are transformed immortals who failed to leave before human beings arrived, form part of the face of the stone platform in front of the sacred living house. One of these, with a circle of pits and an incised ring, shows plainly in Goddard's picture of the sacred living house. This stone, as well as several others, is illustrated by Goldschmidt.<sup>10</sup>

The pit at Miskût in which the spring Jumping Dance was performed is said to have been made by the immortal, Yimantuwingyai, for this purpose. It is now an eroded shallow depression about 30 to 35 feet in diameter, rather open on the side facing the river. At the time of the dance a board fence was erected back of it, i.e., on its northeast side. No one was allowed to stand in the space behind this, which was reserved for the immortals who came to witness the dance performed in front of the fence.

At Takimíðing a similar pit, not so deep now, was dug by the Hupa. There, too, the fall Jumping Dance, accompanying the Acorn Feast, was performed in front of a fence. This fence is called metitillye xonta, meaning "house in which they jump-dance," and behind it

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 77

<sup>6</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup>*Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 12.

<sup>8</sup>In Mary Socktish's girlhood there were two other sweathouses standing in Takimíðing and two in Medíðing. All of these have now disappeared.

<sup>9</sup>Kroeber (*Handbook*, pl. 19) pictures a stool, Goddard (*Hupa Life and Culture*, p. 17) a pillow, both of types used by the Hupa.

<sup>10</sup>A Hupa "Calendar," AA 42:176-177.

<sup>1</sup>Pp. 134-135.

<sup>2</sup>*Handbook*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup>*Hupa Life and Culture*, pp. 78-87.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

are supposed to stand the immortals and the spirit of the Takimikding man who instituted the dance at Takimikding.

#### ANNUAL ACORN FEAST

##### Account by Mary Socktish

In 1940 Mary Socktish, a Hupa who, in 1942, was still the chief officiant of the annual Acorn Feast<sup>11</sup> or First Acorn Ceremony, gave an account of the ceremony (tsatkihau<sup>11</sup>, "acorn eating"). Sam Brown interpreted.

Usually the Acorn Feast is held in early October, but, if tanbark-oak acorns ripen early and enough can be gathered to feed the assemblage, it may be held in late September. (In September, 1942, informants mentioned October 4 as the probable date, which is not made public long in advance.) In selecting the time for the ceremony the phase of the moon is not considered, the condition of the acorns being the sole determinant. Indeed, acorns from the year before may be used, provided there are some of the new crop, but only fresh ones are used if there are enough. Several women aid the officiant in gathering the new acorns.

When the time comes, the woman officiant and her assistants move into the sacred living house (xonta nikyao) at Takimikding. They take to the house the acorns and the baskets for the preparation of the feast. They are not required to abstain from water. They eat and sleep in the sacred living house while officiating.

The night the officiant moves into the xonta nikyao, she eats a late supper, since she must fast until the next afternoon. "I have angelica with me when I go to bed. I keep it beside the fire hole. I do not sleep much. I try to keep awake." Her helpers--two, three, or four--are with her. During the night she prays for plenty of acorns. She imagines that she is talking to the acorn "boss"--Yinukatsisdai, the god of vegetation--wishing there will be many acorns. People must take good care of the acorns they collect; then they will have good luck and have more to pound for meal. As the officiant wishes for good luck and all good things, she also "talks" to prevent sickness, putting angelica root in the fire as she prays aloud. All the women pray and put pieces of angelica on the fire. This is done only one night. It was that way in olden times.

"I get up at 3 a.m. I go into the river and bathe in the cold water. My helpers do the same, following me. We return to the house, where we paint ourselves with sweathouse soot and marrow, putting a vertical line over each cheekbone. Then we place the already shelled acorns in a big basket tray and rub them to remove the brown skin, which we winnow into the fire. We put some angelica into the fire at the same time. Each woman has a winnowing tray and does this. Then I address Yinukatsisdai: 'The smoke of these acorns will rest on the acorn mountains here. The acorns that grow far away will fly back to our mountains where the smoke rises.'

"Then we set the hoppers on the mortar slabs in the house. I start first, then my helpers. It is now around 4 a.m. We pound and sift, pound and sift, until all is ground fine enough. After

the second pounding there is only a little coarse stuff left. This we save to take to the feast place to burn.

"When we are through pounding, everything is packed in baskets. The women dump the meal into large cooking baskets, which they bring from their homes--they also bring paddles, spoons, serving baskets, etc. When everyone is through pounding, it is about sunrise and everything is ready. I pick up a burning brand and take the lead, my helpers following. I alone carry the fire. We go to the feast place, traveling along the river. There is no assemblage of people as yet. We leach the acorns below the pile of cooking stones left from previous years. [See Goddard, 1903, pl. 28.] I build the fire there and then go ahead and pick up new stones to heat water. My helpers follow me and pick up stones too. Before we start we say to one another: 'Let us pick up acorns.' This is said so that acorns will be plentiful. We put the stones in the fire and return to the sacred living house for the serving equipment.

"Then we fix the leaching basins, one basin for each woman. The acorn meal is leached with river water, starting with cold water. We have moved everything out of the house, so it is vacant while we are busy at the feast place. No one must enter it while the leaching is being done.

"After the acorns are leached, I pick up a fire brand and take it to the feast place. The helpers do the same if there is enough burning wood to be carried. Minkilen [menstruants] must not look at the smoke of the fire at the feast place. I, being a widow, may not lay the fire. In 1939 Emma Frank, my cousin, laid the bottom sticks. The one who lays the sticks asks Yinukatsisdai for acorns of finger length that grow on trees with finger-length leaves, growing in his abode. The sticks first laid down are in the form of a square, the first two pointing upstream toward the god's residence.

"One of the helpers collects in a basket the cooking stones used the year before and deposits them on the sacred pile of cooking stones before the new fire is ignited. For five days after the Acorn Feast this woman must remain at home. She is not under food taboo. The basket in which the stones are collected I put in the sacred living house for five days. Later I take it away and leave angelica in the fireplace. People who live in the sacred living house always have angelica at the corners of the fireplace.<sup>12</sup> My family used to live there.

"When the new fire is laid, the stones for cooking acorns are placed in it. These stones are different from those used for heating the leaching water. Each woman scatters the

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Goddard's account, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>12</sup>Once angelica, stolen from the xonta nikyao and sold at Orleans in Karok territory, caused the illness of the thief. He confessed when the shaman, Emma Frank, said she saw the shadow of angelica over him.

coarse unleached meal over the stones in the fire. She says: 'There will be plenty of acorns wherever I go to gather; even if someone has gone ahead of me, still there will be plenty of acorns for me. Even under fir trees I shall find plenty of acorns.' While the stones are heating, we prepare fall salmon, broiling it on sticks around the fire. It is against the law to eat deer meat on this occasion. If a hunter brought venison, he would never kill another deer.

"We cook acorns while the salmon is broiling. We have a few extra, small cooking baskets. We put acorn dough in these to give to the visitors to cook for themselves. The cooking stones put on the sacred pile<sup>13</sup> are the ones which were used for cooking mush. The stones for heating the leaching water are left lying by the river.

"After the acorn meal is all cooked, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a messenger is sent to notify the people to come to the feast. The people come along a special trail from Takimikding. Visitors from Medilding or elsewhere all follow the same trail. Each man picks up a handful of pebbles and throws them into the river, calling for plenty of salmon. In olden days they swam before eating; now they merely wash face and hands. The visitors sit at the feast place, each man on a special stone, the women on the ground. After eating they must wash their hands, while someone pours water on their hands. If you go away unwashed, you are packing away all the acorns and they will be scarce that season.

"When the men are through eating, they go away. Women stay and wash the utensils, putting all the dish water in one container. They rebuild the fire, pick up the remnants of salmon and acorns and burn them in the blazing fire, and pray for many acorns: 'Acorns will be plentiful on these mountains in our district. There will be no sickness. People will gather acorns happily. If a man eats little, he will feel as though he has eaten much. Birds' and other animals' stomachs will be upset, they will not eat much; similarly, insects of all kinds.' All the women, especially my helpers, say this. Angelica is put on the fire at the same time. All the cooking stones are thrown in to burn off the acorn mush.

"No dogs are allowed. At this time one cannot call one's dog by name but must call him 'salmon-bug,'<sup>14</sup> so there will be plenty of salmon.

"During the ceremony no one may pass the river side of the sacred rock pile, lest he get burned by fire in days to come. None of the Takimikding people may pick up acorns on the day of the feast. Whoever wastes acorns at any time will not have plenty.

"After everything is burned, I pick up my burden basket. The helpers follow me to the sacred living house, where I stay all night, while the helpers go home. I pray and wish for plenty of food.

"The leaching basins of sand at the place of the Acorn Feast are left for Frog, who was Coyote's wife in the time of the immortals. This is not for good luck. No figure of a mountain is made of the damp sand, as is done by the Karok at Katimin.

"In olden days there was a priest for the acorn ceremony. The last one was Old Roger, my mother's cousin, who served twice. The priest before him was Sanixson. The priest stayed only one night in the sweathouse. He represented the god of acorns and vegetation in general, and was called by the god's name, Yinukatsisdai.<sup>15</sup> He wore a minkskin headband, with a whole buckskin on top of his head somewhat screening his face, and a deerskin wrapped around his body like an apron. He had no beard or imitation beard. He stayed in the sweathouse all night while the acorns were pounded for meal. After everything was moved out of the sacred living house, Yinukatsisdai moved into it and stayed there until the women had the acorn meal ready to cook. He sat there until a messenger (male or female) from the feast place informed him that the old cooking stones had been collected. He then came out between the sweathouse and sacred living house with a buckskin over his head and black paint on his face and arms. He passed close to a black oak at the feast place<sup>16</sup> and walked toward the people. When he arrived, he took the buckskin off his head. He laid the foundation sticks for the fire--nowadays this is done by the women. When the fire was built, he covered himself again and sat on a rock, while the women cooked the acorn meal. He talked to no one. When the food was all prepared, he took the buckskin off again. A messenger told the people to come. Then the priest led the men to the river to throw in stones, but he did not speak. He bathed, as did all the men. Everyone was supposed to come without breakfast, before eating acorn and salmon at the feast.

"In olden times Yinukatsisdai was represented every year, but this has not been so for many years now. Crows are believed to go to his home in the south and revile him for his stinginess if he withholds the acorns."

Yinukatsisdai used to have a stone tobacco pipe which was kept in the sacred living house, but it was stolen or lost. Mary Socktish's mother had seen it.

<sup>13</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, p. 81. See also p. 77 for an account of the god. See Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, p. 233, for the formula of the Acorn Feast recited by the priest.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. the analogous practice in the Karok pikiavish ceremonies at Inam and Katimin, where the priest touches the oak with his shoulder.

<sup>13</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 28.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Yurok "nohpetuks," according to Kroeber

Mary's mother's female cousin, a great shaman, dreamed of the pipe.<sup>17</sup> She dreamed that Mink talked to her, saying the missing pipe was not on this earth but in the kixunal country, because it was taken away by the kixunai; its loss ruined the world. This shaman's minkskin tobacco bag told her many things, as, for instance, when her granddaughter stole tobacco from the bag.

Mary Socktish is under no restrictions after she has performed her duties. She has no special title when officiating at the Acorn Feast and receives no payment for her services, though she pays her helpers.

Mary's mother and her mother's mother made the Acorn Feast at Takimikding. They lived in the sacred living house. Mary's father came from the Hupa village of Xonsading (Norton Ranch) and married in at Takimikding. Mary's mother's mother was from Medilding. She married into the sacred living house and undertook the Acorn Feast duties.

#### Observation, 1901

(Kroeber)

The acorn feast at Takimikding is called *nökyiñaxan* (from *kyiña*, "eat"; *saikyñaxaw*, "eat acorn soup," *saxaw*). It is the cooking and eating of the new acorns in fall, at Takimikding. Before that, no one eats of the acorns of the year. It is connected with the sacred house in which Tsetelux (Roger) lives and the sweat-house next to it. These are respectively 23½ and 22 feet square.<sup>18</sup> In these two houses no one is allowed to speak badly; only good people are allowed in. The house is very old, but is kept repaired from time to time. It is quite empty inside. Near it is where they make the Jumping Dance. A little upriver is the place where they cook and eat the acorns.

On October 13, 1901, women cooked the acorns in the morning. At noon all ate. The men went to the river and washed faces and hands first. Old Tsetelux took a short swim. They ate sitting in a large circle around the fire and cookers. One or two nearly-old men acted as waiters, eating last. When through eating, each man, as he finished, descended to the river and washed again, then went off. In the afternoon they gambled. The salmon bones from the meal were not thrown away but were put on the wicker plates, to be burnt at the conclusion.

The eating place is next to the pile of cooking stones. This is 15 feet long, 2 feet high, 3 to 4 feet wide, and contains, by estimate, at least 5,000 stones, but probably less than 12,000. In this cooking of 1901 there were 60 or more rocks. It is said of this pile that it is not displaced when the river rises above it but always remains firm.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>This dream was related to Sam Brown by the dreamer.

<sup>18</sup>There is an error here. Houses are nearly square, but sweat-houses are not, and their front or long side is less than the 20-plus foot length of the living houses. I may have meant to write that the sacred living house, which is called "big dwelling," measured 23½ by 22 feet.

<sup>19</sup>Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 28.

It was said that formerly at this ceremony an old man (presumably of the house which "belongs to" this "New Year"), wearing nothing but a deerskin blanket and painted with black bars across the face, burnt all the salmon bones, putting medicine on the fire and "talking good"; but that this is no longer done.

#### FIRST SALMON CEREMONY

In 1940 Gifford visited the site of the First Salmon Ceremony,<sup>20</sup> accompanied by the informant, Shoemaker John,<sup>21</sup> and the interpreter, Sam Brown. The way led past the Rain Rock (Mi)<sup>22</sup> on the floor of Sugar Bowl Valley (Xaime) on the west side of the Trinity River, a hundred feet or so from the stream. The site of the Salmon Ceremony is near the upstream end of Sugar Bowl, where there is a sizable pond in a sand bar.

The salmon for the ceremony was caught near by with a set net by a man of the Medilding (upstream) division. Anyone who wanted to be lucky might do it. Xaslinding, upstream from Sugar Bowl, was the village from which the salmon catcher usually came,<sup>23</sup> but sometimes a Medilding man officiated. The man who caught the fish cooked it, if there was no unmarried woman (*shestan*)<sup>24</sup> to do so. If a woman officiated, she prepared food for the ceremonialist throughout his term of service and carried wood for the dwelling house all summer. The man ate each forenoon before entering the sweathouse, chiefly acorn soup and dried salmon; deer meat was taboo. The ceremonialist might eat only when the sun was up. Once, on his return to Xaslinding, he could not eat his evening meal because the sun had gone behind the western hill.

For ten nights before catching the first salmon the man prayed and sweated himself in the sweathouse. When sleeping, he placed angelica root under his head or held it in his hand. The woman attendant did not use angelica root when sleeping. For ten mornings he gathered sweathouse wood to burn at night. He climbed fir trees to obtain green branches, which were mixed with dry wood. He burned the dry fir first, putting on the green boughs to smudge himself. He cut the wood with a sharp flake of rock on the mountain back of Xaslinding. John said he had seen many cut trees there. The man cut only what he could carry, no more. He drank no water during these ten days. Indeed, until fall he drank only thin acorn soup and sweated himself occasionally. In the fall he resumed a normal diet.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>21</sup>Shoemaker John's father was the last man to make the First Salmon Ceremony, about 1910. Robinson Shoemaker, Shoemaker John's older half-brother, also officiated once before that date.

<sup>22</sup>Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pp. 64, 79; Hupa Texts, p. 270.

<sup>23</sup>This was, according to Shoemaker John, the village of Captain John, who is pictured by Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 4.

<sup>24</sup>*Shestan* is the term for a woman after her second menses and before marriage. Goddard (*ibid.*, p. 54) gives the term *keLtsan*, "virgin," for a girl after her first menses. Hupa Texts, p. 237, fn.: "KinaLdün means a girl who is undergoing her first menstruation."



The ceremony was held only when the "silver-side summer salmon" came, as early as March or as late as May. The moon phase was immaterial. No altar was used.

When the salmon got into the priest's net, he must kill it with a green alder stick; he must not take it out with his hands. He thrust twined green hazel stems through the salmon's gills to draw it out of the net. The ceremonialist laid the fish, belly down, on a bed of bunch grass (so'acho') from the high mountains and tinach'teke (a plant with white bell-like flowers which mature into long tomato-colored fruits). He cut the fish with a sharp flake of stone, not a hafted knife. Holding his breath, he drew the flake from head to tail down the backbone. Then further incisions were made to remove the viscera, but he need not hold his breath while making them. He left the knife at the fire.

In preparing this first salmon, angelica root was placed in the coals in which the fish was cooked, imparting to it an unpalatable flavor. This made the eating of the salmon an ordeal, but the more the ceremonialist could eat, the luckier he would be. If he could eat all of it, he would be very lucky.<sup>25</sup> This ceremonially cooked first salmon was eaten only by the priest. The woman attendant ate no fresh salmon the entire time.

After cooking the first salmon, the priest fished five days more, always taking the fish out with hazel stems. After five days, he might remove them with his hands.

The priest stayed in the sweathouse at Xaslinding or Medilding or whatever village he belonged to. Neither male nor female officiant used paint and there was no special costume. The man usually wore an otter skin on his head. In John's time white men's clothes were worn. The ceremonialist did not "sweep away sickness," as was done at Katimin.

Fishing was not permitted to the public until ten days after the first fish was caught by the priest. During this period the priest continued to catch salmon, which the woman dried and smoked in preparation for the feast on the tenth day. On that day the ceremonialist looked up at the ridge on the north edge of Sugar Bowl, where the trail descends straight down from Campbell Creek, and said it looked as though somebody was moving up there. Shortly, people arrived in numbers, so that the sand flat and the rocks were covered with them. They ate the salmon prepared for them.

The men had been shooting arrows as they came along the ridge trail. After everyone had eaten, a man got up and fixed targets at either end of the sand flat. The target was a stick set up with a sand mound behind it to stop the arrows. Wagers were laid on the shooting. There were no teams by villages. People from as far away as Takimikding came to the ceremony, but only on the tenth day. Anyone who wanted to attend might do so, if he was ceremonially pure.

A man might repeat the salmon ceremony annually, if he liked. He did not sell the formula, but taught it to another without charge. John once learned and thought he knew it well enough to perform the ceremony.

Careful handling of salmon at all times, it was believed, was necessary to maintain success in fishing.

<sup>25</sup>This parallels Karok and Yurok practice and belief. Kroeber, Handbook, p. 60.

Two spirits who dwell in rocks on either side of the river above Sugar Bowl made it their business to watch how people handled the salmon. A fish must never be picked up by its tail or cast down hard. If it were handled by the tail, "the world would be ruined."

After the First Salmon Ceremony the man and woman ceremonialists ate no fresh salmon until fall. They might not eat deer meat, either, or soaproot, the latter because it was "starvation food." For a year afterward neither of them might have sexual intercourse. The personal fortunes of the officiants were affected by their participation in the ceremony. As with the Karok, rigorous adherence to rules brought good luck, breach of taboo, bad luck (aksan; cf. Karok aksanwa).

The formula which the male ceremonialist recited told the story of the ceremony's origin (see App. III, story 7). Goddard gives the Hupa text of the formula<sup>26</sup> as he obtained it from Robinson Shoemaker, half-brother of Gifford's informant, Shoemaker John. This version mentions Orleans in Karok territory but not Amalkiaram, which was the only place the Karok made the First Salmon Ceremony. Robinson Shoemaker did not teach the formula to either his son or his half-brother, John. John learned it from his father, his father's brother, and his mother's father.

Shoemaker John insisted that the First Salmon Ceremony was not held anywhere else in Hupa territory. He maintained also that people of the Takimikding division were free to eat salmon if the ceremony had not been performed. Goddard states that the purpose was to "bless food of all kinds."<sup>27</sup> John said the ceremony was for salmon only.

Neither the Deerskin Dance nor the Jumping Dance was held in connection with the First Salmon Ceremony. In fact, neither of the great dances was given so far upriver as Xaslinding. Like the Karok first-salmon rite at Amalkiaram, the Hupa ceremony was formerly an annual affair.

#### FISH DAM CEREMONY

The well-known Kepel Dam Ceremony of the Yurok, ending with the Deerskin Dance, has been described by Kroeber and Waterman.<sup>28</sup> Gifford did not obtain a full account of any comparable ceremony for the Hupa or Karok. Formulas were, of course, recited for fish-dam building, but so they were for practically every important undertaking. The two great dances, Deerskin and Jumping, however, were not given in connection with the construction of any Hupa dam, although the Hupa knew that the Deerskin Dance followed the completion of the Yurok dam at Kepel.

In 1940 an eighty-year-old Hupa woman, Molly Carpenter, spoke of what may have been a "sacred" dam at Cheindehotding.<sup>29</sup> She had never seen this dam,

<sup>26</sup>Hupa Texts, p. 265.

<sup>27</sup>Hupa Life and Culture, p. 78.

<sup>28</sup>Kroeber, Handbook, p. 58; Waterman and Kroeber, Kepel Fish Dam.

<sup>29</sup>Tceindeqotdifi on map in Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture. The name means "where squirming on the ground." This is the place from which, mythology says, a girl dug up a baby when she disobeyed her grandmother and dug bulbs of double-leaved plants instead of single-leaved. See Goddard, Hupa Texts, p. 135.

but in her girlhood she had heard her elders speak of it. There was no dance before or after its construction, she said. The man who got the first material for the dam had to know the formula, which he addressed to the poles he cut, but his helpers need not know it. The formulist had no virgin to help him. He went alone and abstained from food and water. He was called *etschechuk* (*ets*, "dam" [materials]; *chechuck*, "bring out").

Mary Socktish and Sam Brown corroborated and amplified Molly Carpenter's statements. They said that this "sacred" dam was like the one at *Kepel* in having enclosures on the upstream side from which the fish could be dipped. They contrasted the Hupa ceremony with that of the Yurok at *Kepel* by saying that no Deer-skin Dance was performed at the former. The dam was built "about May" when "thimbleberries were ripe." The formulist who led the dam building could not eat these berries. These informants also confirmed Molly Carpenter's location of the dam at *Cheindehotding*. Its origin was attributed to the immortal who instituted the *Kepel* dam. They insisted that there was no connection between this ceremonial dam and the Jumping Dance performed in May. The possibility of such a connection, however, cannot be excluded.

When the "sacred" dam was completed, the formulist walked across it and back, carrying a basket of water in his right hand, supported by his fingers as a waiter supports a serving tray. In his left hand he carried pebbles, which he scattered in the river, saying: "May as many fish jump." Piers were built out on the downstream side of the dam for the fishermen to stand on as they scooped up the fish. The night after the formulist crossed the dam, he and his helper took the first fish with a dip net.

The original dam at *Cheindehotding* was built by the immortals living opposite at *Cheinshukotex*, who had the requisite formula. When the country was "ruined" by the advent of mortals, these immortals ascended a mountain ridge and departed to an unknown world.

This account of a "sacred" dam is not convincing evidence that there really was a dam at *Cheindehotding* comparable to that of the Yurok at *Kepel*. In Molly Carpenter's statement, moreover, it is impossible to differentiate with certainty between references to a "sacred" fish dam and to an ordinary fish dam. In May the river is too high to build a dam; modern dams are built in the fall when the river is low. Also, the thimbleberries, mentioned above in dating the dam-building, usually ripen later than May.

No Hupa who knew the formula for the "sacred" dam could be found.<sup>30</sup> An ordinary fish dam is still constructed annually across the Trinity River, near *Medilding* and *Takimilding* alternately.

#### FIRST EEL CEREMONY

No Hupa today knows the formula for the First Eel Ceremony. Goddard published the *Takimilding* formula in 1904.<sup>31</sup> Shoemaker John said that the *Medilding* Hupa once had an eel "medicine" formula and performed a

<sup>30</sup>George Flounder, a Yurok living in 1942, is said to know the formula for the *Kepel* dam building.

<sup>31</sup>Hupa Texts, p. 252.

ceremony, but that he had never seen it. The well-known, authenticated ceremony was the one performed by the *Takimilding* division. Mary Socktish gave the following account of it.

The ceremony for first eels took place in March in Hoopa Canyon toward *Weitspus*. There was no special place for it, any satisfactory spot for eel fishing would do. The formulist sweated himself ten days, drank no water, and ate alone. At the end of ten days he fished one night for eels, with the usual fine-mesh net. Whatever he caught he saved. He took the catch out and called it "one hundred eels," a *saxhel*, "one burden basket" full. If he caught fifty or more, he brought them home and invited people to come and eat. He could give away his catch. The woman who cooked, cut the eels for the people who came. All the eels were eaten fresh; none was dried. The night after that anyone could go eel fishing; the eels were for all to take. After that the formulist could go downstream but he must not go upstream for five days. The reason for this prohibition was the fear that all the eels would follow him upstream. If the formulist stayed home, the eels would remain there. There was no dance in connection with the Eel Ceremony.

#### DANCES

The Hupa perform the same two colorful dances as the Yurok and Karok, the Jumping Dance and the Deer-skin Dance, both called *chitdilya*. With their display of gaudy regalia, their stimulating songs, and the assemblage of spectators these great dances are the crowning achievement of the native culture, the focal point of interest. The Acorn Feast, which introduces the new crop, is still performed annually, but the dances are given with it only every other year.

The Hupa dance priest is called *chohwochwe*, meaning the one who clears the dance ground of weeds and prays that no sickness afflict the people. He also prays at the dances. He may go into the mountains to obtain some plant necessary for the formula, but he does not make such extended journeys as does the Karok priest of the world-renewal ceremony. Nor does he, like the Karok priest, burn a bundle of buck brush.

Albert Montgomery, a *Takimilding* dance owner who served as priest in 1941, learned the formula from an older officiant, who was not paid. His duties included clearing the dance place, building the fire, praying or reciting the formula, burning incense root (*Leptotaenia californica*; *muhachehulen*, "root much of") in the fire. As he prayed, he smoked tobacco and blew forth the smoke. He stood to deposit the pieces of incense root in the fire. Also, he kept the end of one large piece of incense root smouldering. He first made the fire at the dressing place, then removed it in a piece of bark to the dance place, where he remained until the dance ended.

According to informants, it was the Jumping Dance given in the fall that was associated with the First Acorn Feast; the Deerskin Dance had no connection with the feast. The traditional, or mythical, founder of the fall Jumping Dance was a Hupa of *Takimilding*, not an immortal. He established it after witnessing its performance by the immortals in their country of perpetual daylight across the ocean. The founder ordained

that it was to be given either immediately before or after the Acorn Feast.

In 1939 the Deerskin Dance was given in August, followed by the Jumping Dance in late September. This was said to be the normal sequence. Then, after an interval of ten days to allow consumption of the left-over food, the First Acorn Feast was given in early October. In both dances the Takimikding and Medilding divisions were represented by separate groups of dancers. Mary Socktish controlled the Takimikding group; Amos Little, the Medilding. According to Mary and Sam Brown, "Mary is the 'head' of the ceremony today because she is from the family that formerly lived in the sacred living house, xonta nikyao, at Takimikding. If she were a man, she could lead the dances herself." Yurok and Karok lent regalia. The Jacobs sisters, Karok of Inam, lent their regalia to Amos Little.

The spring Jumping Dance is no longer given because "no one knows the songs." As far as regalia are concerned, it could be given. Songs are wordless and new ones are always made, according to Kroeber, so perhaps the real reason the dance was discontinued was loss of the formula.

The Medilding division never initiated any great dance in their end of the valley, although they owned dance paraphernalia, which they brought to Takimikding, and they had their own priest.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, some individuals "owned" dances, a subject to be discussed later. It was ordained that the great dances be given, or at least begin, at Takimikding. The first performance of the Deerskin Dance, however, was staged at Xowungkut,<sup>33</sup> across the river from Medilding. The situation parallels that among the Karok at Panamenik, where the dance owners and regalia owners come from various places but the dances may be performed only at certain spots in the Panamenik region and only the Panamenik sacred living house and sweathouse may be used by the priest for the Deerskin Dance.

#### Jumping Dances

From early, there were two performances of the Jumping Dance. One--now abandoned, as noted above--took place in May. Goddard refers to it as the "winter" dance;<sup>34</sup> Gifford's informants called it the "spring" or "summer" great dance (xonsil chitdilya) and the fall dance they called "winter" great dance (xaichitdilya). This reverses Goddard's terminology, and Gifford's informants may be mistaken. At any rate, the "winter" great dance (xaichitdilya) accompanied the Acorn Feast. To avoid confusion, the terms "first dance," for the spring performance, and "second dance," for the one in the fall, will be used here.

On being questioned, Gifford's 1940<sup>35</sup> informants denied any connection between the first Jumping Dance

<sup>32</sup>Each division is represented by a priest. Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, fn., p. 85.

<sup>33</sup>There Gifford's informant, Mary Socktish, cooked the acorn soup for the visitors and dancers. She abstained from food and water before cooking. See also, *ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>35</sup>One of them, Mary Socktish, used to dance in the Jumping Dance when she was a young woman. She wore a beaded buckskin skirt.

and the First Salmon rite of the Medilding Hupa, the Eel ceremony of the Takimikding Hupa, or the building of the fish dam at Cheindehotding.

The purpose of the first dance was to prevent disease. It might also be given at any time for this reason and on such occasions much angelica from a mountain near Takimikding was placed in the fire. Goddard's Hupa Texts gives the formula (p. 324) and the dance is also mentioned in the story of Yimantuwingyai.<sup>36</sup> The dance, lasting ten days, was performed at Miskût, downstream, in a pit or depression in front of a newly erected fence of boards. When it was held at Miskût, the Takimikding people went home every night, whereas the Medilding, being too far from home, camped out.

As a preliminary to the first Jumping Dance the sweat dance (xumninadchitsinau) was danced for five days and nights around a hot fire in the sacred living house.<sup>37</sup> The formulist for this, following the practice of an immortal, peeled bark to be used on the fire; hence he was called kischux, "peeler of bark." He spent much time in the sweathouse for "the good of the world." Each day he went to get bark for the fire for that day's dance. He was accompanied by a virgin wearing a wreath of myrtle. (At the dance Mary Socktish described, the girl was a kinakdung, a premenstrual virgin of twelve. Mary herself could not go for the bark or even witness the dance, since she was menstruating.) Both these officiants abstained from eating or drinking during the performance of their duty. The bark was always gathered from trees on a mountain on the west side of Hocpa Valley (back of Oscar Brown's present residence). The priest and his companion peeled fir bark and brought two pieces of tan-oak wood to lay over the fireplace to support the bark. The priest sat in the house while the dancing was going on.

The dancers in the sweat dance, all men, wore aprons and head wreaths of "myrtle" twigs. The leader entered first. The next man, as he came in, laid his hands on the leader's shoulders; and so on for all the dancers, each man putting his hands on the shoulders of the one ahead. They kept their hands thus during the entire dance. The dancers might not quit or pause even to rub their legs if they were blistered by the heat. The roof boards of the xonta nikyao were removed to let out the light of the fire in order to frighten away sickness. Much angelica was burned.

The Jumping Dance, lasting five days,<sup>38</sup> followed. It was performed in the sacred living house, but with only a small fire, so it was no such feat of endurance as the preliminary sweat dance. The dancers donned their costumes in the sweathouse, but took them off to walk to the sacred living house. There they put on the woodpecker headbands again. At one stage the dancers stamped on the wooden floor to make a loud noise. The floor was made of cedar planks, laid on madrone timbers.

After the five days of the Jumping Dance, they danced for ten days in front of the fence at Miskût. This made twenty days of dancing in all: five of the sweat dance, five of the Jumping Dance in the sacred living house, ten days outdoors at Miskût.

<sup>36</sup>Hupa Texts, p. 105.

<sup>37</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, p. 82; Hupa Texts, p. 234.

<sup>38</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, p. 82, says ten days.

Since Sam Brown's boyhood the first Jumping Dance has been given only once.<sup>39</sup> That was about 1908 or 1909 when Mary Socktish's father gave it, peeling the fir bark for the fire. He did not have a girl companion.

For the second Jumping Dance also a fence was built at Takimikding. It was about thirty feet long, built in a semicircle with the boards leaning. No one might go behind it while the dance was in progress; the space was reserved for the immortals and for the traditional Hupa founder of the dance, who were supposed to come from the other world to witness the performance. The man who built the fence must drink no water for ten days afterwards and must eat alone. Long ago, it was said, presumably in mythical times, the second Jumping Dance at Takimikding was held annually at the time of the Acorn Feast. After the founder died, it was decided to have it biennially, as he had suggested.

No fence was used for the Deerskin Dance, because it was held at a different place each day. The space behind the dancers, however, was reserved for the immortals.

#### Jumping Dance of 1901: Observation

(Kroeber)

The Jumping Dance began on October 16. The next four days they danced one dance each. The dance was to last ten days, it was first said; but after it was started, they said it would be concluded on October 27, Sunday, the twelfth day.

It was danced before a "house," a sloping shelter or wall of boards. Two young fir trees, with foliage left on top, were the vertical supports of the structure. The dancers, almost under this screen, with backs to it, faced the river. In front of them was a fire. Where they dressed there was also a fire of glowing wood-ends. They were dressed and danced as at Weitspus. Between songs, all sat down, the middle three on stones. The two next to the middle man did the singing. One dancer wore a yellow headband instead of scarlet. A few without dance baskets carried and swung instead the redwood cylinders on which the headbands are kept rolled up. They danced three times at their dressing place, 100 to 150 yards south of the dance place, in an open field. Next, they danced also three times near the dance-"house" (screen), to the northwest of it; then three times by the screen; and again twice by the screen. These last two songs were accompanied by jumping; the previous songs had been with stamping (cf. the Weitspus description, p. 69).

The second day I witnessed was October 19, the fourth day of the dance. Captain John, of Medilding, having cleared out the dancing place in the screen, spoke aloud, evidently praying, for some time, both during and between songs, undisturbed by the noise of the dance. He had a large (angelica) root, of which he put pieces on the fire.

Each day there were nine dancers, all men.

It was said that women would dance with the men later.

The steps, formation, songs, etc., were identical with those seen at Weitspus in the month preceding.

<sup>39</sup>Goddard (ibid.) mentions 1899 as the date when it was last danced prior to his time.

#### Analysis

No. of leaps or stamps per song

##### October 16

Dressing-place; stamps . . . . .	10	8	5
Near screen; dance in circle; stamps	?	?	?
In "house"; stamps . . . . .	?	17	?
In "house"; jumps; two songs only	23	31	

##### October 19

Dressing-place; stamps . . . . .	12	?	7
Near screen; dance in circle; stamps	15?	7	9
In "house"; stamps . . . . .	?	?	16
In "house"; jumps; two songs only	21	21	

#### Deerskin Dance

The account by Goldschmidt and Driver indicates only a slight connection between the Hupa White Deerskin Dance and the Acorn Feast or a desired increase in the acorn supply, although they remark that at one point in the dance certain singers produce a sustained note which is called "raking up the acorns."<sup>40</sup> The purpose of the dance these authors state as follows;

"The very purpose of the dance is to wipe out the evil brought into the world by members of the society who have broken taboos. In this way it is a purification or world-renewal ceremony, as no other Hupa dance is. There are other rites to renew specific foods, salmon, acorns, or eels, the Jump dance to ward off illness, and the Brush dance to cure the sick; but only the White Deerskin dance wipes away the evil brought on by those who have spoiled the world."<sup>41</sup>

Gifford's informants said that the purpose of the Deerskin Dance established by the immortals was to drive away sickness, insisting that it had nothing to do with the Acorn Feast. It was usually given in September but "now [1940] Milo Ferry has it in August, the hottest month." This criticism of Milo Ferry's leadership seems unwarranted, since Goddard states that the dance was formerly held in either August or September.<sup>42</sup> In 1940 Charles Tracy was the priest or formulist.

According to Sam Brown, the dance must begin in the dark of the moon; when it was given at Cheindenotding, the new moon appeared that evening. However, in his opinion, the moon-timing was not so important or so obtrusive as for the Karok dance.

#### OWNERSHIP OF DANCES AND CEREMONIES

The privilege of giving the two great dances, Deerskin and Jumping, was privately owned, could not be sold, and was transmitted by inheritance only. There were two sets of owners, the same for both dances, one comprised of members of the Takimikding, the other of the Medilding, division. The Takimikding owners had priority

<sup>40</sup>Goldschmidt and Driver, White Deerskin Dance, pp. 110, 113.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>42</sup>Hupa Life and Culture, p. 82.

in initiating the dances, which centered about Takimikding and the sacred living house. The Medilding owners could present them only after the Takimikding had arranged for them. These owners established camps and fed the visitors at the dances, the women of owners' families doing the cooking. There were six camps in all, three for each division. The Medilding division camped at Tsewenalding, a short distance upstream from Takimikding. There each owner had his separate campfire for cooking, the camps being all within one general camping area.

The schedule of the first Jumping Dance demonstrated the initiatory rights of the Takimikding owners. These rights may have rested on the localization of the dances supposedly ordained in mythical times, but this sanction was no doubt a reflection of established practice. The dance, with its introductory sweat dance, was first performed by the Takimikding in the sacred living house and only thereafter moved to Miskût. Only at Miskût could the Medilding owners present it. They might not give the dance at their end of the valley. Oscar Brown said that the immortals originally gave the dances to the Takimikding people, who then gave them to Medilding. Thus the Medilding could not give the dances without Takimikding consent. On the other hand, if the Medilding did not want to give the dance, the Takimikding could proceed without them.

These statements of the precedence of the Takimikding division, since they come from Takimikding informants, might be regarded with some skepticism. Shoemaker John, however, a Medilding dance owner, corroborated them. The two sets of owners coöperated in the accumulation of food supplies for the feeding of the guests.

In 1941 three Takimikding owners had camps where guests were fed. Mary Socktish, an owner, was represented by Sam Brown, who established a camp, although neither he nor his maternal half-brother Oscar was a dance owner. Harry Campbell and Ike Spencer also dispensed hospitality at their respective camps. The fourth Takimikding owner, Albert Montgomery, did not maintain a camp because of his duties as priest.

In 1942 the same Takimikding owners maintained camps. Of these Mary Socktish and Harry Campbell inherited the privilege as descendants of owners of the sacred living house. Ike Spencer inherited through his cross-cousin, Milo Ferry, who died in 1940; Milo's mother and Ike's father were sister and brother.

In that year the Medilding owners were Amos Little (succeeding his deceased father, Bill Little), Francis Colgrove, and Shoemaker John. None of these was a descendant of the sacred living house.

Charlie Carpenter, now deceased, was a former Medilding owner. He had no heirs, but his widow Emma, a Yurok, continued, in memory of her husband, to feed visitors at the dances, although she did not inherit the privilege of giving the dances.

Sandy Bar Joe, a Karok informant, gave the following list of owners of the dances. For the Medilding he named Captain John, deceased; Captain John's brother Billy, who took over the dances on Captain John's death; Amos Little, Billy's son, who is now an owner; Francis Colgrove. For the Takimikding division Joe named Milo Ferry, for whom he carried an obsidian blade in a Deer-skin Dance on Bald Hill in 1936, when eight white deer-skins were used; Chester Davis (whose participation

I had no opportunity to verify). In 1936 the formulist for both the Takimikding and the Medilding was Charles Tracy, who had functioned for many years. Sandy Bar Joe also said that many Hupa, like the Karok, did not own any dance.

Hupa informants who do not own dances acknowledged the ownership described above. Oscar and Sam Brown disclaimed ownership, though they were much interested in the continuance of the dances in Hoopa Valley. Another nonowner, Tom Carpenter, who said he had no right to either dance, stated that many people owned dance regalia which they lent to the dance owners. Oscar Brown confirmed this: he owned three rolls of woodpecker scalps for the Jumping Dance, yet he could not give the dance, since he was not an owner. In short, mere ownership of regalia did not carry with it the privilege of giving the dance. The regalia, however, constituted a showy form of wealth eagerly sought by everyone. Purchase or manufacture of regalia was a worth-while investment of money or time that added to one's social prestige.

All informants who discussed the first-fruits ceremonies agreed that the First Salmon Ceremony belonged exclusively to the Medilding, the First Eel and First Acorn ceremonies exclusively to the Takimikding, division. The privilege of giving the First Acorn Ceremony is further restricted to descendants of the xonta nikyao. When Mary Socktish, the present leader of the First Acorn Ceremony by reason of her lineage, becomes incapacitated, she will be succeeded by some other woman descendant of the xonta nikyao.

Goddard mentions the control exercised by "Senaxon, whose Hupa name is Takilküy."<sup>43</sup>

"He has for many years been the priest of the northern division of the Hupa. He has charge of the Spring Dance, the Jumping Dance, the Acorn Feast, and the Tcexöltcwe rocks on the river bank above TakimiLdiñ. He shares the control of the White Deer-skin Dance with the priest of the southern division. Since the death of his only son in 1899, he has refused to assist in any of these ceremonials, which have been nearly discontinued in consequence."

This privilege of giving the great dances falls into the pattern of private ownership characteristic of the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa and constitutes another link in the chain connecting their culture with that of the North Pacific Coast. Among the Hupa, living houses, sweathouses, fishing places, acorn tracts, and deer-snare places were privately owned. One might hunt deer anywhere, except at deer-snare places.

The following anecdote concerns an interesting case of communal ownership arising out of the very institution of private ownership. Once a Takimikding man wagered a fine acorn tract he owned near Takimikding in a many-stick game against a Medilding. He lost, and the tract passed into the possession of his opponent. The Takimikding people all contributed to its purchase and, with the exception of a small piece still retained by the Medilding man's descendants, the tract became the communal property of the Takimikding people.

Private rights supersede public in the provision that mourners of the year must be paid before the

<sup>43</sup>Hupa Texts, fn., p. 202.

Deerskin Dance or Jumping Dance may be held. Kroeber has discussed this subject.<sup>44</sup> It seems significant, however, that no payments to mourners are made before the annual Acorn Feast or the First Salmon Ceremony. Obviously, the native attitude toward these two food-producing rituals is quite different from the attitude toward the great dances. The rituals are a necessity, the dances an enjoyable aftermath.

## DATA, 1941

(Kroeber)

In renewing an old friendship with Sam Brown in July, 1941, a few data were secured in elucidation of the interrelation of the several parts or episodes of the Hupa world renewal.

Every large dance in Hupa (i.e., other than brush, war, or puberty dance) "began with" or referred to the *honta nikyau* or "large house" at Takimikding. This is true of the Deerskin Dance, the Jumping Dance, the Miskût Jumping Dance, and the Acorn Feast. Neither Miskût nor Medilding nor any other town started any such dance. The *tšohotšwe* or formulist had to be related to the *honta nikyau* in some degree. This is the man who prays, sweeps the dance place, and fasts from solid food and water during the dance.

Formerly, Spencer's father was boss of the dancing. After the intertown war while the soldiers were in the valley, Sannixson was both chief of the dancing and *tšohotšwe*; after him Pete Hostler was both. Then Milo Ferry was the chief or boss, and his father, Ferry Bob, was formulist. Then Tracy, a half-breed, was formulist. Now, since Milo Ferry died in 1939,<sup>45</sup> they are talking of Spencer's son, Ike Spencer, to be formulist.

As to the Deerskin Dance, this was first made by Pigeon at Ninis'an dimentšding, at Oak Flat, some three to four miles up in the hills from my home here. This was when the Trinity River ran out west through the Bald Hills (instead of east of them as now) into a tributary of Pine Creek, which comes into the Klamath below Weitspus (Weitchpec). But the *kixunnai* "went bad," and Yimantuwingyai told Pigeon to move his dance to Weitspus; while Yimantuwingyai "mounded up" the old channel and made the present one for the Trinity. So Weitspus got the Deerskin dance--the only one (near by) besides the one belonging to Takimikding.

The fence or screen before which the Jumping Dance is made is called simply *honta*, "house." On the side nearest the river, it has a post of *madroña*; on the opposite, of tan oak; the ridgepole is of Douglas fir; by the *madroña* is set a small fir with the tip of its foliage left on. The boards of the "honta" must be new cedar planks, leaned on the ridgepole. After the dance, they are piled up by the "great house," and later put on its roof. The uprights and the plates or girders of the great

house, however, are not made or renewed in connection with the ceremonies,<sup>46</sup> but are made and inserted "at any time," whenever it is necessary to keep the structure in repair.

Though the Deerskin Dance is from the *kixunnai* [Karak ikhareya, Yurok wôge, prehuman spirits] the Jumping Dance is from a Hupa of the "great house." He used to go east and uphill for sweathouse wood, and they could hear him singing. Once he "went into a trance" and could see everything and instituted the Jumping Dance. Then he said a fog would come downriver and take him away. The fog came, lifted, and he was gone. Two years later, he returned for a time. He said he was not dead but with the *kixunnai*; it was always day there. Every second year he would come back to stand at the rear of the "honta" screen and of the great house; therefore they should allow no people, or dogs, there. At the end of the dance if they saw a wisp of fog from (at?) a rock at the ridge to the west (?), that was he, and it would be a sign that the world was solid and right.

The Miskût Jumping Dance, now given up, was a ten-day finale to the "ten-day" Jumping Dance at Takimikding. My older brother Oscar (aet. ca. seventy) has danced in it.

The Acorn Feast is connected with the Jumping Dance: they are held together, pretty much. At any rate, formerly they mostly used to feast during the dance. Now Mary Socktish, the "queen" of the feast, is old and not strong enough, so she makes the acorn "picnic" after the dance.

The formulist spends the night in the sweathouse. In the morning women pound the acorns in (?) the great house and go down by the river to leach them. Then the formulist enters the great house and prays, facing east. Then he paints spots on his face and body, rubbing deer marrow into charred acorns or soot. He "covers his face," impersonating [tší lu', continuative tšé'elu'] the dwarf Yinak'atsisde, who goes about with a sack of acorns. He comes out and makes a circuit to the acorn feasting place; but no one may look at him. Then he throws gravel into the river, which looks as if many salmon were leaping; and thus he makes fishing good. I saw Old Roger do this once, Sannixson twice.

Yurok sweathouse floor-slab markings, for telling time of the year, being mentioned, Sam at once spoke of the incised stones at the front of the great house.<sup>47</sup> These were set there by Yimantuwingyai, and Sam was told by one of the Hostlers that they were like a calendar, the sun striking the edge of the stones over the edge of the roof, according to season.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup>The contrary of the Yurok sacred houses at Pekwon, Rekwol, etc.

<sup>47</sup>Goldschmidt, A Hupa "Calendar," AA 42:176-177.

<sup>48</sup>This seems difficult, because the house faces north, and the incised side of the stones also faces north, a few feet away. Most of the marks would therefore never be touched by sun rays, except for full illumination briefly after sunrise and before sunset in summer. My personal conjecture is that the stones are calendrical but were originally elsewhere. They might have been floor slabs in a sweathouse, as the Yurok describe their custom. The stone with the crescent of pits is about 3 inches thick, and the one with the thirteen lines even less, around 2 inches.--A.L.K.

<sup>44</sup>Handbook, pp. 37-39.

<sup>45</sup>Milo Ferry's father died long before him, so possibly Milo acted as formulist also. The list is obviously incomplete. Knowledge of the relationship of the Spencers, Sannixsons, Hostlers, and Ferrys would be required to make clear the basis for recognizing anyone as "dance boss," that is, as owner and receiver of dance regalia and chief feeder of guests.

# YUROK: WEITSPUS

(Kroeber)

The only previous account is in Kroeber, Handbook, pages 57-58. Waterman, Yurok Geography, map 25, rectangle G, shows the district.

## THE RITE AS A WHOLE

The Weitspus ritual is highly developed as a dance display but meager as a symbolic, esoteric world-renewal ceremony.

There is a full ten-day outdoor Deerskin Dance, held in the town; and this is followed by a two-day Jumping Dance performed at a series of stations up Kewet (Rivet) Mountain and concluded near the summit, several miles from the town. This double-barrelled dance plan parallels that of Kepel, except that there the main Deerskin Dance is made not at the dam at Kepel but at Wohkero, several miles away; and the concluding Jumping Dance interchangeably at several other spots. The going away from town for the concluding dance is also paralleled at Rekwot and Orekw, though there the type of dance is not changed.

Weitspus has no sacred house or sacred sweathouse; no first-salmon or first-fruits ceremony; no sacred pipes, stones, stools, or other fetishes; no traveling about to a distance by the formulist; no sacred fire, sand pile, or dramatic interludes as at Kepel or among the Karok. The avowed purpose is the usual one of preventing pestilence, flood, earthquake, or other general calamity, and of firming or solidifying the world; but the usual symbolic magic to these ends is strangely lacking. There is nothing to correspond to the *tā̄t* and their sacred sweathouse singing, or the equivalent dam-builders, of other Yurok ceremonies. The formulist is called by a name, *megwollep*, different from that of the formulists at Kepel and at the lower Yurok rituals. He begins to recite his formula or prayers in the sweathouse, and continues it at a few spots in Weitspus; whereupon the Deerskin Dance begins. Before the Jumping Dance he does the same; then recites again at each of the dance stations on the way up, and at the final dance spots. He does nothing else at these places except to clean out slightly the actual dance places and offer angelica. His trip parallels those of the Karok formulists in being a journey; but it is charged with almost no business or implications of sacred magic, nor do the Karok dance along their formulist's itineraries.

