

RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE TAKELMA INDIANS OF
SOUTHWESTERN OREGON.¹

THE following notes regarding the ideas of the supernatural world held by the Takelma Indians were obtained, incidentally to work of a linguistic character, from Mrs. Frances Johnson, one of the very few full-blood survivors of the Takelmas, now located on the Siletz reservation of northwestern Oregon. These Indians formerly occupied the middle course of Rogue River, in the southwestern part of the State, and were very closely affiliated in their general culture with the tribes of northern California.

CEREMONIES. Of religious ceremonial, outside of shamanistic dances, there seems to have been very little in the life of the Takelmas; at any rate, Mrs. Johnson did not speak of regular periodic ceremonies, except in case of the first appearance in the spring of salmon and acorns. These latter ceremonies were tabooed to the women, so that it was not possible to procure any account of the proceedings; they were referred to as "blessings," and evidently had as their object the bringing about of a big run of salmon and an abundant crop of acorns by means of prayer to the "deities" or "spirits" involved. Dances were said to be performed on only three occasions: at the "menstrual feast" given by the father of a maturing girl, in which both sexes joined in a "round dance;" in time of war, when arrows or knives were brandished in the war-dance; and in the medicine rites of the *gōyō*² or shaman. It is, of course, very possible that the ceremonial life of the Takelmas was far richer than these few "blessings" and dances would indicate, and that Mrs. Johnson had either forgotten the existence of other ceremonies, or else, as woman, was not in a position to speak of them. Still, in view of the fact that she was more than a mere child when removed from

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² PHONETIC NOTE. Vowels have their normal continental European values, *e* being always open in quality, even when long, *ä* used for *u* in *but*, and *ü* being pronounced approximately midway between German *u* and *ü*. Superior vowels are parasitic in character, all truly long vowels being pseudo-diphthongal (*ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*, *ü*). Consonants have their normal continental European values: spiritus asper (´) denotes full breath following upon voiceless stop; ! denotes that preceding consonant is "fortis," *i. e.* strongly exploded with momentary hiatus following; *s* is midway in place of articulation between *s* and *c* (*i. e.* *sh* in *ship*); *x* is pronounced as German *ch* in *Bach*; *ʔ* denotes glottal catch; superior *w* (in 'w) is whispered *w*. Three accents are used to mark syllabic pitch: acute (´) to mark falling pitch, starting from high tone; circumflex (˘) to indicate rise in pitch from (and including) normal to higher tone; and grave (˘) to indicate raised tone, generally on short vowels, with acoustic effect of mild interrogation in English.

her native home in the Rogue River valley, and that religious and dance ceremonies are always among the most impressive and easily remembered events in primitive life, it will be safe to ascribe but a very limited development of the ceremonial side to the Takelmas.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS. The psychological basis of Takelma religious belief is, of course, the same as that of all other Pacific coast tribes. Of a supreme being, approaching in conception say the Tirawa of the Pawnees, there is hardly a trace. Reference is made to a being who created all things and existed in the dawn of time, and who was termed *Hāp' k'emná's*, "children maker;" but no myth was obtained of this being explicitly devoted to him, and he does not seem to figure much in worship. The events of nature and the good or ill fortune of men are controlled by a large number of supernatural beings or "spirits." Many of these are identified with animals or plants, the present transformed representatives of the primeval inhabitants of the earth. In some cases definite physical phenomena are associated with such animal or plant agencies. Thunder, for instance, is caused by the drumming of a raccoon-like animal (probably the "civet-cat"), while the lightning is his fire; the phases of the moon are due to its being swallowed by frogs and lizards (the Takelmas saw a frog in the moon); and acorns are part of the flesh of the Acorn Woman, who sends them to the oak. Still other supernatural beings are identified with or are manifested in such inorganic objects as sun, moon, wind, whirlwind, snow, rain, and storm. Evidently, in the native mind, there is no real line of demarcation between such apparently lifeless phenomena and the organic world; both seem to act of their own volition and influence human life. A third and potent group of "spirits" are localized and associated with certain definite rocks, trees, or mountains. Direct offerings of food and other valuables seem often to have been deposited at the localities with which such beings were associated. Lastly, there is a class of imaginary, generally maleficent, beings that inhabit the woods or waters, and figure, as well as the animal "spirits," in the mythology. Such are the half-human *hūliū'n wa-iwī'i*, or mermaid, who, with other fabled denizens of the sea, taunts the unwary canoeman with jibes and insulting epithets, thus makes him lose his head, and, in his attempt to seek vengeance, causes him to