The contrast between the two aspects of the ceremony--esoteric and exoteric--is striking. If all the other equivalent rituals had perished and we knew only the Weitspus one, we should certainly think of it as a dance rather than as a world renewal. The idea of the latter is present, but the expression is bald and minimal. It looks as if Weitspus, perhaps beginning without a ceremony, had become populous and wealthy enough to want a dance and had thereupon instituted one--in fact, a double one--but with just enough formula to legitimize it, and without the usual interest in symbolism. It is, of course, conceivable that the opposite happened and that the Weitspus ceremony lost most of the world-renewal qualities which it originally had. But it is hard to imagine

how this could have happened; there would be no reason for sacred and esoteric features being discarded. There is no indication that the ritual was in any way moribund at the time of first Caucasian contact. It was certainly still being performed with spirit and vigor in the first decade of this century.

The luxuriance of drama, symbolism, and interlude at Kepel and their absence at Weitspus, only some ten or twelve miles away, are probably significant. Kepel presumably got started first--perhaps on account of having a river bed favorable for a weir--and the coöperative construction of this drew to it other nondancing activities and symbolic expressions. The dances look like an afterthought. They are held subsequently, and away from Kepel. If Weitspus began later, it could well duplicate the dancing, but there would have been no point in attempting to duplicate the rich ritual. In fact, if the Kepel dances had not been held at Wohkero, they might easily have been made at Weitspus; the distance is not much greater, and both were centers of population. It is even possible that something like this actually happened: that Wohkero drew the Kepel dances away from Weitspus, and that then Weitspus went on making its dances, manufacturing a skeleton ritual of its own for them. These are speculations which cannot be proved or disproved, but they serve at least to illustrate the qualitative relations of the known ceremonies within historic times.

In this connection it is of interest that a dam was regularly built only two miles above Weitspus, at the small town of Heyomu or Lo'lego ("dam build"), but without dance, symbolism, or world-renewing formula. Heyomu's dance activity was confined to equipping a party of dancers for the Weitspus dances, like Pekwtū and Wahsek.

In some ways the Hupa Takimikding ceremony is like that of Weitspus only ten miles away; neither fits well into the general upriver Karok or the downriver Yurok pattern of renewals. But Takimikding differs from Weitspus in being a rather rich accretion. It has acorn first-fruits, a sacred house, a Jumping Dance in town, another traveling one, and a Deerskin Dance; and these strung over a period of some months.

There were formerly four parties in the Weitspus dances, representing Heyomu-Lo'lego, Pekwtū, Wahsek, and Weitspus itself. Pekwtū approached dancing in boats coming down the Trinity. In 1901 Heyomu was defunct as a town, but the three others participated, though Pekwtū omitted the boat dance and the Jumping Dance, and the last day's Deerskin Dance by Weitspus was not held because of a quarrel over regalia.

## ITINERARY OF PRAYERS AND DANCES, RS

The Deerskin Dance.--Some of the upriver dances have no sacred sweathouses like those of Pekwon and the mouth of the river, and therefore have no *tā̄t*. Weitspus has no such sweathouse, and Hupa does not have one. For instance, in Weitspus the *megwollep* or formulist sleeps during the dance in whatever sweathouse he always sleeps in. (By 1901 there was only one

sweathouse left in Weitspus, downhill from and very near the Brizard store. The megwollep does not pray or speak formula in there, but does so only after he goes outside. This holds both for the Deerskin and the Jumping Dance. Also the megwollep has no regular assistant or helper except for one girl. She sleeps in her family home. My sister served in this capacity once, and our first cousin three times.

They told me of the places where megwollep Stone used to pray for the Deerskin Dance and Jumping Dance. There were only five places for the Deerskin Dance, all of them in or around the village. For the Jumping Dance there are more spots at which the megwollep prays or talks (atswigin), and he ends up on Rivet Mountain (Kewet), several miles away. What he says at each place is much the same in both dances, except that the words at the first spot are a little different; and when he comes to the end of the trip for the Jumping Dance on top of the mountain, he also speaks at greater length and somewhat differently.

The five spots in which he speaks for the Deerskin Dance are as follows:

1. At the foot of the big pepperwood tree in the middle of the village which is called rego'otep, "headdress stands." There he addresses a stone which he takes out of a cleft in the foot of the tree and afterwards replaces.

2. Next, he talks to two quite small stones which barely project from the ground but I think perhaps are bedrock. These are just off the corner of George's house; and he stamps his right foot when he recites there.

3. Next, he goes a little distance off to two stubby but large valley oaks (perger'), uphill from Weitchpec Doctor's house, about on a level with the spring weitspek.

4. From there he goes uphill a little to where there are two rocks near the old trail. From near them he takes out a very old soup basket with paint in it, and paints himself and the girl assistant with black stripes. For this reason the rocks are called megwollep uwisāu otseyom, "formulist his black paint where he hides it." At the first three spots he blows out tobacco, but not here.

5. Then he goes to the dance place, opyūweg or opyuwā, in the village. There again he prays and blows out tobacco.

The one place where he may bathe during the ceremony is near okegep in the river. He prays there, too, before taking a bath, but he does not blow out tobacco.

He visits all these places in the morning, although the dancing does not begin until later in the day.

Jumping Dance itinerary.--These are the places I remember that they danced at when they went up the hill from Weitspus for the Jumping Dance.<sup>1</sup>

The first place at which they danced was ergerits kerni, just uphill from Henry's house.

The second is egôr a'egelau. This means "egor hangs from a limb." Egôr is a wood devil, the same as a uma'.

The next spot at which they dance is wentsauks omekwes. This means "woman's bathing place." It is so called for the woman who assists the megwollep.

The next is mur'm tsôläu, "prairie below."

The next one is arô'hpets, "where they meet." This is where the dance parties used to meet formerly when Heyomu as well as Weitspus (and Pekwtuł and Wahsek) had a party. They joined together here. Here they took fir shoots or young firs, pulled off the limbs except at the tip, stripped off the bark, wound some of the strips around the sticks, and smoked them. When they took the wrapping off, there was a white pattern. These marked sticks were called po'toi. Each dancer carried one and danced with it. They were made here at arô'hpets. In the dance at the last place they were stuck into the ground. Then the megwollep gathered them in, put them away behind a tree, and later, when they all went home, fenced in his fireplace with them.

The last place, where they conclude the dance, is opyūweg, meaning "they dance."

Near this is a spring where the megwollep bathes after having cleaned the spring out. There is an old polished tree limb in it; in fact, this limb dams the spring to make a little pool. About a yard below the limb a hole is dug by the dancers for them to "bathe in," viz., to stand in as they rub water over themselves. The spring is called megwollep owegesa, "the formulist's bath."

The formulist is called megwollep. He stays awake all night at opyūweg and fasts until he returns to the river. There he must bathe, not in the creek but in the river at a place also called megwollep owegesa. It is a little eddy between two rocks. From one of these, otegük, he jumps off to take his bath. This rock separates his bathing place from the profane swimming hole, okegep, just upstream. Even the megwollep may not use his special swimming place when he is not officiating for the dance.

The girl who accompanies megwollep is called wentsauks u-megwollep, "megwollep's woman."

Jumping Dance prayer spots.--The places that I remember Stone prayed at when he was megwollep are these.

He begins his prayers at the pepperwood in Weitspus. This is called rego'otep, "headfeathers standing up." Woge stuck it in the ground. It is said to hold up the world: wes,ona-meł-soh. Therefore it is like the wetk in the sacred sweathouse at Rekwoi.

The second place he prays at is at two stubby oaks near the spring weitspek. This is called megwollep atswigin, "megwollep's praying place." Children are not allowed to pass between these two oaks.

From there he goes on uphill to megwollep wa'ai. This is called "megwollep's rock" because there he takes paint for himself and his girl assistant from a hole at the foot of the rock. This rock is downhill from where Frank's smaller house used to be, a little uphill and up-river from the old-time houses in Weitspus.

The fourth place is called ergerits kerni wonneu. It has two live oaks standing together and, like the one below, is also called megwollep atswigin and no one may pass between them. From here on up there are no double trees.

The fifth place at which he prays is egôr a'egelau, where they also dance. There is a single tree here, but

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Waterman, Yurok Geography, p. 260.



another one stands near it. This is also called megwollep atswigin, like all the others.

The sixth praying spot is wentsauks ometwes, a little above the last. There is one tree there. The megwollep prays there while his girl assistant bathes. This is also a dance place.

The seventh is also a dance place, mur'm<sup>u</sup> tsolâu. There is a lone tree here. From here also the megwollep speaks across the river to a tree at po'toi<sup>2</sup> at Bloody Camp, well up on the ridge. This is the only tree or rock at a distance which is prayed to.

The eighth place is arô<sup>h</sup>pets, which is the dance place already mentioned. Here the last prayer is said on the way.

The final dance place, opyüweg, of course is also prayed to.

The moving of the dance--that is, the dancers moving step by step instead of each standing in one spot--comes in at the end of the Jumping Dance and is called welôh-kelaik. There are two dance parties here, Weitspus and Pekwtu<sup>t</sup>. Weitspus dances first, then Pekwtu<sup>t</sup>; then each repeats. The Weitspus party sits down, still wearing its regalia, when Pekwtu<sup>t</sup> marches in to dance; and finally both parties dance at the same time, Weitspus stepping backward toward their fire and Pekwtu<sup>t</sup> toward theirs. It is this moving away while dancing which is called welôhkelaik. It is also called this at Rekwoi, but there they do one thing which they do not do at Weitspus, namely, they dance back to back.

The previous marching away from the dance to sit down and make place for the other party is called he hku-were kitsaik.

At the Weitspus Deerskin Dance they do not do the welôhkelaik, but as each party finishes, it files out and the next one takes its place. This is called wenegemines, "coming twice."

#### DEERSKIN DANCE OF 1901: OBSERVATION

The Weitspus Deerskin Dance of 1901 was said to have begun on September 3, and ended on the eighteenth day, September 20. I reached the town at 1:30 p.m. on this last day, shortly before the dancing commenced. There were three parties, representing Pekwtu<sup>t</sup>, Wahsek, and Weitspus. Each was to dance twice; but a quarrel broke out among the Weitspus sponsors, and neither of their dance appearances took place. The four other dancings, however, occurred on schedule.

My previous acquaintance with the Yurok was limited to a ten or twelve days' trip to them in 1900.<sup>3</sup> My outlook

<sup>2</sup>Same name as that of the decorated young firs carried by the dancers, as in the preceding itinerary; though the reference to po'toi there is at arô<sup>h</sup>pets instead of mur'm<sup>u</sup> tsolâu.

<sup>3</sup>This trip was made for the California Academy of Sciences during a transient engagement as Curator of Anthropology in the latter half of 1900. I had a hundred dollars available for the trip from and to San Francisco (by steamer, lumber train, horse, and canoe), subsistence, pay of informants, and purchase of a respectable little collection. Naturally, my stay was brief. A second appropriation of like amount took me to the Yokuts and Mohave. A month later the Council of the Academy decided that expenditures on this scale, on top of an annual salary, was more than the institution could afford, and discontinued my services. They had, however, laid the foundation for all the California anthropology which was to become my lifework, and I have always been grate-

ful. Small as the amounts seem by modern scales, they were crucial in effect.

on the culture was correspondingly meager, and as Goddard's *Life and Culture of the Hupa* had not yet appeared, there was only sketchy information on rituals. With richer background I would presumably have observed more and would also have known how to follow up with pertinent inquiries. The account that follows is consequently somewhat mechanical; but it is objective.

Dance disposition.--The dancers stood downhill from the village, facing it (backs toward river) on a terrace or bench, the audience mainly on the slope up to the next bench. Three stones in a line were used as seat rests by the middle dancers; the line stood before these stones.

In front of the dancers smouldered a tiny fire, by which sat Stone, the megwollep or formulist, except when he picked pebbles out of the dancers' trail, or went to the Weitspus party's dressing place, to which he had contributed regalia. He was not seen praying or offering angelica incense. He wore nothing but a piece of deer-skin, fur side in, about his hips--the regular old-style Yurok "loin cloth"--and red string around his ankles. He was painted with thin black lines, two down each arm, three each down front and back. During the last two dances the formulist was not at his post, having gone over to the Weitspus dressing place to participate in the quarrel about precedence of valuables.

Each party had a dressing place, at which the dancers warmed up with a brief practice before filing to the dance ground.

The disposition of the dance was into 12 to 16 men and boys standing abreast and holding out poles with deer-skins hung on them; plus 4 men in pairs carrying obsidian blades in front of the line of deerskins--total 16 to 20.

The middle dancer in the row abreast was the chief singer (S). On each side of him stood an assistant singer (A). Beyond these, on either side, extended the ordinary rank of dancers (D), 7 to 9 in number altogether;<sup>4</sup> and on each flank of the line were 1 or 2 boys (d). The finest skins and regalia were in the middle of the line; the quality deteriorated toward the novice boys at the ends. The three singers also executed livelier movements than the rest, and they alone sat down in the pauses, on the three stones provided.

Of the blade carriers, the first pair (R) each held one of two matching red obsidians;<sup>5</sup> the second (B), larger black obsidians. The first pair knelt or stood somewhat beyond and in front of the ends of the line; the second, correspondingly beyond them. During the first three songs the red-blade carriers crossed several times in front of the line of deerskins, then took their places in the line, between the first and second nonsinging dancers to the right of the singer. During the second set of songs the black-blade carriers did the same; then entered the line correspondingly to the singer's left. During the third set of songs both pairs danced in the line.

<sup>4</sup>With an even number of performers in the line, the singer could, of course, not be strictly middleman. In the line-ups noted, there was one more dancer on his right than left.

<sup>5</sup>White flints, shorter but broader, and less common, could be substituted. Red obsidian is rarer and more desirable than black, lengths being equal; but the largest blades are all black.



looked like axle grease in a can (but may have been sweat-house soot with deer marrow). Some dancers were unpainted. The three singers for Pekwtu had solidly blackened their lower lips, chins, and jaws to the ears, except for some faint lines where the paint had been rubbed off with a stick; and the head singer had bars across his arms. The Wahsek singers did not have this. Some dancers had stripes down the chin and bars across the chin; some, a blackened chin. In the second Wahsek appearance the two black-obsidian carriers were painted on cheeks with bars, and on chin and nose, but without agreement as to area: one had his whole chin covered and a good-sized triangle across his nose; the other, part of the chin and a spot on the nose.

Deerskins.--The deerskins all had scarlet woodpecker-scalp decorations sewn or glued on eyes, nostrils, ear (base and inside), lips, false hanging tongue, and often an 8- to 12-inch stripe down the throat. The leaf-shaped inner ear might bear a zigzag stripe of red, a longitudinal stripe with three diagonal bars off it on each side, or the like. The skin tongues hung from the mouth in solid woodpecker-scalp coverings, with an end fringe of shell-tipped braids of glistening ivory basket material (*Xerophyllum*).

The most valuable skins were always carried by the middle of the line, from which there was a tapering-off in quality to the boys at the ends.

In their first appearance on this final day the Pekwtu party carried only gray skins, except for one or two "golden" ones; Wahsek, (mostly gray, but) one piebald white-and-brown skin. On the second appearance, Pekwtu produced two albinos, but both were of fawns. One was held by the head singer, the other by the first regular dancer to his right--not by the assistant singer. Wahsek, on its final appearance, produced four or five wholly white skins, several near-whites, the same piebald as before, some goldens, the rest gray--a total of sixteen; and some grays were left behind at the dressing place. The Weitspus dancers, who never appeared, had three or four albinos laid out.

The dancers mostly held their poles so that the hind hoofs just about touched or cleared the ground; the fore hoofs were a foot or so higher. Sometimes the poles were raised more; and between songs they were held almost vertically. The three singers pointed their skins to follow one of the two blade carriers as he crossed over in front of the line. In the last songs of each appearance, when carriers stood in the line, the singers, especially the head one, stepped forward a little and swayed and pointed their skins again. The main rank of dancers moved their skins much less, though there was no effort at any time to hold them still.

Other regalia.--The row of dancers wore the smaller and more open type of nets with feathered ends down the back of the head;<sup>6</sup> wolfskin forehead bands, with red and blue triangles painted on a strip of skin along the middle;<sup>7</sup> and one of two kinds of tall feathers erect at the back of the head: namely, either thin triple rods of stiff but pliant sinew with fine woodpecker scalp worked in;<sup>8</sup> or a pair of

eagle feathers tandem,<sup>9</sup> that is, in line, the whole of both quills covered with woodpecker-scalp appliqué.<sup>10</sup> They wore also thick necklaces of broken dentalia (beads, not money);<sup>11</sup> and a waist-blanket or apron of civet-cat or similar small-animal skins,<sup>12</sup> sometimes with an (olivella?) shell-studded belt. The upper part of the body and the legs and feet were theoretically bare, but some of the dancers had absorbed enough white prudery (this was in 1901) to wear their ankle-length drawers and long-sleeved undershirts beneath their native finery; obviously, neither they nor the audience felt the incongruity seriously. The quality of wear lessened somewhat from center to ends of line, though perhaps not so much as with the deerskins.

The four obsidian carriers each had a fisher or other fur quiver clamped under the left arm.<sup>13</sup> This was given the requisite stiffness or shape by a bit of green brush stuffed into it, on the first appearance, and on the second by three arrowshafts whose painted and feathered butts projected. Around the forehead they wore a strap with half-a-dozen sea-lion tusks curving upward,<sup>14</sup> and larger curves of hallotis [*sic*].<sup>15</sup> From the back of the head to the waist hung the larger close-woven (probably crocheted) type of "net," rough-surfaced and feathered at the end, generally painted with red and blue solid triangles.<sup>16</sup> They wore the same fur aprons and dentalium beads as the line dancers. They differed in their headfeathers, each of which consisted of a single stiff rod or stick covered with white down.<sup>17</sup> The whistles were either of bird bone or of American metal. All the apparel of these four dancers matched, so it had evidently been made in pairs. If there was any difference between pairs, that of the black-blade carriers was a shade better.

The Weitspus party quarrel.--This account of the quarrel was given me afterward. Bluff Creek Jim and Dave Durban of Weitspus had both had pairs of obsidian blades brought them by downriver river friends for the last day's dance. In addition, Dave's brother Frank had the use of a 30-inch obsidian from the Karok of Orleans, in addition to a matching one kept in Weitspus. This

<sup>9</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 30, center.

<sup>10</sup>My notes hesitate a little as to headfeathers. They do say that normally all the dancers in the line wore one or the other kind during one appearance; except that in Wahsek's last set, each dancer wore one of each kind simultaneously. There is also a queried entry that in some of the previous sets the singers may have worn the tandem eagle feather, the other line-dancers the triple rods. The notes were written after, not during, the dancing.

<sup>11</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 30.

<sup>12</sup>Same, pl. 9:1.

<sup>13</sup>Same, pl. 30; Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 30; Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Not identified with any Museum specimens or with other Yurok information.

<sup>16</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 7:2.

<sup>17</sup>Also not represented in the Museum; but cf. Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 30, Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 7:1.

<sup>7</sup>Same, pl. 30; Kroeber, *Handbook*, pl. 3.

<sup>8</sup>TsIsin rego'o. Or, "red and white down," according to my notes.

made three pairs for two dances. Perhaps the matter might have been adjusted by introducing one pair on the next to the last day. But Dave had kept it to himself that he had a first-size pair to contribute, until the dancers were dressing; and, presumably because Dave's family claimed priority of rank in Weitspus, this meant that Jim's pair of blades would not be used; which, again, obviously meant that their owners would feel gratuitously slighted, and Jim, apart from being slighted too, had to raise a terrific row to save his face with his friends. At any rate Jim in his anger withdrew not only his two blades but all the regalia he had assembled. Whether others followed him, or whether his sole withdrawal abridged the Weitspus showing below its standard and that of Wahsek, so that its complete suspension seemed preferable, I did not learn.

I could not of course follow the things said, which were all spoken in Yurok. Once the quarrel was overt, it was undignified. Practically all Weitspus men participated, and some from outside, like Captain Spott of Rekwol, who was contributing to his brothers-in-law, Dave and Frank; and Opn (Obee) of Pekwon, who, living near Weitspus but with a Wahsek wife, was one of the active entrepreneurs of the Wahsek dance party. The formulist Stone participated in the quarreling, in spite of his ritual purity. Although half-married and not a wealthy man, he had well-to-do Karok relatives, whose valuables he contributed. He was so bitter against Jim that days later, after he had accepted money to speak the formula for the Jumping Dance which was to follow, he returned the payment and refused to go on with the formula because of a flare-up of his resentment. Mostly during the argument two men were talking at once, and sometimes several. The principals said rather less, but looked tight and bitter. Actual owners of valuables soon gathered them in and rolled or packed them up to get them out of harm's way, or perhaps chiefly to emphasize their feelings. There was not the least apparent impulse in anyone to strike a blow, nor were there names called or "cursing," which are offenses that have to be paid for; if there had been such, I should almost certainly have heard of the consequent claim and settlement in the excited days that followed. All told, the quarrel must have lasted a full half of the afternoon, because two dance appearances were missed; and it was at its public height, chiefly toward dusk after the last dance had been defaulted, for something like an hour, presumably now filled with recriminations rather than attempts at persuasion or mediation.

#### JUMPING DANCE OF 1901: OBSERVATION

The Weitspus Deerskin Dance of 1901, which was just described, ended Friday, September 20. The Jumping Dance, which is properly its conclusion, was to have begun Sunday the twenty-second. Most of the out-of-town spectators went home to take back their Deerskin paraphernalia and get those for the Jumping Dance. Before the twenty-second it rained; and Stone, the megwollep or formulist, refused to make the medicine for going up the hill, being angry on account of the quarrel which had broken up the last two sets of dances on the final day of the Deerskin Dance. Between the rain and his refusal it

was not until October 1 that the dance was held. At one time, about the twenty-sixth, Stone gave as reason for his refusal that thirty days (one moon?) had elapsed since the beginning of the double dance, and it was too late now to make the Jumping Dance. Nothing more was said about this later on, except that on September 30 he still declared that, if it rained the next day, the Jumping Dance would be given up, for the interval since the conclusion of the Deerskin would be too great.

Speaking the formula.--On October 1, about 8 a.m., Stone began to speak his formula. Standing uphill (about NNE) from the large pepperwood (laurel, bay, myrtle, umbellularia) in the center of Weitspus, he spoke to it, at the conclusion blowing dry tobacco<sup>18</sup> toward it.

Behind him stood Alice,<sup>19</sup> Frank's daughter and Spott's adopted daughter. She wore hip dress and apron, had a ring of otter skin around her forehead, two dentalia with red woodpecker scalp at the ends of this band over each temple, dentalium-bead necklaces. Her hair, coming well over the cheek, was wrapped, falling straight, only the end being loose; it looked as if a stick or something stiff might be tied up in it. She carried a raccoon or civet-cat small blanket, which she sometimes wore around her shoulders. As they started to go uphill, a woman from Stone's house ran after her and gave her a deerskin blanket also. Stone wore nothing but a piece of skin, hair side in, around his hips. Alice stood a few feet or yards behind him. She held a small basket tray, in which was his pipe in its scabbard.

Having spoken to the tree from a distance, Stone went up closer, looking up at it, and again spoke and blew up tobacco. In speaking, he turned and slightly twisted his head sometimes. He may have made another speech before I came on the scene, for he was already reciting when I first saw him. Occasionally he spoke loudly, but mostly in a low voice. No one was near him, though people looked on, here and there, from before their houses.

After this, he and the girl went to a clump of small trees (about SE of Spott's little cabin still in the settlement), and, standing uphill of them, he again spoke and blew. Then he went down into the heavy brush on the slope around the base of the trees (apparently to the upriver side of them) and seemed to address them once or twice more.

The third place was a projecting rock, just below the trail, between Spott's cabin and the last upriver Weitspus house. He stood on the brink of this, looking riverward, and again spoke, the girl standing behind.

After this, followed by her, he went uphill--it was said to clear out the dancing places and to pray at each one. He was said to "pray" at "ten" places altogether. They were soon out of sight.

The girl had once before helped. Neither of them might eat or drink from the night before the dance until the evening of the return, forty-eight hours; nor might

<sup>18</sup>Crushed leaves and stems of tobacco ready for smoking; not smoke; the standard offering to the woge spirits; blown off the palm of the hand.

<sup>19</sup>Of the leading family of Weitspus, "dance owners," that is, recognized outfitters of the dance "party" representing the home town. She is shown in Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 5.

they sleep during the night on the mountain. Everyone who went up after them this first day was forbidden to eat anything, even breakfast, until the dancers had arrived and finished their dance--which was nearly 3 p.m. Whoever did not observe this would cause rain and would not live long.

There were still three men at Weitspus who knew this formula: Stone, Billy Werk, and Domingo.<sup>20</sup> When Stone had first refused, a few days before, Werk took the compensation and agreed to officiate;<sup>21</sup> though he hesitated, because he said he did not know some words, and talked of getting them from Stone. After the arrangement had been concluded with him, Stone reconsidered and said he would officiate. Thereupon Werk turned over to him the money received, except some which he had already spent at the store.

Dancing up the ridge.--Perhaps an hour after Stone was out of sight of the town, some men, more women with packs, and several pack mules started up the ridge for the top.

About fifteen men and boys went up by another trail. On the open side of the hill, not far above the trail, they stopped where the dead weeds and grass had been scraped off (by the formulist) for about 15 by 2 feet. Spott and others took out two woodpecker headbands and five headrings (ornamented with white deer-belly fur, woodpecker heads, and black feathers); also some headfeathers, of white plumes and small feathers on sticks. Seven dancers put these on. The dancers were: Domingo, a famous song-composer, who led the singing; a nearly grown half-breed boy--he and Domingo wearing the headbands; a boy who stood between them; two boys of fourteen to sixteen years at the left of the middle three; and two boys of seven to nine years at the right end of the line. These seven danced again, in the same relative position and wearing the same ornaments, at the four following places on the ridge. The other eight or ten in the party, old and young men, sat down when these danced; sometimes in front, sometimes behind them. The dancers in these five dances going up the ridge always faced riverward.

Rivet Mountain ridge runs northward some three or four miles to its summit, which is perhaps 2500 to 3000 feet above river.<sup>21a</sup> By projecting into the river, Weitspus being at its end, this ridge makes the angle of the big bend at which the Klamath changes its course from SSW to NW. The ridge thus is flanked on both sides by the river. The sides and slope are partly prairie, partly brush; in some places there are oaks, and on top is fir with some pine and cedar.

At the five dance places on the way up, the dancing was as follows. There were two songs, with a short rest and sitting down between. The dancers stood in line, holding hands. Swinging their arms up, they brought them down again, at the same time bending their knees until their hands touched the ground; then, rising, they jumped with both feet, about six inches high, landing on both feet. This was usually done about fourteen times.

<sup>20</sup>Werk, and then Domingo, each officiated once or twice after Stone's death, before the ritual was abandoned about 1910.

<sup>21</sup>See Kroeber, Handbook, p. 58.

<sup>21a</sup>Actually 4000; see below.

(On the mountain, especially the second day, some of the songs were much longer.) They would leap once; then the singer began, and they leaped three times; then, while he continued to sing, the others shouted or sang "wô-hêi-oi!" with each leap; this usually for ten jumps.

Now going up the hill some way and stopping to rest once, they made the next stop for a dance among some oaks. There was a pile of rocks a foot or more high, and in front of this (on the river side) the cleared space for the dancers. As previously, they danced twice. One or two hundred feet farther up were two similar piles of rocks. During this dance the little group of spectators, sitting or lying, held their hands to their faces or eyes, and wept, some silently, Spott softly, Opn very loudly.

Going uphill again after this, the dancers, as all the way, led. The spectators, trailing out behind, wept, some loudly. Occasionally, especially as they neared the third dancing place, they sang a phrase twice over. Some sang "âi ke nâak." They howled this out while weeping--for dead relatives who had on previous occasions ascended the mountain with them.

The third dance was among some trees. There was no crying during this.

The fourth dance was under some firs, through which the dancers looked down into the valley. Instead of a pile of rocks, as at the second place, there was one rock. This was movable but fitted on rocks beneath, so it was probably in its natural site. At this dance there was some crying again.

At the fifth place there was a stop of more than half an hour before the dancing. After a time, Spott kindled a fire. Young fir trees were cut, stripped of branches except at the tip, sharpened below, and peeled. At this dancing place too there was a rock, and a small oak and some oak brush. This brush, after the dancing had begun, I was asked--perhaps as a courtesy--to chop down. Opn finished the chopping. There was a little weeping during this dance. After they had danced twice, Spott, and then the others, called out, "One more," and they danced a third time. Then they went on, carrying the fir trees. Some carried one, some none, some several.

Approaching the top.--The next place, after these five, was in the woods, after the ascent had nearly stopped, off the trail. There was no rock, and I am not sure whether the formulist had in some way, as by a stick, marked the spot. Frank, who had gone up previously, on horseback, now arrived. More regalia were brought out. Opn joined the dancers, and now he and Domingo sang. A boy stood between them in the middle of the eight dancers. Five now wore woodpecker headbands, three the "rings." Some of the spectators also wore the latter. Five or six dancers, now for the first time, had dance baskets,<sup>22</sup> the rest fir trees. They had painted black bars on their faces--at least, some of them had. They still wore the headfeathers. These were fastened thus: a bunch of grass, tied together, 1½ to 2 inches long, ca. ¼-inch in diameter, was held tucked against the back of the head by a strip of cloth around the head. In this grass was stuck the feather. When, subsequently, they wore head-dresses falling down the back of the head, the stick feather was put through the headdress into the bunch of

<sup>22</sup>Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, pl. 29; O'Neale, Basket Weavers, pls. 55, 56.

grass. All the dancers, in this, preceding, and subsequent dances, wore necklaces, mostly of broken dentalia, some of large blue and white glass beads.

At this sixth place, the dancing was different. The dancers stood in a circle, without holding hands. Instead of raising both hands, they swung their baskets--at the corresponding moment in the music and chorus--forward and up, or elevated the fists. Each man, instead of bending until his hands touched the ground, lowered his basket, drawing it in toward the body; instead of leaping and landing on both feet, the dancers stamped one foot, from a height of 6 to 12 inches, in front of and to the side of the other foot. This will be called the stamp step, the one previously described the leap step.

At this sixth place they danced twice, the spectators crying considerably.

They then proceeded two or three hundred yards through the woods, the older men still weeping, to within sight of the final dance place and the camp, say within fifty to seventy-five yards. Here they danced twice again, in a circle. At this place there was more crying than at any place before. The older women in the camp, though going on with their cooking or work, cried too, and the two parties made the woods resound. Where they were dancing now was where Weitspus subsequently dressed and "practiced" each song before coming out on the final dance ground. What they were doing now was perhaps also considered only a practice dance.

Then the same eight dancers, five of them still wearing woodpecker bands, went to one side of, and slightly behind, a half-dead cedar which stood at the final dance place. Here the formulist had cleared a roundish area of brush. Standing in a circle here, they danced three times with baskets. (From the time they had begun the stamp dance, they had worn double deerskin blankets around the waist or shoulders, hair side in. Subsequently, whenever they danced with baskets, they wore these; but when they danced without baskets, they laid the skins aside also.)

Then they lined up in front of the cedar. This final or supreme dance place is in the trail, worn about six inches deep, three feet wide, smooth, of well-packed earth or gravel, which, however, became slightly muddy in the rain; and it was long enough for perhaps twenty to twenty-five men to stand abreast.

The middle dancer is called "singer," as in the Deerskin Dance, though he does not actually sing, whereas he does sing in Deerskin. The two men at his sides are the only ones to sing; they alternate in this, each one singing for two or three leaps or chorus shouts of the line. The silent singer stood just in front of the cedar, as previously he had stood before a rock or rock pile.

They now sang three times, without baskets or blankets, leaping. Between dances they sat down, as always, for a short but variable time, say from fifteen seconds to two or three minutes. The whole line--not only the middle dancers, as in the Deerskin Dance--sat, though the three in the middle took the lead in both sitting and rising. During this dance at the cedar there was some weeping by the audience. A fire was smouldering in front of the tree, and the formulist's girl assistant sat near it, more or less facing it and the dancers. The formulist sat down at various places. Near the fire was the small basket in which lay his pipe and scabbard.

This was the last dance for the afternoon. It was

nearly 3 p.m. Everyone now ate. The women, children, and some of the men had come up from Weitspus on horseback or afoot by a more direct route and without stops, so had arrived first. The rest of the afternoon was spent as one pleased, in erecting tents, cooking, playing, etc.

This final dance place and camp is somewhat to the SW of the crest of the ridge, a few hundred yards from it and a hundred to two hundred feet lower. The highest point of the whole of Kewet or Rivet Mountain appears to be about half a mile farther NNW, that is, farther away from the river. The snow of Mt. Shasta is visible from this summit. The camp place is level, with some large firs, cedars, pines. Near by are a spring and trickle. Rivet Mountain is called Burrill on some maps; its height is 4,336 feet, as against 306 at a benchmark by the Weitspus bridge. The airline distance from the top to Martin's Ferry, Weitspus, and mouth of Bluff Creek is somewhat over three miles each, by map.

The sacred cedar, "once a man," is broken off about halfway up. A few broken stumps of limbs project near the top. About halfway up what is left of the tree, a single live branch extends toward the east. The foot of the tree is burned. All the dances on the summit must be held at this cedar. It stands at the most favorable camp site--level, sheltered, with water.

The formulist sat at various places near the fire, often holding his head on or in his hands. He moved about not infrequently, breaking branches and cleaning the dance places. The girl assistant sometimes went to get firewood, the abalone-shell fringe on her dress jangling. She always went by the trail toward the SE. At other times she sat quietly, apparently at rest. During the dancing in the evening, after dark, she occasionally stirred the fire with a stick, from where she sat, to light up the dance.

Evening dance.--About 8 or 9 p.m. they danced again. People from downriver had arrived, the old man of Wahsek being the furnisher of dance paraphernalia. These downriver people danced first. They prepared at a place west of the camp. They had six woodpecker headbands, and about as many dance baskets; two or three dancers carried fir trees. As on the following day, some of the dancers danced with both parties, Weitspus and Wahsek; some of them were Hupa. In short, the dancers perform for and with whom they choose; they do not represent a town. Now, they first danced "for practice," three times, in a circle with baskets, at their dressing place. Then they went in file to their side of the tree, danced round-stamping three times. Then they went in front of the tree, stood in line abreast, and danced three times with blankets and baskets, straight-stamping. Then they laid baskets and blankets on the ground in front of them and danced leaping three times. This triple-three dancing occurred at all times subsequently, viz.: round-stamping, straight-stamping, straight-leaping, each for three songs.

After the Wahsek dancers retired, the Weitspus dancers dressed, danced there for practice three times, then went to the tree and danced there nine times. Nine dancers had headbands, and there were several more dancers without headbands.

This ended the dancing for the day, and people went to bed, it being nearly 10 p.m. The formulist and girl assistant sat up all night, keeping up their fire.

Normally, there should be four parties of dancers competing against one another, representing, respectively, Wahsek downriver, Pekwtuġ across-river, Lo'lego upriver, and the hometown Weitspus. But Lo'lego was largely abandoned; and as for Pekwtuġ, Canyon Tom, the leading man there, after having said he would put up a dance, stayed away in order to ferry a white passenger downriver, so his town was not represented by a party, though some of the Pekwtuġ people were among the spectators and campers.

Opn said that, on the way up the ridge, when all are fasting, they do not ask: "Are you hungry?" but "Are you angry?" He said that I and he chopped down the tree at the fifth dance place in order not to become "angry." At this same place he told me not to sleep, when I was lying down. On the mountain, he said, dogs were not called dogs, but nohpetuks, "maggots." But I heard Spott, in speaking to another man, call a dog by the usual name tsġs.

**Painting.**--Painting was variable and confined to the face, consisting of horizontal or vertical black lines. All who came up the mountain to the dance for the first time were painted with black vertical lines from forehead down the cheeks, while fasting. After they had eaten a meal, they might rub the paint off again.

The formulist had black lines down his arms, also three down his back and three down in front. His assistant also had three black lines down her back.

One of the dancers from Hupa told me that, while dancing, he imitated a woodpecker's twisting and turning of the head. He stood in the middle of the row between the two actual singers, although in the Deerskin Dance this middle performer actually leads the singing. The dancers in the middle, as also in the Deerskin Dance, turn to the sides and shake and bend their heads most.

**Songs.**--The chorus-intoning or shouting, together with the dance steps, was in triple or sextuple time, perhaps  $\frac{3}{4}$  (or  $\frac{3}{8}$ ). It may be represented thus:

This may not be very accurate. The short last syllable of the phrase may be less than one-eighth and the rest more than three-eighths. This brief syllable comes in to break slightly the triple division of each bar into: (1) wġ, (2) hġi, (3) rest.

The songs are high in key, whined or cried, and never very loud. The old schoolmaster Blake from Martin's Ferry said of one song that it began on C sharp and went up to A and B flat. He also said that the songs were not in falsetto, although the voices were forced. The melody certainly reinforced the rhythmic effect. At the end of each song the singer cries "Hohohoho"--some of the other dancers join in, and they stop. The two singers lead alternately, for two and three bars each.

**Second day's dancing.**--On the second day a good many more people arrived, until there were between one hundred and one hundred and fifty. The dancing began about 10 a.m. Weitspus danced first. After three practice songs they danced nine times at the tree, as on the preceding day: three round-stamping, three straight-stamping, three straight-leaping. There were now ten dancers, all wearing woodpecker-scalp bands. Three of them in addition had close-crocheted headdresses falling down the back of the head, the same as are worn in the Deerskin Dance. The two (actual) singers wore a pair. As in subsequent dances there was an attempt to balance or pair off the men on each side of the middle dancer.

Then the Wahsek party danced. After practicing, they also danced nine times at the tree. There were eleven dancers in this set. Eight wore woodpecker bands, ten carried baskets, one a fir tree, eight had crocheted headdresses on the back of the head. The songs were longer than on the preceding day. Instead of about 14 bars (1 + 3 + 10), one song now had 24 (1 + 3 + 20); and another, the last one of the Wahsek dancers, 38 bars.

Then the Weitspus party again came out and danced

Time								
Time	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Chorus	--hġi--ō			wġ-	--hġi--ō			wġ--
Leaping step	drop of jump		rais- ing the arms	touch- ing the ground	drop of jump		rais- ing the arms	touch- ing the ground
Stamping step	stamp- ing the ground		swing- ing basket		stamp- ing the ground		swing- ing basket	
Natural beat of foot								

Weitspus Jumping Dance

Place	Party*	Day	Hour	Step**	Dances	Dancers	Head-bands	Baskets	Head "nets"	Wailing
On way, first place	W	1	9 a.m.	L-J	2	7	2	0	0	none
On way, second place	W	1	10	L-J	2	7	2	0	0	much
On way, third place	W	1	11	L-J	2	7	2	0	0	little
On way, fourth place	W	1	12	L-J	2	7	2	0	0	some
On way, fifth place	W	1	1 p.m.	L-J	3	7	2	0	0	little
250 yds from tree	W	1	2	R-St	2	8	5	ca. 5	0	much
50 yds E of tree	W	1	2:15	R-St	2	8	5	ca. 5	0	very much
5 yds W of tree	W	1	2:30	R-St	3	8	5	ca. 5	0	
Before tree	W	1		L-J	3	8	5	0	0	some
60 yds W of tree	M	1	8:30	R-St	3	ca. 10	6	ca. 6	0	none?
5 yds W of tree	M	1		R-St	3			ca. 6	0	
Before tree	M	1		L-St	3			ca. 6	0	
Before tree	M	1		L-J	3			0	0	
50 yds E of tree	W	1	9:30	R-St	3	?	9	?	0	little?
5 yds E of tree	W	1		R-St	3			?	0	
Before tree	W	1		L-St	3			?	0	
Before tree	W	1		L-J	3			0	0	
50 yds E of tree	W	2	10:30 a.m.	R-St	3	10	10	?	3	none
5 yds E of tree	W	2		R-St	3			?		
Before tree	W	2		L-St	3			?		
Before tree	W	2		L-J	3			0		
60 yds W of tree	M	2	11:30	R-St	3	11	8	10	8	none
5 yds W of tree	M	2		R-St	3			10		
Before tree	M	2		L-St	3			10		
Before tree	M	2		L-J	3			0		
50 yds E of tree	W	2	12:30 p.m.	R-St	3	16?	16	ca. 12	ca. 12	?
5 yds E of tree	W	2		R-St	3			ca. 12		
Before tree	W	2		L-St	3			ca. 12		
Before tree	W	2		L-J	24			0		
60 yds W of tree	M	2	1 p.m.	R-St	?	?	?	?	?	

Discontinued on account of rain

\* W, Weitspus; M, Wahsek (Martin's Ferry).

\*\* L, line or straight; R, round or circle formation; St, stamp; J, jump or leap at end of step.

as before. But they now had sixteen woodpecker headbands, and about a dozen baskets, and as many crocheted headdresses. While they danced, it began to rain, but they finished, even giving one extra dance at request.

Though it was now raining hard, the Wahsek dancers dressed, sang for practice, and started for the cedar, but stopped before reaching it. It now rained hard for an hour, and this broke off the dance prematurely. Just as the Weitspus dancers were finishing in the rain, the formulist got up, spoke angrily, and, after a few replies from older men, went off. His assistant sat down close by the sacred cedar with a blanket over her head. When the heaviest downpour was over, they were both gone. The half-stripped young firs that had been stuck in the ground in a circle about the formulist's fire now surrounded only wet ashes and charcoal. For some minutes during the rain the Weitspus dancers

stood in their costumes sheltering themselves from the rain, as if expecting to dance once more, but then gradually took off their headdresses.

One man said that the formulist had quit because one of the dancers in going off had left his basket lying on the ground, and the old man said that that was no proper way to do. But another thought that Stone was in reality angry because it had rained after his formula. For a while the people spoke of continuing the dance when the rain stopped; though Stone had quit, he had "done his work," and they could go on. But when it cleared, about 2 p.m., everybody ate, and between three and four o'clock all started homeward, in high good spirits, and with much laughter.

Synopsis of dance sorties.--The tabulation summarizes the dance formation, showing the very gradual build-up toward a climax.

On the first day the dancers were mostly boys, on



the second mostly men. At all dances on top of the mountain all dancers were nude above the waist and barefoot. On the way up some kept on their shirts when dancing, but removed their shoes. The second day One-eyed Jack, an old man, was one of the Weitspus actual singers, with a Hupa standing in the middle.

The last dance of each party was not reached on account of the rain. It is said that, at this final appearance, the whole audience cries and howls loudly, much more than at any previous time. All the crying during this dance is for relatives who formerly used to come up on the hill for the dance, but who are now dead. Young people cry rather little, the old most.

#### PRAYING SPOTS, LB

This informant named four places in Weitspus where the formula for the Deerskin Dance is spoken, plus the large pepperwood in the town. Here there were, or still are, persons in the "rocks." The spots are:

1. The pepperwood tree
2. onîrhpok, "half open," near Weitchpec  
Johnny's house; a tree, not a rock
3. okwo'oro, "maple," in front of Lame  
Billy's house
4. onegetsiper'kru, "on both sides of door (?),"  
northeast of last
5. oregokw, "wind blow," uphill from no. 2.

[These names are evidently what the woge called the places when they retired into them; that is, they are purely ritual designations. Hence they do not identify with the five names in Robert Spott's list.]

On the journey uphill for the Jumping Dance there are five places where they dance and at which the formulist speaks.

1. "No name"
2. wetsumetwer, near live oaks
3. ekolyemor
4. meremer
5. arôhpits, at the white cedar on top

At this last the formulist speaks twice on each side of the cedar. After that he speaks again when the fire

is kindled. Before the ascent he has spoken at the same five rocks or trees in Weitspus where he has previously spoken for the Deerskin Dance. [This would make eleven praying spots altogether for the Jumping Dance.]

The formulist paints thus with sweathouse soot and deer marrow: Three vertical lines on each side of the face--next to the nose, from the eye down, from the temple. Four lines down the front of the trunk, three down the back, with a "connection" to each shoulder. Two lines on each arm and leg. A long line (on each side) from the little toe over outer side of calf and front of thigh to front of upper arm, side of forearm, and little finger.

The formulist eats, but may drink no water so long as the dance lasts.

#### THE FORMULA, LB

The formulist may take another man along to learn the ceremony, who repeats it back to him. When this is done, the whole world is said to listen. Stone thus taught Werk three times and Domingo twice; all except the beginning.

[What purported to be the formula was obtained from this informant in 1902.<sup>23</sup> He said that it was recited over, at each stated place, for the Deerskin Dance, and without change again at each Jumping Dance spot, except that then the beginning was altered. However authentic or unauthentic the text, the informant, though controlling a fairly vivid English, was unable to render more than a paraphrase of its word-for-word meaning, so that, while the formula follows, an outline of its content will clarify the text.]

The formula opens with a request by the formulist for help from the prehuman woge instructor, who was also of Weitspus. He says that he has come to make the rite but has nothing to make it with. The founder then

<sup>23</sup>LB's father learned the formula from an old man of Wahsek and taught it to Stone, the incumbent megwollep of ca. 1900-1906. Presumably he taught it also to his son, although the latter's relative youth and especially his lameness would have prevented him from officiating. I assume, therefore, that the text of the formula is essentially authentic, although probably incomplete.

#### The Formula

Request: Hiiiiii tsū- nek-wil-no- kits-henes-kwetsok manis-kūni-ayekwī kôhtsiuwok- kitsaiik  
so it is come greeting once in the morning

iskuni-kesônewiik pis-tuwit-wāi-kits-emei-nes tsisiniwaesôksipin kēl ekwini-niko-hôhkum  
for that came you made

maketu-waih-ne-kits-me- sônos nesik-aihkwī tu-ke'l-ninohpenitsk kēl wêtspus-otsin  
begin I thought also you I came to get you you grown up at Weitspus

tu-witu-wêi-kits-hemei- nês-kwetsok neseki-waosôksipa kēl wêtspus-me- hô'noi-ot  
(that is why I) came I thought you pitied me you

manis-kūni-ko'moyok kiku-kel-kawêih-kômômi ikisônosk nesek-hī-ayêhkwi nôt -osônos(k)-nesek-tsū  
hear began to think: alas began think so it is

tsū- tu-wit-ki-sonawok pic-tu nimo'ok kiki-me- nôrewoni wes'ona tu-nimo'ok ta- ki'-isonosk  
so begin nothing what with make good world nothing begin

ta-ki-sonawok alukumi-niskūkesemewit  
do because (long for it)

## The Formula (continued)

Reply: Hiiil āwōkw tsū' tawi-sōnokse'k nēsek-pās-womulek kie-kunēkomōgohkume nēk-ekwi-kawēihkōk  
 also so begin I think made I (finished)

nesōnoksek nēsek wit-keml-skegūl ki-wes'ona tu-kits-(k)aweihkōk kits-hogōhkumek  
 I began I thought good (pl.) the world (finished) made

pis-wēi-kits-akmōihkes nēsek-ke-meī-heragep olōlekwisō'l tu-tsūt-neges wo'khi moketisloigeketaum  
 (are here)<sup>a</sup> thought with paint human being (take along) (glad) clean out

yōh-kwile-ki-meī-megiī-ketsaum tsūt himerksets kwelek-itse-ki-skewok-simomi tu-kwelek-kyuniōleu onīrhpok  
 so hurry (whatever you) like (which I left) at Onīrhpok

wit-sap'oi-henēs-kwetsom onīrhpok tsa-nōt-okwo'oro-elenōhpeum tu-ki-wit-ki-kemewometsok  
 arrive at Onīrhpok Okwo'oro (go up to) (come from each side)

nōl-onegētsiper'kru tu-ki-wit-ki-kemewometsok su-nōt-oregōkw tso-elonēs-kwetsok  
 at Onegētsiper'kru (come from each side) at Oregokw arrive

tso-osloitso'm rēk'eu tso-sotōn pis-wit-totsonōt-e-kogēksem kwelās pekwtuī-otsin  
 descend toward river go ask him that one who grew at Pekwtuī

nōt-kohsōh tas-nōt-tsanu-kwogeksem pekwtuī-otsin kwelās-kēm kwelās-is-negem wo'lpēi  
 Mad River ask him who grew at P. the one who the one who has angelica

in'-kwelās-is-kem-negem ki kēptsensis inu-wis-tu-kem-negem tserwerner wis-tu-kem-negem  
 also who has the deerskins also has net-headresses has

pis-wit-ki-sonā'n wit-mu'monem tsa-teni-nōreu sōni-hōmta wok'hi moketi-yōmta klekun-ēko-sōnōksa  
 (fix up nice) glad began

nēsek-wit-ki-sonawok tu-tsūt-himerksets olōlekwisō'l kowits-uwēihkom ki-tanewōr tsats-hanegāhtsa'  
 thought will do so hurry human being complete it at dawn (give me)

wes'ono'-oleyō pis-tu-kiki-wetsepōwek pis-tu-kiki-nemo'-ukōhtsemoīt  
 world blown to<sup>b</sup> then 10 days 11 days

tsa-kem-nōt-yōh-inukwa-hones-kwetsō'n mi-nōt-ki-akelomenek nōt-wētspus-woneu  
 (again back) come change, turn<sup>c</sup> Weitspus up-hill

nōt-ki-akelomenek miki-numi-osonawōk klekunēk-komosōni-wēhko ki-numi-osonawōk mo-wit-osonawok  
 change (there will) begin begin begin

(u)-kit-halegōlo kie-ko'-emiī-kōhtsemo'ō inis-kūni-pulekuk-hekomoyok nōt-asonos-neshē  
 (as first did) make camp<sup>d</sup> downriver hear<sup>e</sup> begin think

pis-wītu-mīki-mewometsok wōnik-wolegō tu-awōk nōt-hipur-kits-rōhtepk nōt-omīki-sominōtsek  
 come from each side Jumping Dance next day middle afternoon (both going home)

nōt-asōnos nes-hī-ta'wo tu-nōt-hierhkēn kits-wēnok' nōt-kits-o-numi-ko'moyok  
 begin think it's good inland north go off hear

kie-kunēk-kom-osōnin-piurhkeru tu-nōt-(iem) ōhkomeihomēx-kwile-weik' pis-u-tu-nōt-nego'ok  
 (my good time still going on)

pis-wī't-nōt-wēk-elonēs-kwetso'ok  
 came

For the Jumping Dance, the formula begins:

we-kits-henēs mani-ki-tiyegōk (tu)-wit-kits-nuko-meī-nēs alukumi-kits-neme-kōhtsemaiī.  
 have come have that for come because 11 days

<sup>a</sup>Soot and marrow.

<sup>b</sup>Tobacco.

<sup>c</sup>To another kind.

<sup>d</sup>For the Jumping Dance on the mountain.

<sup>e</sup>A dance party approaching from downriver.

tells him to prepare what he needs--marrow, soot, and angelica--to clean the dance ground, and then to go to those who live at four spots in Weitspus, onirhpok, okwo'oro, onegetsiper'kru, and oregokw, and to address them. He is also to ask the woge founder's partner or friend at Pekwtuġ across the river for angelica, deer-skins, and net headdresses. For himself, he wants tobacco. After ten days, or eleven, the human is to return, and he will then change the dance and have him go up the mountain for the Jumping Dance. There, when the songs of the dancing parties approach from both sides, he will feel it is well; he will hear them from where he is, far inland to the north, will know that the good times he first made are still going on, and will weep for that, as he did when the first left Weitspus. When the formulist has recited the instructor's reply, he blows tobacco to him with the words: kel we-weitspus meġ - onoyot; and then to his partner, with the substitution of "pekwtuġ." The place where the founder now lives is Ekerger, at the edge of the world or beyond.

This formula seems to be the ritualized counterpart of two myths recorded on the origin of the Weitspus Deerskin and Jumping dances, especially to the first of these, which was narrated by the same informant LB. The tales are given as numbers 7 and 8 in Appendix II.

#### DATA FROM THE FORMULIST, ST

Asked about earthquakes in 1906 a few months after the San Francisco one, Stone, the formulist, said:

Formerly, while they still danced Deerskin here in Weitspus facing uphill (toward the town), everything was right. That is why [*sic*] they put angelica in the fire when they danced. When they danced everywhere they should, the world would not shake; but now they are leaving that. Formerly they made Jumping dances at Orekw and Oketo; now they no longer use those dance houses. That is why earthquakes come, the old men say, because people no longer seem to care about what the woge told in the beginning, and have stopped making the dances.

If an earthquake came, they would not try to stop it while it still shook. But they would prevent it from coming again the next day, by the formulist undressing, painting himself, putting angelica root in the fire, and speaking the full medicine as if the dance were about to be made; though the dance would not be held then. He would do this if there were a bad earthquake in winter; the dance would not be made until the proper time [at the end of] next summer.

I paint myself with line with soot of angelica as follows:

From left little finger to the shoulder

From left middle finger to the shoulder

From right little finger to the shoulder

From right middle finger to the shoulder

From left little toe to hip

From left big toe to groin

From right little toe to hip

From right big toe to groin

Two lines down forehead over eyes to jaw<sup>24</sup>

Two lines down from temples over cheekbones to jaw<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Four lines altogether, probably; one on each side over eye and one over cheekbone; possibly four of each were meant.

<sup>25</sup>See preceding note.

The formula is spoken before the Deerskin Dance and again before the Jumping Dance.

First I speak indoors, in my own sweathouse, toward evening. From then I may not eat until evening of the next day. I speak again [= next day] four times, at a rock in front of Lame Billy's house; then three times at the dance place downhill from the town. After that, they dance.

For the Jumping Dance I speak at these places:

1. By Frank's house. After this I clean out weeds from the first dance spot on the way up, but do not talk there.

2. A place called "sweathouse."

3. Uphill, in George's field, at weintsauks umeiġwes, "woman bathes."

4. Where I stand on a rock, at merer'mes; no dancing here.

5. At egohnakw, in the brush; they dance here.

6. At opyūweg, the dance ground at the summit.

#### VARIOUS DATA FROM WF

Sacred places.--A rock before the Brizard store at Weitspus belongs to the Deerskin Dance. It is spoken to after the rock in front of Lame Billy's house. At any rate Stone, the present formulist, recites there. But Nancy<sup>26</sup> says that formerly the formulist did not speak there. Stone made mistakes in learning the formula and recites at too many places. She says she knows because formerly she acted as the formulist's girl assistant who went about with him as he prayed. The first formulist she remembers was an old man living at Wahsek. He taught the formula to Lame Billy's father, who taught it to Stone.

However, the rock in front of the store is dangerous. Last year a Hupa, Charles Trestle, was idling around and slipped off it. He was not hurt. But that night he could not sleep; or if he did, he felt as if someone hit him. Then he saw dogs, and an old bearded man, coming toward him out of the rock. He got worse and nearly died and is still ill. Children are taught not to play around such rocks, else they will dream and shout aloud. Adults at Weitspus are not hurt by this or other Weitspus rocks because these know them; but strangers are in danger. It is thus everywhere.

The reason the formulist must have a girl assistant is in order that women may not be sick during the year. If a woman were to speak the formula [*sic*], men would become ill.

For the Jumping Dance, Stone prays at a rock lower down than the one at the store; then at a place downhill from Frank's house. There he puts sweathouse soot in a hole, rubs it around, paints himself with it, and then speaks his formula.

Mourners' settlement.--In 1901, when they settled at Weitspus for the dead of the preceding year before they could hold the Deerskin Dance, they paid two dollars each to the families of four people who had died. It was Frank who made the arrangements. Then they went across the river to see Canyon Tom in Pekwtuġ. He insisted on having three dollars for his dead brother.

<sup>26</sup>Henry's wife, about thirty-five years old in 1902. St. was not seen to recite there nor did other informants mention the spot.

Weitspus Jumping Dance  
Places of Formula Recitation

Kroeber Observation	Robert Spott	Lame Billy	Stone	B. Werk <sup>a</sup> Myth
1. At pepperwood, in Weitspus	1. Pepperwood, rego'otep	1. Unnamed		1. Pepperwood, in Weitspus
2. Outskirts of Weitspus, brushy	2. Two stubby oaks			2. Upstream and up from 1, at edge of Weitspus
3. Outskirts of Weitspus	3. Where paints		1. Near Frank's house, W	3. Po'toyo, Bloody Camp on ridge across river. <sup>b</sup> Cf. 7
4. ? <sup>c</sup> -D1	4. Ergerits kerni woneu; <sup>d</sup> two live oaks; = D2	2. Live oaks	2. "Sweathouse"	4. Uphill from 2; = D1
5. D2	5. Egor a'egela; = D2		5. Egôî nokw <sup>e</sup>	5. Egor-ole'gelâu
6. D3	6. Woman bathes; = D3	3. Ekoyemor	3. Woman bathes; "in George's field"	6. Skoyomor, Skoyamu
7. D4; looks across river	7. Mur'm tsolâu; prays across river; = D4	4. Merermer	4. Merer'mes	7. Mur'm, grassy place
7a. D5; firs cut <sup>f</sup>				
7b. D6; level; first circle dance				
8. D7; 60 yards from 9	8. Arouhpets; trails meet; = D5	5. Arohpets, "at cedar"		8. Arouhpets 9. Opyuweg-pets
9. D8; at cedar; main and final dance place	9. Opyuweg; = D6		6. Opyuwe	10. Opyuweg, main dance place 11. Osega'wet, Osegawits <sup>g</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Lodgements of leaping sweathouse, in myth 7, Appendix II. See also myth 4, fn. 10.

<sup>b</sup>"They used [mythically] to dance Deerskin at Po'toyo."

<sup>c</sup>The formullist here proceeded out of sight. D refers to dance places.

<sup>d</sup>"Sweathouse--live oak--uphill."

<sup>e</sup>Transposed on account of name.

<sup>f</sup>It looks as if 7a and 7b were optional practice-dance spots.

<sup>g</sup>"On top, where formerly [a party] coming from Wahsek also danced.

This was more than the others had got, but he was a wealthy man of good family. After he had these three dollars, he claimed three more for a dead relative in Hupa. It was thought that the Hupa people would pay him for this kinsman before they held their dance; but Tom insisted, and got his second three dollars. Until every mourner living within sound of the dancing has been paid to assuage his grief, the dance cannot be held.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>

It may be conjectured that Tom was visited last just because it was expected that he would ask more settlement. If he had been paid off first, it would have been difficult to offer the four other families less. On the other hand, after they had accepted settlement, they might be envious when they learned that he had secured more, but could do nothing about it. It is probably also characteristic

The salmon weir above Weitspus.--Above Lo'lego ("build dam") or Heyomu,<sup>28</sup> about two miles upriver from Weitspus, they made a salmon weir. They made

that Tom advanced his two claims piecemeal, the indisputable one for his brother first, and the more contestable claim for the distant relative after he had this payment in hand. Had he asked six dollars for both at once, there might have been resistance. If, in consequence, the dance had not been held, he could not have made his claim the following year, because it is only the dead of the year that are paid for. Also, there would almost certainly have been unfavorable comment about his exorbitance preventing the holding of the dance. Presumably Frank went to make the arrangement in his capacity (along with his brother Dave Durban) of being a member of the house wogi or wogwu which traditionally took the lead in making the Weitspus dance.

<sup>28</sup>Waterman, Yurok Geography, Rectangle G, 30, and p. 258.

it without a dance and at no prescribed time, though usually in July (statement made on June 16, 1902, with the moon about five days old: "late next month"). However, the people who lived there used to equip a party for the Weitspus dance.

#### THE SACRED PLACES: REVIEW

A compilation of the sacred rocks or spots at which formula is recited adds nothing new for the Deerskin Dance. The formulist St.'s list is obviously incomplete. L.B.'s and R.S.'s lists probably agree, but cannot be positively reconciled because the former names

the places by their woge or ritual names, the latter descriptively or in secular terminology.

For the Jumping Dance there are lists from the same three informants, plus a list by Werk in a myth in the Appendix, plus my own observations. The lists from St. and L.B. appear incomplete. But my observations and Werk's myth and R.S.'s list given forty years later check almost to identity and afford a framework into which the other lists can be fitted without many doubts. The results are set forth in the table. This purports to show the "praying places"; the dance spots, where recorded, are indicated by D1, D2, etc. It will be noted that the formula begins within the town; the Jumping Dance begins outside it, uphill.

# YUROK: KEPEL

(Kroeber)

The Kepel weir and dances, the most complex of Yurok ritual undertakings, are touched on in the Handbook, pages 58-60 and have been described in the separate publication by Waterman and Kroeber called The Kepel Fish Dam. Erikson in his Observations on the Yurok devotes pages 277-282 to a section on the Salmon Run and the Fish Dam.

Only some odds and ends of overlooked or additional information are presented here.

## VARIOUS DATA FROM AM

Two Kepel Dam songs were obtained in 1906 from Amīts of Sa', who had been formulist's assistant.<sup>1</sup> These are transcribed in notation in Appendix VI.

Phonograph cylinder UCMA 14-343. Sung by everyone just before the last dam stringers are joined in the middle:

tsûł nepe'wa'is      goodbye, spring-salmon!

Tsûł means "well then," "so be it," "goodbye." The generic word for salmon is nepul. This is used for them in summer, when they are abundant and not hedged about with restrictions. In "spring," when they are few, and their bones, like deer bones at all times, may not be discarded promiscuously, they are called nepe'wa. With this song, apparently, restrictions are over, and abundance begins.

Phonograph cylinder UCMA 14-342. Sung as they bring fir branches downhill to the dam, just upriver from Tepolo Creek; the branches serving to chink interstices. The song is wordless, brief, and repeated. Between "verses," everybody, on both sides of the river, shouts two phrases:

Kipemoyoks Koihtsi      full-of-grease bluejay!  
Kisyewomo Megwomets      give-us-many-[acorns],  
Megwomets!

The first shout means that bluejay will be so fat from food that he will not trouble to take acorns away from people; the second is addressed to the bearded dwarf who causes a bountiful acorn crop.

In 1906 Am said that he had served as assistant both to the uncle of Mrs. Julius Marshall of Hupa and to the father of Mrs. Meta Jack when they were fish-dam formulists at Kepel. The former officiated first; the latter learned from him, but not quite thoroughly, in Am's opinion, because he made some omissions or alterations. For that reason, Am assumed, Mrs. Marshall probably knew the formula better than Mrs. Jack.

## VARIOUS DATA FROM RS

While the dam was built in front of Kepel, most of the indoor ceremonies were made in the adjoining town of Sa'. They had no ki'molen ergerk, "ancient sweat-

house," as at Pekwon and Rekwoi, but there was a sweathouse called lo' wer-ergerk, "the dam-maker's sweathouse"; this possibly was not used at other seasons, but I am not sure. There was also a living house called lo' wo' ot, where the tsāro, the helpers or workers on the dam, were given their meals; and I have also heard of a sweathouse for them, the tsāro wer-ergerk. That is why I think the dam-maker's sweathouse was used only during the ceremony.

There was also a wôhkur wo'oi, or house for the wôhkur, the six girls who took part in the ceremony. Each one of these, after bathing in the river, brought up a round flat stone from the bar and laid it on one of two piles that stood on the village flat.

Then there is an older woman called nô'ma. She has no house named for her. She is the one who on the last day follows the dam-maker and the helpers uphill from the river, carrying a basket of water. She has to be a good runner because she runs down to the river and back again, where the dam-maker (formulist) customarily sits by the river's edge. It is when she gets back up on the flat and throws her water up into the air that the long poles are dropped on the six wôhkur girls where they are dancing. As she comes running up here, a way is opened for her in the crowd with a shout, "nô'ma tnôwer," ("nô'ma is coming!"). Six older women are standing behind the six dancing girls, each with a double deerskin blanket. As the poles are let fall, these women bend over the girls and spread the blankets over them. The nô'ma jumps in with them before the poles fall. The rule is that if any part of a girl's body is touched by a pole, the dam-maker has to make special medicine for her. The older women who protect the girls are called wôhkur nôlumin.

The poles are called so'omo. At their upper ends is bark which has been shredded or shriveled and painted. Any woman who is not menstruating may pull a shred or strand out of these flags at the tops of the poles. This is good protection for her against grizzly bears, should she meet one of them when she is out gathering manzanitas or firewood.

A man can, if he wants to, be both a tsāro or helper in the dam and a tāt or singer in the sweathouse at Pekwon or Rekwoi. I know this because a man called Sarh or Jim, the older brother of Sregon George, was both. But other men, like Pekwon Jim, were neither. It was optional what one became.

There is no special name for the assistant of the dam-maker. For instance, Amīts, who assisted him repeatedly, was a tsāro and instructed novices and knew all the rules; in fact, he knew everything that the dam-maker knew except the medicine formula itself; and yet I never heard him called by any name of his office.

The last man who regularly made the dam at Kepel was a Meta man. I remember him as very old. I do not recall his name or his house, because he was always called Lo'. A relative of his is the person referred to in the stories told about her becoming angry when the deaths occurred in her family;<sup>2</sup> but what actually happened

<sup>1</sup>Cited in Fish Dam, pp. 62-67. He was born in Kepel and was living in 1906 in Sa', at the foot of which he had his salmon-fishing scaffold.

<sup>2</sup>Handbook, p. 60.

was this. They did not come to this Lo' of Meta with the consolation payment on the sixth day after a death in his family, as he expected. They were wanting to have the dam made because there was sickness about, but they were slow about it. It may have been ten or twenty days before they came to him; so he was angry; but he took the payment. And that was the time, because it had got so late in the season, that they erected only the two ends of the dam, leaving the middle open.

After that the old men from the towns around the dam talked together to decide who should learn the formula from this old Lo' of Meta. Finally they decided on George Flounder, a distant kinsman. Flounder was partly from Meta and partly from Turip, but my father Spott from Rekwoi called him "nephew." All the old men agreed, except George Jerry. Then old Lo' taught Flounder. He also told them that he had previously taught the formula to his kinswoman, Mrs. Marshall at Hupa.<sup>3</sup>

It was from this teaching that Flounder made the dam about 1913, the last time it was put up. Some of the people doubted whether he had learned everything and knew enough. But when in his capacity of Lo' he was able easily to move the timber which four men had hardly been able to carry to him, they were convinced that he had learned rightly.

#### OBSERVATION

One end of the dam was pointed out to me as being on the right or north bank a yard or two from the rock merhku. From here it is built out slanting upstream to the middle. The other half starts from a stump opposite merhku and also slants upstream. I measured the depth of the river on July 1, 1902, and found it between six and seven feet. The bottom is gravel and seems quite flat nearly all the way across. The current runs with a considerable pull, but very evenly from side to side.

My notes contain the following: "At Sa' the sacred house for the fish dam is like that at Katimín. It is not lived in, is low above ground, and has a single ridge-pole [i.e., resembles a sweat-house]. It stands behind the actual sweat-house associated with the dam."

Unfortunately my notes leave it obscure whether I was told the above or observed it. Also, the suggestion of a sacred official structure, hybrid between house and sweat-house, as at Katimín, Pekwon, Rekwoi, is contradicted by RS's statement above that there was no ki'molen ergerk at Kepel-Sa'; and there is nothing in any other account to suggest that there was. I suspect, accordingly, that what I saw in passing, or was told about, was the living house traditionally used for feeding either the formulist or the tsāro novices; that it had for some time past no longer been inhabited at other seasons; that, having therefore begun to rot and collapse, it had been partly repaired in a makeshift way, though not sufficiently to make it really habitable, and that hence it resembled, around 1902, the Katimín structure. The moral of the incident is that ethnographic notes should be recorded on the spot and so fully that they cannot become ambiguous later.

<sup>3</sup>From whom parts of it were transcribed, as published in *Fish Dam*, p. 75.

#### THE LUCY THOMPSON ACCOUNT

In 1916 Mrs. Lucy Thompson, or Che-na-wah Weitch-ah-wah, a full-blooded Yurok of Pekwon married to a white man living in Eureka, published in that city a little-known book of 214 pages called *To the American Indian*. This contains a detailed account of the Kepel Dam and associated Deerskin Dance; as well as of the Pekwon ritual. The book had a limited circulation, found its way to few libraries, and is written in a homespun style, which is often vivid but sometimes prolix or ethnographically irrelevant; and now and then it is unclear or likely to mislead. However, the dam account is first-hand and faithful and contains some new items and emphases. I therefore put it on record here in condensed and reworded form.

[Pp. 43-54]. About July-August of every other year,<sup>4</sup> the pegerk-kegei ("pegirk-kagay, men doctors") announced the Deerskin Dance ("ohpure-ahwah," opyuweg) of that year. Then feuds and claims began to be settled everywhere. About mid-August the tāl ("talth") got together and set the time, with the fish dam as its first part.

The dam is lo'ogen ("la-og-yen"); the "one that handles putting it in" is lo' ("lock"); his helper or assistant is lo'ni ("lock-nee"). They go with a girl or woman assistant nō'ma ("normea") on a mountain where they stay "two days and nights." The girl "makes" [gathers wood for?] a small fire, on which lo' burns sweet-odored roots while praying and singing.

They return to the rock at river's edge where the north end of dam will be. The girl gets wood for lo's fire there, then recrosses the river, bathes, and goes to sleep in the "lodge" [apparently the lah-wa-alth, lo' wo-ot, dam-maker's dwelling]. In the morning lo' and his helper come there, and, after a bath, all three eat for the first time--without drinking water, as all through the rite. They also keep themselves secluded: no one has seen or heard them. After the breakfast the two men return to the rock on the north bank. Lo' takes out more incense and burns it, and sends his helper to go out to the villages and summon dam builders. They report to lo'; he assigns to each eight or ten of them "the part and amount they are to do." They return home for food and camping outfit, and in about 30 hours time [next evening] the "river bars in and around" Kepel "are alive with Indians, and the air is filled with merriment and jokes."

In the morning, without breakfasting, they start out and cut small pines, 2-3 inches at the butt, trim, scorch, and peel them, and split them in twos or fours. Long hazel withes are scorched and split, then plaited with the pine sticks into mats about 9 feet long. The sticks are 1-2 inches

<sup>4</sup>The account begins in the middle of an 8-page paragraph which commences by telling about female curing doctors. Kegei are shamanistic curers, but I have not heard the term used of men who exercise a function or authority in a world renewal.

apart, the 5 or 6 hazel withes about 14 inches apart (5 x 14 = 70 + 14 + 14 for unbound ends = 98 inches or little over 8 feet). The mats are rolled up and finally all carried downhill to the dam site at once, each on a man's shoulder. Other men prepare the dam posts, about 11 feet long, 5-6 inches thick, sharpened and peeled smooth. The girders are also peeled; they measure 20-24 feet by 6-7 inches through.<sup>5</sup>

The house where the girl assistant stays, lo' wo'-oġ, is not lived in at other times, but is kept in repair; similarly for the sweathouse in which lo' sleeps during the dam building.

About dusk, when the workers have quit, the no'ma girl quietly goes to the river and is ferried by lo'ni to lo', where he is hidden at his rock on the north side. She gathers enough dead wood for him to keep a small fire going continuously, on which he burns incense. Lo' keeps out of sight of the workers, and they avoid him; he gives orders about the construction in a whisper to his helper.

After the wood-gathering, the three cross to the Kepel side and bathe, the woman in a secluded place, and enter the lo' wo'-oġ, where lo's and lo'ni's wives prepare the one meal eaten by the officiants each 24 hours. The two men then go to the sweathouse, smoke, and sleep. Some other old man has previously made a fire, so they find the place warm. Early in the morning they sweat, then cross the river, and lo' keeps himself hidden as usual.

The girl stays in the lo' wo'-oġ with the two wives, making herself neat and working on a new maplebark dress. She sends one of the wives to notify several girls--not more than ten at most--called wohhur ("wah-clure") to be ready to join her on the last day.

The workers are called "nah-quelth"; [this would be nākweġ]. They eat only once a day. They must be in good health because they work hard, for the dam must be finished in ten days. The lo'ni has selected five or six of them to be managers or foremen for the different undertakings. These wear conspicuous hats of stripe-painted madrone bark, like [the crown of] old-style white man's plug hats in shape.

These managers select up to a dozen boys called tsāro ("char-rah"), novices, and set them to make ribbons of bark, "stripped off very flowery with painting and carving"; also carved and painted "fancy" [imitation] pipes. These are attached to the end of slender, clean-peeled poles 12-15 feet long, to be used on the last day.

Lo' keeps himself secreted from all eyes under his rock; until, early on the fifth day, he and his helper go uphill to select the first of the dam stringers, the one first put in just upstream of lo's rock. He burns incense at the foot of the tree, praying for health and plenty

for all. Then he and lo'ni fell the tree, and when it crashes, all the workers, men and boys, who have followed, shout. They look about for 22 posts and 10 additional stringers, shout as each tree falls, and trim and sharpen it. The 33 timbers must be cut that day and dragged down to the river before dark and before anyone has eaten. Lo' and lo'ni lead, drawing their stringers by a rope around the butt. If it catches or stops, lo' prays and if he has been abstinent and ascetic, it moves on easily. The timbers are tied and left floating, and all bathe and go to their camps to eat.

All this day the people joke, laugh, poke fun, and twit each other, but keep good-natured even if [a jibe] is true; and they smoke.

Next day, after sleeping in the sweathouse with his helper, lo' gets out of its hiding place his maul: flat, granite, 12-15 inches across, 2-4 thick, weighing 50-60 pounds; it is called milth-me-ah-lisi [meġ-mialisġ?]. Other tools are hidden scattered, known only to lo' and lo'ni. The first post is set nearly vertical. The workers put up a staging, lo' climbs up, lo'ni holds the post in place, and lo' takes a maul [sic; apparently not the stone described], prays for many salmon, strikes a hard blow, and continues thus, slowly. The second post is set by him at an angle on the downriver side, to brace the first. Where they cross, they are lashed with hazel withes; in their crotch a stringer will rest.

Lo' then passes the maul to the workers, who will plant all the other posts. The next pair are set at an angle downstream, and the third upstream again, and so on alternately, "like the old-style worm rail-fence," to brace the weir against the current.

Then lo' and lo'ni lay the first stringer, on the south side. The workers lay the rest and tie them with withes.

Next the traps or pens are built on the lower side of the dam. They are 12 feet long and 14 wide, each centering against one zigzag of the dam, but with about 6 feet between traps, "so that a canoe can be run between."<sup>6</sup> The first trap is at the north end. There are posts--smaller than in the dam itself--at the corners of the traps, each braced by a post slanting with the current, with a crotch on top, and horizontal beams withed on.

Then the woven mats of split sticks are unrolled and let down inside each trap, against the upstream side of the pen, and carefully tied fast with hazel. There is a gate both downriver and upriver in each trap. When a family wants fish, the upper gate is closed, the lower opened.

Similar mats are laid on the upstream

<sup>5</sup>These two sentences seem to anticipate the account of the cutting of big timbers on the fifth day, below.

<sup>6</sup>There would be a main post and brace in the middle of this intervening space. Does she mean: "a space wide enough for a canoe between main post and trap edge" or: "wide enough to paddle through if there were no post"?



side of the main dam, except at the south end, where for about 20 feet there is merely a stringer, so that boats can pass and salmon run upriver. Planks are laid for a walk along the stringers all the way across.

Now the water begins to roar; close to the dam it is deafening.

About noon of the tenth day [of construction], a 20-24-foot pole is set up on shore just downstream from the south end of the dam. On this pole is tied all the "fancy work" the novice boys have been making; around its foot, sand is heaped up 3-4 feet high and 8-10 feet across.

About four p.m. while lo' and lo'ni are still busy with the last touches to the dam with the workers, the nō'ma woman comes out of the house holding a small basket with a bit of acorn dough in it. She runs swiftly about 500 yards easterly [upstream from Sa'] to the pole [at the dam at the upstream foot of Kepel], turns around it to the right, and sets her basket on the sand heap. As soon as she is seen, everyone shouts to warn lo', who does not want to see her. She returns running.

No'ma runs up to the town flat [terrace] past the girls at their dance place, downriver to where an ex-no'ma tells her to turn to the river and bathe. When she returns, the wohkur girls are dancing, and she sits down in front of them, near a pit scooped out 4 feet deep and 20 across. The girls stand "moving the body forward and back by the action of the knees, raising first one foot and then the other." As the sun gets low, no'ma rises to kneel and the wohkur sing louder and dance more lively.

Now there come up from the river, in file, lo' and lo'ni and a tsāro boy who carries the same basket no'ma had left at the sand heap but now full of water. As lo' approaches, the wohkur girls, all of them, drop down over no'ma, lo' and lo'ni drop over them, and the boy lowers his hand and throws the basket as high up as he can to shower them all; then he and the other [tsāro] boys drop down above the rest, hovering over no'ma "like a swarm of bees over the queen." This is done for her protection," for the workers each have a long pole with the bark ribbons and fancy-carved pipes tied on the top. Forming a half-circle around the heap of people, they let their heavy poles fall with a crash, so quickly that it is hard to see how it is done. "Just as quickly the whole heap raises up out of this place to place themselves in fours."

Now the dam is completed and all go to their camps and take their evening meal.

No'ma goes to the house with lo', while lo'ni catches the first salmon from the dam and cuts out from the middle of it enough for her supper. No one else may eat salmon until the next day.

If no'ma feels strong enough she cleans off the dance ground, otherwise puts it off till

morning. She makes a small fire in front of where the dancers will stand, puts incense root on, and sits by it. Lo' notifies the people, they prepare, and the Deerskin Dance begins here [that evening], though the [main] dance is held about 10 miles downriver.

The people go to the downriver dance, or home, but lo', lo'ni, no'ma, wohkur, and tsāro stay, the two first taking charge of the dam as long as it stays intact. It is "now all fun and mirth with them that stay, lo' and lo'ni leading them," and no'ma plays and jokes; and all have their regular meals [again].

On the last day of the Deerskin Dance downriver at Wohtek, lo' asks those with him if they want to go to see it. If so, they go in a group and do not eat until they all return to Kepel in the evening.

[Pp. 135-137]. There are nine traps in the dam. One belongs to lo' and his kin, one to lo'ni, one to no'ma, and so on. In the morning they dip out salmon with a net made for the purpose. No salmon must be wasted. After these come the poor, who cut up, dry, and lightly smoke what they do not eat fresh; it is packed in large baskets between layers of pepper-wood leaves to keep out the "moths." The traps get to be "so full that they make the whole structure of the fishdam quiver and tremble with their weight, by holding the water from passing through the lattice work freely." The salmon are taken early in the day, after which lo' or lo'ni opens the upper gates of the pens to let the salmon pass on up, which they are also doing through the gap left at the south end of the dam.

Lo' and all his helpers stay by the dam and watch it until it washes out from the river rising. This may take two or three months. Then they all go home, glad [to be released].

[Pp. 101-110]. The [main] Deerskin Dance is held at Wohtek, which is a town on a 50-acre bar [terrace] stretching from Wohkero to the old Johnson or McGarvey store, put there in 1855 or 1856 by Schneider. The dance place, 300 yards downriver from the store, is "just down under the village on a gentle slope," with one spring coming out at the foot of the terrace, and another one forty steps downriver. These springs are used by those who camp out to attend the dance. Three smooth stones are set well down into the ground but extend 8 or 10 inches above it; these are for the three central dancers of the row of 15 or 17.

The dance ground has the grass pulled and is swept clean by a girl and a man called megwollep (may-wa-lep). She makes a tiny fire, keeps it going during the dance, and puts incense root on it.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Elsewhere this is done by the formulist, though his girl assistant brings wood and may help in clearing places. At Weitspus it is the man alone, not both, that is called megwollep.

On the evening of the first day the [dancers for the] neighboring upriver villages of Ko'tep<sup>8</sup> and Pekwon, in regalia, enter a large boat<sup>9</sup> with only a steersman, and drift down<sup>10</sup> to their camping places in front of Wohtek. The Ko'tep dancers form in line; each village dances separately. After they finish, in 15-30 minutes the Pekwon dancers do the same.

Regalia and deerskins are "the common kind," each village dancing twice daily for three or four days before the rest of them arrive; these early days are "not counted." When Sregon [Ser-e-goine], Murek, and Kepel arrive, each of the five villages dances in turn twice daily for ten days. The first dance lasts from about 9 to noon. The dancers are being asked to take part and are changing all the time from one village [set] to another; and whichever they dance in, they are invited to eat at their camp. No one is allowed to go hungry, even if he cannot speak a word of the language. They start again about dark and dance until around 9.

On the tenth day they bring out the white deerskins and the largest flint blades. Pekwon leads the others, having five white skins and many that are nearly white. Sregon comes next with the largest flints, the most valuable belonging to a family of sisters. White flints are the finest, running up to 20-22 inches long and 4-5 wide. [A detailed account of costumes is omitted.]

<sup>8</sup>This is evidently the "home" village, since it dances first.

<sup>9</sup>One boat each? Or, jointly in one? The former seems more likely.

<sup>10</sup>Nothing is said of their dancing in the boat, but that may have been taken for granted.

Adjoining Wohtek town on the north [down-river?] is the place for the shinny game (werlth-per, "stick" game), which is played after the tenth day, during a stop to replenish provisions.

Early the next morning they go downriver by trail, about a mile below Wohkero to Plokseu or Helegãu Creek (Bloxer, Hal-le-gay-ow). All halt on the upper side of the creek and sort themselves out. One trail follows the river a across the creek to a small flat at the foot of a hill with overhanging pepperwoods. No one may take this trail or come to this spot "unless they are born of the highest marriage." [The context shows the meaning to be: born of lawful, full marriage in good lineage, but without extremely high bride-price having been paid; in other words, good upper middle class, the very wealthy being excluded along with those born of poor, no, or half marriages.] Regalia are handed over by the ultra-wealthy to those who may dance or view at this spot, Helegãu, where the megwollep and girl have already cleaned and made their little fire.

After the dance there, they turn and move up the creek to where the rest of the public has come over the other trail--"the rich, the warrior, and the throng." They dance here where "all can look on," and then at two more places on the way up. Finally, near the head of the creek, they come to a large prairie [meadow] called Plokseu, "wide." Here they camp and hold the final dance on a 2-acre flat with a spring at its foot. That evening they dance here with the finest of the valuables.

Next day the five sets are danced in the morning, they eat in the afternoon, and dance again in the evening to about nine. Then they eat, many go home that night, and the dance is over for two years at least.

# YUROK: PEKWON

(Kroeber)

## THE FOUR ALLIED YUROK RITES

Yurok Pekwon on the river, Rekwoi at the mouth, and Orekw and Oket'o on the coast to the south made four very similar world-renewal ceremonies. These were characterized by (1) the ritual rebuilding of a special sacred structure called a sweathouse but actually intermediate between a sweathouse and living house, and not used either as a dwelling or for sweating at other times; (2) singing in this at night by a group of men and women called *tāt*; and (3) performances of the Jumping Dance only, mainly indoors, but in a large living house, not in the sacred structure.

The rebuilding or repairing of the sacred house is expressly symbolic of a renovation or strengthening of the world. It includes the felling of a tree, the cutting of timbers, and their placing in the structure. The house itself resembles closely the sacred structure at Karok Katimín. There is no salmon weir, acorn feast, bonfire, or sand pile as in some of the upper Yurok, Hupa, or Karok world renewals. However, not only is the physical world generically reestablished by the ceremony, but sickness, flood, and other calamities are specifically averted by it, and fish and plant foods are made abundant.

The *tāt* are under strict taboos during the ceremony, and under minor ones, such as not eating salmon heads, for the rest of their lives. They are consequently called *tāt* thereafter, but may or may not participate, at will, in subsequent performances. They obviously constitute the germ of what might have become an esoteric society, in that they are a group set apart; but they functioned only during rituals, with fluctuating participation then, and were never organized for any other purpose. The Yurok compare them, correctly, with the workers on the Kepel dam. Their nearest counterpart seems to have been the sweathouse singers at Amaikiaram and the *xopitwaram* fasters at Katimín.

The preparatory or warm-up dancing is outside the dance house. The main dancing indoors is of necessity more cramped than in outdoor Jumping dances, the number of dancers is fewer, and the line-up has to be semicircular. But equipment, steps, songs, and the rest are identical. There is also Jump-dancing in boats, as parties approach.

The Yurok sometimes classify these four rituals of the lower Klamath and coast into male and female. But they vary somewhat in their assignments. According to one account Rekwoi and Orekw are male because they add a final day's outdoor Jumping Dance at some distance from the town containing the sacred structure and dance house; Pekwon and Oket'o are female because they lack this feature. A different classification aligns Rekwoi and Oket'o, as against the other two, because their sacred formulas are nearly identical. A third statement sets off Oket'o as ritually strong and a "man," compared with the three others as "women."

These four lower and coast Yurok rituals are evidently a crystallization, into a strict world renewal and

a strict Jumping Dance, out of a substratum of more plastic indoor dances in which woodpecker-scalp bands figured prominently. Such indoor dances were made by the Tolowa without rigid adherence to a spot, without ritualistic rebuilding of a structure, and without conscious emphasis on world renewal. Most Wiyot dances appear to have been similar to the Tolowa in these respects. But one Wiyot dance, on lower Mad River nearest to the Yurok, is generally reckoned by the Yurok as a true Jumping Dance and world-renewal ceremony.

It might perhaps be inferred that the Katimín sacred house, the Hupa dance-screen of planks which is called a house, the Amaikiaram sweathouse singers resembling *tāt*, were features which were carried upstream from the lower Yurok. On the contrary, the lower Yurok rites failed to accept many of the varied special traits of the Karok and Hupa rituals, or even of the Yurok Kepel one. They remain characterized by a somewhat narrow, archaic rigidity. They differ from the two upper Yurok ceremonies, Kepel and Weitspus, positively in their emphasis on the symbolic house rebuilding, and negatively in lacking the outdoor Deerskin Dance--besides, of course, the dam construction and magic and play interludes at Kepel. It is true that Kepel and Weitspus add a Jumping Dance, but this is relatively brief, supplementary, held at a separate spot, and outdoors. Kepel and Weitspus essentially hold Deerskin dances with a minor Jumping Dance annex, the lower Yurok dancing is strictly limited to Jumping. Nevertheless the Indians reckon them as equivalent.

While there is report of a lower Yurok Deerskin Dance, at Wełkwāu opposite Rekwoi at the mouth of the river, this was abandoned so long ago as to remain dubious between history and myth. It is associated with the same house as the historic First Salmon Ritual in spring at the mouth. Consequently, this First Salmon Rite, which has patent world-renewal characteristics, seems to stand apart from the four Jumping Dance renewals of the lower Yurok, and must be considered separately.

## THE PEKWON CEREMONY

This Pekwon ritual was kept up longer than any other Yurok world renewal--having been performed at least as late as 1939--but seems never to have been observed by an ethnologist. A motion film made by Eaglewing or Grover Sanderson, a Karok from Orleans, contains several minutes of exposures of scenes from this indoor dance, although without indication that it is not Karok. The volume *To the American Indian*, by Lucy Thompson, a Yurok (see below, p. 88) contains excellent references, especially to the *tāt*. The Handbook contains only a few lines on page 60.

Most of the scant data on the dance are comparisons with Rekwoi and will have more meaning if read after the account of the ritual there; but they are presented first, in accord with the geographical sequence which is so strong in native thought.

## OBSERVATIONS, 1903

At Pekwon the sacred sweathouse is really a sort of house without side walls. Its shape and size are those of an unusually small house with one ridgepole. The roof eaves almost meet the ground. Besides the ridgepole, there appear to be two plates, one midway each roof slope. The entrance faces the river. Here a stone-lined pit about 4 by 3 feet in size and 2 feet deep, with a stone step or two, is dug out in the middle of the front. The doorway is a hole about a foot and a half across cut in the bottom of a vertical plank. It is closed not by a sliding door, like a dwelling, but by a plug set into the hole from outside. There is no exit such as a sweathouse has. The structure stands near the upriver end of the town.

## OUTLINE OF RITUAL, RS, 1939

The sacred house for the Pekwon dance [B in Waterman, Yurok Geography, Map 15] is called ki'molen ergerk, "ugly or ancient sweathouse." Like that at Rekwoi it is nearly square, not oblong, and is never sweated or slept in or used at other times. The sweat-house in which the tāt sweat is tāt wer-ergerk. This must be G on the Waterman map, but the name "opegaiole" for it is not recognized. The house where the tāt live is tāt wo'ot or tāt wo'olomel, number 7 on the map. Where they prepare for the dance is erkiger, Waterman's house number 6, and the house they dance in is called opyüweg, Waterman's number 3. Tāt wer-ergerk is used for sweating at other times also.

When I first knew the dance, Doctor Jo was the formulist. His name was Hipur-awa; he was also called Mā'āts-kus-egor because his mother was from Mā'āts. He was also known as wes,ona tigerem, "reciting to the sky," or wer-ergerk tigerem, "reciting in his sweathouse." These names are given to the formulists both of Pekwon and of Rekwoi. At that time the nikor or assistant was Kerner, the wealthy man of Pekwon. Doctor Jo was succeeded by Jim of Sregon, and he by his brother George. George and Johnny Shortman of Welkwāu both told me that the prayers and motions in the two dances were the same; only the rocks and places named and addressed are different.

At Pekwon the tāt also go for sweathouse wood and get the same sāhsip. They go to across-river from Yohter; the spot is not indicated on the Waterman map, but it is maybe an eighth of a mile uphill from the bar. Perhaps it was called Erniger, since that is the name of the corresponding place at Rekwoi. It used to be a natural slope but the edge has been placer-mined away. The sāhsip sticks are gathered in the same way as at Rekwoi.

When they dance, there are five parties; one is from Pekwon, one from downriver, and three from upriver: Sregon, Mürek, and Sa' and Kepel together; but there is no dance from Meta. The three upriver parties come down the river together in boats side by side, each party in a boat. They embark on the north side of the river at mehwōleya below Yohter and float and dance down to Pekwon. At no other time do the three parties dance together.

Ko'tep and Wohkero join their valuables and make one downstream dance together, although they have separate cooking and eating places. The woge put these two

together, else the dancing would be so long that the fasting tāt would starve.

Each party has a fire and eating place (now a table) and near it a dressing place. Pekwon feeds its dancers next to the house erkiger. Sregon used to have its fire between the village and the mouth of the creek about in front of the house ketskeḷ. Later on there was a quarrel and they moved themselves to tekwsō. Mürek-meḷ-ukāk, where Mürek eats, and Mürek-meḷ-egor, where Mürek dresses, would be about downhill from Waterman's house 14. Sa' and Kepel camped across Pekwon Creek. Ko'tep had its fire downstream from the others, and Wohkero a little more downstream.

Salmon heads, nepui werter, is the one thing which the tāt are forbidden ever to eat again in their lives. Seals, tskwekiās, also do not eat salmon heads. In woge times the seal lived at Kenek but was a tāt. Therefore now he eats the bodies of salmon but leaves the heads hanging in the gill net.

## VARIOUS NOTES, WF, 1903

The night before the Pekwon Jumping Dance begins, certain people [the tāt] who have gone out during the day to get firewood for the sacred sweathouse enter this and sing all night, beating time with sticks. The inside of the house is crowded, and people stand outside and look in and listen.

The next day, when they begin to dance, there are four parties, Pekwon itself, Wohkero, Sregon, and Mürek.<sup>1</sup> Each party dances three times where it dresses. Then they go to the dance house and dance three times each on the stone terrace in front of it. They then enter the house, taking off their headdresses to go through the door. Inside they dance three times wearing their blankets, and three times holding hands. They dance standing abreast, ten men, or sometimes only nine, facing in the direction of the river. There is not room for more dancers inside the house. The two side walls and part of the roof have been removed. The house faces downstream. Men spectators sit on the pit floor of the house facing the dancers, women on the ground-level ledge of the house. Others look in from outside, but not everyone can get a good view. The old men say that some of the roof boards should be left in place to make the singing sound better. All these dances are performed in turn by each of the four parties.

On the last day, after dancing indoors, they dance in front of the house, Pekwon and Wohkero merging, and after them Sregon and Mürek merging. After that they go down onto the flat at the foot of the terrace on which the town stands, and Wohkero dances on the downriver end, then Sregon in the middle, and then Mürek a little upstream. Then Pekwon goes to the upriver end of the town and makes its dance there. This final dance is performed twice over.

In 1902 Sregon and Mürek made their final dance only once instead of twice, because it was too difficult to find enough dancers. Properly, the dance should also be repeated on the evening of the last day, but in 1902 this was omitted because there was an American-style dance being held near by.

<sup>1</sup>Kepel-Sa', and the boat dance downstream to Pekwon, have been overlooked, or had already been abandoned.

Those who drum in the sacred sweathouse during the night [the *tā̄t*] have been selected by the formulist for the dance and have helped him get sweathouse wood during the day. In 1902, when they went on this trip, they heard an owl hoot. The old men said that this meant there would be sickness. Another thing that was construed as portending sickness was that an old wooden stool kept in the sacred sweathouse split of itself.

The fireplace in the sacred sweathouse is like that of a sweathouse, not of a living house.

#### THE LUCY THOMPSON ACCOUNT

The Thompson description of the Pekwon ritual is briefer than that of the Fish dam.<sup>2</sup> She calls it "the Lodge Dance." By "lodge" she means what I have called the sacred sweathouse, where the esoteric rites center which she chiefly describes; the dancing with woodpecker headbands she puts in a living "house called Opyūweg." However, the word "lodge" evidently also implies to her the group concerned with the esoteric rites, the *tā̄t*, whom she views something in the light of a lodge of the Masons or chapter of other American secret orders.

The whites call it Jump dance; we, *wonek-welogo* (*wah-neck-wel-la-gaw*), which has no meaning. [But *wonek* is "up" probably with reference to the leaping and upward swings of the dance baskets; *welogo* means major dance.] It is held at Pekwon, about a mile upriver from where the Deerskin dance is made [at *Wohtek*], and in alternate years with it. Preparations begin two months ahead and disputes are settled [by payments]. Those who can or will not settle may not come to see or take part. That is how this tribe could be well governed without chiefs, which they never had.

Pekwon [her natal town] was where the lodge was situated. It and the house where the tools of the *tā̄t* [talth] are kept are the only ones of the kind now left, in 1916. Formerly there were these lodges at *Ah-ca-tah* [Oket'l, Big Lagoon; not Arcata], *Orick*, *Reck-woy*, and *Pec-wan*. Now there is only this last, and only two of the *tā̄t* [besides herself, apparently].

The three<sup>3</sup> *tā̄t* go early in the morning "to select [a tree for] the timbers for . . . a complete new frame of the lodge, not leaving a single piece<sup>4</sup> of the woodwork of the old

<sup>2</sup>It covers pp. 111-119 of her cited *To the American Indian* and there is a plate from an excellent Ericsson photograph of the sacred lodge, taken a number of years earlier than Waterman's pl. 5:2, and appearing in our pl. 6,c.

<sup>3</sup>She appears to mean the two *tā̄t* just alluded to, plus the formulist or director, whom she later calls "Master" of ceremonies. Implicitly she is probably describing a particular performance in which she took part as woman *tā̄t*. However, there are also "workers" under the *tā̄t*, whom she distinguishes from them--as RS did not. She does not mention a formulist's first assistant corresponding to the *nikor* at *Rekwol*.

<sup>4</sup>All, none, always, never, are studded through California Indian English without necessarily being meant literally. The *Rekwol* sacred sweathouse had only six timbers renewed ceremonially,

lodge, but replacing it with new. Returning, the *tā̄t* go to the house where the [sacred] tools are kept [the *tā̄t wo'-olomēt*], take them out, put them into a "nicely knit sack"<sup>5</sup> . . . kept for the purpose, and leave them outside the house for the night."<sup>6</sup> The *tā̄t* then bathe, go home to eat, then smoke and sleep in "their sweathouse."<sup>7</sup> The *tā̄t* are "firm in their manners, witty in jokes, but slow to speak in matters of decision."

The workers, "*Wer-ner-ger-ee*," have "already been selected for getting [hewing, splitting] out the material" for the lodge, "and the whole of the work must be done in one day. Every piece is made to fit in its place, when it is gotten out in the woods." "The whole structure is set up without the use of tools;<sup>8</sup> . . . no words are spoken, only by the three *Talth*, and by them only in a low voice."

The workers on "the old lodge, *Talth-ur-girk*" (*tā̄t wer-ergerk*), must be of good birth,<sup>9</sup> not slaves or of low birth. "We have degrees in this lodge work; some are allowed to join and learn a small part . . . and are never given the true name of God."<sup>10</sup> If through famine or epidemic the requisite knowledge was lost, they could get *tā̄t* from *Oket'o*, *Orekw*, *Rekwol*, or from the *Pech-ic-las* (*Petsik-la*, upriver people)<sup>11</sup> to initiate new *tā̄t* and build the Pekwon order up again.

All the discarded lumber from the lodge is taken to the dwelling house where the *tā̄t* prepare themselves and is used to renew its weak parts; and the remainder is used for firewood in it.<sup>12</sup>

roof and wall planks being replaced unritually. Thompson says that the "tools" are "for getting out posts and the frame with all the sidings" (p. 112). Sidings would strictly denote wall planks under the two gables, and perhaps the boards lining the hollow of the sweathouse to keep the earth from caving in. There would be more roof planks.

<sup>5</sup>Of openwork netting, Goddard, *Hupa Life and Culture*, pl. 6. This seems to be the only illustration ever published of this type of small handbag, which may have been in use as far as the south end of the San Joaquin Valley, if early descriptions are exact.

<sup>6</sup>To have them ready early next morning, probably.

<sup>7</sup>Probably not the sacred structure but the sweathouse (or sweathouses) which they habitually used.

<sup>8</sup>American tools, such as hammers, saws, squares; or nails or pegs or tenons.

<sup>9</sup>"The highest form of marriage takes twelve strings of cheek [tsik, dentalia], twelve pieces to each string."

<sup>10</sup>"To keep the sacred name of God from being lost"--a few lines below. The idea sounds as if transferred from some American secret lodge or order.

<sup>11</sup>Upper Yurok or Karok.

<sup>12</sup>*Sic!*

After the rebuilding is finished, the workers go to their homes to eat, and then, led by the two [nonformulist] *tāt*,<sup>13</sup> they go to bring in huckleberry limbs<sup>14</sup> and twigs for the fire which they are to keep up in the lodge all night. But the master of the ceremonies goes to the lodge with the one or two girls, who are not always *tāt* but may be. Inside, he "talks or prays," while the girls sweep and order the structure. Around 9 p.m. the *tāt* and workers return in file, each one with a bundle of firewood on his shoulder, singing. They lay the wood around [on ?] the roof, and one of the *tāt* takes some in to start a fire. And they all enter.

The floor of the sweathouse is of stone ["marble," probably steatite, possibly slate], and on it is a bowl of the same stone with water and angelica (*wo'ipei*) roots in it. This bowl is kept secreted by the master, who has now brought it out. The workers go out again, leaving only the master, his two *tāt*, and the girl if she is a *tāt*. These wash with angelica water, and "go through all the secret part of the work in the lodge." Then the door is opened for the workers and they enter, wash, and comb their hair glossy with a "comb" [stick ?], being careful not to touch their hair with their hands.<sup>15</sup> "Some of the workers are Talth, sometimes nearly all of them; if not, they are high born."<sup>16</sup>

In the sweathouse the men are perfectly naked, the girls wear a maplebark skirt. The master sits in the SE corner, "the next one in authority" NE, the third NW; the entrance is "at the S end, the W side being left dark."<sup>17</sup> The master sits on his cone-frustum redwood stool ("Indian chair") and holds as staff an age-blackened stalk of angelica (*walth-pay*), "that God made women from in the first creation." He has a helper ("this was my part and the emblem I wear is the Dove") who sits on

<sup>13</sup>RS, at Rekwol, has the expedition for firewood at Rekwol occur by boat in the daytime, and led by the formulist. It is difficult to see how the wood could be effectively gathered in the dark. The Yurok did not ordinarily eat supper until about dusk.

<sup>14</sup>Honeysuckle, RS called it; it is no doubt the same *sāhstip* plant.

<sup>15</sup>As in the girls' puberty observance, and in so many native American rituals.

<sup>16</sup>According to RS, once a *tāt*, always a *tāt*, whether one officiates after the first time, or not. I take it that Mrs. Thompson's "workers" are ordinary *tāt*, and that the two to whom alone she otherwise applies the name are assistants of the formulist and his potential successors, like the *nikor* at Rekwol, except for there being two instead of one.--Then how about the few workers who are not *tāt* ("nearly all" are)? Could they be novice *tāt*, performing for the first time? In general this informant exalts the *tāt* as a superelect exclusive group.

<sup>17</sup>The corner arrangement is novel. "S" would be riverward, but the sweathouse door is in a long side; and the "dark" W end ("side") would be where the exit-hole and pit are (pl. 6, c, d).

his right. If there is no girl that is a *tāt*, then a man *tāt* has to fill the place, moving the master's chair as he rises and sits down. If there is only one girl, she has to remove and place the stools of "all three officers of the lodge, until five in the morning," when she comes out "tired, yet light-hearted and proud of her birth, her standing, and of her great knowledge."

The whole night is given in the lodge to chanting and praying for health, wealth, and safety from disease. About 5 a.m. they go to Opyūweg (Ah-pure-way), the [dwelling] house in which the dance is to be made, where a small fire is built. Meanwhile the wealthy families [of Pekwon ?] have moved from their houses with their women to cook [for visitors]. They hurry to prepare for the dance, and then enter the house and begin the dancing which is to continue for ten days. As soon as this first morning's dance is over, the *tāt* and workers go home to eat and rest; [wherefore the hurry]. The same five villages as danced the Kepel-Wohtek Deerskin Dance take part in this dance in the house at Pekwon [not this first day, but before the ten days are over]. People from far away or near by, rich or poor, are looked after, fed, and invited to dance, even if they cannot speak Yurok. The poor and slave class are made jolly and contented and "allowed to put in, both men and women," whatever they may possess of dance things of value.

"In the evening of the second day's dancing," the *tāt*, workers, girl, and master go into the lodge again and do as they did two nights before, and the other *tāt* and workers bring firewood, and [sing] all night. The *tāt* do not dance and rarely watch the dancing; the master just passes on if he sees any of it.

Every second evening "they open the lodge until the dance has run for eight days, when they open" it "for the fifth and last time."<sup>18</sup> In the morning the workers go off to clean and prepare the dance house for the last two days, while the *tāt* "finish the winding-up ceremonies for the lodge. The stone bowl, staff, and other emblems and tools are put into their secret hiding places known only to the *tāt*, who then go to eat and sleep.

In the last two days of the dance, the finest and most valuable articles are used. "The riches are brought out showing which are the most wealthy of family. After ten days, late in the evening, the dance closes, and people scatter. But rich families, with many women to cook, or those with children or much wealth to move, will keep their camp open until the next day, or second, to get everything ready,

<sup>18</sup>In other words, the *tāt*'s all-night performance in the sacred sweathouse precedes the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth days of dancing. This tallies with what RS says about Rekwol.

This Pekwon Jumping Dance is evidently quite similar to that described for Rekwoi by RS. Nothing is said in the Thompson account about getting timbers by boat, about treating them like corpses, about a nikor assistant, about a boat trip for sweathouse firewood, about a boat dance or final dance outdoors away from the dance house. These may have been actually lacking from the ritual, or they may have been omitted in the

account. The  $\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}$ 's repeated all-night singings are explicitly referred to only once, as "chanting and praying," while the role and feelings of the girl are dwelt on at length. Pekwon features not reported for Rekwoi are the stone bowl in the sweathouse, the formulist's angelica-stalk rod, the use of discarded sawed house lumber as firewood, the distinction between  $\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{t}$  having full knowledge and *wernergeri* "workers" or novices.

# YUROK: REKWOI

(Kroeber)

Very little, if anything, has been printed on the Rekwoi ritual beyond a brief mention in Handbook, page 60.

Practically all recorded information on Rekwoi comes from Robert Spott, whose detailed and orderly description follows. It was set forth to me in 1939, thirty or more years after the ritual was last performed. I doubt if in the early years of the century as clear and complete an account could have been got from any Yurok informant, young or old; or, if so, I should not have known how to secure it. Informants and ethnographers have both progressed in skill in forty years.

## SYSTEMATIC ACCOUNT, RS, 1939

For the ritualistic part of the ceremony there are needed not only a medicine man or formulist or priest, as everywhere else: but an active assistant who must be a man, not a woman; and a group called the *t̄āt*. These *t̄āt* sing, fast, sweat, and participate generally in the strict performances of the ceremony. They are mostly men but may include some women and normally did include women. They may participate once only or for a number of years; but once *t̄āt* they are always *t̄āt* and remain under restrictions not to eat the heads of salmon. The fact of once having participated earns them their name.

[The *t̄āt* are not an organized group, and participation is both open and fluctuating. They suggest a nucleus out of which a secret society might have grown, but there is no initiation and therefore no society. They constitute an important and characteristic feature of the four Jumping Dance rituals at Pekwon, Rekwoi, Orekw, and Oket'o. There are no *t̄āt* in the Weitspus or Hupa ceremonies. But at Kepel the dam-builders, or *tsāro*, are a group equivalent to them; and among the Karok there are sweathouse singers, especially at Amaikiam and Katimin.--A.L.K.]

Houses.--The structures in Rekwoi connected with the ceremony are the following:

Most important is the "ancient sweathouse," *ki'molen ergerk*. *Ki'molen* means old or ugly or dilapidated. This name is used because the structure is supposed to have stood since the beginning of the world. It is partly renewed each time the ceremony is performed, and this rebuilding is obviously symbolic of a renewal of the world. The second part of the name, *ergerk*, means sweathouse. But the building is strictly not a sweathouse. For one thing, it is not used for ordinary sweating, only for singing with sweating as one particular part in the ritual. In fact, it is not ever put to any profane use, but stands neglected and unpaired between ceremonies. Secondly, it is not of the shape of a sweathouse, being deeper and almost square, whereas sweathouses are oblong and nearly twice as broad as deep. Similar buildings were in use at the three other places where there were *t̄āt* and are known by the same name of *ki'molen ergerk*.

[There is nothing like them connected with Weitspus. There is said to have been a similar structure at Sa'

for the Kepel dam (p. 82), but there is no account of its being rebuilt ritually, or of being sung and drummed in. At Takimikding in Hupa there is a sacred dwelling house, but this was actually lived in at other times. But the square structure, used neither as a normal dwelling nor for profane sweating, recurs among the Karok at Katimin.]<sup>1</sup>

Most of the sweating which the *t̄āt* do in the course of the ceremony they do in an ordinary sweathouse which is also used in profane seasons and which is called *t̄āt wer-ergerk*, literally "t̄āt their sweathouse."

The dwelling house in which the *t̄āt* eat and live during the ceremony, while not actually occupied with ritual, is called *t̄āt wo'oŋ*, "t̄āt their house." This was the permanent dwelling of a family.

Another house in which a family lived through the years but which was vacated by them in order that the Jumping Dance might be made within it is *plē't*, "big." Except at the very beginning and end of the ceremony this house was the place in which the dancing was done.

Still another house connected with the dance was *okīger*, "where they tie their hair" or otherwise make themselves ready for the dance. Houses of this name are found elsewhere, as at Weitspus, and have no specific connection with the institution of the *t̄āt*. The Rekwoi house *okīger* is the one ordinarily called *lāyekw*, "by the trail."

All three of these dwellings housed prominent families of Rekwoi.

Formulist, assistant, and t̄āt.--The chief ritualist is known by two names, *wes,ona we-tigeru* or *wer-ergerk tīgeru-mi*. The second part of these designations means to pray, or perhaps more exactly to talk ritually. The first words refer respectively to the sky (or world) and to the sweathouse. The appellations therefore mean to recite to the world or to recite in his sweathouse. The identical terms are said to be used for the formulist at the three other ceremonies in which the *t̄āt* appear. [On account of the cumbersome nature of the native phrases the term formulist will be used here.]

The assistant is called *nikor*; and, as his functions are specific and are closely similar in the four ceremonies in which the *t̄āt* appear, this term will be used. This *nikor* is likely to function at performance after performance for many years, like the formulist himself.

The *t̄āt* can be of any age from sixteen or seventeen years up. They may be mature or old, and married or unmarried. They volunteer for each performance. There usually are about seven or eight of them. At any rate it was thought desirable that there should be that many, although of late it has often been difficult to secure that number.

Beginning of the ritual.--The entire ritual begins with the formulist going into the ancient sweathouse alone and inspecting it to see what timbers ought to be changed. Every so often six timbers are replaced by

<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 12.



new ones, whether they are actually rotted or not. Planks are less sacred, are replaced only as they become actually old, and the replacement is treated as something incidental.

After his inspection, about the middle of the afternoon, the formulist goes to the various proper rocks or spots and prays to them.

Trip to prepare timbers.--Next morning the formulist takes his *tāt* to hew out new timbers for the ancient sweathouse, so far as they may be needed. The rule was that new timbers had to be made at least every six years--that is, after three performances of the ritual--whether the old ones were rotted or not. It is not clear what was done in the years when no new timbers were cut, whether this first day's ritual was simply omitted or whether it was held in an abbreviated form.

The six principal timbers are the following: First there is a pair of plates, *we-tik*. These run the longer way of the house at its edges [front and back]. They rest in slots cut into vertical end planks and project beyond the house. Next there is a pair of similar timbers, somewhat shorter, which run crosswise to the first two along the two shorter walls of the house. [It is not known whether they rest on the first two or on wall planks; probably the former. They will here be called beams in order to distinguish them from the first pair. The native name was not secured.] Next there is a single ridgepole, *we-rā'r*; *we-re'ger* is the pair of ridgepoles on a living house, which are two in number because the roof has three pitches. [This ridgepole presumably rests on slots in the planks in the end walls like the plates.] Finally there is a center post, *we-te'poł*, which supports the ridge in the middle. [Such posts are regular in sweathouses, but not used in living houses.] Actually this post is set up and then the ridgepole is laid across it. This post is said to hold up the sky. The plates, beams, and ridgepole, all of which project, are said to reach to the end of the world. [It is thus evident that the reconstruction of the sacred house is more than a utilitarian repair. It is symbolical of the reestablishment of the world. Obviously also the rebuilding of this house is more or less the functional equivalent of the building of the dam at Kepel.]

The ancient sweathouse faces [has its door to the] west or out across the ocean, so that its left [shorter] end is [more or less] upriver and its right end downriver. [Structurally it appears to be a hybrid between a living house and sweathouse, being, as said, more nearly square than a sweathouse; and apparently somewhat larger. The plates are like those of a living house; the upright post and the single ridge like those of a sweathouse.] The fire pit is on the downriver side of the center post. The door is square and in the roof, not vertical like a house door. There is also an exit door, again rectangular. [The horizontal door suggests that the roof is low and the whole house sunk into the ground, in contrast with the central pit of the living house which covers only half or less of its area. The exit is again a sweathouse feature lacking in dwellings; but the exits of true sweathouses are always oval.] On the inland side opposite the door is an area of roof from which planks are later removed so that spectators may look in.

The formulist assembles the *tāt* and with them goes down the *tāt we-lai*, *tāt's* path, to *tāt o-stsegep*, the *tāt's* boat landing. This is a spot on the shore where passengers may be landed at other times, but it is forbidden to tie one's boat there. The *nikor* is left behind. The *tāt* must have eaten nothing before they make the trip.

Then they paddle upriver to Hunter Creek and up this to about where the small bridge is now, not far from where the schoolhouse stands at the junction of the Requa road with the Redwood Highway. Here they land at a place which is also called *tāt o-stsegep*.

Felling, splitting, and burying the timbers.--From there they go inland and uphill across the present highway to *ki'molen ergerk wenahko' olego'*, "ancient sweathouse where its timbers are worked." The place is owned now by a man called Mazzoli. The six timbers must be made from a living redwood. Any wall or roof planks that need replacing are split out of fallen trees. Also they pray over the six timbers but not over the planks. The formulist goes ahead to find a suitable standing redwood. Meanwhile he tells some of the *tāt* to split such planks as are needed. When he finds his tree he calls the *tāt*. The rule is that the tree must not be made to fall uphill. If it were, it (and the timbers from it) would seem to be moving feet first like the fir trees of mourners. So the tree is felled to fall downhill or sideways. Standing by the tree, the formulist stamps his foot, then runs his eyes slowly from the butt up to the top, then swings his body and face toward the river, so that his gaze does not move down the tree, which would be bad. After he has prayed, he can let his look travel down along the tree. He says, "I will cut you. I want you to fall in this direction and to miss the trees that are in the way because we are going to have you for holding the sky up." He stamps his foot again and then begins to cut the tree with an elk-horn wedge and maul. (JS used an axe, but this was later.) He chips out pieces and finally wedges out a block. Then he hands the tools to the *tāt*, and one after another they work on it until the tree falls toward the river.

Now they use the wedge to chisel cuts until they can split out timbers of the right length. These are then shaped if they need it. All the timbers are made of a size so that two men can carry them down to the boat on their right shoulders. The center post is the first one finished. They work on the others while this one is being carried down and laid a little away from the creek. Then the same two *tāt*, or two others, carry the other timbers as they are finished, until all six have been carried down. Meanwhile whatever planks are needed have been split out of a fallen log. Separate tools are used for them, and they are carried on top of the head, not on the shoulder.

When the last of the *tāt* have gone off as far as about the length of the tree, the formulist rakes the chips against the stump on the uphill side and lays the tools there also. He does the same thing at the wind-fallen tree.

When he arrives at the landing, he tells the *tāt* to dig a grave ankle deep and of the length of the longest of the six timbers. When they have done this, he stamps the ground at the end of the trench and looks along it to his feet, turns his body, and faces downriver, then

swings his look back to the trench. "I will bury you here," he says to the timbers. He calls a *tā̄t* to take hold of one end of the center post. He himself takes the other end and together they lay it in the trench. Then he directs the other *tā̄t*, two at a time, to put the other five timbers into the grave. The planks are not put in. Then, standing in position again, he walks along the trench, throwing dirt into it with his left hand. He throws about a handful over the timbers with each step. Then he has the *tā̄t* cover the lumber with earth. They are left buried over night.

Return for the night.--Standing in file by the grave, the formulist last, the *tā̄t* move toward the boat. When they reach it, the first three or four step to the left, the last three or four to the right, leaving a path between them for the formulist, who squats, touches the peak of the prow of the boat with his hand, and then names one of the older *tā̄t* to steer. The formulist may steer the boat but usually does not. Then the rest enter. Formerly Hunter Creek was wide enough to swing the boat around without trouble. The steersman would hold the stern by pushing his paddle into the sand or against the bank, and the bowman, as he stepped in, would swing the boat a quarter turn around downstream.

So they paddle down the creek, the slough, and the river until they come back to *tā̄t*'s landing at Rekwoi. There the bowman steps out, the rest follow, and line up as before, three or four on a side. The formulist has one of them tie the boat, or, if the tide is low and the breakers coming in, draw it up on shore. Then they march up the *tā̄t* trail, which the nikor has cleaned out in their absence. The formulist walks last. When they reach the ancient sweathouse, they form in a line facing the river. The formulist passes behind them until he is in front of the door, when he too faces the river. Then he tells them to face the trail and go to their living house, *tā̄t wo'ot*. They go there via *plu't*, a knee-deep bathing place in Rekwoi Creek which the nikor has also cleaned out. There they bathe, the nikor last. Also he directs any of the *tā̄t*, if they are novices. After bathing, they march up to the *tā̄t*'s living house. The woman of that house feeds them. Or, if an old woman from the house of any *tā̄t* should wish to feed him at home, she may do so but he must first go into the *tā̄t*'s living house with the others before he goes home. Or again his old kinswoman may move into the *tā̄t*'s living house to help the people there. The meal there is the first food they have eaten since the night before.

While they go to bathe and eat, the formulist enters the ancient sweathouse and prays there alone. He is fed in the *tā̄t*'s living house also, but later than they and alone.

When the *tā̄t* have eaten, they gather in front of their living house and, forming in a line with the nikor at the rear, they walk in file up to their sweathouse, *tā̄t wer-ergerk*. During the evening the formulist may join them. There they sleep.

Bringing in and inserting the timbers.--Early next morning any of them who wish may go out to gather sweathouse wood ceremonially for their personal benefit, but they rarely do so because they have much work ahead. As on the day before, they eat no breakfast; but they sweat. The formulist is by the exit so that they will not sweat too long. When it is time, he touches the nearest *tā̄t*, and he passes the touch on. This is a

signal for them to leave the sweathouse by the exit door.

Outside, they line up again, the formulist last, the nikor next to him. They march down to *plu't* and there, one after the other, they bathe. Then they sit in order along the trail while the nikor stands until the formulist comes from bathing; then all stand up.

Now they march up again to the ancient sweathouse and line up there, facing the river. The formulist and the nikor step back of the line in front of the door and tell them to go down to the river. Probably the formulist prays while he is standing there. At any rate, when they get as far as the house *plé't*, he starts and overtakes them about when they reach the river. The nikor stays around the ancient sweathouse; there may be work left for him to do.

At the boat they again line up in two facing files, the medicine man goes between them, touches the boat, and they enter as before.

Then they go on upriver. It is still early morning when they reach the landing on Hunter Creek. There they form in line facing the buried timbers until the formulist touches one of the end men on his shoulder, who passes the nudge along, which is the signal to fall out. The formulist stands at the end of the trench, runs his eye along it to his own feet, then swings to face the creek. Then he kneels on his left knee and whispers a prayer. Standing up, he tells them to uncover the timbers. Now they carry them to the boat in the reverse order from yesterday. The two long plates have one end put under the seat, the other sticking out over the prow. The other timbers are shorter, so that they do not project. The center post is put in last of the six. Then such planks as there may be are loaded on.

A big boat is needed to hold the lumber as well as the men; it must be more than knee deep inside.

By now the *tā̄t* know where they belong in line and what they must do, so they divide and enter the boat as before.

Now they travel downstream to their landing, where the nikor has cleaned out a place where the timbers are to be deposited. They leave the boat as before. Before they move anything, the formulist whispers a prayer. Then with one of the *tā̄t* he takes out the center post and lays it down. This is the only one he helps with. Then the five other timbers are taken out and piled up in reverse order from the way they were put into the boat, with the ridgepole last and on top. The planks are removed last and laid separately. Then he throws two or three handfuls of earth on the pile of lumber, as if burying it again. Facing the middle of the pile, he kneels on his left knee and whispers a prayer again, then stands up, and turns around to face the river again.

Now he tells two of the *tā̄t* to take up the ridgepole and put it on their shoulders and go up with it. Then, always judging their distance, he tells others to take the plates and beams. The last one taken up is the center post, which he helps carry.

The nikor tells them where to lay the timbers by the ancient sweathouse. The ridge and plates are laid parallel, the beams at right angles off their ends, the center post also at right angles off from the middle of the long pieces. Dropping on his left knee the formulist prays again. Then he enters the ancient structure, burns angelica, and prays again.

Coming out, he orders the timbers moved into place. They begin with the center post. He touches the top end of this, then a *tā̄t* holds it, and he prays again where it is standing. It is held in place there by the *nikor*.

The three long pieces must be laid so that the tip end is downriver, the butt end upriver, which is the way in which corpses must be laid in being transported along the lower course of the river: the head downstream. The formulist prays first at the tip and then at the butt of each. The first timber laid is the one on the long side [front] of the house facing the [ocean and] river; next, the corresponding one along the back of the house. After that come the cross beams; he prays over those also. These must be laid with the tip end toward the river, the butt inland.

The ridgepole is put in place last, all of the *tā̄t* supporting it, three or four at each end, and the formulist prays. Like the plates, this must have its tip downriver. As soon as the ridge is placed, the *nikor* no longer needs to steady the center post. The old timbers which have been replaced are laid against the sacred house along its back or uphill side. They are left to rot there and are never burned.

Last, two of the *tā̄t*, or as many as may be necessary, go down to the landing and bring up the new planks, which are put on the roof without prayer.

The *tā̄t*'s trip for firewood.--Women can be *tā̄t* also. There may be two, three, or four. They are usually sixteen to eighteen years old and unmarried. At any rate they must have had no children. They have taken no part in the timber-getting; but on this day they also have eaten nothing and have put on maplebark dresses. When they see the roof planks going on the sacred house, they come close, ready to join the men *tā̄t*. The formulist asks them if they menstruated ten days ago, because if it is more than that and approaching a month, it is long enough that they might spoil the ceremony.

So they all line up, the girls between the men, the *nikor* last, and the formulist leads them into the sacred house. There he makes a fire, not with wood but with whole roots of angelica, and prays. The girls are along the wall, the men in front of them. Now they come out and line up in front, the *nikor* once more staying inside. This is preparatory to the trip they are going to make upriver to get sweathouse wood.

As the formulist comes out of the house, the men and girls, who are holding hands, leap up as in the Jumping Dance, chanting "hege'ikwo" about four times. Then he takes one step forward and they stop, let go of one another's hands, and turn to the right in file.

Then, singing "heya heya," the men and the girls too, they march down to the boat landing, divide, the formulist touches the boat, and they enter it still singing. The boat is swung upriver and the medicine man steps into it. They sit on their knees; that is, they kneel and sit on their feet. The girls may take hold of one gunwale with their hands but not both. So they paddle upstream.

Meanwhile inside the ancient sweathouse the *nikor* sings a special song of his own and continues until they return.

They paddle up the near bank of the river to the mouth of Cannery Creek or a little past it, but not beyond Ferry Landing. There they cross the river to the old South Ferry landing. From there they paddle

upstream along the south bank to where Klamath Bridge is now. Just upriver from this is a place where cedars were being cut out in 1939. This place is called *tā̄t* o-te'p, "tā̄t standing," because one of the [cedar or redwood ?] trees was formerly a *tā̄t*. There they cross the river again to the north side and follow this bank up to slo'ikket ot'p. Here there is a redwood with branches hanging down to the water; it was a *tā̄t* too, once. At this tree the men and girls reach up and break off twigs. They take three or four bunches a couple of inches thick. Then the steersman and the bowman, who have held the boat steady under the redwood, paddle on up. They are still all singing, as they have been the whole way.

About a hundred yards farther on, at a little rocky point called onī'ger, they land, disembark, and line up on a level place on the bank, facing the river and still singing. The formulist goes in front of their line, drops on his left knee, lights some angelica incense, and prays. When he rubs out his fire, he puts his hand on his thigh, the *tā̄t* all take hands, and start the "heya heya" song again.

From there they march uphill, scatter, still singing, and begin to break branches for their sweathouse wood. This wood must be *sāhsip* [probably *Ceanothus* sp.]. Each takes a bunch that can be spanned with the fingers and ties it with young shoots of the *sāhsip*. While they are doing this, the formulist has dropped on his left knee again and is praying. They must not disturb him by breaking *sāhsip* too near him. As each *tā̄t* completes his bundle, he returns to near the formulist and they line up once more. Finally he goes and breaks some off. Then they march down to the boat in the same positions in line, each holding his bundle of branches across his thighs. On this trip the formulist no longer touches the boat on its nose.

So they embark and go downriver, still singing "heya heya." They steer down the middle of the river, except that, as they come near *tā̄t* o-te'p, they swing temporarily over to the left near it.

Returning to Rekwoi, they beach at the *tā̄t*'s landing, go out in order, and line up while the boat is tied or pulled up. Then they march up the trail in file, still singing the same song, the formulist bringing up the rear.

Arriving at the ancient sweathouse, they once more line up, while the formulist faces the door and enters. Then they all follow him, each bringing his own bundle of wood. Inside, they all take their places while he stands. When he drops on his knee they at last all stop their singing. The *nikor* also stops his song. After a whispered prayer, the formulist burns the *sāhsip* wood which he himself has brought. Then two more bunches are handed to him and he burns them. The other bundles are passed to him, but he lays them down in order for use later.

The bowman leads the *tā̄t* out of the ancient sweathouse, the girls in their places in the line, the *nikor* last. When they have emerged, the *nikor* touches the man in front of him and the touch is passed along the line as a signal to start. They go down to the bathing place at plu't. Just before they reach it, around a corner of the trail, the girls step out of the procession and face the river while the men bathe. When the men return, the *nikor* stops them, the girls bathe, and one by one rejoin the men and take their places in the line.

So they all march up to the *tāt*'s living house and go in and eat there. Or, if they like, they may eat at home, but anyway they must enter the *tāt*'s living house, which is where the girls sleep. The men go uphill to the *tāt*'s sweathouse, where they sit about until the formulist comes from his lone and late supper in the *tāt*'s living house. The *nikor* stays at or in the sweathouse only a little while. Then he has to go to the ancient sweathouse and heat it up. For this he uses ordinary sweathouse wood. Also during the day he has carried stools from house *plē't* to the ancient sweathouse and stacked them up in the corners.

The *tāt*'s night of singing.--Then the formulist brings his *tāt* from their sleeping sweathouse to the ancient sweathouse, lined up as before, the bowman leading, the girls back in line, the formulist last. They enter the ancient sweathouse and he stands by the fire pit. When he sits down all of them also sit. This time he does not pray.

There appear to be stools for the whole company, including the girls; but the girls never sit on theirs. The formulist's place is in the middle of the line. Usually he puts the *nikor* next to himself. If there are four girl *tāt*, two are on each side.

Now they all hold hands, say a long "wô," bend the knee, and leap up four times, much as they have done outside before. After four leaps the girls step back out of line, and when the formulist turns his head, they take the chairs from the wall and set them behind the middle of the line for the formulist, the *nikor*, and the two adjacent men, while they themselves kneel down. These four men then sit on their stools. Then the bowman or steersman of the boat sets the remaining chairs out along behind the rest of the line. When he steps back into the rank they all sit down. Now everyone is sitting except the girls, who are kneeling but have stools behind them.

Now there is a kind of sitting dance. The *nikor* starts a song and draws one leg up under the other. The rest watch and follow his position and motions, holding hands. They move their shoulders and arms but not their hips. The kneeling girls also sway the upper parts of their bodies. The first song is "haweiya." After each bar or phrase the *nikor* suddenly reverses the position of his legs, swaying his body and holding his hands on his knees. The men *tāt* all do likewise. The girls swing with the men in front of them, but hold their stools as they kneel. This is a very long song and it is sung three times. Then they all rise, hold hands, say "wô," and leap three times. The girls have also stood up, each holding a stool against her thighs; after the three leaps they replace the chairs. Then the men all sit down again. They do this for most of an hour.

Now there is to be another kind of singing, with drumming. First the formulist passes behind the line and the girls, puts angelica and tobacco into the fire pit, and prays. Then the *nikor* at the rear of the house picks up as many sticks of fir sweathouse firewood as there are men *tāt*. Passing behind the row he hands a stick to each man over his right shoulder, and lays one on the formulist's stool for him. Having finished his prayer, the formulist returns to his place again, passing behind the line. When he picks up his stick, a girl tips the stool and puts it against her thighs for a moment. The formulist sits down on the floor with his legs out or slightly

crossed. The girl hands or sets back his stool, which he holds against or with his under leg. All the men take the same position, holding their stools, which from now on serve as drums rather than seats. The girls from now on kneel on one knee, or they may sit with their legs to the side.

Then the formulist or the *nikor* begins to sing a special kind of song to which the stools are beaten with the sweathouse sticks. These are special songs for the *tāt*. They have no words but are all sung to the beating of the stools. There are perhaps twenty different songs and they have names. They are called, for instance, after *plegeł*, the timber owl or great horned owl; *k'erer*, the crow; or the beaver. The crow was a *nikor*. These animals are called *we-tsāro*; thus *plegeł we-tsāro* or *k'erer we-tsāro*. *We-tsāro* means something like "his helper"; *tsāro* is the name of those who help the formulist work on the dam at *Kepel*. At *Orekw* and *Oket'o* the birds and animals of these songs are called *u-poyot* instead of *we-tsāro*, though the word *u-poyot* is sometimes used also at *Rekwoi*. It may have reference to the bow of a boat, *poi*.

Between the *we-tsāro* songs the *tāt* at times stand up and jump and shout "wô."

At the back of the house the *nikor* has taken out some roof planks. Through this gap a few people at a time, gradually replacing one another, look in to watch the drumming.

In between songs the *tāt* may not wipe the sweat from their faces with their hands, but use their drumsticks. The girls have brought in little flat sticks, *wi-slōwin*, stuck in their dresses for the same purpose. When the *tāt* rest, they sit in pairs back to back on one stool supporting each other. Then, if one starts to go to sleep, his partner feels it and pummels him awake with his elbows; he must not touch him with his hands. Because two men are allowed to sit on a stool in this ceremony, it is forbidden for people to sit this way at other times. The girls also rest back to back, but on the floor. During the intervals the men are allowed to talk or to smoke.

About midnight the formulist puts two or more sticks [bundles ?] of *sāhsip* into the fire and prays; after which they rest, then go on singing for the night. Toward daybreak he burns two more sticks [bundles ?] of *sāhsip*. Then they no longer sing; but they must stay in the ancient sweathouse until older men, who have been *tāt* before, notify them that the sun is shining on a certain spot on the hill above the village.

Now they slip off the stools onto the floor, then stand up in line, the girls get into their places in it, and they march out by the door, the bowman leading, while the formulist and *nikor* stay inside. They file down to *plu't* and bathe, the girls of course separately after the men. Then they go to the *tāt* living house and wait for the formulist outside it. If he is long coming they may sit down. He meanwhile has stayed in the ancient sweathouse to pray, while the *nikor* quietly carries the stools back to *plē't* and puts the drumsticks back in their corner. Then the *nikor* sweeps the floor with the redwood branches which the *tāt* broke off on their trip upriver. He also sweeps outside the sacred house.

Beginning of the Jumping Dance.--By now it is afternoon and the people have gathered to watch the dance. They do not wait too late with this, because the formu-

list and the *tāt* may not eat until the dance is finished. The dancers untie their hair and put on their woodpecker headbands in the house *lāyekw*, which is also called *okī'ger*, with reference to the hair-tying. Meanwhile the people living in house *plē't* have moved themselves and their belongings out of it because that is where most of the dancing is going to be done. The dancers line up, begin to sing, and then dance once in front of *lāyekw-okiger*. The formulist has come down from the ancient sweathouse and with the *tāt* watches this dance from *tāt wo'ot*.

When this first dance at *lāyekw* is finished, the dancers file down to *plē't*, the formulist either following them or leading them in, and the *tāt* following with the crowd to watch. Part of the [roof] planks have been removed from *plē't* to give the spectators a chance to see.

The formulist enters *plē't*, passes to the left of the fire, drops on one knee. The dancers form in a half-circle opposite him. There may be seven or there may be more. The *tāt* also file in and sit behind the formulist with their knees up. The girls come in with them and take their places among the men or in front of them, kneeling while sitting on their heels.

The women of *plē't* have left a small fire of coals, on which the formulist puts angelica root while whispering a prayer. When the angelica smoke has risen as high as his nipples, he rises, following the smoke with his look as far as the roof. Then he drops on one knee and, still without looking downward, picks up a small piece of firewood left by the family and lays it on the fire. The *tāt* are holding one of the (ordinary, not sacred) stools of the house ready and place it for him. He is the only one who sits on a stool.

Then the dancers say "wo'o," the singers begin, and they all dance. They dance only once, this first day, for about five minutes, then file out to *lāyekw* and take off their woodpecker bands. The *tāt* go up to *tāt wo'ot* to eat. The *nikor* may have been still busy sweeping the house platform clear or he too may have been in to see the dance. Also by now he has closed up the ancient sweathouse, replacing the roof boards which were removed for the spectators, and covered the door.

The formulist has stayed in *plē't*. Now he sweeps together the dust of the floor beside the fire and puts it in an old cooking basket provided by the woman of the house. She carries it out and dumps it into the brush where it is thickest; she does not pour it into the creek or bury it or burn it. When she brings the basket back the family can re-enter the house and live there till next day.

The formulist always moves slowly, and when he comes up to *tāt wo'ot* the *tāt* have already left to go to their sweathouse. There they go to sleep right away because they were awake all the previous night. So the formulist eats alone with the *nikor* in *tāt wo'ot*. After a time they too come to the *tāt's* sweathouse and go to sleep there. At other times this is a regular sweathouse, BB used to own it. He would sleep there with the *tāt*, but his sons and kinsmen would go to another sweathouse for the duration of the dance, so as to leave room for the crowd of *tāt*.

Subsequent days of the dance.--In the morning the formulist speaks his prayers at the appointed rocks and places. I think there are about five of these. He does

not go back to the ancient sweathouse. Some of the *tāt* go after ordinary sweathouse firewood for the secular sweathouse which they are using. They take turns at this day after day. In the same way the woman of *tāt wo'ot* leads the four *tāt* girls out to gather firewood for cooking.

This morning the dancers prepare themselves at *okīger*, come down and dance the Jumping Dance in *plē't*, and return. Only after that may the formulist, the *nikor*, the *tāt*, and the *tāt* girls eat. This is done for ten days, and each day these performers may have breakfast only after the dance is finished; but the formulist prays at his rocks only on the first day of the ten.

Also they paddle upriver five times altogether to get more *sāhsip* wood. This would make four times more, after the first trip. They repeat all their actions on these trips. I think they go up about every other day. But if visitors are slow gathering and therefore the dance is prolonged to twelve or fourteen days instead of ten, then they defer the last trip until the [next to the] final day.

The Boat Dance.--The people from Turip, who form the party which dances against *Rekwoi*, arrive perhaps on the third day. They come down by boat and land at *Huperser* about half a mile below the highway bridge, opposite the island. There they move their food and cooking outfit into a separate boat from that in which they will dance. They should have seven dancers to start with. If they are short of men they can call on *Rekwoi* to send up dancers to help out. At *Huperser* the Turip headman hands out the dance ornaments and they put them on. Then they enter the boat and come downriver, dancing in it. This is called Turip *me't weleiwoleya*. Thus they boat-dance down to *Rekwoi*, landing at *Terper* just upriver from the *tāt's* landing. Anyone can watch them as they dance in the boat, or other boats may follow them.

The Turip dancers are allowed to go up to the town by the *tāt's* trail. They first dance outside the house *plē't* by the rocks that stand up there. Before they dance there, the formulist has come down to *plē't* to watch them, and sits in the manner called *winekīp*. This means to sit with one's knees up, the feet crossed, and one's hands clasped around the knees. It is a leisurely posture which dignified people use.

As Turip makes the last step in its outdoor dance, the formulist rises, leads them into *plē't*, kneels and incenses as before, and follows the smoke up to the roof with his gaze. Also when they have finished the dance, he sweeps up into the cooking basket as he has done for the *Rekwoi* dance. The Turip dancers march out to a cleared spot called Turip *ego't* where they undress and where also they have their cooking place. This dance from Turip takes place about the middle of the day or in early afternoon.

From now on the Turip people stay at *Rekwoi* and feed their guests as *Rekwoi* feeds its. Each day there are two dances, the first by *Rekwoi*, the second by Turip. Only, after the first day, they try to dance somewhat earlier, so that the *tāt* do not have to fast so long. If there is any quarrel or other hitch, so that they know they will not dance that day, the headman of Turip at once sends word so that the formulist and *tāt* may begin to eat.

Last day of dancing at *Rekwoi*.--On the tenth, twelfth,

or fourteenth day Rekwoi makes two dances and Turip two, in the order: Rekwoi, Turip, Rekwoi, Turip. This is called *kinege'mines*, "each coming twice." Each side has two groups of dancers. After the first Rekwoi group has danced, they go up on the inside platform of the house *plê't*, climbing up from the pit by a notched ladder which has been moved in place for them. Then the first Turip group comes in, dances, and climbs up to sit down on the opposite side of the platform. The second Rekwoi group, when they have danced, join the first group. When the second Turip group have danced, the first Turip group descends, as well as the two from Rekwoi, and all four dance simultaneously. Both groups of Rekwoi dancers now form a unit, standing back to back against the joint Turip groups. The pit of the house is completely filled with dancers.

This is the hardest day for the *tāt*, because, with all the dancing, it is late before they may eat. Sometimes it is nearly sundown. Therefore on that day they are allowed to chew gum. Also it is harder for them because the day before they have made the last boat trip upriver with the formulist to gather *sāhsip* and have sat up and sung and drummed all night.

On this day the formulists of Pekwon, Orekw, and Oket'o are allowed to come into the pit of the house and kneel by the Rekwoi formulist and each in turn may say his prayer over the angelica smoke.

When they have finished the big quadruple dance in *plê't*, they dance once more in front of the house, again with Rekwoi and Turip back to back. They end this way: still dancing, Rekwoi steps forward while Turip backs along with them. Then Turip turns around while the Rekwoi dancers march across the creek, circle back to *plê't*, and then go up to *okiger* to undress while Turip goes to its camp near the creek.

The wind-up at Wełkwāu. -- This is the end of dancing in the house *plê't* in Rekwoi, but the next day is the really last day of dancing. This final day they dance both on the river and on the opposite side. Rekwoi and Turip each use one large boat. If the only suitable boat at Rekwoi is the one the *tāt* have used, the formulist releases this for the dancers by touching its prow. Each boat holds a paddler in front, a steersman behind, and seven dancers. They embark at the flat rock called *miḥū'woleya*, from its connection with the boat dance. Rekwoi is on the downriver side, Turip on the upriver, corresponding to the position of the towns. The two boats are abreast, near enough so that the men in them can touch their finger tips. Each boat sings its own song, but they shout "wo heya" jointly. So they dance across the river, people watching them from the shore at Rekwoi or following them in boats or perhaps having crossed before to watch from Wełkwāu as the boats approach.

As the two boats come to shallow water, two men wade out to meet them, take hold of the prows, and three times shove them back gently, then help draw them to land. Then all disembark to go to the dancing place at the foot of the spruce tree. This has been all cleaned up by the *nikor* and a little fire is burning. As before, the formulist puts angelica on this and as the smoke rises, he stands up and follows it with his eyes, then swings his gaze oceanward. Here again the formulists of Pekwon, Orekw, and Oket'o are welcome to put angelica on the fire and say the prayer of their cere-

mony. The only difference is that they squat down before the fire, whereas the officiating Rekwoi formulist puts his left knee on the ground. Now they proceed to dance. The place by the spruce tree is called *tsāt opyūweg*, "where they dance on the sand." Again there are four dance groups, in the order Rekwoi, Turip, Rekwoi, Turip. At the end the two Rekwoi groups line up, and all the Turip dancers behind them, but facing the same way, because there is more room here than in the house *plê't*. As Rekwoi begins to swing its baskets for the dance, Turip also begins. This finished, they march off, each party to its own camp or fireplace, with the Rekwoi one being the more downriver of the two. Food and baskets have been previously brought over in other boats by each party. But all food taken to Wełkwāu must be eaten up there or given away; it may not be taken back to either Rekwoi or Turip. So they judge the size of the crowd of visitors and ration carefully.

Also on either of these final two days when the dancing parties are double, a high man from the Tolowa may say a few words, which someone from Rekwoi translates into Yurok. Usually he admonishes the young about keeping up the old customs.

This final day's dance is long, and when it is over the formulist, who is old, usually goes straight home, leaving the sweeping up of the dust of the dance place and the dumping of the sweepings into the brush to a fellow formulist from another town, or to an old *tāt*. He is allowed to have them do this because there is no prayer spoken with this act.

Discharge of the *tāt* and formulist. -- The *tāt*, however, are not yet released. For five nights after the dancing is over they must eat in *tāt wo'ot*. So must the *tāt* girls. They may eat in their own home only if a grandmother or responsible old woman has said she would feed the young *tāt* properly. They may eat breakfast on these closing days as long as they eat it in *tāt wo'ot*. Only the formulist refrains from breakfasting until these five concluding days [ten, according to JS, below] are over. The *nikor* used to stay with the formulist these five days; but after the *nikor* Kerner of Pekwon became old, he used to join the *tāt* instead, and thus get his breakfast.

As long as they live, all the *tāt*, including the girls, may not eat the heads of salmon or steelhead.

Various. -- The formulist used to be Requa Tom. He was the uncle of Billy Brooks, who quarreled with my father and therefore persuaded Tom not to teach the prayers to my father. After Tom, Johnny Shortman was the formulist. He was the last one to make the ceremony. He and my father were friends, and it is from Shortman that I learned most of what I know about it, in addition to what I have seen.

I am not sure any longer in which month it was that this Jumping Dance was made, but believe it was in *knewolete u*, the eighth month [about August]. The Wełkwāu ceremony of taking the first salmon of the year came probably about April in the month *tsônāwets*, and uses a different house and sweathouse. The two therefore have no connection.

In my day Rekwoi would make the Jumping Dance one year, and the next year Pekwon would make it, then Rekwoi again, and so alternately. These two dances and those on the coast at Orekw and Oket'o are very much alike; but they are of two kinds called *u-pegit*,

"male," and u-wen, "female." Two of the ceremonies, Pekwon and Oket'o, do not move the final day's dance to another place, but finish it in the town. These are called female. Rekwoi and Orekw are male because they move the dance: Rekwoi to Weikwāu as just described, and Orekw to Gans Prairie up on Bald Hills Ridge.

RS's participation in dances.--I have seen world-renewal dances the following number of times: at Rekwoi, only twice--it was discontinued early; those at Orekw and Oket'o I never saw--they had stopped before my day; Pekwon about eight times. Of the Deerskin Dance at Wohkero following the Kepel dam, I have seen only the part made close to the river, not that up on the hill; this is quite a way up, perhaps four or five miles. I have not seen the Kepel dam to which the Wohkero dance belongs; it was put up the last time about 1913 with George Flounder as formulist, and about ten to fifteen workers to assist him. The Weitspus Deerskin Dance I have seen about eight times; the Jumping Dance on the hill there about three times. In Hupa at Takimikding

I saw the Jumping Dance perhaps six times, but the Hupa Deerskin Dance I saw only once, about 1936. The New Year at Orleans and the other Karok dances farther up-river I have never seen.

NOTES, JS, 1903

The formulist for the Rekwoi Jumping Dance must observe the following restrictions for ten days before the dance and also for ten days after it. He must not touch his wife, he must not drink water, and he must eat separately from other people. The same restrictions applied when the formula was taught to another person. For instance, if I told the formula to my son, the latter might lose his life, since he is married and probably would not keep away from his wife. Apparently the same restrictions apply to the tā̄ who help the formulist rebuild the sacred sweathouse at Rekwoi, because it is said that two men who had assisted in this capacity failed to observe the restrictions and died.

Schedule of Rekwoi Jumping Dance Ritual

<u>Days</u>	<u>Formulist</u>	<u>Tā̄</u>	<u>Dances</u>
1-10*	Continent, no water, no breakfast, eats alone		
8	Inspects sacred structure; prays at 5 spots		
9	Renovating timbers felled and split and buried		
10	Timbers brought and erected; boat trip upriver for sāhsip firewood; all-night singing and drumming in renovated sacred structure		
11			Rekwoi practices before okīger, dances in plē't
12	Prays at 5 spots	Boat trip for firewood; all-night singing, etc.	Same as day before
13			Same; plus Turip arrives with boat dance and dances in plē't
14		Trip and singing	Rekwoi and Turip in plē't
15			Rekwoi and Turip in plē't
16		Trip and singing	Rekwoi and Turip in plē't
17			Rekwoi and Turip in plē't
18		Trip and singing	Rekwoi and Turip in plē't
19			Rekwoi and Turip double parties each in plē't
20			Rekwoi and Turip joint boat dance; double parties outdoors at Weikwāu
21-30*	Continent, no water, no breakfast, eats alone	Eat in tā̄ house	

\* Ten-day or five-day period? Sources conflict.

# YUROK: WEŁKWÄU

(Kroeber)

There are accounts of the Wełkwäu ceremony in Handbook, pages 60-61; in Driver's Culture Element Distributions: X, lists Y1, Y2, elements 268-282, page 314; and in Yurok Narratives, nos. 12, 35, the first of these being a case-history account of the first-salmon rite itself, the second a myth of the origin of the associated Deerskin Dance, with discussion.

Wełkwäu was a small town, or scattering assemblage, of three pairs of houses, pegwoläu, otsät, and tsekweł, on the south side of the mouth of the Klamath, facing much larger Rekwoi on the north side. It possessed an important and well-known First Salmon Rite and a Deerskin Dance whose historic reality is doubtful, although mentioned by all older informants.

The association of the First Salmon ceremony was with the dwelling house pegwoläu<sup>1</sup> in Wełkwäu, in which the "first-fruits" salmon was eaten and in which a pair of sacrosanct all-steatite pipes were kept in a buried stone box or cyst. This house was not taboo at ordinary times, but was lived in. The formulist for the rite seems normally to have been the head of this house. The season is not quite certain. Robert Spott in 1939 once thought, without much assurance, that it was in the seventh moon after the winter solstice, say July. In the Handbook, April is mentioned as probable in a statement which must be from my field notes, but which I have been unable to recover there. This agrees with a notation by T. T. Waterman in 1928 from Mrs. Josie Marks of Espeu that the time was the fourth moon. July does seem late in the season, especially as Spott himself mentioned that it was a spring salmon which was speared.

A Deerskin Dance was associated with the same house, pegwoläu, as per the account of its beginning, in Yurok Narratives, No. 35. It is interesting that we have a detailed myth of the origin of a dance whose actuality remains problematical. In my discussion of this myth in Yurok Narratives I have perhaps leaned back unduly in regarding the dance as mythical. The difficulty is that no informant has been found who has ever seen the ceremony, or who could say positively that his parents or grandparents told him that they had seen it. This lack, however, is not wholly conclusive, because eye-witness testimony is sufficiently unimportant to the Yurok, as against authoritative verbal tradition, to make it quite possible that older informants whose parents had seen the dance did not think it necessary to mention the fact in the years 1901-1907 when favorable inquiry was still feasible, but while I was assuming that the tradition was factually authentic. By 1939 almost a century must have elapsed since the last performance, and my belated failure to find anyone who had his knowledge from an eyewitness no longer carries the same negative weight.

In the story of the origin of the dance there is no reference to a connection with the First Salmon Rite--other than that implied in the association of both with the

same house. Johnny Shortman, quoted below, who married into the house pegwoläu, told Robert Spott that he knew the formula for the Deerskin Dance, having learned it from his wife who belonged to the house.<sup>2</sup> He told me in 1902 that he did not know the formula for the salmon rite, though he did know that for the Rekwoi Jumping Dance; I failed to ask him about the Deerskin Dance. He might have learned one and not the other; or he may have been boasting; though I have not known any Yurok to make claims of this sort without having had at least reasonably adequate instruction. In all this there is again no positive or negative certainty.

This much is clear: if there was a Deerskin Dance at Wełkwäu, it probably died out before the whites swarmed into the country in 1850, and the causes that led to its discontinuance were wholly native. What they might have been would be exceedingly interesting to know, but evidently they must remain conjectural. The First Salmon Rite continued to be made at least some decades longer. That the dance, if a reality, was somehow connected with the rite is almost certain from the association of both with the same house.<sup>3</sup> The crux of the problem is: either the Yurok belief that there was a dance is historical fact, or it is only a wish fulfillment put into a myth. They are addicted to such wish fulfillments throughout their mythology; and a Deerskin Dance at an important center of population, as a supplement to the important rite there, would have been a natural wish. But the fact that they would have wished for the dance if they had not had it, does not prove that they did or did not have it. They sometimes account for the origin of actual dances with wish-fulfillment myths. The real reason for doubt, apart from natural skepticism as to anything allegedly historic in an essentially unhistorical-minded culture, is that we are in the dark as to such factors as might have led to the abandonment of the dance in pre-white days, plus the fact that we can feel sure that abandonment would not have been undertaken light-heartedly by as fearful and religious a people as the Yurok. And here the matter must be left in suspense. The psychology of the culture was much the same whether they had the dance or only wished they had it; and as regards the history of the culture the problem is a local and minor one.

## DATA FROM JS, 1902

Formerly a Deerskin Dance was held at Wełkwäu, but it was given up long ago. I have never seen it. The dance place was not far from a large rock at the edge of the beach, at the beginning of the slope of the hill, almost

<sup>2</sup>Yurok Narratives, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup>There is a similar situation for the Karok First Salmon Rite at Amaikiaram, where a Jumping Dance is made several months later which has only loose connection with the First Salmon Rite starting from the same sweathouse but with a different formulist. If this Jumping Dance had died out, leaving only a memory and the First Salmon ritual, we should then have had a parallel to the Wełkwäu situation.

<sup>1</sup>Pegwoläu appears to refer to pegwoł, steatite, the material of the fetish pipes.



under the water conduit which leads to my house, near three small bushes. There were three parties in this dance, from Turip, Rekwoi, and Wełkwāu. On the last day they danced across the river in boats and then went on the hill above Rekwoi to finish the dance. The boat dance might not be witnessed by anyone whose father had included in the bride price for his mother a boat or an iron knife. These knives were formerly extremely valuable.<sup>4</sup> The Wełkwāu Deerskin Dance could also be terminated with a Jumping Dance, instead of by crossing the river and ending with deerskins<sup>5</sup> on the hill above Rekwoi. In that event, they went all the way up

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<sup>4</sup>This reference to knives suggests that the dance was still being made after 1830, when it may be presumed that the first knives were brought in by trappers. However, it is also possible that there was a flow of knives by trade down the coast from the mouth of the Columbia beginning soon after 1800. On the other hand, Shortman must have been born by 1845, if not earlier (in 1902, he looked about sixty years old), so that the discontinuance of the dance must have taken place by 1840, or at the very latest by 1850, if allowance is made for his not remembering a performance during his babyhood. This leaves a very brief period for people to grow up whose fathers had had a knife to pay in bride purchase, and for the custom to become a rule. It may be that this whole alleged restriction is only an ex post facto rationalization or a transfer from what was an established rule at some other dance.

<sup>5</sup>This ending with deerskins above Rekwoi is probably a misunderstanding on my part; at any rate, it contradicts RS's fuller version in Yurok Narratives, which specifies a Jumping Dance there.

to Pekwon, climbed the hill, and made the Jumping Dance there.<sup>6</sup>

The origin of the Wełkwāu Deerskin Dance was this: A man of Wełkwāu used always to go up on the hill back from that town to get his sweathouse wood. Once he found a little boy there. Then he brought the boy back instead of his wood, gave him to his wife, and told her how he had found him. This boy grew up and was the first one to make the Deerskin Dance at Wełkwāu. He also owned regalia for the Jumping Dance at Rekwoi.<sup>7</sup>

#### DATA FROM BB<sup>8</sup>

When I was about sixteen, the first salmon used to be speared by a man whose house stood where my barn is now. After spearing, perhaps about noon, he put the salmon on his [sic] back and went by a path all cleared of sticks [to Wełkwāu], while the people shouted. This man was later killed in a quarrel at Wełkwāu. Long ago, it is said, when the salmon was cut up, one ritualist threw the guts into the ocean and they came alive, leaped, and swam away [as fish].

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<sup>6</sup>This finale is on the pattern of the post-Deerskin Jumping dances of Kepel-Wohkero and Wełtspus.

<sup>7</sup>This is a bald summary of the origin as told by RS in Yurok Narratives; which, however, is avowedly based on JS.

<sup>8</sup>Told to T. T. Waterman in 1928.

# YUROK: OREKW

(Kroeber)

The dance at Orick on the coast seems to have been abandoned by 1880, or at latest by 1890, and that at Big Lagoon (Oket'o) about the same time.<sup>1</sup> From 1900 to 1907 I could still have obtained considerable information about them, but failed to do so. The result is that extant data consist of a few bald statements and some allusions in myths. Nothing seems to have been published.

## DANCE PLACES, RS, 1939

Waterman's map 30 of Orekw does not show much about the dances. His "kimolen" (no. 6 on the map) probably is the ancient sweathouse. His "ergerits kerni" evidently was near the last; the word is a nonsacred one for a dance place. There should also have been a house called *opyūweg* ("dance"), and a *tāt*'s sleeping house as at *Rekwoi* and *Pekwon*.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Fanny Flounder, of Espeu, the doctor, told me in 1941 that she had seen the Oket'o Jumping Dance and had danced in the Orekw one, and that the two were last performed in the same year.

<sup>2</sup>I went over the old village site of Orekw in 1941 with Robert Spott and Fanny Flounder, but without much sure result. The house pits lie in rows of two or three on terraces or semiterraces facing north. I estimated the terraces as approximately on the 60-, 120-, 170-, and 200-foot contours. (His locating the settlement nearly a thousand feet from the ocean is a gross overestimate.) The second terrace, in any event, is about on a level with the modern graveyard, woodshed, home, and smokehouse of Orick Bob, the present occupant and owner of the site. Of the three pits in the lowest row, Fanny thought that the seaward one might be the *tāt*'s sweathouse; the middle one she thought was the dancing house, in which she had danced the Jumping Dance, while her family's camp was on the sandy flat below. This first terrace is plain, but the

Orekw, like *Rekwoi*, but unlike *Pekwon*, made the final dance away from the dance house. At Orekw it was on Gans Prairie. This is the first prairie on the Bald Hills Road after it has climbed the hill from the coast. It must be about as far from Orekw as the distance from *Weitspus* to the Jumping Dance place on *Rivet Mountain*. It must have taken most of the day to reach there, dancing on the way. The place belonged to the Yurok, not to the *Chilula*. There used to be a single fir standing where they danced. A second one has grown up beside it now. It is on a flat bench. The place is called *megwīt olegeł*, "where the elk play or dance." Not far away was a tree by which Fanny Flounder's mother fed her people at the dance. She says that she was about seven years old when the dance was last made. This would make the date of abandonment some-time around 1879.

[In 1928 T. T. Waterman recorded from Mrs. Frey, Fanny Flounder's sister, a note that, like *Opyūweg* (Oket'o), Orekw had houses called *erkīgeri*, "tie hair," and *hā'wo* or *hegwo*, "big," for dance preparation and dancing in, respectively.]

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pits in it are not, as if the houses there had been long abandoned. The second terrace also shows three pits, the seaward one on a slightly higher level. It is in this second row that Waterman has his "ergerits kerni" and "kimolen" (the last, by the way, close to a sweathouse, "C," which is left unnamed). Roughly, therefore, Fanny's first row and Waterman's second correspond in reference to the dance. (My third level contains only one clear pit, which Fanny decided was *wonoya*, "highest," after which Mrs. *Tskerkr*'s full brother was named. The fourth terrace shows two indistinct pits, perhaps old ones.)

# YUROK: OKET'O

(Kroeber)

Published data on Oket'o are lacking except for a sentence or two in the Handbook; and new information is scattering, but comes to more than on Orekw. The latter was a small town of half-a-dozen houses--much the smallest settlement in the area to possess a full-fledged world-renewal dance. The near-by towns of Espeu at Gold Bluff and Tsahpek at the Stone Lagoon were still smaller. On Oket'o or Big Lagoon, however, Opyüweg and Pí'npa stood close together and were reckoned good-sized, and there were other towns on the lagoon, besides a big one at Tsurāu, Trinidad, some miles south. As a populational center for a world renewal, accordingly, Oket'o fell definitely less below the northwest California norm than did Orekw.

## DATA FROM SEVERAL INFORMANTS

From Old Mau at Trinidad, 1902.--Long ago, an old man lived at Pí'npa and another near by at Oket'o on Big Lagoon. Then once, as people looked out over the ocean, they saw it stood high, like the hills, and all were afraid. They thought the ocean would cover them. All of them ran to Oket'o, to the sweathouse there. From all over they came there, because they were afraid. Others ran far up on the hills. But the two old men spoke to them. One of them said, "Awók, it is bad. I think everything will be drowned." Then the other, who had been lying down, sat up and said, "You all ought to be afraid, because always you have thought that that sweathouse was nothing. But I have always thought it was something great. Well, let us carry sweathouse wood down to that other [sacred] sweathouse." All of them were crying, men and women, because the ocean was so high; but now they all helped him carry sweathouse wood. The water was running all around the sweathouse. Then he began to make fire in it. It became night, but no one slept. All night the old men talked [recited]. When it was daylight, they saw that the ocean had gone down and was smooth. So all those who had run up onto the hills came back down.

Formerly they did not have to make an announcement about beginning to make the Jumping Dance there [at Oket'o]. Two or three of the old men would begin to tell their kin, "Get plenty of food ready and make acorn-soup baskets and plates." That is all they would say. Then one person might travel in this direction, and another in that, and mention the news, and soon people elsewhere would begin to say, "It looks as if they were going to begin dancing soon because they are talking of making baskets." But poor people did not hear that kind of report.

It is hard, after they decide to make the dance, because they dance for ten days, and in that time I [as formulist] may drink no water. And when they see any shells of acorns on the sweathouse, or in it, they must tell it to the man who makes medicine, and he must take a stick to throw the shells away, and when he has done that he may not eat. Also, if they do not begin that dance within ten days, it will be a second ten days before I, the medicine-maker, may drink water. Doing that, I nearly

starved when I served last, because I was beginning to be old. Now I should be afraid to undertake it at all.

Even because I have told you this, I may not drink water now for two or three days.

The dance at Oket'o begins outdoors [to practice]. Then they come into the dance house. They stand in line in the house. There are two women in the dance, one near each end of the line. Woodpecker headbands and dance baskets are used. There may be as many as five parties making dances one after the other. They dance in the evening, not in the daytime.

From GM,<sup>1</sup> 1902.--I never saw the Jumping Dance at Pí'npa<sup>2</sup> (Oket'o). People attended it from fairly far up the Klamath. I think that the formula is still known to a man at Trinidad [presumably Mau]. As at Rekwoi and at Orekw, the dance was held indoors. There was also a sacred sweathouse connected with it. As at Rekwoi, there was a boat dance at Pí'npa. The duration was for ten days, or sometimes twelve. There was no Deer-skin Dance there or anywhere on the coast, although I have heard that they used to make it at Wekwāu. But I never saw that.

Most of the Weyet did not attend the Pí'npa Jumping Dance. But there was one Weyet, Münters, who did come. On the other hand, the people of Pí'npa would go to Olo [sic, 'Olog] near Eureka for Weyet dances. I can barely remember having been taken there for a dance as a small child.<sup>3</sup>

From Ts., 1902.--[This blind informant, born at Espeu but married at Orekw, possessed an extraordinary fund of myths, but was of little use as ethnological informant because, taking his culture for granted, he would explain its origins by appropriate myths instead of describing its facts. He told the following about the Orekw and Oket'o dances.]

1. He went into his sweathouse to sleep, he and his brother [apparently at Orekw]. Then one crept in and knotted their hair together. He was from a town [Sigwets] which formerly stood a little north of Orekw, a quarter of a mile away on the sand spit stretching north into Redwood Lagoon, where I have my own sweathouse now.<sup>4</sup> Then he shouted, "They have come to kill! There is about to be fighting!" The two old men tried to rise, struggled with each other. [One of them became angry and prayed that the whole of Sigwets might be

<sup>1</sup>Of Rekwoi and Mā'āts on Big Lagoon. He was aged when interviewed.

<sup>2</sup>Pí'npa was a town in Big Lagoon. The town where the dance was made is usually given either as Opyüweg, "where they dance," or as Oket'o, "lake," from the sheet of water on whose southwest shore it stood. Pí'npa was near by: see the data from TP below.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Yurok Narratives, No. 13, for a Wiyot dance at Weyo'. The informant added that the Brush dance was made alike by the coast and river Yurok; also that neither made a girls' puberty dance, although both the Tolowa and the Weyet on the coast made it. He saw the latter perform it while they were temporarily confined to a reservation at Wohkel on the Klamath.

<sup>4</sup>Waterman, map 29, no. 31, and map 30, X and W.

destroyed.) The ocean rose: a breaker wiped out that place and drowned everybody. Then at Orekw too they became afraid, and ran uphill with their woodpecker headbands [to begin making the dance to save them from the cataclysm]. Then the one who knew the formula for the Orekw dance began to run to Oket'o--there was ocean all about Orekw already. When he arrived at Oket'o, he looked into the sweathouse of the one who knew the formula there. Four times he spoke into the sweathouse but was not answered. [The fifth time] the Oket'o formulist said, "Are they all drowned?" "Yes, I saw them drown. And I am afraid that the saltwater will cover everything." By now, the breakers were rolling to the edge of the Oket'o sweathouse. Then the one there began to make his medicine. But because he had to hurry, he used old house boards for his fire in the [sacred] sweathouse [for reciting his formula]. [Then the water receded.] It is good when they use that Oket'o sweathouse because it is the strongest such. It is a man; but those at Orekw and Rekwoi and Pekwon are women.

2. [When I asked why his natal place Espeu had no Jumping Dance, Ts. told the following.]

Four woge [prehuman spirits; they were brothers] lived at Espeu, in the house in which Mrs. Frey<sup>5</sup> was raised. The oldest one was ashamed because they made no Jumping Dance; he wanted to make it. So he went to make himself a [new] boat. He went up the hill to Sepola usohs. [There he made it.] When it was finished he took it to the ocean. Then he [and his brothers] traveled west [wohpäuk]. At the end of the world [or sky, hostseion wes,ona] they stopped. There the sky kept falling on the ocean and rising again. When it rose, the four of them began to paddle. The steersman almost was caught; a piece of the stern was broken off. When they had passed under, they went on and came to land, a sandy beach. They drew up their boat, and large [pileated] woodpeckers flew to it, many, covering it entirely. [They were hungry for wood to peck, there being no trees in Wohpäuk.] They cut off the woodpeckers' necks and kept the heads. The boat was half-full of woodpecker heads. So they started back; and, as before, they waited when the sky fell, and when it rose they passed under it. It was daybreak when they returned to Espeu. Now they broke up the boat, because they did not want to use it again for anything else. Then they made their woodpecker bands [from the scalps they had brought back]; they made seven, to begin the Jumping Dance with. But they found it was not good to dance it at Espeu. [It did not work out right. So they gave it up.] That is what I have heard about it.

[This is at least near-wish-fulfillment.]

From an old informant,<sup>6</sup> 1902.--When a rancher took up the land at Oket'o and was about to wreck the sacred sweathouse there, the Indians offered him ten dollars to let it stand. "We do not like to see it torn down," they said to him, "because it is for the dance,

and has been there a long time. We would be sorry if it were gone." But he refused.

Anciently, people said, "If you hear of sickness approaching, perhaps among the Tolowa or anywhere else, then you must begin that dance." But since that Oket'o sweathouse was destroyed, they cannot make that medicine for themselves any more. A few years more, and there will be no Indians left, because that dance and others are not made now. There are three ancient [ugly, sacred] sweathouses; Oket'o, Orekw, Rekwoi; and the Kepel fish dam and the salmon-medicine at Wełkwā; all those they no longer keep up.

From TP to T. T. Waterman, 1928.--Big Lagoon is the center of the world. Its sand bar is omī, "its legs." On a crag, inshore from Patrick's Point, in which a woge lives, they burn angelica root to make the world clean.

When Kerernī<sup>7</sup> moved north and then upriver to Karok Katimīn, he tried a Deerskin Dance at the north end of Big Lagoon at Poiko-er-lep, but the earth [world] did not like it. At Trinidad too the earth does not like this dance. If it hears Deerskin Dance songs here, there soon is rain. At Opyūweg on Big Lagoon [Oket'o], there were, besides others, six houses in a row in front, more or less abreast. The second of these from the inland end was called erkigeri, "where they tie up their hair" in getting ready to dance. The third was hegwo', "big," in which they danced "to clean the world" if there was much sickness. Between them was the ancient sweathouse for cleaning the world. The house to the right [inland] of this group was called sepora, "prairie," and in it lived a headman whom people would ask when they were to have the Jumping Dance. His name was Mau, and he had two wives, both from Trinidad (where he later lived). At a little distance seaward from these houses there were three others in a row: tspāner, tergwer, pītau, the sites of the last two of which have now been washed away. The town of Pī'npa was almost adjacent to Opyūweg; there was a creek between, in whose mouth canoes were landed.

From JS, 1902.--I know the formula for the Rekwoi Jumping Dance but not for the First Salmon Rite on the bar at the mouth of the river; of this last I know only the origin. The formulas for the Rekwoi and Oket'o Jumping dances are almost identical, even as to words. But the Orekw and Pekwon formulas are different.

[This may be the reason for some hesitation by informants in classifying the four lower Yurok Jumping dances into male and female pairs. Orekw and Rekwoi are alike in finishing with a dance some distance uphill from the town; Oket'o and Rekwoi, in their formulas; or again, Oket'o is strong and a man, but Rekwoi and Pekwon, and by implication Orekw, are weaker and women.]

From PD, 1906.--I know the formula for the Pekwon Jumping Dance. I also know part of that for Oket'o; I was taught this part by Mau of Trinidad.

<sup>5</sup>Sister of FF.

<sup>6</sup>On the coast, but name not recorded.

<sup>7</sup>Karok Alknēich or Alkirēn, probably the duck hawk or peregrine falcon, nesting at A'u'ich Peak at Katimīn.

# WIYOT: MAD RIVER

(Kroeber)

Information on the one Wiyot world renewal is tantalizingly slight. I do not know why, since I was interested and dealt at one time or another with six or eight Wiyot. No one else has succeeded better. Really, we cannot properly say that the Wiyot in general lacked world-renewal rites; they perhaps did have them;<sup>1</sup> but they appear to have had only one whose dancing and external conduct were sufficiently like those of the Coast Yurok Jumping dances to be reckoned as such--by both Yurok and Wiyot. Other Wiyot dances were "not Jumping Dances," though "similar."<sup>2</sup>

While there is agreement that the Jumping Dance was held only among the most northerly border Wiyot, at the mouth of Mad River, the precise site is not known. Three Yurok names have been cited for the settlement: Sepola, Mă'āwor, Kohso; and two Wiyot names, Kolikeme and Kliwatkut--these serving for "summer" and "winter" Jumping dances, respectively, according to one account.<sup>3</sup> These places specified by the Wiyot were both on the north side of Mad River: the first at the mouth, the second "behind" it, on the bluff.

All in all, the scraps of information suggest a ritual enough like the Coast Yurok Jumping dances to equate with them, whereas south of Mad River Yurok influence was presumably weaker and the rites and dances were no longer equatable.

From BLB, a Wiyot, in 1902.--The dance lasts six days. It is held indoors, but most of the boards of the house are removed. The man in charge, evidently the formulist, is called bitse'liwił. He sits in the middle and speaks. Some of the people are sorry and cry. Twelve, or sometimes fifteen, dancers stand abreast on one side of the house. There may be one or two women

<sup>1</sup>Thus, Nomland and Kroeber, in *Wiyot Towns* (AAE 35:40, 1936), say of Teh-quah-walk (Loud's Tekwogok, site AR, at upstream end of Rabbit Id., north of the Mouth of Eel River), that it was not a town but "three sweathouses" used in a ceremony, dance, and feast before the salmon fishing season; men danced in one of the sweathouses. This is at least first-fruits, and may be world-renewal.

<sup>2</sup>And there were no Deerskin dances. See same, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Same, p. 40, citing Loud.

dancing with them. On the opposite side of the house, and outside, the spectators sit.

From Yurok Mau of Trinidad, 1902.--The dance at the mouth of Mad River was held at Kohso. It was made outdoors.<sup>4</sup> There used to be four people who knew how to make this dance. Now only old Tom is left. He is a Weyet from Kohso, but his wife is a Yurok from Rekwoi.

From Driver, Culture Element Distributions:X.<sup>5</sup>--Wiyot Jump Dance on Mad River, not on Eel River. Held in September, six days, indoors. Number of men dancers given as four, who face E, "point" their baskets N, E, S. One or two women stand at the end of the row. The dancers wear woodpecker-scalp headbands, deerskin "aprons" (blankets girt around waist), and carry "purse" baskets (shaped like a native purse, cylindrical, with a slit). There is an officiating priest.

Driver's element list and notes also contain a general section on Wiyot world-renewal rites (elements 2561-2657). The data are not localized, and are probably a composite, relating both to the Mad River Jumping Dance (elements 2658 seq.) and one or more other ceremonies or dances. They are definite that the Wiyot made no Deerskin, Brush, or boat dance; that is, nothing which they recognized as such. On one occasion a "priest" made a "hash" of bits of all kinds of available food and "planted" or sprinkled this on the ground with prayers for abundance. As to dancing, other than of the Jumping variety, this occurred, no doubt on different occasions, indoors or outdoors, at day or at night, by men or women or both. Two positive items are specified. In some situation or other, the dancers kicked the house wall. Obsidian blades were not carried back and forth before a line of dancers as by the Klamath River tribes, but were held up flat against the chest by their owners.

<sup>4</sup>The preceding account says indoors, which is the usual practice on the Coast. Perhaps, as at Rekwoi and Orekw, a last-day outdoor dance concluded the ceremony; or the preparatory "practice" dance outside the house may be meant.

<sup>5</sup>AR 1, no. 6, 1939; elements 2658-2682, list Wy, p. 367.

# CONCLUSION

(Gifford)

Twelve ceremonial centers of the world-renewal religion were distributed from Inam at Clear Creek on the Klamath River down the Klamath to its mouth and along the coast southward to the Mad River in Wiyot territory. An additional center was that of the Hupa at Takimikding on the Trinity River. Map 1 shows the location of the thirteen centers, which are distributed among the areas of four linguistic stocks: Karok, Yurok, Athabascan, and Wiyot. This linguistic diversity is in striking contrast to the uniformity of the principal observances of the cult, a uniformity which is not obscured by the numerous local elaborations of the fundamental pattern.

The heart of the world-renewal religion among the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok is a cult with a threefold beneficent purpose, which, stated in negative terms, is anti-famine, antidisease, and anticataclysm. Expressed in positive terms, its purpose is to provide an abundance of food, universal good health, and to renew or repair the earth. All the acts of the participants, and especially the recitation of an esoteric formula by the priest or formulist, are thought to facilitate these results.

The world-renewal cult would appear to be compounded of six principal ingredients: (1) the widespread first-fruits ceremonies, extending far beyond the borders of our area; (2) the concept of a prehuman race of immortals who established the culture of the Indians; (3) the spoken formula, based on the idea that spoken words have creative power; (4) fixed timing, resulting in a ceremonial calendar; (5) the localization, involving the theory that the ceremonies to be effective must be performed where the immortals enacted them; and (6) two spectacular dances.

On the basis of widest distribution, ingredient number one would appear to be the oldest. Sometimes the local elaborations of the cult tended to obscure, or at least to lessen, the significance of the first-fruits aspect, which, however, still appears prominently in the First Salmon ceremonies of Yurok, Karok, and Hupa and in the Acorn Feast of the Hupa. This diminution of the cult's assumed underlying basis is most pronounced in Yurok and Karok rites other than the First Salmon ceremonies.

The modern Hupa practice of holding the Acorn Ceremony without a priest indicates more strongly the position of that ceremony as definitely, or originally, in the widespread first-fruits category of observances rather than in the later and geographically more restricted world-renewal tradition. Except for minor features in other ceremonies, especially in the protracted Kepel Dam Ceremony, the Hupa Acorn Ceremony has no parallel among either Karok or Yurok ceremonies. The clustering of First Acorn, First Salmon, and First Eel rites among the Hupa suggests that these may be early and the two great dances (Jumping and Deerskin) later additions to the Hupa complex. The Salmon and Eel rites have no associated dances.

Conceivably, the Yurok and Karok late summer and early fall ceremonies were once of first-fruits type with emphasis on the new acorn crop and were subsequently modified, or lost this emphasis, as the magical ritual for world renewal was expanded and the time of

the ceremonies was shifted. These ceremonies are now performed too early to utilize acorns of the new crop for a general feast.

First-salmon rites are spring rites limited to three places: Wełkwāu at the mouth of the Klamath, Amaikiaram on the Klamath two or three miles below its confluence with the Salmon River, and Sugar Bowl Valley on the Trinity River above Hoopa Valley proper. Unlike the Kepel ceremony (for which there is no mention of the eating of the first salmon) the rites at these three centers have the essential feature of a first-fruits ceremony; namely, the eating of the first salmon by a priest (or his assistant) who prays, fasts, and sweats himself for a number of days. The Wełkwāu ceremony had to be performed before the dam could be built for the Kepel Dam Ceremony.

Hupa and Karok informants assert that there was no dance connected with their salmon rites; it seems likely, too, that no dance was made at Wełkwāu. Kroeber considers that the July Jumping Dance at Amaikiaram was connected with the salmon rite because the same sweathouse was employed for both; however, the same living house was not used, the priests of the two ceremonies bore different titles and apparently were different individuals. At Wełkwāu the Deerskin Dance, if it was actually performed, came several months after the First Salmon rite and the connection of the two was doubtful. The First Salmon rite looks like the local manifestation of a widespread rite of first-fruits type, to which, possibly, according to Kroeber's views, the two great dances have become attached, but without full incorporation as in the other world-renewal ceremonies. The fact that different priests functioned for the first-salmon ceremonies and for the dances probably negates this assumed incorporation. As Gifford sees it, the three first-salmon ceremonies are apparently independent of the two great dances which form the terminal performances of the other world-renewal ceremonies. These are continuous in action and are directed by a single priest-formulist (and his substitutes), except perhaps at Kepel, for which the data are not explicit.

According to native belief, all culture in this region was established by the immortals (Karok "ix-kareya," Hupa "kixunai," and Yurok "woge"), and it is this belief that underlies the ceremonial observances. The formulas recited by the priests usually concern the deeds of the immortals, and the ceremonies are observed in just the places where the immortals originally performed these deeds. The belief in the immortals and the use of spoken formulas have many private applications in the culture and exercise a pervasive influence on thought and action. Their incorporation in the cult activities of the world-renewal religion therefore represent their most lofty religious application for the general good.

The institution of the ceremonies of the cult is attributed directly to the immortals, who are supposed to have performed them originally in just the places where they are enacted by mortals in modern times. Only the Hupa depart slightly from this concept by attributing the initiation of the First Acorn Ceremony

and the Jumping Dance to a mortal who instituted the ceremonies after a visit to the land of the immortals. Possibly this is a veiled reference to the introduction of the Jumping Dance from the Yurok. It could not be such for the Acorn Ceremony, which is a Hupa specialty. This attribution to a Hupa innovator instead of to the immortals possibly implies a peripheral position of the Hupa, as well as their later adoption of the world-renewal cult. The Karok attribute their lone Jumping Dance to the immortals' enacting it at Amaikiaram before the Karok arrived.

One of the most persistent, in fact universal, traits of the world-renewal cult was the priest, formulist, or medicine man, as he is locally called. Priest and formulist are the better terms, since he does not attain his office through supernatural experience and consequently is not a shaman (or medicine man) in the strict sense of the word. Indeed, shamans, as such, have no part in the ceremonies. Among the Karok the priests in the three "New Year's" ceremonies at Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik and in the salmon ceremony at Amaikiaram represent one or more of the immortals, as indicated by the title of xadiara (ixkareya ara, "spirit person" or "immortal person"). The titles of Yurok and Hupa priests seem not to have such direct reference to the immortals, with one striking exception, the representation of the god of vegetation<sup>1</sup> by the priest of the Hupa Acorn Ceremony.

The most important duty of the priest is the recitation of the esoteric formulas, which may be a short fiat, but is more usually a myth dealing with the acts of the immortals. By the recitation of the formula the priest achieves the same results as the immortal did who first performed the ceremony. While functioning, the priest fasts, refrains from drinking water, and avoids contact with women. Toward him the populace maintains a special attitude, frequently refraining from making any noise near him and often from even looking at him. In his holy state, his normal social relations are suspended. After the ceremonies are concluded, the priest, and usually his assistants, go into retreat for five days, ten days, or a longer period. To cite examples: Rekwoi at the mouth of the Klamath, Medilding in Hoopa Valley, and Inam far upstream on the Klamath, insist equally on the retreat.

Of ceremonies still continued, all have priests or formulists except the First Acorn Ceremony of the Hupa, who now give it without a priest, simply omitting his part in the ritual, which is otherwise performed by women, who, as gatherers and preparers of acorns in everyday life, fit into the ceremony.

The Yurok and Hupa priests visit sacred spots, but these are usually not so distant as those visited by the Karok. At the Karok ceremonial centers, the priest, holding a "quiver" in his right hand, strides along with a peculiar high and long step, a performance said to be unlike anything in Hupa or Yurok ritual. Karok and Hupa informants, familiar with ceremonies of both tribes, emphasized the difference between the Karok

perambulatory priest and the Hupa formulist, who merely sits and makes medicine at a dance. Thus, even in the activities of the priest there are conspicuous variations among the groups, in spite of the many things that are common to all, such as the thinking or uttering of the formula, the sweeping of ceremonial spots, the igniting of fires, the offering of tobacco or incense root, the fasting, the rule of continence, the frequent bathing for ceremonial purity, etc.

Male assistant priests are designated by special terms: "imusan" among the Karok, "nikor" among the Yurok of downriver and coast (Pekwon, Rekwoi, Orekw, Oket'o). The fact that there is no mention of assistant priests among the Hupa perhaps indicates less formal development of the cult.

Kroeber's records of downriver and coast Yurok Jumping Dance ceremonies stress the important part played by groups of male and female attendants of the priest. These are additional to the assistant priest or nikor and are denoted by a group name, "tāt." Perhaps the tsāro (male helpers) and the wohkur (six girl participants in the Kepel Dam Ceremony) are to be equated to the downriver tāt. The Karok xopitxariwan, who are helpers and sweathouse singers, may be equivalent also. The lack of initiation prevents these groups being regarded as secret societies.

The tāt or equivalent were lacking at Weltspus, Hoopa, Inam, and at the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance, though present at the Amaikiaram First Salmon Ceremony. We have no record of the name for the group of male sweathouse singers at Amaikiaram.

The approximate date when a ceremony should be held was settled by count of months, by observation of the position of the sun at rising (Amaikiaram), and probably also by seasonal indications of the flora and fauna. More precise timing, concerned with the duration of the ceremony, was determined by observing the phase of the moon. The aim was usually to have the ceremony end or reach its climax at the dark of the moon. If this reckoning gave evidence of being faulty, a day's proceedings might be omitted or repeated in order to make the termination of the ceremony coincide with the disappearance of the moon.

The moon phase is no longer considered by the Hupa in timing their ceremonies, whereas the Karok still time theirs meticulously by the nights of the moon. Goldschmidt and Driver, however, state that formerly the White Deerskin Dance of the Hupa "was so timed that the dance was divided between two 'moons,' that is, was held during the dark of the moon."<sup>2</sup> More precisely stated, the dance period included the dark of the moon. This timing has been modified by modern social and economic conditions.

The natives have mentioned some symbolic acts, such as "putting posts under the world," but there is probably more symbolism involved than they are commonly aware of. Thus, it seems quite probable that the timing of the ceremonies to coincide with the dark of the moon and the appearance of the new moon may have a renewal connotation. Another unrecognized symbolism is perhaps the use of madrone branches at Inam

<sup>1</sup>Waterman and Kroeber, *Kepel Fish Dam*, p. 72. Megwomets, the Yurok god of vegetation referred to, roughly parallels the Hupa god of vegetation, Yimukatsisdal, who was formerly represented in the Hupa First Acorn Ceremony.

<sup>2</sup>Goldschmidt and Driver, *White Deerskin Dance*, p. 124.

and Amaikiam in connection with salmon, the red bark of the madrone suggesting the color of salmon flesh. Likewise, more baldly, Coyote deceives the keepers of salmon into thinking he already possesses salmon by eating alder bark, which is red.

Each of the thirteen ceremonial centers has its own specialities, or at least special combination of elements, in its form of the world-renewal cult. Upon the general idea of renewing the world and its products (first "fruits") each developed its form of the cult adapted to the local situation. This was achieved primarily through the esoteric ritual of the priest, who recited the appropriate formulas at the proper times and places. With his acts were combined the activities of the populace and in most places one or both of the great dances.

The acts at a ceremonial center have a specific sequence, exemplified, for any given ceremony, in the meticulous performance by the priest and other participants of every minute detail in its exact order in the ritual. This succession of ceremonial acts is inextricably connected with their localization; each part of the ritual must be performed at a particular sweat-house, house, rock, stream, tree, or other landmark. Such a thing as transplanting a ceremony to another place is wholly foreign to native views. For the ceremony to be efficacious, localization and proper sequence are as essential a part of the cult as the belief in the immortals, the offering of incense root and tobacco, the ceremonial purity of the participants, and so forth. Here, indeed, is a cult rooted in the environment. If comparison were to be made to other religions and other places, it perhaps would be to environmentally limited aspects of Shinto in Japan, rather than to world religions, which by their very nature may flourish anywhere. As Kroeber has long since pointed out, this world-renewal cult differs from the other three cult religions of California by this intimate relation to the local environment.<sup>3</sup>

Except at Inam, at least two structures are required for the functioning of the priest and his assistant. These are the sweat-house, where he sleeps and prays, and the living house, where he eats his meals. In some places there are structures reserved solely for this purpose, as at Katimin and Kepel (Sa'a); in other centers, e.g., at Amaikiam, Panamenik, and Hoopa, the structures are used profanely, but vacated temporarily for the use of the priest and his staff. Again, the downstream and coast Yurok employ a special sacred structure, called a sweat-house but actually intermediate between a sweat-house and a living house, which is not used at other times either as a dwelling or for sweating. The repair of the sacred house as a symbolic world-renewal act occurs among the Yurok. It may have been overlooked among the Karok and Hupa, but naturally their houses were kept in repair even though the act of repair was not stated to be a symbolic world-renewal rite. A Karok myth (App. II, myth 5) refers to the repair of the Katimin sweat-house.

The Hupa origin story of the First Salmon Ceremony (App. III, story 7) refers to Amaikiam, the seat of the Karok First Salmon Ceremony, suggesting the possibility of influence from there. Kroeber points out in his

"Introduction" that the Hupa First Salmon Ceremony resembles those at Rekwoi (Wehkwäu) and Amaikiam, but is not connected with the xonta nikyao or "great house" at Takimikding, from which other ceremonies stem. The use of madrone branches at the Amaikiam Salmon Ceremony and the placing of madrone in the U-shaped stone wall at Inam to induce a good run of salmon seem related.

Whether the Kepel Dam Ceremony is in the same category as the three first-salmon ceremonies is open to question. The failure of the informants of Waterman and Kroeber to mention ceremonial eating of the first-caught salmon and complementary restrictions on the eating of salmon before the first catch at the dam perhaps indicates an obscuring or loss of the first-fruits idea.<sup>4</sup> Since salmon begin running about April, the seasonal lateness of the Kepel Dam in summer makes it obvious that it is not a real first-fruits ceremony. Gunther loosely classifies all salmon ceremonies of northwestern California as of first-fruits type.

Judged by the time span of fifty-one to sixty-two days between the initial and final acts of the protracted and varied series of ceremonial activities at Kepel and neighboring places, the ceremony there may be ranked as the most complex in the little world of the Yurok-Karok-Hupa, even though this time span includes three ten-day recesses. Waterman and Kroeber describe a lengthy series of magical and other acts which serve to embellish and enliven the ritual.<sup>5</sup>

Some of these acts have parallels elsewhere, especially among the Karok: (1) the formulist's sand pile, (2) the hiding or detouring of the population so as not to see the priest, (3) the use of crescentic stones, (4) the use of two flat round stones belonging to Earthquake and Thunder<sup>6</sup> and comparable to the flat stone used at Inam to stabilize the world. Moreover, Kroeber's informant B, in discussing origins, links Kepel and the three Karok New Year centers, Camp Creek (Panamenik), Katimin, and Inam. These Kepel-Karok parallels certainly indicate a transmission from one to the other, but the direction is indeterminate.

The three Karok New Year's ceremonies (pikiavish or irahiv) come in late summer or early fall and are equated to one another in the thoughts of the natives. The terms irahiv and pikiavish are not applied to the First Salmon Ceremony or the Jumping Dance at Amaikiam. In sequence, the ceremonies are performed at Inam (Clear Creek), Panamenik (Orleans), and Katimin (near Somes Bar). The priest and his sacred fire must not be looked at in certain stages of the ceremonies; he visits spots on rather distant mountains, where he builds fires; he is preceded or followed by archers who shoot at marks. Each ceremony includes a real or imitation Deerskin Dance.

In spite of the traits shared by the ceremonies at these three places, there are local developments, in part connected with the environment, which serve to

<sup>4</sup>Gunther, First Salmon Ceremony, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup>Waterman and Kroeber, Kepel Fish Dam, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>Kroeber, Handbook, p. 858.



individualize each. These are briefly summarized in the following paragraphs. Thus the sweathouse singers at Katimin and Panamenik, unknown at Inam, suggest the *tât* of the downriver Yurok Jumping Dance.

The sand pile (Karok *yuxpit*) at which the priest stands at a certain stage of the performance is characteristic of all three Karok New Year's festivals. It is used in the Kepel Dam rite, but in no other Yurok ceremony, nor in any Hupa ceremony.

The use of a ceremonial tobacco pipe "for refixing the world" is recorded by Harrington<sup>7</sup> for Inam, Katimin, and Panamenik. At *Wekwâu* a pair of sacrosanct all-steatite pipes was kept in the dwelling house associated with the First Salmon rite there.<sup>8</sup> A sacred pipe, kept by the Hupa in the "great house" (*xonta nikyao*) at Takimikding, was formerly used by the priest of the Acorn Feast.

Harrington's Karok informants and certain of Gifford's stated that the term "*irahiv*" applies to the climactic part of the New Year's ceremony when the priest "stands up" all night at the *yuxpit* or sand pile. The full designation, "*isivsanan pikiavish*," similarly applies to this part of the ceremony. This limited application of the terms has become somewhat clouded by the modern use of the term *pikiavish* to designate loosely the whole ceremony, including the earlier activities of the priest and archers.

The terminal activities of the priest and his male and female assistants, especially their formal procession so clearly described for Katimin, and the taboos which they must observe subsequently are very suggestive of the activities of the downriver and coastal Yurok priests and their assistants called *tât* at *Pekwon*, *Rekwoi*, *Orekw*, and *Oket'o*. These Yurok ceremonies, however, include the repairing of the sacred house and the giving of the Jumping Dance, which is mainly indoors. But the three Karok New Year's ceremonies give the Deerskin Dance and do not stress house repairs. Nevertheless, the parallel between the Karok and Yurok officiants is close enough to suggest a common origin, or at least diffusion. Indeed, in the course of development of the world-renewal religion there must have been many instances of transmission of single elements as well as clusters among the four linguistic groups. The relative uniformity in the performance of the two great dances suggests that these are examples of clusters of elements or complexes that were borrowed.

Another interesting parallel between the *Rekwoi* ceremonial at the mouth of the Klamath and the Karok world-renewal activities is the burning of bunches of twigs (probably *Ceanothus* at *Rekwoi* and *Pekwon* as among the Karok) which have been collected by the priest or his assistants. The Hupa stress the use of incense root (probably *Letptotaenia californica*, mentioned by Goddard, or *angelica*), whereas the Karok and Yurok emphasize tobacco, which the priest smoked or blew from the hand after crumbling.

Inam, farthest upstream of all the ceremonial centers of the world-renewal religion, presents in some

respects an attenuated or abraded form of the cult. Its most striking feature is a negative one, viz., the fact that no sweathouse or living house is used in the ritual. Two depressions at the site of Inam in a measure took their place, though sweating was impossible, of course. Thus the absence of the sweathouse carries with it the complete absence of sweating and praying therein, which are so important in ritual proceedings at the other twelve centers. Otherwise, the priest and his assistants function much as elsewhere.

A unique positive feature of the Inam ritual is the preliminary building of a U-shaped stone wall (according to Kroeber, identical with the shamans' stone "seats" on mountains), open toward a sacred mountain. Probably it is related in function to the stone altar of the *Amaikiaram* First Salmon Ceremony. As at Katimin and Panamenik, the Inam priest travels extensively to specified places in the mountains in order to build sacred fires, sweep away disease, and recite formulas; at these places he impersonates certain immortals.

Because of the death of the former deerskin owner the Inam Deerskin Dance has been reduced to a modified form employing only the skins of smaller mammals. As at Katimin and Panamenik, an archery contest is part of the ceremonial procedure. Certain taboos or restrictions on the taking and eating of fish during specified periods in certain stretches of water suggest a like restriction on the eating of salmon caught near the mouth of the Klamath in connection with the First Salmon Ceremony at *Wekwâu*.<sup>9</sup>

The "New Year" ceremony at Katimin seems to be richer in detail than the ceremonies at Inam and Panamenik. However, this opulence may be more apparent than real, since the Panamenik ritual was abandoned about 1910. Perhaps the most striking features at Katimin are the importance of the sacred mountain and its representation in miniature, made by the two priestesses with damp sand from the acorn leaching basin. This representation seems to have no parallel elsewhere. The burning of the slopes of *Offield Mountain* has a parallel at Panamenik and in the hillside burning at *Kepel*, but the Karok and Yurok acts are symbolically different. At Katimin the burning of the brush and grass, symbolizing the singeing of a widow's hair, is a prophylactic act to prevent women being widowed during the ensuing year. The *Kepel* burning is said to be of "salmon backbones."<sup>10</sup>

At Panamenik, as at Inam and Katimin, the priest looks at certain mountains as part of his ceremonial activities, which in general resemble those of Katimin. One Panamenik specialty was the archers' scratching each other with fir cones, a practice recorded for no other of the thirteen ceremonial centers.

The two spectacular dances connected with the world-renewal cult are the Deerskin Dance and the Jumping Dance, both characterized by the carrying and wearing of valuable articles, many of them brilliant in color due to use of plumage and pelage. The objects themselves are not sacred; they are profane articles of wealth accumulated by their owners and provided or

<sup>7</sup>Harrington, *Tobacco among the Karuk*, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup>Spott and Kroeber, *Yurok Narratives*, p. 171.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>10</sup>Waterman and Kroeber, *Kepel Fish Dam*, p. 72.

lent, for display in the dances. One or both of the dances is held at each of the thirteen ceremonial localities or centers.

Imitation Deerskin dances, with foliage and stones instead of the standard regalia, were performed when the real dances were omitted. The native feeling was that the ceremony was incomplete without either the real dance or its substitute.

The real, not the imitation, dances were also performed from two to ten or twelve consecutive days (or sometimes longer), always attaining their maximum magnificence of display on the last occasion. Then, too, the greatest emotion was exhibited, the spectators weeping for their departed relatives who formerly attended the performances.

The right of certain rich families to initiate the spectacular Deerskin and Jumping dances smacks of the dance-privilege ownership of the coastal groups in British Columbia and southeastern Alaska, such as the Kwakiutl, Haida, and Tlingit. The resemblance is further enhanced by the stratification of society, which is as fundamental to northwestern Californians as it is to the groups farther north, even though the refinements of grading are fewer in California.

Gifford's data for the Karok and Hupa seem unequivocal as regards the hereditary character of the privilege, enjoyed by certain families, of giving the great dances. The transmission is through both sons and daughters, but never to a spouse. The Karok insisted that the privilege could never be sold. For the Yurok, Kroeber's data suggest similar ownership and transmission.

The dances were usually held outdoors; the Deerskin Dance always was. The Jumping Dance was performed outdoors for the most part, but downstream and along the coast the Yurok often gave it indoors, or at least in a house from which parts of the walls and roof had been removed. Whether or not the cooler, foggier weather near and along the coast was a factor in this tendency to indoor performance is a matter for speculation. We have no native opinion bearing on this possibility. At the Hupa performances of the Jumping Dance a specially erected fence, called "house," before which the dancers perform, is perhaps to be regarded as a vestigial house, possibly in imitation of the houses used by the downstream Yurok. However, the Hupa explain the fence as a screen behind which the traditional originator or his spirit stands to view the dance. No mortals may go behind the fence while the dance is in progress. Moreover, a part of the Hupa Jumping Dance was performed indoors, further suggesting a connection with downriver and coast Yurok practice.

The distribution of the two major dances (Jumping and Deerskin) among the thirteen ceremonial centers is as follows: Inam, Deerskin; Katimin, Deerskin; Amaikiam, Jumping; Panamenik, Deerskin; Takimikding, both; Weitspus, both; Pekwon, Jumping; Rekwoi, Jumping; Weikwāu, Deerskin; Orekw, Jumping; Oket'o, Jumping; Mad River mouth, Jumping. Were it not for the Weikwāu Deerskin Dance and Amaikiam Jumping Dance, the distribution would suggest a downstream or coastal Jumping Dance and an upstream Deerskin Dance, with the two overlapping in the central region.

As showy spectacles the Jumping and Deerskin dances at Weitspus rank high, but they have little of the magical and esoteric accompaniment which characterizes ceremonies elsewhere. The Weitspus ceremony is esoterically poverty-stricken when compared with the wealth of magical acts and play interludes of the Kepel Dam ceremony. Upstream the Karok ceremonies at Panamenik, Katimin, and Inam are richer in these aspects than is the Weitspus ceremony, which is a baldly spectacular affair.

Viewed from the standpoint of what it lacks, the Weitspus ceremony would appear to be of late origin, perhaps instituted to satisfy the wishes of the wealthy men of this community. Certainly the situation of Weitspus at the confluence of the Klamath and the Trinity was strategic for drawing a crowd to its dances. Yurok from downstream, Karok from upstream, and Hupa from the Trinity could all attend with about equal ease.

The Jumping Dance was performed by the Hupa and by the Yurok of Weitspus and Kepel in conjunction with the Deerskin Dance; at Kepel it was the terminal performance of the protracted Dam Ceremony. Elsewhere performances of the Jumping Dance were not associated with the Deerskin Dance: viz., at Amaikiam, Pekwon, Rekwoi, Orekw, Oket'o, and Mad River.

At the six places where it was the sole dance one might expect to find it in its fullest form. Although it was danced for only two days at Weitspus and at the termination of the Kepel Dam Ceremony, it was performed for ten days (six days at Mad River) at the Hupa Acorn Feast and at the six places where it was the only dance.<sup>11</sup> At the four downriver and coast Yurok centers the ceremonial accompanying the dance is enriched by the sweathouse singers, *tāi*, who, so to speak, add body to the ritual. They suggest the similar singers for the Amaikiam salmon ceremony and the New Year ceremonies at Panamenik and Katimin with their Deerskin dances; but such singers are wholly lacking at the Amaikiam, Weitspus, and Takimikding dances. Their real connection is probably with the formulist rather than the dance.

Another downriver and coastal feature, lacking upriver, is the performance of the Jumping Dance in boats. An Amaikiam Jumping Dance feature, lacking elsewhere, is the use of long sticks painted red and black, somewhat reminiscent of the long poles of the Kepel Dam Ceremony.

The ten-day Jumping Dance at Amaikiam, as opposed to two-day Karok Deerskin dances, suggests the possibility of late borrowing from Yurok or Hupa, perhaps from the Yurok of Weitspus, who, like the Karok, perform the dance entirely outdoors. The coastal and downriver Yurok performance of the Jumping Dance in boats at one stage of their ceremonies parallels the

<sup>11</sup>Where both Deerskin and Jumping Dance are made as parts of one ceremony, as at Weitspus, the equipping-controlling groups are the same for both dances. The anomalous Panamenik-Amaikiam situation thus might conceivably have originated in a former condition at Panamenik like that of Weitspus or Kepel (and Takimikding), where the Jumping Dance is an aftermath (or prelude) to the Deerskin Dance; but subsequently the Jumping Dance was detached, and reattached as an aftermath to the Amaikiam First Salmon ritual.--A.L.K.

upriver tribes' performance of the Deerskin Dance in boats.

The Hupa were unique in giving the Jumping Dance at two seasons, spring and fall. All other centers which gave it limited it to one season.

Imitation Jumping dances, like those at Kepel,<sup>12</sup> were not recorded for the Karok or Hupa, though imitation Deerskin dances were a regular Karok feature in the years when the real dance was not given. At Kepel an imitation Deerskin Dance was also featured.<sup>13</sup>

A third and less gaudy dance, the "War" Dance, is performed at only two of the thirteen centers: namely, Katimin and Inam in Karok territory. There it is performed annually as a part of each world-renewal ceremony, terminally at Katimin, initially at Inam. It is certainly a local, and perhaps a relatively recent, addition. Its original purport was a dance of settlement following a feud, in which form it was known elsewhere, as well as at Katimin and Inam. How it came to be added to the world-renewal cult at these two places and not elsewhere is unknown. Whether its inclusion carried the implication of establishing peaceful relations for the ensuing year was not stated by the informants or asked by Gifford. Nowhere else in the area of world-renewal ceremonies is the War Dance included as part of the ritual. Among the Yurok and Hupa, as well as at Amakiaram and Panamenik in Karok land, the War Dance was only a feud-settlement affair and remained unincorporated in the world-renewal ritual.

This paper has dealt with the northernmost of the four Californian religions which have been well characterized in Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California as World-renewal, God-impersonating (Kuksu), Jimsonweed, and Dream-singing cults. Geographically and culturally the world-renewal religion of northwestern California is separated from its near-

est neighbor, the God-impersonating cult of central California by a mountainous area occupied by peoples who neither developed nor adopted either of these ritual systems. Thus the cult which is the subject of our paper was largely sealed off from central Californian God-impersonating influences and was completely beyond the range of influence of the other two Californian cults--the Jimsonweed religion of the San Joaquin Valley and southern California and the Dream-singing cult of the Yuman tribes on the lower Colorado River in the southeastern corner of the state.

To the northward, in extreme northwestern California, the world-renewal cult disappears, although such adjoining groups as the Tolowa manifest certain of the foundations upon which it was erected among the Yurok, Karok, and Hupa. With these three groups is to be found the full flowering of the world-renewal religion, an efflorescence so pronounced that it may be easily bounded in geographical and ethnical terms. This sharpness of delineation of its boundaries perhaps bespeaks a relatively recent and rapid development. Had the cult been of great antiquity, it would probably have been subject to a gradual fading out, with more transitional manifestations in adjoining regions.

Fundamentally, northwestern California culture is the southernmost manifestation of a greater entity, North Pacific Coast culture; stratified society and woodworking are two of the conspicuous diagnostic traits that establish this lineage. Northwestern Californian tribes, far removed from the high-culture center of the Haida, Tlingit, and Kwakiutl, developed a secondary center of their own. The flower which bloomed upon this secondary cultural plant was the world-renewal religion. In it were concentrated the essential characteristics and outlook of the civilization of the forested riverine region of northwestern California.

<sup>12</sup>Waterman and Kroeber, Kepel Fish Dam, p. 79.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

# APPENDIX I

## INTERRELATIONS OF KAROK CEREMONIES

(Kroeber)

### INFORMANT TDBB, 1902

New Year at Orleans [Panamenik] is similar to that of Katim̄n and begins one day before. This ritual also lasts for ten days, unless they find they have to hurry it to end with the moon; in which case it may last only seven or eight days. Accordingly it is always held during the declining moon. [The Indians habitually speak of it as falling in August, but in 1901 it was in the neighborhood of September 15 or 20 that some Yurok were seen leaving Weltspus carrying blankets to attend the burning on the tenth day at Orleans the same night.] The evening after New Year is finished, the young moon is seen in the west. The ritual is said to begin with the moon already well waned [which, of course, it would have to be].

I think the beginning is set at Orleans, and the next day they begin at Katim̄n.

The Deerskin Dance is also made at Orleans, and as soon as it is concluded the people there go upriver to Katim̄n with their regalia to help in the finish of the dance there. There are two parties, one for Orleans whose head is Captain, the other for downriver whose head is Tom of Redcap. There are several men who have acted, or can act, as *ixkarey-arar* at Orleans. One of them is named Bob, but it seems to be Captain, the *yash-ara* [rich man] at Orleans, who decides when the ritual is to begin.

At Inā'm New Year was made much as at Katim̄n and at Orleans, but it went on only for five days and they had no *ixkarey-arar* priest except for one day, the last day [sic]. Also they made no [complete] Deerskin Dance [with deerskins] at Inā'm, except I have heard that a long time ago they used to make it. But they had many things to dance with--furs and obsidians and so on. The New Year at Inā'm came a month before that at Katim̄n.

Both Katim̄n and Orleans used to make the Deerskin Dance only every other year. Both held it in the same year. In intervening years a one-night War Dance would be made at Katim̄n on a little terrace a few feet above

the sandy beach of the boat landing. Two men carried large stone knives with which they walked back and forth in front of the line of War Dancers, much like the flint carriers in the Deerskin Dance.

The Jumping Dance of Amaikiaram was also made only every second year, but whether alternately with the Deerskin Dance or in the same year, I do not remember.

Older people often cry at dances, especially when they see particular regalia which used to belong to relatives of theirs who are now dead.

### INFORMANT LI, 1902

At Inā'm they used to make the Deerskin Dance, but it was little, for one evening only.

At Katim̄n they either did a small dance for a short while in the evening, or they might make a big dance that went on for as much as five days. In the big dance they used deerskins. In the little dance they took up any natural unworked stones of about the right size and shape and carried them as if they were obsidian blades; but they wore no headdresses and carried no deerskins, though they did only proper Deerskin Dance songs [and steps].

At Orleans there is a little dance for one evening made in fun at Chamikn̄n, where Albert Worley now lives on the east side of the river. Also they danced at Tishanishunukich, which is downstream from Orleans, something between a half-mile and a mile, on the west side. Either here or at Chamikn̄n they might make a big dance with deerskins for one evening and the next day. The whole ritual begins in a sweathouse in Panamenik, but there is no dance made at Panamenik itself.

### INFORMANT LB, 1902

In the sacred sweathouses at Katim̄n and Amaikiaram there is something hidden which, if taken outdoors, makes it rain very heavily.

# APPENDIX II

## WORLD-RENEWAL MYTHS, COLLECTED 1901-1907

(Kroeber)

The following myths relate to the origin of world renewals and great dances. The Karok tales were rendered rather baldly by untrained informants and interpreters. The Yurok versions are fuller because they come from informants who had known me longer, through more experienced interpreters, when I was better acquainted with the culture; some of them are translations of texts dictated into a phonograph.

As regards content, the first four stories form a unit in explaining the world renewals as a system or unit. They make it quite clear that Karok and Yurok alike regard each other's rituals as equivalents. The Hupa ritual is included by some of them, disregarded by others; geographically, Hupa is off the main line of the Klamath. Tales 1 and 2 are alike in starting at Inā'm at the upriver end of the series and having the rituals instituted successively downstream to the mouth. Tale 3, from a Karok of Katimīn environs, varies this route by beginning in "the middle of the world" at Katimīn, then jumping to the two ends at Inā'm and the mouth, and then working from the latter back upriver to Katimīn. Tale 4, from a middle Yurok, begins at Kepel and travels upriver to end at Inā'm. The two Karok accounts profess to tell of the origins of "New Year," the two Yurok of "Deerskin dances"; but much

the same thing is meant, since the Yurok use the English term New Year only for the Karok rituals, if at all; logically enough, since they develop somewhat more dance splendor than the Karok, but (except perhaps at Kepel) emphasize world-renewal features less.

None of the four versions succeeds in enumerating quite ten rituals, while there were actually four Karok, one Hupa, five river Yurok, and two Coast Yurok rites, not to mention the one marginal Wiyot occurrence. Nevertheless, despite the discrepancy of the count, this group of stories makes it clear that the Indians themselves recognized what we have called the north-western closed system of major world renewals.

Tale 5 deals with the origins of Katimīn, with the actual relations to Inā'm and Panamenik recognized. No. 6 may technically count as an origin for Amaikiaram, but is really an account of the origin of salmon. Nos. 7 and 8 are from residents of Weitspus, and tell the origin of the Deerskin and Jumping dances there. Tale 9, finally, was recorded from the Weitspus formalist and combines the origin of salmon--much as in no. 6--with the origin of the First Salmon Rite at Weikwāu at the mouth of the river.

The little table that follows summarizes the sequence of rituals enumerated in the origin tales nos. 1-4.

### Mythical Sequence of Institution of World Renewals

Place	1. Yurok Werk of Weitspus "Deerskin Dances"	2. Karok Ike of Ashanamkarak "New Years"	3. Karok O.B.F. Jack of Katimīn "New Years"	4. Yurok Jim of Pekwon "Deerskin Dances"
Upriver world-end	A			(Z, 10 hills)
Inā'm . . . . .	1	1	2	5
Katimīn . . . . .	2	2	1	4
Amaikiaram . . . . .		3	6	
Panamenik . . . . .	3	4	omitted	3a, 3b
Hupa . . . . .	omitted	6 ("little")	omitted	omitted
Weitspus . . . . .	4	5	5	2
Between Kepel and Weitspus . . . . .				(1 b, c, d)
Kepel-Sa'a . . . . .	5	7	4	1a (Wohkero)
Pekwon . . . . .		8 ("little")		
Turip . . . . .				A (mythical)
Rekwoi . . . . .	6 (Jump. D.)	(with next?)		
Weikwāu . . . . .	omitted	9	3	
Orekw . . . . .				
Oket'o . . . . .				
Mad River Wiyot . . . . .				
Across Ocean	Z			

### 1. Origin of the Deerskin Dances<sup>v</sup>

By B. Werk, Yurok of Weitspus

At the upriver end of the world<sup>1</sup> is where they first made the Deerskin Dance and the Brush Dance and Gambling by guessing and the Girls' Adolescence Dance and all the others. The Deerskin Dance was on one side, all the short dances on the other. Then they wanted to bring the Deerskin Dance downriver because they did not have it there.

So they arrived at Oko'nile'l.<sup>2</sup> He was in a hurry to go on, the one who was bringing it; so he started a Deerskin Dance there, but they did not use deerskins. They held brush instead; but nevertheless they called it a Deerskin Dance.

Then they went on downriver and came to Segwu'.<sup>3</sup> The evening they arrived, they danced on the water in a boat; then they went up to the town to see if they wanted to dance there also. So they said, "It is well, we can begin here." And they went back down to the river to bring their regalia, and began; but some did not like it; nevertheless, they began. It was as now, when the dances are nearly the same but not quite alike, at this town or that; so here at Segwu', by the time they finished, they were not doing right. It was like a war dance when they stopped. They were dancing in a circle holding the poles of the deerskins upright.

Now they came down and arrived at O'lege'l, Camp Creek.<sup>4</sup> There they danced well. They used various kinds of skins here: white deerskin and silver fox.

Now they came to Weitspus and began to dance. They stayed longer here.<sup>5</sup> As they began to dance they stood facing upriver, but it was not good. Then they faced across the river, but it was not right. They faced downriver, but it was not right. Then they stood facing uphill, and everything went well.

Now they arrived at Kepel.<sup>6</sup> Now here and from Weitspus on they used all kinds of regalia and feathers; but at the beginning they had not worn everything that ought to be used in the Deerskin Dance. And also, as

<sup>1</sup>Petskuk.

<sup>2</sup>Karok Inā'm, at Clear Creek. It has a world-renewal ceremony, and the dance is often listed as Deerskin, but is actually of surrogate type with otter or fisher skins or brush. Hence the myth mentions it slightly.

<sup>3</sup>Karok KatimIn. The dance here is sometimes a full Deerskin Dance, sometimes an imitation. The way the poles are here said to be held suggests the Hupa manner. KatimIn also dances the war dance at New Year.

<sup>4</sup>Karok Tishannk, near Panamenik and associated with its ritual. The Yurok say that the Karok use skins other than of deer in the Deerskin Dance. -- Enek, Karok Amalkiaram, is omitted, in spite of a world renewal, evidently because its dance is Jumping, not Deerskin.

<sup>5</sup>Ten days or more, as against a maximum of five among the Karok.

<sup>6</sup>The fish-dam world renewal at Kepel ends in a Deerskin Dance below Wohkero. Wohtek is mentioned because after the flood of 1882 Wohtek was built up by refugees and became larger than Wohkero.

they traveled along from one place to another, they danced in a boat. From each town where they danced they took a man, and put him in a boat on each side, and in the middle boat they went downriver--three boats altogether.

Next they came to Rekwoi and spoke of dancing there. The man who was head said, "There are many Deerskin Dances upriver now; let us begin a different dance here. I think we will make the Jumping Dance; and we must do that inside a house."<sup>7</sup> So now they had two dances: the Jumping Dance and the Deerskin Dance.

From there they went out [on the ocean] dancing. Now Wohpekumeu shouted from behind, "Anyway, take along my son";<sup>8</sup> but their boat kept moving and was already far from shore. Then Wohpekumeu threw his son as if he were a stone, and he lit in the boat. He was called Kapuloyo, that one who was thrown.

Then they went across the ocean to Wohpāu in that boat, taking the dance there. Now they dance there every night, in Wohpāu.

From the upstream end of the river they go every night to Wohpāu to see that dancing. Almost every night one can hear the mice laughing, and the frogs, because they are glad that they are traveling on the way to the dance.

It was three boats abreast that crossed the ocean the first time; but a single boat goes down the river nightly. The one who first carried the dance downriver is called Kimehōlemoniōt.<sup>9</sup>

[The interpreter added that the boatload of people who go down every night are called Kermerwermeri,<sup>10</sup> and that they are not the same people who first carried the dances down and across.]

This story, the informant said, he and his wife had learned from an old man near Turip, who also knew the Kemeiḥtso songs for the (near) dead who returned to life, sung in a sort of brush dance made for them.

### 2. Origin of New Years

By Little Ike, Karok of Ashanamkarak

At Inā'm there grew ten brothers, called Ashahewarak w-ikhareya. There they first made Irahivi, New Year. Then the eldest brother went downriver to KatimIn, accompanied by the youngest, to make New Years there. The rest remained at Inā'm. Then he went also to Amalkiaram, to Camp Creek near Orleans, to Weitspus (Ansafriki), and made one at each. He went to Hupa

<sup>7</sup>Pekwon and its Jumping Dance are omitted, though it and Rekwoi--in fact Orekw and Oket'on on the coast too--are reckoned as "siblings." These four dances were all danced mainly indoors; but the upriver outdoor Jumping dances are usually finales to the Deerskin Dance. Although the two are usually considered equal in splendor and importance, this myth deals with the world's Deerskin dances.

<sup>8</sup>Evidently an ellipsis: they had refused to take Wohpekumeu himself. The woges' running away from him is a favorite motif.

<sup>9</sup>"He or they by whom we exist," a generic term in ritual for the instituting spirits or woge.

<sup>10</sup>See also myth 8 below.

and made a little there; then to Kepel (Aharatipikam); then a little at Pekwon (Firip'ama). Then he went to the mouth of the river and made New Years. There he went into the sweathouse and stayed.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. Origin of New Years

By Oakbottom-flat Jack, Karok of Katimîn

An ikhareya grew in the sacred sweathouse at Katimîn. He started to go upriver. He came to Inā'm, instituted New Year there, and returned. Then he went down to Sufip, at the mouth of the river. There he made New Year also. He left his pipe there to be smoked by the one making the ceremony.<sup>12</sup> From there he went upriver to Avnē, Kepel. There also he made New Year. Going on up to Ansafriki, Weitspus, he made New Year there: the Deerskin Dance. Then he went on up to Amakiaram: there he made New Year, a big one.<sup>13</sup> He said "I will make this, so when human beings grow there will be no sickness." And so he came back to Katimîn.

### 4. Origin of the Kepel Fish Dam and the Deerskin Dances

By Jim, Yurok of Pekwon

Now he began to speak, he who lived at the downriver end of Kepel.<sup>14</sup> He said, "I do not like it that the salmon do not come up. It is too near the ocean, that fish dam at Turip, for the salmon do not run up, they go back,<sup>15</sup> and we who live here get none. The little ones only come past. Those are the ones we catch, the little ones, only them. Now I think I will go there and take away their fish dam. They will get angry and perhaps we shall be killed, for I do not think they will allow it, they who own that dam."

Then they began to talk with each other about that. "We will try it. They are turning back, those salmon, for the dam is too near [the mouth]." So they said, "Well, yes." All of them said, "It is good; that is how it will be: we shall go from here."

Then they went, and they arrived where that fish dam was at Turip. Then they pulled up the dam on one side of the river and on the other too, and carried it away.

They there saw that their fish dam was gone. It was then that they learned that it had been taken away. And they were talking about getting it back; all of them living there talked about it. So they all started out. Then

<sup>11</sup>The intent no doubt was to name ten more or less equivalent world renewals; but they aggregate only nine. The coast jumping dances are omitted; the Pekwon one is "little," and so is Hupa. The emphasis is on the river limits, that is, Karok-Yurok: farthest upstream Inā'm initiates, the mouth of the river concludes.

<sup>12</sup>This shows that the reference is to Wekwāu and the First Salmon Rite, not to the Jumping Dance at Rekwol. All the Yurok Jumping Dance renewals, including Pekwon on the river, are omitted; but the two Yurok Deerskin dances are included.

<sup>13</sup>Camp Creek-Panamenik is omitted, probably by oversight.

<sup>14</sup>Kepel-hipur; perhaps equivalent to Sa', where the sweathouse stood for the esoteric part of the Kepel Dam ceremony.

<sup>15</sup>Tewolli, into the ocean.

they arrived on the hill [opposite Kepel], above Murek,<sup>16</sup> having traveled upriver inland.<sup>17</sup> And he was ahead who is InowI standing at Umeggau.<sup>18</sup> For he was the chief one, the Redwood, he was the one that owned the dam at Turip, he who [now] stands at Umeggau. He was in advance, coming downhill, but others were behind him uphill.

And when he came near the river he said, "I am somewhat afraid; I do not think I will cross over. We had better give it up and let them keep it; I am afraid we shall get killed." There were many people there all over the [Kepel] flat, ready to fight to keep the fish dam. They had prepared everything and had put the dam into the water just as it stood at Turip. They were just putting in the pole upekol.<sup>19</sup> They had worked toward both shores from the middle and now it was all finished.

Then he from Turip thought, "Well, we shall [help] take care of this dam also; we shall come up now and then to see it. They have to advise us when they are about to erect it. As long as they make the dam here they must inform us. Then we will take care of it as long as they continue to make it, and each time we shall see it." So they thought like this, that they could not take it back downriver with them, because they were afraid of the others.

Then he began to talk again, he who lived at Kepel. "I think we will leave the dam like this and begin a Deerskin Dance for it, because everything will come out well from that. But it will not be well if they omit it, even one year only; for there will be much sickness if they do not make this dam as long as there are people in the world. For we [the woge] are about to leave: now we shall go."

One of them said, "Well, I am going; going downriver to Wohtek. That is where we shall make the Deerskin Dance,<sup>20</sup> where I am going to stay. But you can go wherever you wish, because we are leaving this dam and it will be a good thing."

Then he said, one of them, "I will go upriver." And they said to him, "Yes." And another one said, "I am going to Wommen,<sup>21</sup> that is where I am going, and I will have that place." And they said to him, "Yes, keep that. People will be well off on account of that when sickness spreads in the world, if they stamp on the ground there."

<sup>16</sup>Murek-wonu.

<sup>17</sup>Hekwāi.

<sup>18</sup>Partway up the hill opposite Kepel, where there was a clump of redwoods, the farthest upstream along the Klamath. Waterman, Yurok Geography, pl. 6, fig. 2; also map 17 and p. 248, no. 46. Umeggau o'tepon means: "standing at his payment place."

<sup>19</sup>A split young fir. Most accounts tell of the dam being built from the shore ends to meet in the middle.

<sup>20</sup>The dance place is a full mile downstream from Wohtek, on the same side as Wohtek. A creek comes in there called Helegāu. They begin to dance near the mouth and progress uphill perhaps a mile before the finale. (Robert Spott thought 4 or 5 miles.) See Waterman, map 11, nos. 12, 13, 14, dance places, and 15, the creek.

<sup>21</sup>A large prairie on the hill back of Kenek. Waterman, p. 260, says: "Great open space on mountain back of Kewet."

And one of them said, "Well, I am going to Opyegau<sup>22</sup> and I will watch for the people from that place." And another said he would stop at Po'toyo<sup>23</sup> and watch over the people from there. And another one said, "I am going to stay in Weitspus; that is where you can leave me and there is where all will have fun." And they said to him, "Very well, keep it well. Hold to it as long as they make the Deerskin Dance, because it will be good for the people." And he said, "Yes, I will do that; I will hold to it." So the others went on leaving him there, and that is where he stayed, at Weitspus, the one who holds the Deerskin Dance there.

Then the others went on upriver,<sup>24</sup> and came to three places where one of them stayed, they who were going to watch over the world. And when they came to Olar<sup>25</sup> one of them said, "I will stay here; I will make that kind of good times too." And they said to him, "Yes, you take care of this place, because it will be well if they dance here. When it is bad in the world it will become well again when they dance here." "Do you know when they will do that? It will not be well if they begin again within one year. There will be a proper month for it."<sup>26</sup> And he said, "It is good, I will do it like that."

And another thought, "Well, I will stop here at Olege'l-kes."<sup>27</sup> And he stayed to take care of the Deerskin Dance there, and the others went on upriver.

So they came to Segweu,<sup>28</sup> and one of them said, "This is where I shall stay; there will be a dance here too and I will take care of it. And it will be a different dance from downriver." So now they dance there and it is not so good a dance.<sup>29</sup> And he who was going to stay there said, "I do not know how they will dance here, but anyway I shall stay and take care of the place, and there will be a proper month for it; it will not be well if they do not dance in the month for it. But if they do, it will be well for the world." And they said to him, "Take care of it here; we are going on." And he said, "Goodbye;<sup>30</sup> but it will not be well if the downriver

people come up to dance here at this place which I am taking care of at Segweu."

And they went on up to Clear Creek, to where Okonile'l is,<sup>31</sup> and there they thought they would have a Deerskin Dance,<sup>32</sup> and they left one of them close by the river at Okonile'l where they now dance, and they said to him, "This is where you will stay." And he said, "Yes, I shall stay here." And they said, "This is as far as we will go. Here we shall go uphill onto the ridges."<sup>33</sup> There are ten little round hills<sup>34</sup> here; that is where the rest of them went to. From there they always look out when they make the dam downriver, when they begin to make it on the hill opposite Kepel.<sup>35</sup> When they begin to set the hillside opposite Kepel on fire, then in the evening they upstream I always see much smoke coming up along the river.<sup>36</sup> Then they know that they have started their fire downriver there and have begun to make the dam. They said, "We shall leave it that way: that is how we shall always see it, smoke coming up in the river canyon, for we are leaving it to them to do like that, around the world."

### 5. Origin of New Years at Katimīn

By an old Karok upriver from Katimīn

[The following myth was obtained on May 24, 1902, in response to an inquiry as to the origin of the Katimīn New Year, from an old Karok whom I knew only as "Dick Richards' father-in-law," at a settlement on the west bank, four miles upriver from Katimīn. It is an origin tale of the bald "institutional" type common in the region: a description of custom transposed into a narrative of planning. It will be noted that the Inā'm and Camp Creek rituals are included, but the Amaikiaram Salmon Rite and Jumping Dance are not even mentioned, as if they were wholly distinct.]

How this world grew in the beginning: That sweat-house at Katimīn was the first. Ten of them grew there, ikhareya. "How shall we do?" they said.

Then one came downhill from the east, from isivsanan ipan, the end of the world; he came alone. Kasuhrivishkuru, "he came down hill to the river," is what he was called. He said, "Let us do it this way, to brace this world" (wompokuyanik pa isivsanan iktatik).

Coyote also came there. He went all over, believed nothing, and thought himself wise. So he said, "[Yes, let us brace it.] I will go into the sweat-house, and in the morning you will all shoot at marks. I will cross the river early and make fire." The ten had been thinking, "How shall we make it be for the people to grow after we are gone?" Now they thought, "No;

<sup>22</sup>On top of the ridge opposite Martin's Ferry.

<sup>23</sup>Bloody Camp, on the same ridge, more or less opposite Weitspus. Waterman, map 23, No. 12. There is a tree here which is addressed in the formula for the Weitspus Jumping Dance (see p. 68; also 3 and 7 in table on p. 79).

<sup>24</sup>Petsik-werol.

<sup>25</sup>Opposite the mouth of Camp Creek. The relation of this to Olege'l-kes is not clear. The Orleans, or more exactly Camp Creek, ceremony for world renewing is usually said by the Yurok to be held at Camp Creek, Olege'l. This name and Olar may be etymologically related. Orleans proper is called Panamenik by the Karok and Ko'men by the Yurok.

<sup>26</sup>Kiok-wonauslel. This agrees with the actual Karok determination by the moon.

<sup>27</sup>At the river in front of Olege'l.

<sup>28</sup>Or Segwu': Karok Katimīn.

<sup>29</sup>By Yurok standards it is short--two to five days instead of from ten up; and some of the dancing is or may be with brush, etc., instead of with treasures. Cf. myth 1, fn. 3.

<sup>30</sup>Tsū.

<sup>31</sup>Karok Inā'm.

<sup>32</sup>Usually so called by the Yurok, though many of them know other skins are used, and that the dancing is more as in the War Dance.

<sup>33</sup>Wonnāu u-krerertser.

<sup>34</sup>Uwogit, knolls or hillocks.

<sup>35</sup>Kepel wa-hi-won, where brush, etc., is gathered.

<sup>36</sup>Werol, "stream," evidently here meaning the Klamath.



when those human beings grow, it will be that they do not begin early in the morning. It will be that they hold otterskin [quivers] under their arms." Coyote said, "I will go to Keitšī to make fire [as formulist]." <sup>37</sup> The ten said, "I wish him to become hungry already on this side [of the river]. When human beings grow, they will be unable to do that, to travel a whole day and night, [fasting so far]." Coyote had made a place all smooth and had piled up wood where he was going to drill fire, and was carrying a skin under his arm in which he had his [drill and] pipe and tobacco. But he did not reach Keitšī; he was hungry and exhausted, and got only to the hill where fire is made now. <sup>38</sup>

In the morning the ten went out to shoot at marks. Coyote got to his woodpile, but put his otterskin on this as a pillow and lay down; he was too hungry and thirsty to do more. One of them came there. "Did you give out?" "Yes." "Well, you had better drill fire. When people grow in the world they can't do as you are now." So Coyote set his drill, began to turn it, and fell over from hunger. He tried again, but his hands stumbled. At last he got a spark, put on tinder, waved his hand, it blazed up, and he threw it into the woodpile. "Hide, all of you!" he called. Then they all looked away, the ten, and began to shoot. That is how people do now: no one looks at the fire [or smoke]; if they did, they might get burned [somewhere, later].

And as for that original sacred sweathouse, sometimes now they put new planks into it. When a side begins to be rotten, they recover that, but only that; they do not renew the whole house at once, else the world would be ruined. Its name is Kimaekiram ishīp, "the world is made by it." <sup>39</sup> And there is a stone in it; they made it then, and it is there now. It is what ikharey-arar [spirit man, the formulist] sits on at New Year, only he; at other times it is kept buried. Its name is isivsanan iktaktik, "brace of the world."

Now they had made everything (kōūru pikia), he who came from the east [viz., from uphill] and the ten, and Coyote. It was afternoon, and Coyote was resting in the corner of the sweathouse. They said, "Well, let us have two women." So they got two women [assistants, kiāvan, ikiavan] who pounded acorns for them. That was all they ate, and only at night. The first day they had eaten nothing; in the morning they ate. The two women also brought wood.

And they made yuhpīt, the little sand hill at Katimīn. They set the sand down there and said, "This world will be set down like this." It was a good-sized heap of sand, and every year since then they have added a little, and the formulist [ikharey-arar] stands by it

<sup>37</sup>Keitšī was described as the mountain at the head of Clear Creek at whose mouth is Inā'm where New Year is also made. It is probably a full forty miles from Katimīn. It would seem to be Preston Peak.

<sup>38</sup>This is Pinefis-Īsani of p. 19. Coyote is usually called Pinefitš. "His other name" was here given as Tishiramish kūnti or ushkūn.

<sup>39</sup>Kimachiram ishīp is the name of the sacred sweathouse. The "brace of the world" mentioned before is the sacred stone kept inside.

a long time, only smoking, without food or drink; or sometimes he sits down.

And the two women made the hill (heap?) ūyuk. The mountain Uyuk grew later "where" [as?] the women piled up acorn meal to leach it. <sup>40</sup> This [place? performance?] is called Ashauruhshuru kashōnnan (or: Chinikira), "where they make New Year" [sic].

Once the youngest of the ten was running around outside the sweathouse, playing; it was nearly New Year time. He said to the nine, "I am leaving you: I do not want to be here for another New Year. I am going to the [upriver] end of the world." But Kasuh-rivish-kuru told him not to leave. "No one must go away. Everyone is always to be here at New Year and do as we have done." [The boy went; but the others stayed and fixed the world.]

Im'ushan is one who assists the ikharey-arar. The pile of firewood is called kisirip ipsan kiri. A stone is got from the river, on which the fire drill is set; when the wood has all burned away, the ikharey-arar throws this stone away. Then the im'ushan, who has been near by but looking away from the fire, calls out to everybody to come back. Then some people say, "I wish to stay long in this world."

Then the ten ikhareya said, "Let us make ĩri [evidently for ĩrahiv] New Year also at Camp Creek." So they made it there, the same time as at Katimīn. "And let us make still another, upriver at Inā'm." So now they had instituted it at three places. At each there was an im'ushan assistant and two ikiavan women helpers.

Then they waited a year [to see]. Now many of the people were dying. Then one said, "I think it is not yet right. Let the formulist go without sleep. And let us have a Deerskin Dance to go with it." And they agreed with him. So they made the Deerskin Dance under the big pepperwood (laurel, bay) tree at Katimīn, to help keep the formulist [ikharey-arar] from getting sleepy.

And at first there were many deaths because New Year at Katimīn and at Camp Creek was made at the same time. Then they had it that Katimīn came a day or two after Camp Creek. So the next year, people came upriver from Camp Creek to Katimīn and said, "Hurry, make it now," and they began, and had a Deerskin Dance with it, and no one died. So they knew it was right.

## 6. Origin of Salmon and of Amaiklaram New Year

By Mary Ike, Karok married at Ashanamkarak

At Wēn'aram, the sacred house in Amaiklaram, two [ikhareya] girls lived. Coyote lived at Panamenik. He thought, "Let me go to see them." When he arrived, they were cracking acorns. "Oh, you eat this kind," said Coyote. He had put two pieces of white-oak bark into his quiver; now he reached in and took them out. "I use that kind too," he said.

When it became day he said, "I will go with you to get them." There were no acorns anywhere then ex-

<sup>40</sup>Uyuk is evidently Mt. Offield. Cf. p. 20. Actually it is not acorn meal that is piled up.

cept right there. He had heard that they had acorns in that place, and that they ate salmon; that is why he had come. Then he went uphill with the girls. High up he saw a tree with acorns on it. He stood with stones in his hand to hit the limbs. The girls said, "Don't," but he threw and hit a limb, hard, and the acorns were scattered everywhere. Then they came downhill and into the house again.

It became dark. Coyote said, "I am hungry. Let us eat. I have salmon. Do you eat salmon?" "Yes," said the girls. "How do you get it?" Coyote asked. Then they opened something in the side of the pit of the house. Coyote heard water splashing as they reached in and took out a salmon. As they cut it up, they asked him to get them firewood. He jumped up and brought it [from the indoor woodshed] and they made a large fire. When they went to eat supper, Coyote said, "I have my salmon." He took something out of his quiver: it was dark red and looked like dry salmon, but it was alder bark. He chewed and appeared to eat it. Then he cracked acorns with them. Some of the acorns he dropped into his quiver. Then they slept.

Then Coyote said, "Now I will catch a salmon." The girls said, "Don't! It is our salmon." "Ah, I like this kind," he said. They held him around the hips, but he dragged them along. "I will catch it," he said. As he started to reach into the hole in the side of the house to take out a salmon, he pulled off the boards and broke the container, and all the salmon ran out and flowed into the river.

Now human beings had nearly grown. The girls said, "Let us go uphill across river." They loaded their baskets and, taking their dog, started. Then one of them said, "I forgot my knife; wait for me." She got her knife and had nearly reached her sister when she heard her calling from above: "Yāsh arash tuēnish, the real people have come." Then she covered herself with her pack basket and her sister did the same. "Our dog was left behind." "Let it go," she said. "As long as people live we shall be angry if they do not cut our salmon properly; if they do not eat it well. We shall sit here forever." Then the people came. Then they heard Coyote shouting, "Shuhu!" far up on the hill above Katimín.

Now they are two white rocks, and their dog is a smaller rock below; they sit with their backs to the river. When people make New Year at Amaikiaram, when the first salmon is caught, they look down, once every year, and watch their salmon, to see how it is cut up and how it is eaten.

### 7. Origin of the Weitspus Jumping Dance

By B. Werk, Yurok of Weitspus

This tale was obtained in 1907 both in interpreted English and as a Yurok text spoken into the phonograph. On account of the length only an abstract is given here; the two full versions will be published in a collection of Yurok Myths which is in preparation. There is the more reason for this in that most of the tale is a story of trial, adventure, and escape which is barely brought into contact with the dance whose origin it explains.

Two young men of the houses hiwo (hiwok, higwo) and wogi (wogwu) of Weitspus, who were wealthy and equipped

the Deerskin Dance, used to cross the river to Pekwtuḷ to sleep with their sweethearts. (Hiwo was also the narrator's family house; wogi was the interpreter's home and the leading house for the Weitspus great dances.) One of the young men was struck with a belt by his girl. In grievance, they both went to bring in sweathouse wood [a means for acquiring power], and went farther and farther north of Weitspus into the mountains. The one from hiwo gave out and his partner had to leave him; but dragging himself one ridge farther, he came to the ocean at the north end of the world; where a woman carried him to her home in her pack basket to marry him. Her relatives set him a series of tasks intended to destroy him; but with the help of his weaselskin pipe pouch, and then of his wife, he survived all the trials. They were: slipping in the sweathouse, smoking poisonous tobacco, having coals blown into his eye if he slept, getting sweathouse fuel, being burned by the fire, catching flashing salmon which really are monsters that paralyze and drag under. The people there killed strangers by these devices to use their flesh as bait for dentalium money. Having survived, he was accepted as brother-in-law; but consented only if he might bring his friend and his sweathouse. He found his friend still gathering sweathouse fuel on the ridges and mourning him; and returned with him to their sweathouse in Weitspus. Inside it, they began to dance, with entrance and exit closed. People gathered around, including the two Pekwtuḷ girls, who in shame finally sank into the ground, leaving only their basket caps. The ground shook, the sweathouse moved with the dancing, then leaped and rested ten times in a course up Rivet Mountain, each step being where people now stop to make the Jumping Dance. (The list of spots is included in the comparative itinerary for Weitspus, p. 79).

It is clear that this is basically a hero tale, with ritual aetiology tacked on. There is too much personal and extraneous adventure for the story to have been originally a formula for the rite. The leaping sweathouse recurs in the following tale, no. 8, which, however, is a bald story of institutional origin type such as the Yurok and Karok like to tell alongside others with a plot of adventure.

Werk, the narrator, was understudy, when I first knew him, to Stone, the megwollep or formulist for the Weitspus rite; and became his successor. In one of his two versions it was the young man from house hiwo who took away the sweathouse, as I understood the translation; in the other, the one from wogi or wogwu. The latter in any event has been, during the brief historic period, the house whose head sponsored or equipped the dance sets or parties representing Weitspus itself in both Deerskin and Jumping Dance: the Yurok equivalent or near-equivalent of what Gifford's Karok informants call "owners" of dances.

### 8. Origin of the Weitspus Deerskin and Jumping Dances

By Lame Billy, Yurok of Weitspus

He grew at Wespen.<sup>41</sup> He thought, "I have grown alone in this world." Once in the morning he thought, "I will walk upstream." He came to Weitspus. He saw tracks,

<sup>41</sup>About a third of a mile downstream from Weitspus.

and thought someone must live there. He looked across to the other side of the river. He thought, "I did not know this [Trinity] river before. I knew only one river. There is a fine sand beach below. I shall go to look at it." He went down, thinking, "There is another river here. It is a beautiful place. I am glad I grew [near] here. I shall make a dance here. I shall bring my house upstream."

He came to the sand bar and saw one sitting there at the path. He was a fine young man. "Where are you going?" that one asked. [Wespen young man said:] "I am going downstream to bring my house here. I want to make it that they will have dances here, because it is beautiful and they have two rivers. It is the first time I have been here. I always remained downstream." "Yes, I know that you were born there. I think you do not know where I grew." "No." "Look across to the other side."<sup>42</sup> I have a sweathouse there and a house. I grew there. I have a younger brother, a little boy. Well, go bring your house. Where do you think you shall put it?" "I shall put my house on this side [of the river]." "When you do so, I shall come across tomorrow in the middle of the day to see you." "Yes, it will be done by that time."

The next day [the other one] thought, "It is nearly the middle of the day." Then he came across [from Pekwtu]. He looked, but saw no house. The brush was thick all about. He walked upstream and downstream in Weitspus. Then he saw a house and the man [from Wespen] sitting outside. He said to him, "Where is your sweathouse?" "I wanted to know, before making my sweathouse, what sort I should have, and I waited for you. Now I shall make it quickly because I know that there are [human] people all along that [Trinity] river and all along this [Klamath] river. I want everything to be made when they arrive. I know now that we shall not remain here. There will be another kind of people in this world. We must hurry."<sup>43</sup> "You had better decide about your sweathouse today." "Yes, let us go."

Then they went to a spot near by,<sup>44</sup> and he said, "I will have my sweathouse here." Before he finished it, the sun had nearly set. He said, "Tonight we shall make a dance inside: the Jumping Dance. We shall wait until tomorrow in the middle of the day. Then, if we hear that there is sickness, we shall change [the dance]."

Now it was sunset. Then they made a Jumping Dance in the sweathouse. They made it only a short time.

The next day, when it was nearly noon, a little boy came in. "Where are you from?" he asked him. "I live across the river. My older brother told me to tell you that sickness is coming<sup>45</sup> along the rivers. He said,

"Let him stop doing that with his sweathouse." "It is well. Tell him to come over again."

The little boy went and said to his brother, [the Wespen man's companion from Pekwtu] "He wants you over there again."

Then he [went across and] now saw a stone laid over the door of the sweathouse, so that the air could not come out. If it had come out, it would have made sickness. The one of Weitspus (Wespen) said, "Well, we shall see what we shall do. I have the skin of a year-old deer. It is fixed neatly and [the head is] stuffed with leaves." The one from opposite said, "I have other [dancing] things. I do not know what they are good for. Perhaps it will be well for us to put them together." "Yes, let us try it."

Then that one went to get his deerskin. When he brought it, he said, "This dance will be so. They will not begin in the morning. As long as this world lasts, if my dance is straight, they will begin toward evening. That is how it will be." Then toward evening they began. They began to make the dance from that place. They started down toward the sand beach. "How will they stand?" his friend asked him. "One will stand in the middle. He will face in the direction in which I grew [downriver]. Some will turn to Hupa. Some will face upriver. So we shall reach all those places with the dance." "Yes," he said. And then they began to dance there.

In the morning his friend came over [from Pekwtu] again and said, "That [also] did not go right. I think something bad will happen. Let us try the dance in another place."<sup>46</sup> "Yes. Let us wait until evening." Then they went to where the dance was to start. He said to them, "Try it [facing] downstream." Then they tried it. When they swayed their deerskins once, the sticks broke off where they held them. "I think it will be best if we bring it up to where my house is," he said. Then they went uphill. When they came to where the dance place is [now], one of them said, "Let us try it here. Let the people go uphill; no one is to stand below. We shall stand in a row facing them, and hold the deerskins pointing uphill." Then they tried it so. When they saw it, they were happy. All felt good. Looking about, they saw everyone in the crowd smiling; some were laughing. The Weitspus young man said, "Well, how do you feel about it now?" "This is a good place. When I look away, I think that I see nearly the whole world, the day is so fine."

Now the little boy came from across the river. He said, "I do not think that, if I go where you want us to go to, I shall be able to do without tobacco." "That

<sup>42</sup>To Pekwtu.

<sup>43</sup>Almost every other Yurok myth speaks of the great transformation as immediately impending. Taken literally, this would congest most of the events of their mythology into a few days. It is of course a stylistic device aimed at emotional heightening of each situation, such as is possible to a people at once unsystematic and devoid of exact time sense; an aesthetic exaggeration.

<sup>44</sup>"The house pit behind Weitchpec Johnny's house." Cf. Weitspus, "Praying Spots, LB," no. 2.

<sup>45</sup>This is a frequent Yurok concept, in and out of mythology.

<sup>46</sup>The dance as now made was found by these institutors by trial and correction. Unsuitable paraphernalia were employed, the wrong place or time chosen, a faulty alignment attempted, and sickness, ill-ease, or other disadvantage resulted. When satisfactory consequences were finally obtained, they fixed as permanent the form of dance that had preceded them. This point of view, which is found in myth after myth, in those dealing with nature as well as those concerned with institutions, is evidently connected with the fact that the Yurok have little sense of creators or truly divine personages. Their woge, and even the individually named heads of these like Pulekukwerek, are a race more or less parallel to the human one; are after all only men of ancient days and somewhat enlarged powers.

is so," he said; "I do not know how they will give me tobacco after I am gone." "Well, I will tell you what I shall do. When I grew, I could talk the next day. Then I went out and talked to a rock. I know where it is. That is how I knew that they would always give us tobacco when they make this dance, if I brought that rock across to this [Weitspus] side. You, too, must find one." "Yes, I shall find one," said the Weitspus young man. Then the boy said to his older brother, "You find one too." "Yes, I will find it." The boy said, "We will bring them across and set them in the brush."

The next day they fetched their rocks across. They said, "Where shall we put them? We will put them farther up." Then they set the little boy's at one place;<sup>47</sup> they set his older brother's uphill: they counted how many steps away: it was eight steps. From there they measured downriver ten steps. The rock there belonged to Weitspus young man.<sup>48</sup>

Then the boy said, "How many [offering] places do you want?" "I want five," he said. Then they measured twelve steps downriver to the pepperwood tree.<sup>49</sup> Then they returned and went four steps upstream from the first rock. There they set another rock, now covered. Then they went down to the dancing place. The boy said to his older brother, "Stand in the middle." To Weitspus (Wespen) young man he said, "Stand at the end. I shall stand here. Now listen. If any people ever forget what I say, it will not be good. If they do not lose what I say, this world will be good. Now you two listen to me."

Then they stood listening. The boy talked. "As long as the world lasts, this dance will be, and not one word will be mistaken. I want to leave this dance here. While the world stands, they will begin in only one way. They will go to my rock and speak to it and give me tobacco on it. We do not know where we are going, but we shall not live here. There will be others [in our place]."

Now he finished speaking. Then they began to dance. All were happy and smiled.

Next day, when they looked, they saw many people from the Trinity, from downriver, from upriver, [come to watch]. Weitspus young man thought, "That is the kind of dance I wanted to have."

Then one morning Pekwtuŋ young man waited. He thought he should see them dancing. He did not see them. Next morning he thought, "I will go across and see. Something is wrong. They do not dance today." He came to Weitspus, to the dancing place, and saw no fire started. He went up, looked in the sweathouse, and saw no one. He went into the house, and saw no one there. He came outdoors again. Then he saw someone. He asked him, "Where is that one?" "He went away, I do not know where. He went last night."

<sup>47</sup>"In front of my house," said the narrator. It seems to be no. 2 (?) of RS "Itinerary"; no. 3 of LB "Praying Spots"; and the first place after the sweathouse in St's "Data"; all in the section on Weitspus.

<sup>48</sup>These rocks are no doubt among those addressed, with an offering of tobacco, when the formula for the Weitspus Deerskin Dance is spoken.

<sup>49</sup>This is no. 1 in Weitspus "Itinerary, RS" and "Praying Spots, LB."

In the afternoon, Pekwtuŋ young man said to his little brother, "Go across and make a dance. It is not good if we let two days go by. It will be that they must not miss a year. One summer they will have no dance; then the next year they must have it."<sup>50</sup> If we do not dance this evening it will not be right." Then the boy came across to below Weitspus. He began a dance that evening.

They waited four days, five days. Weitspus young man did not return. Sometimes the older brother, sometimes the boy, came across from Pekwtuŋ to make the dance.

Then one morning, sitting outside his sweathouse at Pekwtuŋ, he heard him [of Wespen-Weitspus] on the other side, bringing in sweathouse wood, and thought, "Now he has come back." He crossed and saw him sitting in his house. "You have been away long." "I was not here. I was not in this world. I was at the downriver end of the earth, at the very end. I know that it will be that I shall go off that way. I shall start tomorrow and come back in one day. It was a beautiful place where I was. You had better come with me."

"I do not think I shall go there. But I will ask my younger brother. Wherever my little brother wants to go, there I shall go."

"When I come back, tomorrow, I shall tell you what I shall do."

Then that one went back [to Pekwtuŋ] and entered his sweathouse. The little boy thought, "What is it?" He too went into the sweathouse. Then, after a time, his older brother talked. He said, "He is going to leave." The boy said no word.

The next day, at noon, the older brother went across and saw Weitspus young man sitting in his house. He [of Weitspus] said, "Well, I shall leave to-day. This my dance will be thus as long as the world stands. I shall take along my sweathouse, that is all." He looked at him and saw that he had a feather standing at the back of his head, and he held a Jumping Dance basket. Looking at him he thought, "How will he carry his sweathouse away? I do not believe it." He thought again, "He cannot carry his sweathouse." He said, "How will your dance be at the end?" "That is why I think I shall take my sweathouse. My dance will be a Jumping Dance at the last, when everything [else] is done."<sup>51</sup> I will make it so." Then he stood up and said, "Well, I go."

Then he entered his sweathouse. As soon as he began to look about in it, the sweathouse began to move, to turn. The one from Pekwtuŋ stood by outside. When he began to leap the Jumping Dance step inside, swinging his basket in his hand, the sweathouse flew up. Then it swung back to its place. Again he stood up and stepped and swung, turning, and the sweathouse flew up the hill. Then he made the Jumping Dance there for a little time. Then it flew farther up, to each dancing place, and the crowd of people followed. When he came to the summit where they dance, he stayed there for the night with his sweathouse. Then he gave them his instructions. He

<sup>50</sup>It is the usual Yurok practice to hold the dance at any locality in alternate years.

<sup>51</sup>The Weitspus Deerskin Dance is followed by the Jumping Dance, held on the mountain behind the town.

said, "Now you Weitspus people, when you make this dance, do not eat below [in the town or on the way]. Eat only when you arrive here."<sup>52</sup>

Then he went off with his sweathouse to the downstream end of the world.

Then Pekwtu! young man began to think, "Let me go off too." He went into his house and prepared his things. When it was nearly day he went outside. He went down to the river and stood on the spit between the two rivers. He stretched his hand downstream and thought if he felt wind against his hand he would not go that way. Soon he felt wind. He drew his hand back and stretched it uphill [north] and it was the same; then upstream and it was the same. Then he stretched it south [up the Trinity]. Then he felt nothing. "I shall go that way."

He went and came to Oyego's.<sup>53</sup> He tried to sit down there. He did not feel well.

So he started again. He came to Alusei.<sup>54</sup> He tried to sit down there. He did not feel well, so he started again.

Then he came to Tepo'ohk where the Whilkul<sup>55</sup> live. There he stopped. Next morning, when it was nearly beginning to be day, he heard singing. He listened. Then he heard it again. He got up. He looked about and thought, "I shall have bad luck." Then he remembered: "Where is my brother? I forgot my little brother there!" Then he knew. He had left the boy still sleeping. Then he went outdoors, looking about, and thought, "He is the one who is singing, my little brother. I shall go back to where I grew, to get my little brother."

It did not take him long to return. He stood where he had had his sweathouse [at Pekwtu!]. His sweathouse was gone. Everything was gone. He sat down at the river. Then he watched if the Trinity would move. If it moved, he would see where his brother had gone. He saw nothing. He thought, "I shall stay here to-night. I may see him or hear him. Perhaps he will sing again tomorrow morning."

When it began to be day, he saw both the Trinity and the Klamath moving. He thought, "What is it?" He looked both ways. Before long he heard a dance coming on this side and on that side. Soon it was full day and he saw a round fog moving down on the water, one fog down the Trinity, one down the Klamath. They were dancing in boats [inside the fogs]. He thought, "I will stop them. I will speak first to the one coming down the Klamath." He said, "Stop!" Then they stopped in the middle of the river, but they did not come to him [at the shore]. Then he said to the one on the Trinity, "Stop!" He said, "No. I will not stop. I shall go on. You thought I should not know where you were. You left me in the sweathouse, my older brother. You did wrong. Now I shall do something too. You shall hear of me. I too shall

<sup>52</sup>All who dance, or go to watch, the Weitspus Jumping Dance may not eat from the night before until the last and highest dance spot is reached.

<sup>53</sup>On Redwood Ridge.

<sup>54</sup>Liscum Hill, beyond, to the south.

<sup>55</sup>A Hupa-speaking group on upper Redwood Creek and lower Mad River. The Yurok had very little intercourse with them. Tepo'ohk was said to be inland from Eureka city.

make things. Let me pass, my brother. You will know that you wronged me. But I shall live thus and have a name. You take a name too. Mine will be Kewomer.<sup>56</sup> Now I go." Then he asked the one in the boat on the Klamath, "What is your name?" "Mine is Kermerwermeri."<sup>57</sup>

Then his younger brother went on. Every evening he comes down the Trinity and his friend comes down the Klamath, and every evening they go downstream [and across the ocean] to where Wohpekumeu lives, and dance. Every morning they come back upstream.

#### 9. Origin of Salmon, Kowetsek, and Weikwāu Salmon Rite

By Stone, Yurok Formulist for the Weitspus Ritual

[The following is not a proper myth, but an endeavor by the informant to satisfy my request, in 1902, for an account of the origin of salmon. He told in brief outline the episode, familiar to every Yurok, of Wohpekumeu's theft of the concealed first salmon; another snatch, of the institutional myth type, about the salmon run; added some folklore not in narrative form about the great head-salmon Nepewo and his home Kowetsek across the ocean; summarized a formula, associated with Wohpekumeu, for luck in salmon fishing; went on, at somewhat greater length, to tell the story which explains the origin, or constitutes the kernel, of the formula spoken at the annual first-salmon or new-year ceremony made at Weikwāu at the mouth of the Klamath; and finished this with interlardings of description of the ritual and taboos. There is no formal unity to the account; but it seems to be much the sort of thing which a Yurok might now and then string together to tell his son or nephew as they lay in the sweathouse.]

The origin of the Weikwāu First Salmon Ceremony, as a unit in itself, was obtained from the same informant five years later, as a text on the phonograph, and subsequently Englished. It is repetitious and contains nothing that is not in section F of the present version.]

A. It was at Enek<sup>58</sup> that they first made salmon. Two women lived there. There were no salmon in the world when Wohpekumeu, Across-the-ocean widower, came. He entered and saw [the women]. One said to the other, "What shall we eat?" She said, "Go up on the terrace."<sup>59</sup> She climbed up while Wohpekumeu sat and watched her trying to conceal what she did. She had a box with water and salmon inside. She took one out. Then they split it, put it on sticks, and broiled it. Wohpekumeu put his hand

<sup>56</sup>Kewomer is usually the son of Kapuloyo and grandson of Wohpekumeu. Another tale by this informant, which makes him such, has him come nightly downstream on his way to Pulekuk to dance--as here.

<sup>57</sup>Compare the invisible Kermerwermeri boatload of dancers at the end of myth no. 1, "Origin of the Deerskin Dance."

<sup>58</sup>The Yurok name of Karok Amaikiaram. In view of the New Year ceremony for salmon here, the attribution to this place of the first actual salmon, customary in Yurok belief, is natural.

<sup>59</sup>Metku, the peripheral part of a Yurok house at ground level, as contrasted with the sunken center.

into his carrying case<sup>60</sup> and said, "I shall eat my salmon." They looked and saw him draw it out. It was really alder bark.<sup>61</sup> They thought, "Where did he get his salmon?" for they were the only ones that owned salmon, and had concealed them. Wohpekumeu watched, thinking, "Let me learn with surety whether it is they who keep salmon: for I have never seen it before." Now when they cooked their salmon they put angelica root<sup>62</sup> into its mouth before they set it by the fire, that they might not have bad luck. Then they said, "Let us go out." As soon as Wohpekumeu saw that he was alone in the house, he went hastily where he had seen them take the salmon. He found the box, tipped it over, and ran out. The water flowed to the river.<sup>63</sup> Wohpekumeu ran upstream. The two women pursued him. They were about to catch him when he saw two tan-oak trees.<sup>64</sup> He jumped between them, saying, "Spread apart: they are about to overtake me." When he was between, they closed around him. The two women went around outside, unable to reach him.

B. Then Wohpekumeu said, "Let the river run downstream," and he blew downstream. That is how the river comes to flow. Before, there had been none. Wohpekumeu said to the river, "First of all a great salmon must come up. He will be the salmon chief. They shall never catch him with nets. They shall catch only the little ones."

C. Every spring the great head-salmon has to come first and all the little ordinary ones follow him upstream. He is called Nepewo. The place downstream<sup>65</sup> from which he leaves is Kowetsek. That is where he lives. When he comes from there he runs right up the middle of the river: so he is never caught with nets. When he comes to Enek he circles around in the river several times, looking at the place.<sup>66</sup>

D. At the beginning the woge wanted to have salmon run up only one side of the river, so that they might be sure to have salmon there, but only there. Then they tried it thus. But they never caught anything. Then they changed. They thought, "Let them come upstream on both sides." Now they began to catch some; so they knew that now they were coming upstream the right way. In some places the water eddies upstream. That is the salmon's resting-place.<sup>67</sup> There he does not have to swim: the water carries him up.

E. Wohpekumeu, because it was he who made the river,

went up it to see how it ran. He saw many people along it, but all were afraid of him. They did not want him about because whatever woman he saw he took. So he came to the end of the river, to Petskuk.<sup>68</sup> Then he came downstream again. All along the river he saw nobody. They had all run away from him. They did not want to see him because he always desired women. Then he went on across the ocean to Kowetsek. There he saw those who had lived on the river but had gone there because they feared him. They saw him coming. They saw him across the river<sup>69</sup> and one shouted, "Here he is again." Wohpekumeu sat down at the river. He thought, "Why do they fear me? I never do them harm." He took a stick, set it up in the water, and thought, "I will make my fishing-place here. I will teach them how to catch salmon." Then his medicine<sup>70</sup> began to talk behind him. He looked back and took it: it was fir needles. He rubbed and crushed them between his hands over the water where he was going to fish, and, as the needles fell and touched the water, he saw the salmon begin to leap there.

F. There was a young man at Wełkwāu. Every day he remained in the sweathouse. They always saw him asleep<sup>71</sup> and thought that he remained constantly. But he was not always there. At night he would go off across the ocean to Kowetsek. There he saw many people standing along the river holding salmon harpoons. He saw them: that is how human beings learned to use salmon harpoons. He thought, "I would like to take that home." Then he spoke to the headman there and the headman said, "If you want to learn this thing, stay here and I will tell you how to use the medicine." So he stayed.

They went down to the river and saw Nepewo coming.<sup>72</sup> The headman stood ready, holding his spear. The one from Wełkwāu stood by him. The headman said, "Watch me." When he saw the great salmon moving slowly along, he motioned as if to thrust, but held his harpoon back. Then he began to talk to Nepewo. He said, "I wish many salmon would come. I want no one to have ill luck, but all to do well. I want no one to be bitten by rattlesnakes. I want no sickness to be. Let everything grow well, acorns and grass seeds, and other things."<sup>73</sup> While he talked, he poised his harpoon, pointing it at Nepewo who went on slowly. But he did not strike, and the great salmon went on his way. It was him that he had addressed.

<sup>60</sup>Egor: a piece of skin folded once lengthwise and with a stick attached along each edge. The skin is dried in bent position, and springs naturally together after opening. The whole article has much the external shape and size of a quiver, but is carried clamped under the arm.

<sup>61</sup>Slabs of dried salmon have much the rusty color and texture of alder bark.

<sup>62</sup>Wołpei. Of all roots and herbs except tobacco it is the greatest standby in Yurok magic, especially of the more ritualistic sort.

<sup>63</sup>That is, to where the river would be.

<sup>64</sup>Homono.

<sup>65</sup>And across the ocean.

<sup>66</sup>The natal spot of his species, so to speak.

<sup>67</sup>Woegolok.

<sup>68</sup>"Upstream," here as the name of the eastern end of the world.

<sup>69</sup>Imaginary worlds have a way of being replicas of this one, and the Yurok world is built around a river.

<sup>70</sup>The herb, leaf, or root used with a formula.

<sup>71</sup>The northwestern Indians, especially the older men, have a faculty of spending indefinite periods lying in a somnolent condition; although this does not seem to prevent them from rousing their full faculties on occasion. Nothing much would have been thought of the young man appearing to sleep day after day and night after night.

<sup>72</sup>The entire performance is that which occurred annually at the mouth of the Klamath--transferred to its mythical phase across the ocean. See Yurok Narratives, 1942, tale no. 12.

<sup>73</sup>This prayer, if the series of blunt requests can be so called, perhaps forms part of the formula recited at the Wełkwāu New Year ceremony.

Then, after he had let Nepewo escape, the headman went to the mouth of the river [across the ocean] and watched for other salmon. As soon as he saw one, he speared it. He said, "If you catch salmon thus at the mouth,<sup>74</sup> do not use a wooden club to kill them. Take a stone and hit them on the head. If you use wood it will be bad: you will not catch more. But upstream everyone may use wooden clubs. And if you catch salmon at the mouth, bury them in the sand. Do not let them lie out. Even if you catch twenty, bury every one. Let only the tails stick out."

Then he from Wełkwāu saw him carrying that salmon away. He saw that when the headman of Kowetsek started to go to his house, he carried the salmon in his right hand. Then when he came to a certain place he changed it to his left hand. Across the stream were many men, all shouting about the salmon. Now they came up to the house and he was about to cut up his salmon. Then he took angelica root and rubbed it between his hands, letting it drop into the fire. Then, as he cooked, the smell was good. Not everybody might eat of the salmon cooked like this. If a man had slept with a woman the night before, he might not even remain in the house when this was being done, or he would become sick, for the angelica was medicine.

Then he saw how they did with their salmon harpoon, keeping it outside the sweathouse. He learned this at Kowetsek: that is why they do thus now at the mouth of our river. The night before he was going to use his harpoon, the headman rested it on a stick.<sup>75</sup> He said to him, "Always point the spear towards me<sup>76</sup> before you are going to use it: set it up like this and talk to it."

Now the man who is to spear the next day does not sleep. All night he throws angelica into the fire in the sweathouse and talks to his harpoon outside so that he may have good luck. And he must have a man ready to eat his salmon when he has speared it. And if he sees a woman bathing in the creek, naked, he will not spear, but goes back. It is difficult to harpoon the salmon, and necessary to make the medicine first. Thus they do at the mouth of the [Klamath] river.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup>Of the Klamath.

<sup>75</sup>The front end is supported on an upright stick, the butt rests on the ground.

<sup>76</sup>Toward Kowetsek, west.

<sup>77</sup>Here the narrator has lapsed from mythical narrative into outright description of ritual. He returns to his story in the ensuing paragraph, only to leave it for explanation once more.

Then he of Wełkwāu went to Kowetsek again. He wished to learn more, because there were not many salmon. When he arrived he said to the headman, "There are not many salmon at the mouth of the river." Then the one of Kowetsek said, "It is well. This time I shall give you more. At first I did not believe that you were going to do what I told you, but now [that I see you are in earnest] I shall give you more of the medicine that I use. And you must feed the one at Wełkwāu enough: feed him angelica." He meant the [sacred] pipe in the house at Wełkwāu which helps to bring the salmon. This is alive. If one sees it he might think it is only a pipe, a wooden pipe with a little stone bowl: but it is a person.<sup>78</sup>

When he who is going to make medicine at the mouth of the river has taken the salmon, it is carried up to Wełkwāu and sliced. There the man who is to eat it is ready. He has stayed in the sweathouse for some time, getting sweathouse wood daily. Now the salmon is cooking with angelica root and he begins to eat. The headman at Kowetsek had said, "If you eat the entire salmon you will always be lucky. If he who eats this salmon eats it all, he will have fortune all his life." But no one ever eats the whole salmon at once: it is too much for him, for it is too greasy. Many men have tried, because he of Kowetsek spoke thus, but no one has succeeded.

Now perhaps he who has eaten it wishes to go southward. Then he has to wait five nights before he starts along the coast. If he wants to go downstream [north along the coast], he must cross the river to Rekwol and stay there five nights before he travels. That is because the salmon has been caught and cooked with medicine, and therefore the medicine is inside of him. After five nights it is well: he may go. But if he is to travel upriver, it is only three nights that he need wait before starting.<sup>79</sup>

Lamprey-eels were also first made at Kowetsek. If one catches them at the mouth of the river, he must cover them with sand. But if one who has killed a person goes out to gaff lamprey-eels there, he does not bury them, so that he may leave hurriedly at any time. Such a man is constantly looking about him because he has killed:<sup>80</sup> therefore he lets his eels dry lying on the sand. Also he does not string them through their mouths but carries them off in his quiver.

<sup>78</sup>This pipe is so powerful as to be very much dreaded by the Yurok.

<sup>79</sup>The reason for this easing of the taboo is not clear.

<sup>80</sup>He is uneasy because avengers may at any time appear.

# APPENDIX III

## MYTHS RECORDED BY GIFFORD

The following myths and fragments of myths have some bearing on world-renewal ceremonies.

### 1. Origin of the Deerskin and Jumping Dances

by Georgia Orcutt

Ixkareya first instituted dances downriver at Avnai [Yurok Kepell]. After finishing the dam ceremony and dance at Avnai, they moved to Fidipom (or Filipamyusta) [Johnson's, Wohtek] and initiated the Deerskin Dance there. Then they made the Deerskin Dance at Ansafriki [Yurok Weitspus]. One man made medicine for it; he is called in Karok tatushira, "sweeper."<sup>1</sup> Next they initiated it at Panamenik. There the first attempt was not successful because much sickness followed. The second year it was right and people were healthy thereafter.

From Panamenik they went to Amaikiaram, where again it took two years to make the Jumping Dance right. The first occasion was followed by deaths. Many ixkareya young people who were swimming in the river at the time were found lying dead on the beach. Next year the Jumping Dance was successful and people were healthy thereafter. Then the Deerskin Dance was initiated at Katimin, and the War Dance at Inam.

### 2. Coyote at Pinefisisani

by Shan Davis

In the beginning in ixkareya times, Coyote wanted to make a fireplace far away at Preston Peak<sup>2</sup> and have arrow shooters go so far. Coyote argued for this, saying he could go that far easily. The people grudgingly consented. Coyote, as fatawenan, set out. When he arrived at Pinefisisani he was tired and lay down. The archers coming along found him lying there. He was only a little way out from Katimin.

### 3. Coyote at Pinefisisani

by Mary Ike

Coyote said: "I'll start it. I'll be the first one to go there." The people were assembled and discussing how they should do the irahiv. No one wanted to undertake it, so Coyote said he would be fatawenan. So they painted him and got him ready. They gave him the wikyapu with its paraphernalia contents.

They told him all he would have to do. He said, "What are you folks afraid of? I can do it." So he went to the different fireplaces. Then he went to Pinefisisani.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup>In the Panamenik Deerskin Dance there is no tatushira.

<sup>2</sup>App. II, story 5, fn. 37, gives the Karok name of the mountain at the head of Clear Creek as Keitšl, probably to be equated to Preston Peak.

<sup>3</sup>In 1940 Georgia Orcutt gave the name of this place as "Pinefuyorif" and the meaning as "Coyote lay there."

men came shooting arrows but could not find the fire. Finally they found where Coyote had made a little fire and lain down.

"What's the matter?" they asked him. Coyote replied: "I gave out. I'm hungry and thirsty." It is said that any time now the fatawenan goes to that place he feels all tired out, famished, and thirsty.

### 4. Origin of the War Dance

by Georgia Orcutt

Coyote announced that people from Unmakasururup [refers to hole through mountain] were coming from far off to the north to hold the War Dance at Orleans. The Unmakasururup arara [people] arrived and danced in their finery.

Two pretty girls living at Orleans were induced to sit at ends of the line to look on. One dancer in finery danced close to where each of them sat. The Panamenik people suspected this was Coyote and sent someone up to his fishing place near the mouth of Orleans Creek to see if he was there. Down at his fishing rock [fertility rock] he appeared to be sitting with a deerskin blanket over him. But it was only a basket, covered so as to look like Coyote.

Returning, they tried to kill Coyote, who escaped downriver and hid in a sweathouse in a Yurok village upstream from Kepel. There he misdirected his pursuers, who did not recognize him.

The Unmakasururup people had turned into goldfinches when the people set upon Coyote to avenge his having made the two girls pregnant. Pinefunitim [coyote urine] is the name for goldfinch, which Coyote made by urinating on a hollow tree.

After Coyote thus introduced the sivstap [War Dance], the ixkareya said that kind was to be danced after someone was killed.

### 5. Mockingbird and Varied Thrush

by Mary Ike

In ixkareya times, Mockingbird, who arrived in the spring, owned a fishery at Amaikiaram, but he had nothing to do with the xadiara or the sarukiruišrihan of the First Salmon Ceremony. Varied Thrush arrived in the fall and owned an acorn grove. When these two met in the fall and spring, they exchanged views about acorns and salmon. As Mockingbird leaves in the autumn, he meets Varied Thrush and tells him about the prospects for the acorn crop. When Varied Thrush leaves in the spring, he tells Mockingbird about the salmon fishing at Amaikiaram.

### 6. The Release of the Salmon

by Mary Ike

At Amaikiaram three ixkareya women who began the First Salmon Ceremony lived in the wenaram. One of these three went to Sufip [Yurok "Rekwoi," English



"Requa" to initiate the First Salmon Ceremony there. The two left at Amaikiaram stayed there and cracked acorns. They went up on the hill to Asipdashakanamitiida ["Where they shut the water off"] above Nelson's ranch. After gathering tan-oak acorns above Nelson's, they returned to the wenaram to crack them. While they were cracking them in their house, someone peered in at them. The girls said: "That must be Coyote." The next day it happened again. All at once they heard someone stamping. Then he came in. Then he sat down.

"Oh, are you folks making [preparing] acorns?" "Yes, that's what we eat." The visitor had been hanging around to get a look at the acorn shells. He saw them under the wooden step into the house pit. He [secretly] took a shell and put it in his quiver. Then he said: "You folks eat this kind. I eat it too." The girls said: "Oh, yes?" in a doubting manner. "Yes, I'll show it to you," and he reached into his quiver and produced the two half-shells he had stolen.

Then one of the girls said: "Let's eat." As Coyote sat there he thought to himself: "I wonder what they are going to eat." The other girl said: "All right." As she sat down she banged her elbows against the outside wall of the house on the downriver side. Then she reached behind her into the "river" and brought out a salmon. She took out a large basket tray [xasipnara] and threw the salmon into it. She took her flint knife [yuhidim] and cut the salmon and started to cook it. The visitor wished he could eat some of it. The two women ate the salmon and acorns.

The visitor said: "You folks eat that kind. I eat that kind too." He reached into his quiver and pulled out a piece of alder bark. "I eat dried salmon too." He started to chew the bark. After the meal he stayed all night. They conversed.

In the morning the women had their salmon and the visitor ate more alder bark, taken from his quiver. The women said: "Let's go and collect acorns." The visitor said: "I'll go too. That's the kind I pick up." Coyote went along. When he got to the tree, he threw a stone at it, so the acorns scattered over the ground. Then the girls said: "Don't. Those are our acorns. They belong to us." Then he threw another stone and said: "I want these trees to grow everywhere," as the acorns scattered in all directions.

Then he said: "I guess I'll go. I'm going out to Tishram [Scott Valley]. I'll stop in when I return."

To themselves the women said: "I'm suspicious he is going to spoil our cataract. Let's go home." But Coyote had already run down and pulled away the board where the girl had taken out the salmon. He let the salmon out and they started to go upstream, thus scattering. He spoiled the falls which had prevented the salmon going upstream.

When the women looked over the hill, they could not see or hear their falls and they started to cry. When they arrived home, they found their stones which they used to heat to cook their salmon. These and the two sticks for picking up the hot stones they left there for use in the First Salmon Ceremony at Amaikiaram.

Then the women decided to go away. They climbed a hill. They crossed the river and climbed another hill. Then one realized she had forgotten her knife. The other said she had better get it. She got part way downhill, but

she was too late, for the [human] Karok had already arrived at Amaikiaram. So the two girl ixkareya<sup>4</sup> turned into white quartz rocks, which can be seen today. One is a little below the other on the mountainside on the east side of the river. The knife the salmon priest uses is the one that was left by the ixkareya girl.

### 7. Origin of the First Salmon Ceremony

by Shoemaker John, Hupa

At the Karok town of Amaikiaram (Hupa Naklinding, which means "zigzag") the men were in the sweat-house singing. Two girls on the hillside above the sweat-house stood watching and saw two men approaching the sweathouse. The girls called to the men in the sweathouse that two Yurok had come. The men in the sweathouse instructed the girls to order the strangers to leave. The Yurok then went to the river. One dived in and became Sturgeon. The other became Cormorant and flew away.

Later another man approached and the girls asked him whence he came. "I am a Hupa," he replied. Then the men in the sweathouse said: "Tell him to enter." He did so. The Karok never allowed the Yurok to participate in the salmon ceremony, but did allow the Hupa.

The Hupa [kixunai] who went to Amaikiaram stayed there a long time and his people wondered where he had gone. Another went to look around and went clear to the mouth of Klamath, and around the coast, and across the ocean to another land where the salmon were created. He arrived at a pond (like the one in Sugar Bowl),<sup>5</sup> where the salmon were impounded. One salmon was the leader, whom the others followed. He caught the leader. He put hazel twine through its gills and led it back. When he arrived below Weitspus he could hear the falls just below Xaslinding on the Trinity River. He led the salmon up to the falls. There he let the leader go. All the salmon had followed the leader to this place.

He caught one salmon, put it in the pool Kaiyanezich ["middle of fishing place"], where he questioned it. "If a person eats you and then eats bear meat, what will you do?" The salmon lay still. He then asked: "What would you do if a person ate you and then ate trout?" The salmon lay still again. "What would you do if a woman who had had a miscarriage ate you?" The salmon floated belly up as if dead. It is so today. If a woman who had had a miscarriage ate fish, they would die out. After asking all the questions, the kixunai man turned the salmon loose. The man was Yimantuwingyai.

From Amaikiaram the first man started back. When he reached Weitspus, he saw salmon scales at the mouth of the Trinity. Then he was reminded of what he had gone to Amaikiaram for. He had no idea that someone would have forestalled him on the salmon. He arrived back at Xaslinding. A salmon was already caught when he arrived, and the ceremony had been made without his aid.

<sup>4</sup>According to Sandy Bar Joe, 1942 informant, the two ixkareya were a girl and a man.

<sup>5</sup>See Goddard, Hupa Life and Culture, map. Xaime is the Hupa name for Sugar Bowl.

8. Yinukatsisdai's Pipe

by Mary Socktish

Yinukatsisdai's pipe was originally left to the Hupa by a man who became a kixunai. When they went about the Acorn Feast, Yinukatsisdai always took the pipe to the feast ground in a basket platter. It had been broken and repaired.

The Chimariko once attacked Takimikding and stole the pipe. On their way home most of them sickened and died on account of the pipe. They bled to death. Finally,

they decided that the pipe was the cause, so they broke it and threw it in the river. However, it floated back to Takimikding, where they soak the sacred acorns. The priest saw it and recognized it. He picked it up, but it fell to pieces. He gathered the pieces, brought them to the xonta nikyao, glued them together, and tied the whole with sinew. He dreamed that it was the pipe stolen from there by the Chimariko. The pipe told him in his dream: "I am the pipe stolen from here. I swam back to the shore." It was used after the repairing, but finally was lost for good.

# APPENDIX IV

## DOUBTFUL INTERPRETATIONS AND PROBLEMS

(Kroeber)

It seems desirable to discuss a few interpretations in regard to which the two authors diverge or are unsure.

Dance ownership.--Kroeber believes that he and Gifford see the situation as to ownership and initiation of world-renewal dances substantially alike, but differ somewhat in the choice of words or in the implications appropriately describing the facts. These seem to Kroeber more plastic than conveyed by terms like "owners," "nonownership," "nonsalable rights," "consent" to dance, etc. However, the reader should not let himself be distracted by any seeming difference here. Kroeber admits cheerfully that the data he has himself reported<sup>1</sup> can be construed without difficulty as supporting Gifford's formulations. It is just that he would not formulate them precisely as Gifford does. This is obviously a stylistic or temperamental divergence, which it seems best to us not to try to resolve factitiously, by compromising or averaging our natural ways of expressing ourselves. It is hoped that readers will take the situation in the same spirit.

It is of course possible that there are actual differences in the customs of the Karok, chiefly studied by Gifford, and the Yurok, observed by Kroeber, rather than divergences in our formulations. But Kroeber does not think so. The chief ethnic differentiation he would recognize on this point is that among the lower Karok, at Panamenik and Amaikiaram, the ownership, initiation, control, or leadership as regards dancing resides in families or houses outside the town to which the dance is attributed. That is, there seems to be no set or party of dancers representing the home town. For this there is no precedent among upper Karok, Hupa, or Yurok. For Panamenik the situation is much as if the dancing at Weitspus were made only by competing teams representing neighboring Pekwtu<sup>l</sup> and Wahsek. For Amaikiaram, the case is as if the Weitspus dancing were wholly in the hands of those people at Murek, Sregon, Pekwon, and Ko'tep who also put on the dances at Pekwon.

There is no known reason for this local departure of the lower Karok from general pattern; nor can one be alleged with easy confidence. It does look as if the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance, which is unusually loose in its connection with the Amaikiaram salmon rite, might possibly at one time in its history have had some association with the Panamenik irahiv, so that the same families or houses which had dance privileges or precedences there were able to claim them also for the Amaikiaram dance. Concretely, if the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance, in addition to being controlled or "owned"

by families living in the vicinity of Panamenik, had once been actually performed there also, we should then have had at that former time a situation paralleling the joint Deerskin-Jumping Dance control at Weitspus, at Kepel-Wohkero, and in the main at Hupa. This reconstruction is wholly speculative; but it would at least account for the present aberrance from pattern.

The following is Kroeber's formulation of the basic organization, management, control, or ownership of the Deerskin and Jumping dances.

1. All major dances are put on each day repeatedly, by several parties or teams providing separate regalia and competing with one another in the splendor and value of their regalia.

2. These parties are spoken of as each representing a town; namely, normally the town where the dance is made, and from one to five other towns in the neighborhood traditionally designated as providing a dance.

3. Anyone, from anywhere, may do the actual dancing or singing; it is the people who collect the regalia and contribute them to equip the dancers of their party who control and "own" or constitute a party. The actual dancers are volunteers recruited on the spot, and they vary from day to day or appearance to appearance.

4. The basis on which the control group representative of a town is constituted has not been worked out as specifically as desirable. But the group is regularly named as headed by the head of a house. It is presumably a descent lineage, bilateral but with patrilineal emphasis; and may therefore include residents of other houses, or even of other towns. However, lineages as such have no names, but houses do; thus the primary native association of the traditional hereditary right to make and control a major dance party is with a house (as expressive of a social unit) or with its acknowledged male head.

5. This does not, however, exclude from participation or control individuals not living in the particular named physical structure, provided they are related by known descent to the house group which traditionally leads or represents its town in equipping its dance party.

6. Regalia are normally lent to each such dance-equipping house or town group by its traditional friends in other houses of the home town, in neighboring towns, and in towns which control parties in major dances elsewhere; with reciprocation when a dance is held in the district of the lenders. This reciprocal assistance goes on across "tribal" or speech lines much as within them.

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<sup>1</sup>In the present work: p. 34, Katimin; pp. 70-71, 74-75, 79, Weitspus; p. 85, Kepel; p. 89, Pekwon; p. 97, Rekwoi; p. 102, Oket'o; App. I, p. 111, Panamenik; App. II, p. 117, Weitspus. In Yurok Narratives, pp. 167, 210, 223, 244-249.

7. The family or families controlling the representation of their town in a major dance by the equipping of a dance group are also responsible for the feeding of the out-of-district lenders who assist them, and of the singers and dancers who perform for them. They are primarily or morally responsible for the feeding of such visitors in general as do not have relatives or prior friends in the town of the dance, or of those who do not bring their own provisions. And they are evidently responsible for getting together the payment with which the mourners of the year must be satisfied before the pleasure of a festivity may be indulged in without giving deadly offense to such mourners.

The Hupa complex.--The Hupa world renewal is a heterogenous and puzzling aggregation. It departs from intertribal world-renewal pattern in several respects. First of all, its parts are strung along over at least half of the year, perhaps most of it. Next, there were two full-scale Jumping dances, both coming esoterically out of the same sacred "great house," but danced partly in different towns and at opposite times of the year. To Kroeber this seems not only without precedent among Yurok and Karok, but an unthinkable departure from what they would consider proper. That there is also an unabridged Deerskin Dance at Hupa only makes the problem more puzzling. When it comes to first fruits, the Hupa run riot: they have them for acorns, salmon, and lampreys; plus possibly a "sacred" salmon weir or dam. Evidently there is altogether too much in this conglomeration to fit into one world renewal, by precedent elsewhere. Goddard, who first reported the ingredients, and gave the formulas connected with some of them,<sup>2</sup> was interested in the Hupa as Hupa, and not at all in comparable or noncomparable circumstances among other tribes, so that no anomaly presented itself to him.

A first attempt to find some plan or system in the Hupa accumulation was by Kroeber in the Handbook, when he suggested that one of the duplicate Jumping dances might once have belonged with a first-salmon formula and rite--either the Medilding-Sugar Bowl one or a former other one at Takimikding--as a second Hupa world renewal.<sup>3</sup> It would in that case be natural for the spring Jumping Dance to be associated with the spring "first-fruits" for salmon, the fall dance with the fall acorn first-fruits. However, this reconstruction will have to be abandoned as contrary to the facts: both Jumping dances are esoterically tied to the same "great house" in lower division Takimikding, and Gifford's refutation of the Kroeber reconstruction stands.

Nevertheless, if we accept, as the criterion for the definition of a given world-renewal complex, the association with a particular sacred house or sweat-house, the following is the result in Hupa. Two Jumping dances and one Deerskin Dance and an acorn first-fruits feast constitute the Takimikding world renewal--an unbalanced and unusual assemblage; whereas the dam and both the

lamprey and salmon first-fruits stand outside any world renewal. For the dam, this seems pretty plain from Gifford's data, which, apart from a qualified comparison with Kepel, would just as well apply to something on the order of the nonworld-renewal Yurok dam at Lo'lego or the secular dams sometimes put up by the Hupa. The first lamprey rite was made at a convenient rather than a prescribed place in the canyon downstream from the Hupa settlements and nothing is said about association with a particular sweat-house in a particular town. Reference to Takimikding in the account of the lamprey rite is to the generic Takimikding or downstream division of the entire tribe, not to the specific sacred structures. So again there is nothing to show definite appurtenance to a world renewal.

This leaves the first-salmon rite at Xaslinding near Sugar Bowl, upstream from Hupa Valley. There is no doubt that this is similar to first-salmon at Amaikiaram and perhaps even more to that at Wełkwāu. That there was no immediately associative dance is a fact which has partial parallels at both these places, as will be discussed in the following section. But to Kroeber it seems significant that the formulist used the sweat-house "at Xaslinding or at Medilding or whatever other village he belonged to"; in other words, his personal one. This sort of indifference to localization would be unthinkable in the Amaikiaram or Wełkwāu first-salmon rites: it would be appropriate in a private, noncommunal rite. In short, first-salmon catching and eating is potential world-renewal material in our area; but a rite concerned with first salmon is not thereby a world renewal, or part of one, unless it conforms to world-renewal pattern by manifesting other criteria. Kroeber tends to be rigorous and therefore exclusive as to pattern appurtenances; Gifford, tolerant and inclusive. Again it is a matter of style of construal, which cannot be settled by evidential proofs. Indeed, we are agreed on all the facts.

To Kroeber it would appear that basically the Hupa have failed to grasp the world-renewal idea and plan as the Karok and Yurok developed it. They have a salmon first-fruits on the Yurok-Karok order, but fail altogether to tie it up with a specified structure or a dance. They have an acorn first-fruits which they do so tie up; but they have not really developed it into much more than a feast, and have not further integrated it with the rest. They alone have a full-fledged ten-day Deerskin Dance and ten-day Jumping Dance; but not satisfied with this, they have duplicated the latter. This might be intelligible if they were conspicuously wealthier than their neighbors; but they are not. And they have neither moon nor season to channel their activities, but scatter them over most of the year. The Hupa had enough esoteric and exoteric rituals for two world renewals, but failed to make a single coherent one out of them. The contrast is marked with Kepel, which is also rich in specialties, but which combines the secret functions of the formulist, the erection of a communal structure, many interludes of both magic and play, with a full-length plus a supplementary dance at other towns--combines all these into a unified whole showing orderly succession, limited duration, and climax. Katimīn, Rekwoi, any of the Karok or Yurok renewals manifest an analogous degree of integrated design lacking at Hupa.

<sup>2</sup>Hupa Life and Culture, 1:78-87; Hupa Texts, 1:207, 215, 226, 228, 229, 234, 252 (lamprey rite), 265 (salmon), 270 (rain rock).

<sup>3</sup>Handbook, pp. 134-135; also Kepel Fish Dam, pp. 79-80.

The cause would seem to be Hupa position off the main river. In fact, only a few miles up the Trinity beyond their main valley, there were "Hupa" at Willow Creek and South Fork who might be questioned as living within the climactic Yurok-Karok-Hupa pattern of habits and values, almost as much as if they had been Chilula or Tolowa. These off-Hupa could hardly but have had some perturbing reaction on their Medilding and Takimikding brethren. Since Goddard, Kroeber, Gifford, Goldschmidt, and Driver agree as to all essential facts, it appears that the aberrance of the Hupa world-renewal scheme is due to the Hupa themselves, not to the reporting ethnographers.

First-salmon in world renewal.--There is some obvious tendency for first-salmon rites everywhere in the area to remain loosely integrated in world-renewal setting. It has just been emphasized that the Hupa rite is independent both of sacred house and major dance. The Weikwau rite had the house (and a fetish pipe). It also had a legendary dance and an origin myth for this. But there is no historic record of the dance being actually held, and Kroeber has suggested that it was invented in imagination in order to fill the pattern. If it did once exist, it is the one major dance for which we have indication of abandonment in pre-white days. At Amaiklaram, the first-salmon and the Jumping Dance come out of the same sweathouse, but three months apart, with different formulists; and the finish of the dancing is not at Amaiklaram itself but a mile or more away.

The most probable inference, to Kroeber, is that the basic constituents in world renewal are, first, the esoteric-magic stabilization and preservation of the earth from catastrophe and of mankind from disease; and second, the great dances; and that first-fruits ingredients have remained somewhat more loosely and only partially integrated with these two elements in the world-renewal pattern. Gifford appears to make first-fruits primary as a basic substratum.

"Impersonation."--Gifford and Kroeber agree that the occasional "impersonations" in the system are "representations," with the identity of the actor publicly known, and in no sense an attempt to palm him off as a spirit or immortal. Examples are the "crop" deity Yinukatsisdai or Megwomets at Hupa and Kepel;<sup>4</sup> and the Karok formulists representing the original ikhareya institutors.

Lower Yurok corpse symbolism.--At Rekwoi and presumably at the three other Lower Yurok Jumping dances which rebuild an "ancient" sweathouse, the new timbers are buried and otherwise treated like a corpse. This is very surprising, because death and world renewal are strongly antagonistic polar ideas in the area. Possibly the tree felling is construed as a killing: one can think of the charge and coup-counting on a Plains Sun Dance center pole. But this is a far cry, geographically and culturally; and the Yurok symbolism remains strange and puzzling.

Inā'm stone "piling."--Inā'm has a unique prelude, a moon before the main ritual, in which a special officiant, not the main formulist--at any rate not in mod-

ern days--builds--or more likely repairs or rebuilds--a U-shaped stone wall of dry stones. It will be remembered that the Inā'm ceremony is also unique in not using any sweathouse or sacred house, but only pits which appear to be the remnants of such. This Inā'm construction may therefore be regarded as in some measure a substitute, although it appears not to be used in the main ritual.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the U-shaped wall is precisely what northwest Californian shaman doctresses use at one stage of their training in the mountains.<sup>6</sup> The occurrence of this shamanistic element in a world renewal is remarkable, because world renewal and doctoring occupy wholly separate compartments of the culture, and no other feature shared by them is known.<sup>7</sup>

The War Dance.--The two world renewals farthest upriver, Katimīn and Inā'm, perform the War Dance as well as the Deerskin Dance, the latter being made either with deerskins and chipped blades as elsewhere, or with otterskins (the Yurok mention also wolfskins), or with brush and river cobbles. Driver, who collected culture element lists in northwest California,<sup>8</sup> has advanced the hypothesis<sup>9</sup> that the Deerskin Dance, which was performed at only six or seven spots, originated as a modification of the tribally much more widespread War Dance made by men abreast; he cites ten or a dozen common features. To these might be added the fact that both dances are invariably held outdoors, whereas the Jumping Dance is often made indoors. Moreover, apart from the questionable occurrence at the mouth of the Klamath, the distribution of Deerskin dances is: Karok, three; upper Yurok, two; Hupa one--in a word, in the upriver or Karok-dominated part of the world-renewal area. It is also at the two most upriver centers--which admit the War Dance--that the Deerskin Dance may be, and most often is, substandard; that is, it is construable as either diminished or not fully developed.

<sup>5</sup>In the way it is sighted over until it obliterates a certain mountain it functions like the firewood piles in the other Karok irahiv.

<sup>6</sup>Handbook, pp. 63, 64: "seats" or "chairs," which is how the Yurok translate their tsektseya or tsektseḥ; Yurok Narratives, pp. 154, 156, 160, 161, 163, 220, 221.

<sup>7</sup>The northwest Californians make constructions in stone for several purposes. Besides the just-mentioned curved walls or "seats" for doctors, they lined with stones the pit which led down the outside of every sweathouse to the little exit and ventilator cut into one end wall near the bottom of the stout plank that supported the ridgepole. These pits ran to four feet deep. The stones that lined them were waterworn cobbles. A similar pit sometimes led to the entrance of the "ancient" sacred sweathouse (pp. 87, 92). In front of both living houses and sweathouses a platform was generally paved with smooth stones; here people ate, worked, sunned themselves, or just sat. Sweathouses were floored most often with planks; but alternatively with rock slabs, if suitable ones were available. The sweathouse cubical fire pit was lined with slabs. Similar "boxes" were built in the ground and covered, to house and protect treasure blades of obsidian or flint. All this aggregates to considerable construction in stone for an otherwise plank-building culture.

<sup>8</sup>Driver, Culture Element Distributions:X.

<sup>9</sup>Goldschmidt and Driver, Hupa White Deerskin Dance. See pp. 126-128.

<sup>4</sup>Fish Dam, p. 72.

All in all, the Driver hypothesis appeals to Kroeber, especially its central proposition of the Deerskin line-up, dance steps, postures, and accoutrement as having been developed out of the War Dance. Other influences that went into the transformation would be the impulse toward a display outlet for treasure wealth; possibly an unusually high genetic recessive factor for albinism in the local population of deer; and a modificatory influence from the presumably already extant Jumping Dance on the formative Deerskin Dance songs. Both of these kinds of songs, while immediately distinguishable, are alike in being plaintive and slow, whereas the War Dance songs are rapid and spirited.

The actual (nonworld-renewal) War Dance of the region is performed not only by the Yurok, Karok, Hupa but by the Wiyot, Tolowa, Shasta, Chilula, Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole, and Sinkyone.<sup>10</sup> In its abreast line-up, it differs from the central Californian (and almost continentally distributed) "war dance" around a trophy on a pole. The circular scalp dance is primarily one of triumph. The northwest California war dance abreast is performed in incitement, victory, and settlement. Gifford speaks only of settlement, perhaps basing on statements of Karok informants. Actually, however, the motivations of incitement and settlement, seemingly so antithetical, flow into each other. Not only are the northwest Indians revengeful and inclined to want to fight grudges out, but it pays them to act threateningly; it both enhances their prestige and helps them to get more in weregild. The dance of settlement is therefore really minatory until the last moment, and often spills over into a new attack, since the dancers are actually armed.<sup>11</sup>

If the Driver hypothesis is correct, the Deerskin Dance would have originated as a modification, among parts of three tribes and with transfer of function, of a special type of dance occurring among some ten tribes of the area with somewhat variable function, but one always connected with war.

Annual or biennial rituals.--Throughout our data, and in fact in earlier ones ever since Goddard, there runs a wavering of native statements as to whether dances were made every year or every other year. This uncertainty is most marked among the Yurok and Hupa and naturally least so for the three Karok irahiv or "pikiavish" world renewals of avowed New Year type. Many Indians seem to believe, or half-believe, that in the good old days rituals were annual, and that the every-second-year schedule is a result of modern breakdown. Kroeber encountered this belief not only recently but more than forty years ago; and Goddard suggested it in 1903.<sup>12</sup> It would therefore seem that in-

decisiveness in this matter is an old feature of the system, rather than a symptom of its decay.

The recitation of a formula, priest's itinerary, lighting of a sacred fire, or spearing and eating of a salmon would not tend to attract many distant visitors, even if done for the good of the world; a great dance would do so. The men who "owned" the dances and had the "right" to make them, in Gifford's terminology, were also under strong social obligation to feed those who came to see them, dance in them, or contribute their regalia. The latter group of course were sure of hospitality from the people they helped out with their treasures. De facto, of course, the guests were more or less distributed through the home town according to bonds of kinship, previous acquaintance, and economic ability; and some, of course, ate at the camps of visiting headmen who supported competing parties or teams. Nevertheless, visitors were no doubt a real burden--especially as regards food, but also as regards equipment such as individual eating-baskets--when a dance went on for ten days and might be prolonged two, four, six, or even eight more.

The consequence was, according to the view here developed, that the specific and brief world-renovating and esoteric parts of rituals might be made annually, and normally were so made by the Karok; but that the long and expensive dances were made biennially, or at least at the option of the houses in the town most concerned with both the dancing and hospitality. In prosperous periods, there might be year-after-year dancing in a town for a while. But let acorns or salmon be low, or sickness or death invade the strength of the leading household or two, and respites would be taken. How far, among the Yurok, this might also suspend the esoteric parts of the rite is not very clear. There does seem to have been a feeling that a year might drop out without much harm or risk, but that omission for two years was highly undesirable for the community and the world.

If this is correct, it would apply more strongly to Yurok and Hupa, as already stated, than to the Karok, who both emphasized the direct "new year" features and had but brief displays. A dance that lasted for a night and a day, with perhaps an extension for another day, and might be put on with boughs instead of regalia, would scarcely draw from a distance large crowds needing to be fed. Familiar neighbors from within a few miles would tend to "bring their lunch," as the Indians call it. Yet as early as 1902 a Karok informant told Kroeber that even at Katimín (and Panamenik--sic) the War Dance replaced the Deerskin Dance in alternate years, and that the Amaikiaram ceremony was made each year, but its Jumping Dance only every other.<sup>13</sup>

At any rate, the subsistence aspect of the briefer and substandard dances as well as of the omitted ones is a factor that should not be overlooked. All in all, the Karok seem to have been somewhat more concerned with keeping the world going right, the Yurok with put-

<sup>10</sup>See Driver, CED:X, items 2323-2364.

<sup>11</sup>Spott and Kroeber, Yurok Narratives, p. 188; Handbook, p. 50. Driver says in his notes on items 2323 and 2332 (CED:X) that for the Karok the incitement and victory aspects and for the Tolowa the settlement and victory forms of the dance are not distinguishable. See also, Kroeber, A Yurok War Reminiscence, Southwest Jour. Anthr., 1:331, fn. 60.

<sup>12</sup>Hupa Life and Culture, p. 83.

<sup>13</sup>App. I, p. 111. Fish Dam, p. 74, has the myth of institution say: "Every other year let them build the dam, every other year let them pass it by."

ting on a socially impressive show; but the latter also cost more. Normal suspension or abbreviation of dances in alternate years eased the economic burden; but perhaps was not mandatory in times of affluence.

"New Year" and the calendar.--The Yurok year began at the winter solstice and was more often reckoned as having thirteen moons than twelve. The first ten moons were numbered; the last three were named.<sup>14</sup> According to Harrington,<sup>15</sup> the Karok year also had thirteen moons, ten of them usually indicated by number and only three of them named; but it began with the named ones. The moon named "first" thus was actually the fourth of the year; and the last one of the year was called the "tenth." This nonsensical terminology, of course, means that after the sequence of moon names had been well fixed, a change in the calendar system took place, much as we could infer a one-time reform or correction in our calendar from the fact that our tenth month is called the eighth in Latin. The Karok, then, have shifted the beginning of their year from the seasonal event of the solstice three moons forward. Why? Evidently because of the New Year's ritual, the *irahiv*. Thus the first moon, *kūsra*, of their year, *harinay*, is called *'ōk va-( 'ira)k-kūsra*, "(is) here 'irahiv moon," viz., the moon of the rite as made in this region. This holds for the lower Karok region, where the concurrent New Year rites of Panamenik and Katimīn begin in September. The Inā'm new year rite comes a month earlier. Consequently the upper Karok apply the cited term to August,<sup>16</sup> and call September *yūm va-( 'ira)k-kūsra*, viz., "near-by-downriver 'irahiv moon."

Of course certain adjustments have to be made to this scheme. The solstitial year's beginning will only occasionally coincide even approximately with the new-moon beginning of a month; more often it will fall into a lunation. If this moon is called the first, it might begin as early as the end of our November; at other times perhaps as late as Christmas, assuming that the Indians could not fix the solstitial point closer than within three or four days.

Then, while there are actually more than twelve apparent lunations in a year, there are considerably less than thirteen. According to Harrington, the modern Karok "loosely identify" both their second and third numbered moons (the fifth and sixth of their year sequence) with January. This is about the season when one might expect the slack of their over-reckoning to be taken up: right after the solstice. When they were sure that this had been reached, or passed, they would presumably telescope two moons together, or would drop one. Theoretically, they might pass directly from the twelfth named moon to the first numbered one, dropping the thirteenth one. Actually, convinced that there were thirteen, if the solstice came on them late in the thirteenth, they might finish this out before going

on to the "first." If so, the confusion and forced correction would tend to fall into the period of the "second" and "third" moons.<sup>17</sup>

A final difficulty for the Karok, which the Yurok would be free from, is that their New Year rites would fall into the middle of a lunation. However, this implication would hold only if the year-beginning were reckoned as coinciding with the beginning of the *'irahiv* rites. Harrington says that this is just what is done. Yet it is clear from all that Gifford reports that what seems to be uppermost in the minds of the Karok is having the *'irahiv* proper, the formulist's ritual, end with a moon. It may therefore be questioned whether the precise point marking the end of one year and beginning of the next may not really be the last day of the *'irahiv*. This is also the most important day (or night), with its *yuhpit*, and the beginning of the dance. Perhaps the question is somewhat academic, since the Karok calendar does not try to fit days into larger units of time. At any rate, the whole moon whose end coincides with the end of the *'irahiv* is named from the rite, even though the rite begins only after the middle of that moon.

The question now arises whether this starting of the year with the *'irahiv* ceremonies antedates white contact or originated after 1850. There is no doubt that these rituals loomed large in Karok thought, and that their purpose was to set the world off right for another round of the seasons; also that they had a conscious concept of the seasonal round and a name for it, *harinay*. What is less certain is whether they had the concept of "New Year" (as distinct from "another year"), or whether they got this from the whites. It seems possible that the whites, on learning of the *'irahiv* or *pkiavish*, interpreted them as "New Year's" rites or holidays and so spoke of them; whereupon the Karok not only accepted the label in speaking English, but took the idea seriously enough to shift the beginning of their annual moon count. Direct evidence for or against this idea that the shift was made within the past ninety or a hundred years can probably no longer be secured. Decision will have to depend on the fit or appropriateness of the alterations to everything else that is known of the pattern of Karok culture and its gradual assimilation to ours. To Kroeber lateness of the change seems perhaps somewhat the likelier. In that event there has been some recent shift of emphasis connotation from world repair or renewal to year initiation.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>This is a conjectural explanation of Harrington's implication that the correction was made about January. The Yurok say that the correction was made ("disputes ended") when the (tanbark) acorns were actually ripe: then everyone would agree that it was now *nohso*, the acorn gathering (or eleventh) moon. Those of the Yurok who reckon only twelve moons, or are content to do with twelve if the seasons come out that way, either give *nohso* (11) as a synonym of *hohkemo* (12) or "omit one toward the end" (Handbook, p. 75). This would make the correction come shortly before the solstice instead of after it.

<sup>18</sup>Since this was written, Gifford has produced, and is including in this monograph, a Karok moon-count secured by him from Mary Ike, an aged and excellent informant, which is like the Yurok one in having the ten numbered moons, the eleventh referring to the *'irahiv*! The recency of the shift is therefore confirmed: in fact, some of the Karok have not yet accepted it!

<sup>14</sup>Handbook, pp. 74-75. The eighth and ninth moons have names as well as numbers.

<sup>15</sup>Tobacco among the Karok, pp. 81-83.

<sup>16</sup>This involves of course dropping out the "tenth moon" from their count.

The fact that the Yurok kept their old solstitially-pivoted calendar is no doubt due to their lesser pre-occupation with 'irahiv-like features and greater concern with dances, which the authors have repeatedly pointed out.

A Yurok synonym for the "tenth" month, corresponding to September, is le'lo'o or le'lo', about which the Handbook says:<sup>19</sup> "The meaning is undetermined, but it is the month of the world-renewing ceremonies of the Karok." It is also the month of the fish dam ceremony at Kepel; the time of which was at least partly conditioned by the fact that the weir could be successfully built so far downstream only at the season of low river. The name le'lo' is not yet analyzed, but it undoubtedly contains the radical for weir or "dam."

lôgen	the weir
lôgen-wegôhko	when they build the weir
wi-lo'-hego	"weir-maker," formulist for the ritual
lo'	short form, usual ap- pelation of formulist
lo'-o-kepeł	lo's housepit, modern name of dwelling house related to weir
Lo'lego	name of Yurok village, also called Heyomu, where nonritualistic weir was built

<sup>19</sup>P. 75.

Accordingly it seems that the Yurok also had one moon name, though only an alternative one, and not at the head of their sequence, referring to their most conspicuous world renewal.

The Harrington list gives 'Amēkyāram-kūsra' or 'iruravahiv-kūsra' as Karok alternatives for "sixth" moon, now equated with April; and 'ahvarak-kūsra' for the ninth, July. 'Iruravahiv is the spring salmon ceremony, which "begins at the new moon"; 'ahavarahiv is the "'Amēkyāram" jumping dance "starting at new moon of this month and lasting ten days."<sup>20</sup>

Incidentally, this probably fixes April as the time also of the Wełkwāu salmon rite. If there was any difference, the salmon would of course reach Amaikiaram, seventy miles upriver, later than the mouth of the Klamath.

<sup>20</sup>At the three 'irahiv, the esoteric ritual ends with the moon; the dancing, though brief, therefore would fall mainly into the new moon. At Amaikiaram, the ritual and dance, though well separated, both begin with the moon, according to Harrington. This distinction further differentiates the salmon rite from the 'irahiv. It may be conjectured that the Yurok ceremonies began rather than ended with the moon; because the dances were prolongable by two, four, or six days. This is supported by the reference (Handbook, p. 58) to the Wełtspus Jumping Dance having to be completed within a moon from the time when the Deerskin Dance had begun.



# APPENDIX V

## INFORMANTS

### GIFFORD'S INFORMANTS

#### KAROK

Mrs. Georgia Henry Orcutt of Orleans. Seventy years of age. Interviewed in 1940 and 1942. Her mind was filled with thoughts of the old life and she judged present-day life by the standards of the past. Georgia's first husband was Henry, now dead. Her present husband is Ira Orcutt.

Mrs. Mary Ike. Widow of Little Ike of Ashanamkarak. Both were Kroeber's informants in 1902. Mrs. Ike served as Gifford's informant in 1939, 1940, 1942. She and Mrs. Georgia Henry Orcutt were Gifford's most interviewed informants. He discussed many moot points with them. Mrs. Ike died in January, 1946, aged ninety-three or ninety-four

Mrs. Mabel Bateman. Resident of Yreka, who served as Gifford's informant in 1942. She was born at Panamenik, probably on September 10 (right after the piki-avish). Her father was Orleans Bar Steve, who was killed by the whites in 1879. Subsequently her mother, Jennie Jackson of Ishipishi, married Francis Marion Donahue.

Shan Davis, Sr. Seventy-one in 1939. Born in Scott Valley, Siskiyou County. His mother was a Karok, born at Xavishtimi, a house or section in Katimin. His father was half-white, born of a Karok mother at Ipunvaram, near or part of Ayis. Shan was mother's brother of the late James Davis, district attorney of Siskiyou County.

Dora Davis. Sixty-four years old in 1939. Wife of informant Shan Davis, and mother of informant Francis Davis. Dora served as priestess (ikiyavan) at Katimin and was the principal informant on the activities of priestesses.

Francis Davis. Born in 1899, son of informants Shan and Dora Davis. Francis served as priest at Inam in 1935, 1938, 1939, and 1941, his father and mother as priest and priestess at Katimin. Francis had served as a "fasting boy," xopitxariwan, twice at Katimin. He was interviewed without an interpreter and served as interpreter for his parents.

Charles James, priest of the Amaikiaram Jumping Dance in 1895. He was sixty-five years old on March 13, 1940. Resided then on Hoopa Reservation.

Sandy Bar Joe. An aged and thrifty man residing near Orleans. Member of a Chamkninach family which participated in giving the Panamenik world renewal ceremony and the Jumping Dance. Interviewed in 1942.

Sally and Daisy Jacops. Sisters who in later years were promoters of the Inam world renewal ceremony, Sally, the older, being particularly active.

Ben Tom. Aged Karok, characterized by himself and others as a poor man who never acquired much of this world's goods. Interviewed in 1942. Born at Kochi-ivisyarakam (opposite Kochi, Spink's ranch) on the east bank of the Klamath. Not married at time of 1889-1890 high river. Late in life married the widowed mother of Abner Van Zandt and Mrs. Mattie Hillman.

Ben Goodwin, Jr. Son of Driver's informant, Ben F. Goodwin. Served as interpreter for Gifford in his attempt to derive information from Old Ned. He also served in part as interpreter for the Jacops sisters. His father was half white.

Mrs. Emily Donahue. Daughter of Little Ike and Mary Ike. Born in 1882. Served as interpreter in numerous interviews Gifford had with Mary Ike.

Mrs. Mamie Offield. Widow, residing on the slopes of Offield Mountain. Acted as Gifford's interpreter in 1939. In her own right she was well versed in her people's culture.

Old Ned, or Ned Rasper. Instructor of priests at Inam. Died in 1944, well over one hundred years old. Kroeber's informant for Inam ceremony. He would not work with Gifford, as he entertained the idea that he was to be deprived of his land.

Mrs. Ellen Allen. Half-breed of Orleans. Interviewed but slightly by Gifford.

#### HUPA

Sam Brown. Half-breed, bachelor. An excellent informant and interpreter.

Oscar Brown. Half-breed. Maternal half-brother of Sam Brown.

Mary Socktish. An aged informant from the family that formerly occupied the sacred living house (xonta nikyao) at Takimikding. Modern leader of the Annual Acorn Feast since there has been no priest.

Shoemaker John. Aged informant who described the First Salmon Ceremony. He is pictured in Goddard's Hupa Life and Culture, plate 30. He is the taller of the two obsidian carriers in the Deerskin Dance shown there.

Molly Carpenter. An aged blind woman, interviewed in 1940 with the aid of Sam Brown as interpreter.

### KROEBER'S INFORMANTS

#### YUROK

Am. Amits or Ammits was of Kepel-Sa'. Plate 7, a shows him as he looked in 1907. He was a collateral descendant of an old man of whom it was said that "mikisotsok opyur," he could equip a dance team and have enough regalia left over to provide a team for a friend.

BB. Billy Brooks, an old man of Rekwoi. I worked little with him.

BW. Billy Werk, or Long Billy, about sixty in 1907. Of the Weitspus house hiwo or hiwohp, brother Weitchpec Doctor. He was called K'e-hiwoh from his natal house, which rated high: Hiwoh-o-kegei was a famous woman curing doctor of a preceding generation. He lived, when I knew him, in the house ni'ker'werk,

facing the Weitspus Deerskin Dance spot; this is shown in plate 6, a. Here he was "half-married," whence his other name K'e-ge's. In spite of his descent, he owned no valuables. But he knew various private formulas, and owned four fishing places (jointly with his brothers, of course), and was a successful fisherman. He was also an excellent boatman. He became formulist (megwollep) for the Weitspus dances after St's death or retirement, and was succeeded by Domingo or K'e-se'kweł.

FF. Fanny Flounder, of Espeu, or Gold Bluff, on the coast, doctress, lived about 1870 to 1945. She is told of in Yurok Narratives, nos. 8, 9, and 10.

GM. George Mahats or Mahach, was born at Mă'āts on Big Lagoon, of a mother of the house ketskeł in Rekwoi. He was a gentle old man when I knew him, living chiefly in the American town of Requa, and very poor. Such regalia as he once owned he had sold to hire a lawyer to defend his son, who, nevertheless, died in prison. He was probably born between about 1830 and 1835.

JS. Johnny Shortman or Ha'nin'. Of house tāt-wo-ot (tāt-olomeł) in Rekwoi, married into pegwolāu at Wełkwāu. In 1902 he looked about sixty years old. He had been a tāt at Rekwoi, and served as formulist for the last performance of the Rekwoi Jumping Dance about 1904. Previously he had been assistant (and salmon eater) to Old Tom of Rekwoi, house wonek, who served as formulist for the Wełkwāu First Salmon rite. He is told of in Yurok Narratives, no. 35; where it is stated that he knew the formulas for both Rekwoi Jumping Dance and the legendary Wełkwāu Deerskin Dance.

LB. Lame Billy, of the Weitspus house tsekweł, and hence called K'e-se'kweł; also Erperger-owa, "married a woman from Erperger," a lower Karok town (Sahvurum or Vonvirak). He had some Karok ancestry and could speak the language. Born about 1860 or some years before, he was a cripple when he served me as informant in 1901 and 1902, and had died by 1906. Originally strong and active, he later moved only on crutches, and sometimes his legs swelled up. He was keen-minded and nervous, bright-eyed, active with his hands, given to expressive gestures, neat, orderly, dramatic as a narrator, expressive in his picked-up English. He threw himself with verve into telling myths, and I used him chiefly for those; but it is evident that he would have been an excellent informant for general ethnography. His house tsekweł was fairly well-to-do in dance treasures, but Billy kept fewer than his brother George or kinsman Domingo (famous Deerskin and Jumping Dance singer and composer, and the last formulist for the Weitspus ritual). But when Weitspus danced Deerskin, his wife's kinsmen at Erperger used to bring him a gray deerskin and a pair of black obsidians to contribute.

Mau, formulist for Oket'o, was interviewed at Trinidad in 1902, when he looked about seventy years old.

PD. Pekwon Doctor, also called Pekwon Jo, was the formulist or wer-ergerk-hego (sweathouse maker) for the Jumping Dance at Pekwon. He was about sixty when I knew him. He was born in the house Pekwon-pul, of a mother from Mă'āts on the coast. His native name was Hipur-owa, due to his marriage to a woman from a house hipur. A formulist, he was in the official world-renewal tradition; his American name "Doctor" refers

to his making "medicine" for the ritual. He was of good family and wealthy, being said to own four highest-quality woodpecker-scalp headdresses for the Jumping Dance, a gray deerskin, one red and two matched black obsidian blades, plus accessories.

PJ. Pekwon Jim, brother of PD. He was called Lekwsa or Tolot-owa. He was a Pekwon tāt, and, like his brother, wealthy.

RS. Robert Spott, born in 1888, son of WF, adopted by his father's sister's husband, Captain Spott of Rekwoi. Robert is co-author of Yurok Narratives, in the preface of which I have written an account of his personality. His adoptive father is told of in tales no. 2, 4, 12, and 15 of that work.

St. Stone, or Old Stone, the Weitspus formulist or megwollep in 1901-02. He was probably born soon after 1830. He was still living in 1907, when his picture was taken (pl. 7, c). He was called Megwollep, or Stūn, or K'e-segwa'akweł, meaning that his father was from Segwe'u or Segwu', Katimin. His mother was perhaps from the house plē't in Weitspus and returned to it; at any rate, Stone lived in that house (pl. 6, a). He was not legitimately married in Yurok eyes but lived with a woman of house petsku, who was therefore known as Stūn-wer, Stone's sweetheart (or spinster). They had no children. When in authority, Stone could be irritable, but he was friendly, simple, and forthright with me, and left an impression of average intelligence and memory. He owned personally a red obsidian blade, three Jumping Dance baskets, and various smaller pieces, but he could, in addition, contribute two white deerskins and two silver-gray foxskins, which his paternal kinsmen from Katimin used to bring him.

TP. Trinidad Pete. He was an old man when interviewed, but I neglected to note further biographical facts about him. He is mentioned in Yurok Narratives, no. 13.

Ts. Tskerkr ("Skerk"), born at Espeu on the coast, blind and living at Orekw when I knew him at the age of about seventy to seventy-five in 1901 to 1907. He was an excellent narrator, but it was difficult to get culture from him. An ethnographic question normally started him off on a myth.

WF. Weitchpec Frank was my interpreter and vademecum from 1900 to 1907. He was about forty or forty-two when I first knew him. He was of the house wōgwu in Weitspus (Weitspek), which was probably the leading one of the town in promoting Deerskin and Jumping dance regalia and hospitality. Frank was matter-of-fact, unimaginative, practical, and reliable, not much interested in ideas. He preferred to transmit faithfully what more interested and better informed old men imparted; and I used him as informant chiefly to chink gaps that appeared in their information. Hence his own data are somewhat fragmentary.

#### KAROK

All my Karok informants were seen in 1902 in the vicinity of Katimin. For some reason I entered into less close rapport with them than with the Yurok: perhaps because I expected my Karok relations to remain briefer. At the time, I rated OBFJ and TDBB as only mediocre informants. But their data are clear and reliable, and I

evidently underestimated both men. They did behave somewhat colorlessly, probably because of their relative youth and a certain timidity of what their own people might say about their revealing the native culture to a white man. LI was somewhat older, a person of established status, and was more definite in his personal reactions.

DRFL. Dick Richard's Father-in-law is the only appellation I have for a man of seventy-five or more who lived upstream across the Klamath from Katimin a few miles, near Ten Eyck creek or mine, and with whom I spent most of two days. He knew or would speak no English, and appears to have escaped an English name; native names one did not then ask for, if they were not volunteered: it was not good form.

LI. Little Ike, so called because of his stature. He lived at Ashanamkarak at the great fall of the Klamath, which has gone onto our maps as Ike's Fall. He was

about fifty in 1902. He was lively, engaging, amiably adroit, and intelligent. He is shown fishing with two kinds of nets in Handbook, plates 6 and 7.

MI. Mary Ike, his wife, was one of Gifford's primary informants. I consider her, like her husband, superior in general scope of personality.

OBFJ. Oak-bottom-flat Jack, about thirty-eight or forty.

TDBB. Three-dollar-bar Billy at Somes Bar. Also close to forty.

#### WIYOT

BLB. Blue Lake Bob. A Mad River Wiyot. Close to seventy in 1902. He was a willing informant, but unorganized and scrappy. He furnished the first six of the Wiyot ("Wishosk") myths published in the Journal of American Folk-lore in 1905.

# APPENDIX VI

## TRANSCRIPTIONS OF WORLD-RENEWAL SONGS

(Kroeber)

Transcriptions into musical notation are here given of seven songs connected with world-renewal rites. These were recorded on cylinders forming part of the University of California Museum of Anthropology phonograph collection; hence the prefix designation UCMA 14- of the inventory numbers. They were written out in notation by W. F. Kretschmer, a professional musician of San Francisco, who, in the period of about 1910-1920, became experienced in California Indian songs by transcribing several hundred of them.

### Ritual Chants for Kepel Dam

UCMA 14-270a and 270b were sung in 1906 by Mrs. James Marshall, from whom the part of the formula for the Kepel ceremony was obtained which is published in *The Kepel Fish Dam*, 1938, pages 75-77.

The first of these, 270a, was described as a "medicine song," i.e., esoteric, and presumably sung by the lo' or formulist. It may be the sickness-preventing song referred to on page 77, third paragraph. The music consists of two notes, a full tone apart. The structure may be described as BAA, or BAAA, repeated.

The second, 270b, Mrs. Marshall called a woman's song at the Kepel dam. This also consists of only two notes, though this time an octave apart. Again as in 270a, there is no real melodic contour, only a monotone beat or rhythm within the phrase. This seems to be the song referred to in the fourth paragraph of page 77 of *The Kepel Fish Dam*; although there the low notes are said to be sung, as if simultaneously, by adult girls, the octave by little ones.

342 was recorded in 1906 from Amits, former dam-maker's assistant, who narrated pages 62-67 of *The Kepel Fish Dam*. This song is chanted as the fir-branch bundles for the packing of the dam are being carried. The melody is very simple. The basic phrase in the first half consists of a long note, forcibly uttered three or four times. This note, as recorded, was B-flat. This phrase is alternated with a variant differing only in being introduced by a brief lower G. The pair of phrases are preceded by an initial one, which consists of legato C and B-flat. After several repetitions of this trio of phrases, slightly varying in length, the second half begins. This consists of another trio of phrases, which are simply the first trio transposed an octave and a quarter higher; the basic note is now D-flat, the introducing ones E-flat and G. Again there is some minor difference of length of phrases as expressed in number of "bars." The close is marked by a two-bar snatch of more rapid melody on upper G, D, and E-flat.

343 was also sung by Amits. He said it signaled the completion of the dam construction. This song or chant consists essentially of half-a-dozen phrases, each composed of an identical long note repeated forcefully seven or eight or nine times. This note was C, at

the speed of recording and reproduction. The only variations are, first, that the third phrase is introduced by a downward glide from F to C; second, that the last phrase, after five utterances of C, has seven notes of B--whether intentionally or through a sliding off pitch is uncertain; and third, that this final phrase is succeeded by a two-bar snatch of melody on E-flat and C, an octave higher than everything preceding.

It is evident that all four of these "songs" have only a minimum of melody and are heavily formalized ritually.

### Songs for Dancing: Deerskin and Jumping

By contrast, the Deerskin and Jumping Dance songs possess a very definite melodic structure. Three of these are transcribed, all sung in 1907 by Domingo of Weitspus, a famous composer and singer of his day.

472, Deerskin Dance. The dominant notes are F, C, F. The range is from C below, touched transiently and without accent, to F-sharp above, raised from upper F. After eighteen introductory bars emphasizing chiefly lower F and C, and ending with the repeated sequence A-C-D-C-A-F-F-low C-F, the body of the song is entered. This consists of four similar but somewhat variant themes or units of ten to twelve bars each, progressing from upper F to lower F, mostly by long notes, but usually also with the inclusion of some more rapid glides. Between the first two and last two of these units there are four bars containing a continuous slide of tone from F down to F. In the last three of the four units, after upper F has been established, it climaxes in F-sharp before the descent to lower F begins. After the last unit has ended on low F, the song concludes on a prolonged high F note. Throughout, the voice is falsettoish, the intonation whining. This particular song had been composed by Domingo for first use at the Hupa Takimidding dance the summer before, in 1906.

In 490, another Deerskin Dance song, Domingo was accompanied by Billy Werk, who later on succeeded Stone and preceded Domingo as megwollep or Weitspus formulist. The accompaniment consisted of a monotone grunt, like a beat: á a á a.

The emphasized notes in the melody are, in downward order, E-flat, A-flat, and E-flat; and secondarily, upper C, on which the song ends. The range is from E-flat to E-flat; except that all the glides are recorded as from E to E--perhaps a climax exacerbation like the rise from F to F-sharp in no. 476. The total melody contains four kinds of elements: an Introduction, I; a Glide, G, always a one-bar downward progression or actually continuous slide from E to E, variably expanded or followed by rests; the Main Melody, M, also with downward trend, eight to ten bars long; and a sort of abbreviation or variant of this, A. The total song builds up as follows, in bar lengths:

I 3  
 I 3  
 G 3  
 M 8  
 G 6  
 M 8  
 G 5  
 A 4  
 M 10  
 G 2

491. Jumping Dance. Composed by Domingo, accompanied by Werk. The monotone accompaniment this time is slower:  $\tilde{a}$  a. The melody again steps and wavers downward. The dominating notes are E-flat and A-flat, with lower E-flat reached twice to end a phrase on. The song ends on A-flat. The highest tones are E and F-sharp, as climaxes of the upper E-flat pivotal note. The phrases or units are: I, Introduction, wavering around a descent

from C to A-flat; M, the Main theme, a repeated glide from E-flat (or E) to A-flat; P, preceding expansion of main theme, hovering around E-flat; C, Coda of main theme, with glide from A-flat to low E-flat. The total structure, with durations in bars, is:

I, I	3, 4
M, M <sub>1</sub>	4, 4
P, M <sub>2</sub>	4, 3
C, C	4, 4
P, M <sub>3</sub>	4, 4
final	3

Northwest California music is well specialized; within its range, the World-Renewal dance songs are perhaps the most specialized. On the contrary, the ritual chants belonging to the Kepel dam scarcely possess any real melodic structure.

SONG TRANSCRIPTIONS

270<sup>4</sup>  
*Allegretto*



270<sup>5</sup>  
*Allegretto*



342



343.  
*Allegretto*



472 *Allegretto moderato*

490 *Moderato*

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The upper staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The lower staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with a steady pulse.

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. A dynamic marking of **ff** (fortissimo) is present in the upper staff. The notation includes melodic lines and rhythmic accompaniment.

491

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. A dynamic marking of **ff** is present in the upper staff. The notation includes melodic lines and rhythmic accompaniment.

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The upper staff features a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The lower staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment.

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. A dynamic marking of **ff** is present in the upper staff. The notation includes melodic lines and rhythmic accompaniment.

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The upper staff features a complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The lower staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment.



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# PLATES

## KROEBER AND GIFFORD: WORLD RENEWAL

## PLATE 1

## Inam Formulist and Stone Structure

a. Francis Davis, priest formulist for Inam World Renewal, sitting at Yusarnimanimas on the sacred ip-adishaha stone after adjusting it to make the world firm, on the fifth morning of the ritual in 1935. Beside him, on the left of the photograph, stand his fire drill and pipe.

b. Same priest on fifth morning of the ritual in 1935, with fire drill and pipe in his right hand, ready to visit sacred places. At the right, Dillon Myers holds a basket of pigment for painting the priest.

c. U-shaped wall of piled boulders, as erected July 12, 1939, at Imnanvaram, near mouth of Clear Creek, a moon before the scheduled World Renewal at Inam. The officiant prays as he piles the stones for food, health, and luck for all. In shape and size the construction resembles walls high on mountains, believed by the Yurok to have been built by the immortals, and used by women during acquisition of shamanistic power.

d. Rear or convex side of same: the opening faces Astexewa, Baldy Mountain-Boulder Peak (5720-6030 ft.), seven miles northwest of Inam.



a



b



c



d

Plate 1. Inam Formulist and Stone Structure

## PLATE 2

## Karak Deerskin Dances and Hupa Weir

a. Karok Deerskin Dance at Panamenik, photographed in 1910. As one looks along the row of dancers, the uneven slants of the poles bearing the deerskins is uncharacteristic of Yurok performances of the same dance; but the slight slope at which they are held is typical of the Yurok. Note that the second and fifth men in the line have the right foot raised; the first and third, the left; the fourth has both feet still touching the ground. The end man seems old, which is unusual for dancers but does happen.

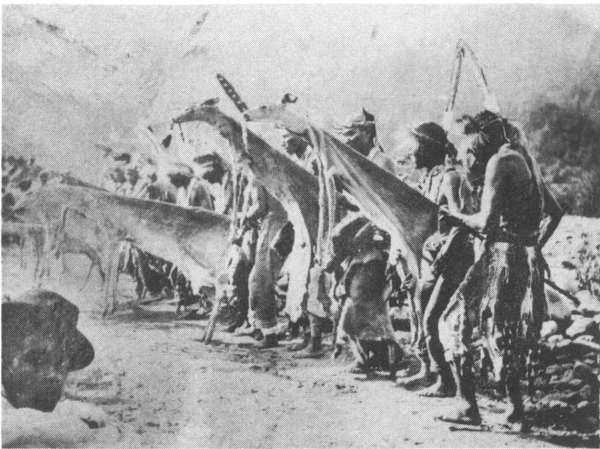
b. Deerskin Dance at Katimin: procession from dressing-place to dance spot, apparently on the riverbank. Photographed in 1912 by Clara M. Hetschel. The approach is always in file, although they line up to dance in a row abreast. The front man is apparently one of the obsidian carriers.

c. Deerskin Dance at Katimin, also photographed in 1912 by Clara M. Hetschel. The deerskin-bearing poles are held stood on end. This seems to be a Katimin (and perhaps Hupa) peculiarity: the Panamenik Karok (fig. a) and the Yurok Deerskin dancers hold the poles in a "bayonet-charge" position. In the left foreground, just beyond one end of the line, squat two obsidian carriers. They wear headbands of sea-lion teeth, and long painted nets of crocheting down their backs. After the song is well under way, these men, one at a time from each end of the line, will parade in front of the deerskins, passing each other, as in fig. d.

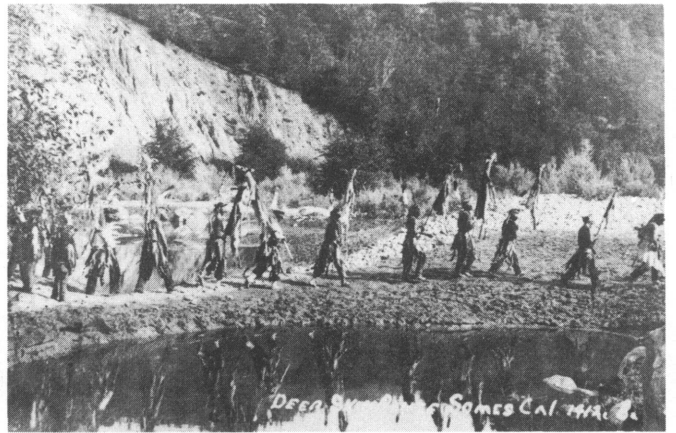
d. Two carriers are passing each other, with their obsidians held up, in front of the line of dancers. By Yurok precedent, this is done only while a song is going on. Hence the deerskin holders are presumably "dancing" to the extent of tapping with one foot; though at the moment of camera exposure all feet were evidently on the ground. Among the Yurok the deerskins would not be stood up except in intervals between songs.

e. Hupa salmon weir, photographed by P. M. Jones about 1900. This Hupa dam is utilitarian and not part of a world-renewal ceremony, but its general construction suggests that of the Yurok world-renewal dam at Kepel. But the Kepel structure was either zigzag or V-shaped, and larger, since the Klamath at Kepel carries several times as great a volume of water and is six feet deep at fish-dam season of low water, whereas the Trinity seems fordable at this spot.

f. Same Hupa weir, seen from the opposite bank. The slender sticks which stop the fish are evidently tied together in mats that are then laid against the upper face of the dam; whereas e shows the struts which support the structure on its downstream side. The white man crossing the dam is Pliny Goddard, author of *Life and Culture of the Hupa*.



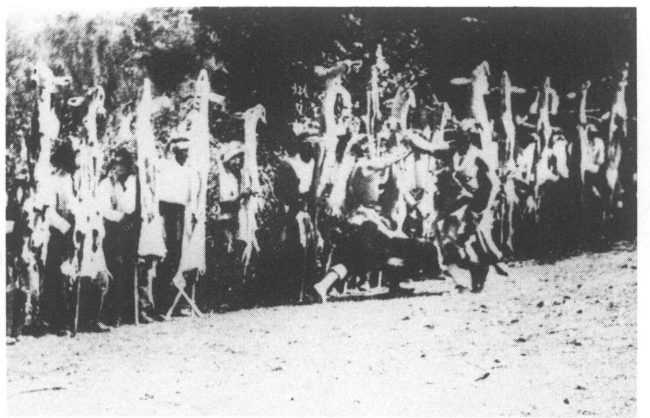
a



b



c



d



e



f

## PLATE 3

## Katimin and Vicinity

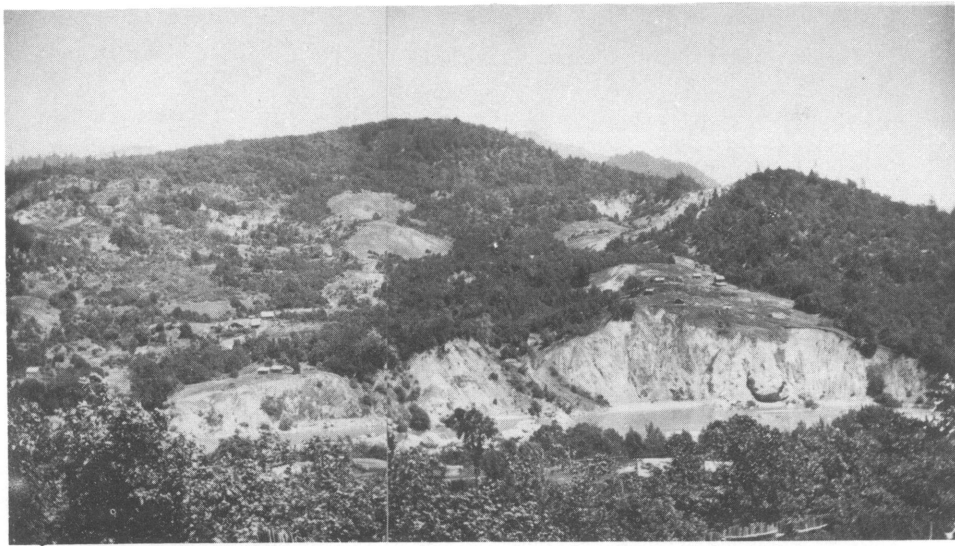
a. View of Katimin hillside from across the river; photographed by Kroeber in 1902. The scattering of the several hamlets constituting this large town is evident. Several of the structures are old-style Indian houses. The sacred world-renewal house would seem to be close to the edge of the high bluff toward the right of the picture.

b. View of an upriver part of Katimin, seen from the river's edge immediately opposite.

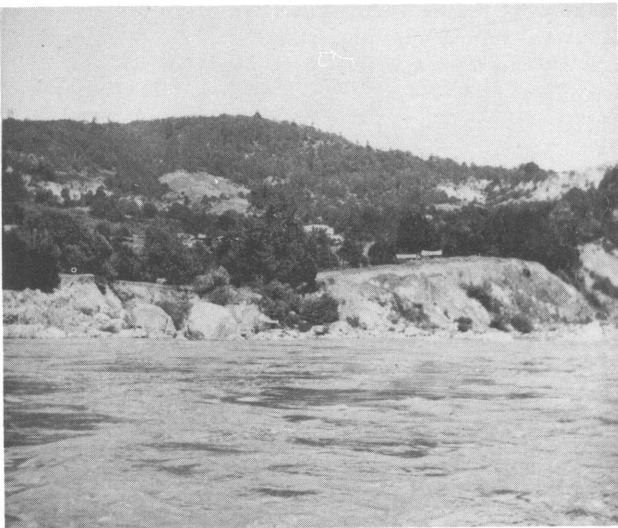
c. Looking downriver to the point of the river terrace on which Amaikiaram stands. Two structures are visible, of which the low one in the open may be the sacred sweathouse connected with the First Salmon Rite. Amaikiaram was still inhabited, although nearly abandoned, when this view was taken by Kroeber in 1902 from a point near Ashanamkarak on the opposite side, a little upriver.

d. Looking downriver at A'u'ich, Sugar Loaf Mountain near Katimin. The peak causes the Klamath River to make a half-turn around its western base.

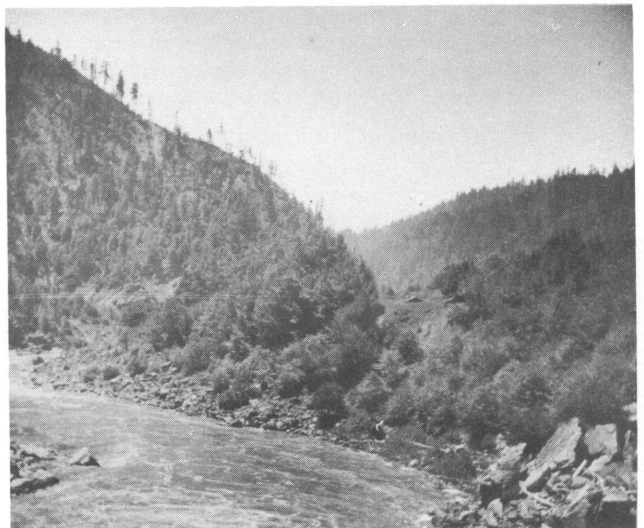
e. Mt. Offield, the sacred mountain of the World Renewal at Katimin. On the climactic night of the ritual the priest stands by the yuxpit, the sacred sand pile, and faces the mountain while the Deerskin Dance is performed.



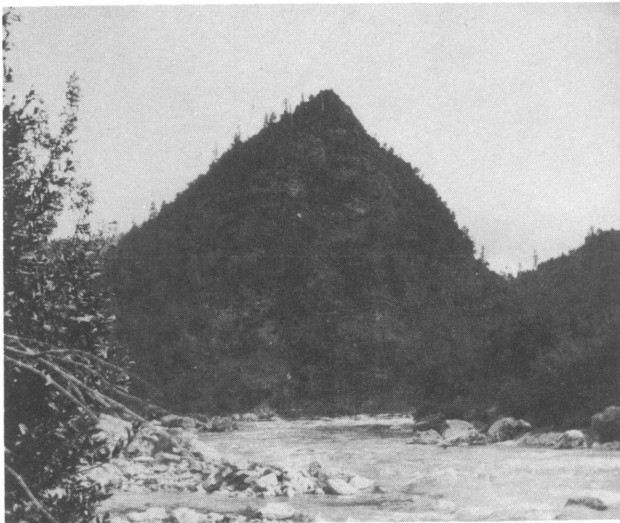
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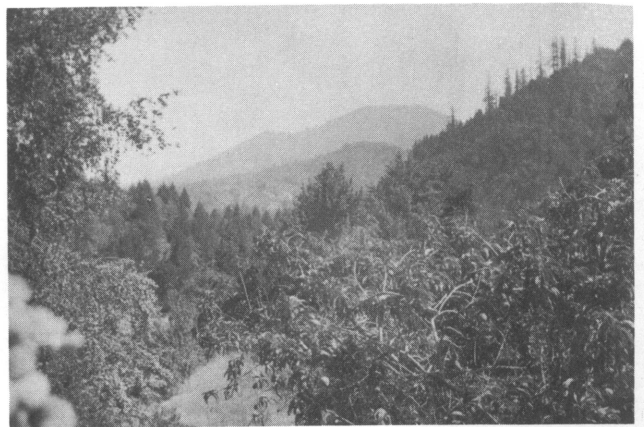
b



c



d



e

Plate 3. Katimin and Vicinity

## PLATE 4

Sacred Spots Connected with the World Renewals  
at Katimin and Amaikiam

Photographed by Kroeber in May, 1902.

a. The foreground shows the Deerskin Dance place at Katimin and the yuxpit or mound of sand, overgrown with waving grass. In the middle ground the view is diagonally across the river to the bluff on which stands Ishipishi.

b. Sacred house at Katimin. Beyond it is a regular living house still inhabited in 1902. The door of this dwelling is on the downhill side. Visible are the left side wall and the left pitch of the roof, with its long planks, shingled edgewise, not end to end. Up the hill a few dozen yards, surrounded by a white man's picket fence, is the traditional cemetery belonging to the inmates of this house.

c. Another view of the sacred house, seen quartering from uphill. Beyond it and to the left is the sacred sweathouse, slightly less ragged, and with a boat gunwale or a couple of planks to cover its ridge joint.

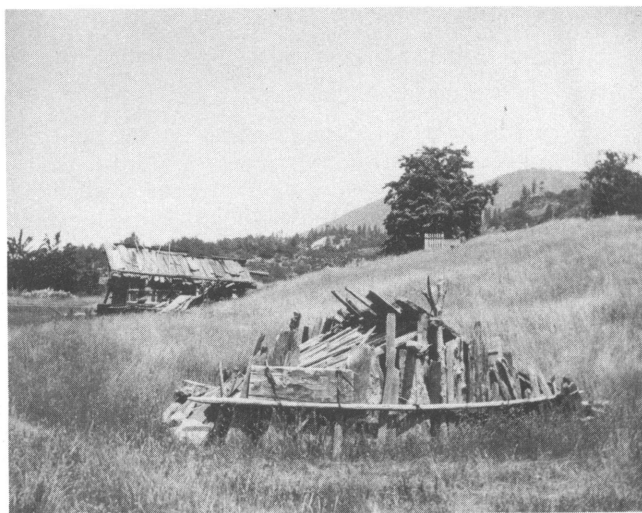
d. The same two structures, seen from below, the sweathouse now in the foreground. The entrance by which one descends into this shows on the right in the middle of the long side. The door is open, that is, propped up by two sticks.

e. The roughly cubical construction of stones at which new fire is lighted as the cardinal act in the First Salmon Rite, associated with the sweathouse at Amaikiam (pl. 3,c). The smoke from this fire must not be looked upon by anyone but the formulist and his assistant. The present spot is across the river from Amaikiam, at Ashanamkarak, among the tumbled boulders of the river bed. The "altar" has, of course, to be reconstructed each year. This view shows the Klamath constricted into a narrow falls or rapids (Ike's Falls) only a few yards from the sacred spot.

f. Another view of the "altar" as it stood in 1902.



a



b



c



d



Plate 4. Sacred Spots of World Renewal at Katimin and Amaikiam

## PLATE 5

## Yurok World-Renewal Ritual Spots

Photographed by Kroeber in 1901.

a. The only sweathouse remaining in Weitspus in 1901 and therefore used by the megwollep or World-Renewal formulist. It may or may not have been the proper sweathouse for the World Renewal in older times. Possibly this sweathouse owed its preservation to the fact of its ritual use in connection with the two great dances. At the left there shows the rear annex of the Brizard trading store which had invaded the Yurok town.

b. Tip of sacred rock near a large pepperwood tree in the center of Weitspus. This is the abode of one of the immortals who instituted the dances, and it is addressed and has offerings made to it in the formula recitation. (See "Itinerary," RS, p. 67, nos. 1-2; "Praying Spots," LB, p. 76, nos. 1-2; "Data from the Formulist," p. 78.)

c. Looking up the Klamath, in one of its broader reaches, southwestward to show the mountain which the Yurok called Kewet and which our maps used to show as Rivet Mountain but which now appears to have been renamed Burrill Peak (4336 ft. high). This mountain rises behind Weitspus (304 ft.) as the end of a long south-pointing ridge around which the Klamath winds in its last great bend. The Jumping Dance is made in stages on the three-and-a-half-mile way up, ending just below the summit of the mountain. Here it is continued during the afternoon, evening, and next day.

d. Corner of dwelling connected with the Jumping Dance at Rekwoi. The catalogue entry of the negative describes it as the house in which the dancers tied up their hair and made ready. Waterman, Yurok Geography, plate 4, figure 1, shows another view of the same structure and calls it the house in which the dance was performed. It is a three-pitch-roof structure. The struts, of which one shows here and two in the Waterman view, were probably set up as the house was growing shaky through rotting of the bottom of the timbers. Beach driftwood has been piled up in front of the entrance, but the house was no longer lived in at the time the photograph was made.

e. A general view southwestward across the lagoon at the mouth of the Klamath at low tide. The relation of Weikwau to this spit and to Rekwoi is shown on Waterman's plate 3. (However, the left part of Waterman's panorama has been forced so as to make the river seem to flow from the southwest instead of from southeast.)

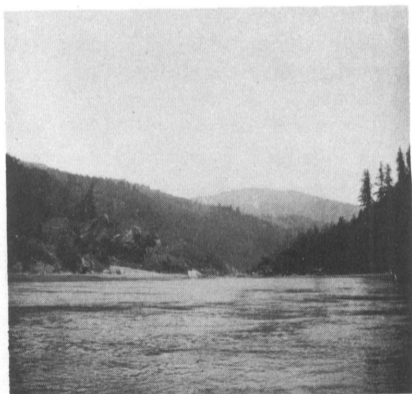
f. Spruce tree at base of the Weikwau hillside, by which the final dance of the Rekwoi Jumping Dance was held after a trip across the river with dancing in boats.



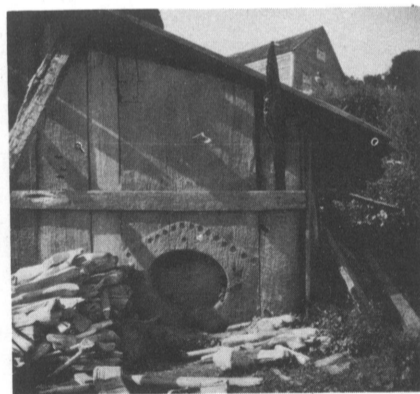
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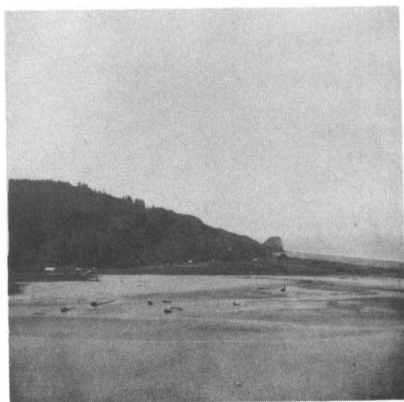
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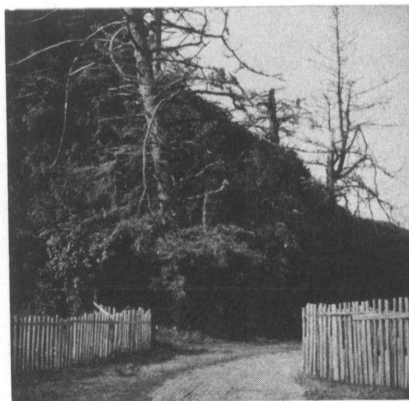
c



d



e



f

Plate 5. Yurok World-Renewal Ritual Spots

Structures at Weitspus and Pekwon

a. Two Yurok dwellings in Weitspus corresponding to houses 13 (on left) and 14 on map 26 of Waterman's Yurok Geography. The two houses are uphill and slightly downriver from the White Deerskin Dance place. When the photograph was made in 1901, the heads of the houses were Stone (pl. 7, c), and Werk, who became his successor as megwollep.

b. Pekwon house in which the Jumping Dance is held. The view is of the left half of its rear. The roof is three-pitch with two ridgepoles. One ridgepole appears in the photograph and most of the middle-pitch planks. The view is downstream. To the left a few sticks enclose one end of the main graveyard of Pekwon. Beyond, is the roof of a sweathouse--not the sacred one of the Jumping Dance. Part of the roof of another native house shows beyond the dance house: this would seem to be no. 3 on Waterman's map 15. In that case the dance house would be no. 4. This identification is corroborated by the way in which the two structures face, and their relation to the graveyard and sweathouse. However, Waterman gives the name Opyuweg, "where they dance," to no. 3 instead of no. 4; probably through confusion. The present photograph, taken by Kroeber in 1907, has been reproduced in Waterman's plate 5, figure 1, although his description of it is erroneously given in the explanation for figure 2 of the plate.

c. The sacred or "ugly" sweathouse of the Jumping Dance World Renewal at Pekwon, photographed by Ericsson sometime before 1900. In the foreground is the exit pit; the entrance is to the right. A piece of boat gunwale covers the joint of the roof planks. In a general way the view is upriver--or more precisely up Pekwon Creek, which can be seen in the right middle ground. This is the house in which the tāt sing at night. It is wholly a religious structure. On Waterman's map 15 it shows as a sweathouse. Beyond it to the left is a dwelling, with three-pitch roof as usual, which corresponds to living-house 7 on Waterman's map 15. This is the "tāt's dwelling," that is to say, where they sleep when not active in the ceremony. Beyond it is a dilapidated structure, which would appear to be house 8 on Waterman's map.

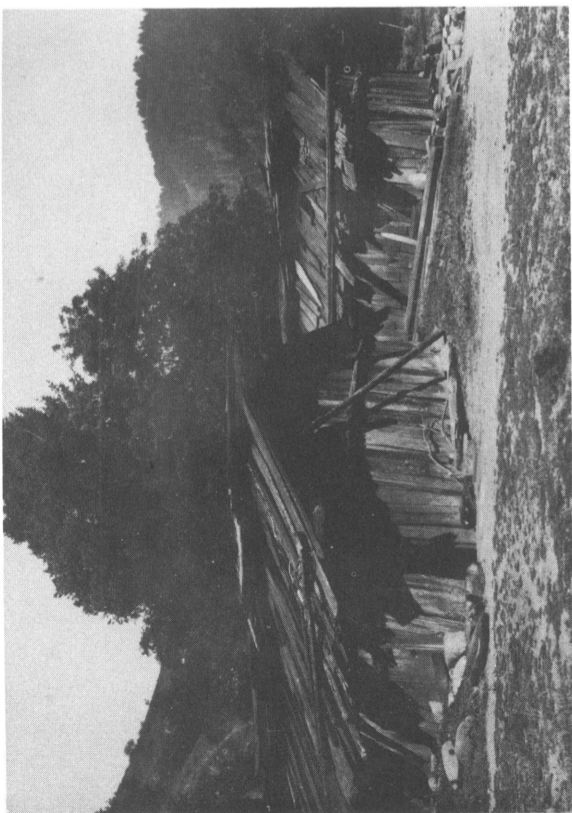
d. The same sacrosanct sweathouse, photographed in 1902 by Kroeber from a slightly different angle. The same boat gunwale seems still to cover the ridge; and the two upright stones just right of the exit pit appear not to have been moved in the interval. The cover of the entrance is propped up higher. The retaining wall at the edge of the level into which the sweathouse is sunk shows better in the present view; just as the cobble and slab lining shows better in c. To the left a bit of the roof of the "tāt's dwelling" shows although it appears to have sagged in comparison with c. Also, the house beyond is gone, whereas a new American-style house has been erected on the same terrace as the sweathouse.



b



d



a



c



## PLATE 7

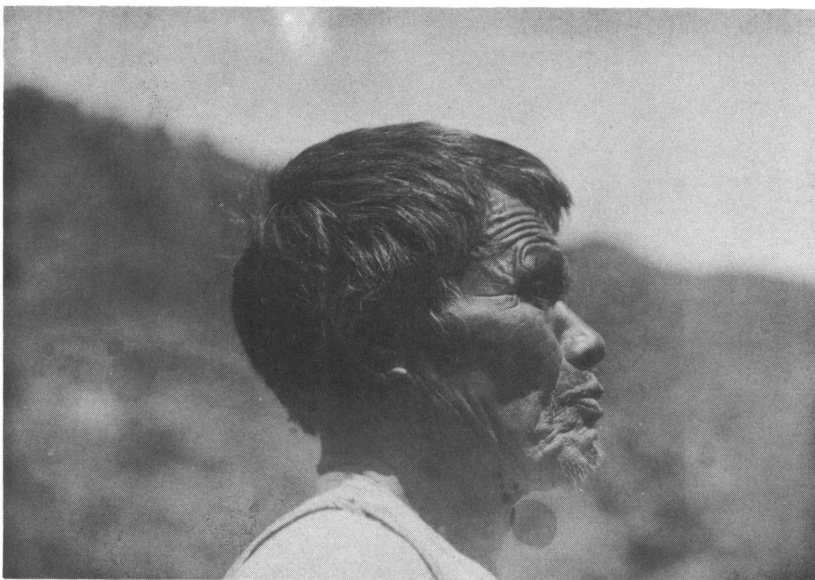
## Yurok Participants in World Renewals

Photographed in 1907 by Kroeber

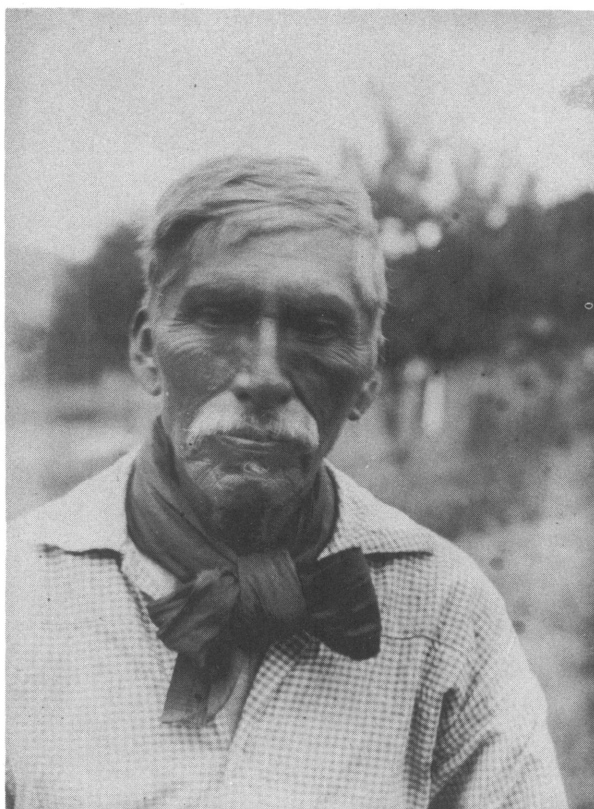
a. Amits, assistant to Lo', Dam-builder and formulist, at Kepel dam erection. His account of the dam is given in Waterman and Kroeber's *Kepel Fish Dam*, pages 62-67.

b. Dave Durban, rich man of Weitspus, that is, oldest surviving male of the house accounted the wealthiest in the town and therefore taking the initiative in the making of the Deerskin and Jumping dances there. This privilege and responsibility were shared by his younger brother, Weitchpec Frank, who served as Kroeber's chief guide and interpreter. In the terminology of Gifford's informants these brothers would have been "dance owners."

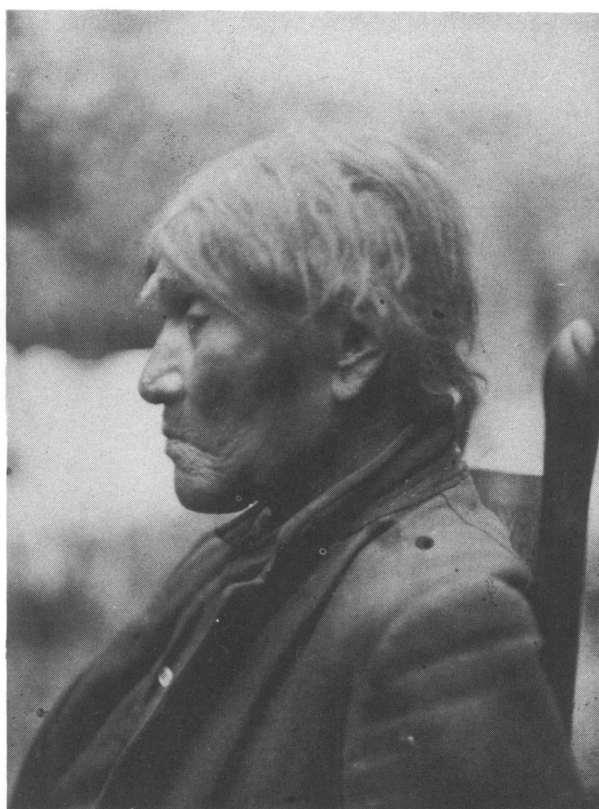
c. Stone, the megwollep or formulist for the Weitspus World Renewal dances.



a



b



c

Plate 7. Yurok Participants in World Renewals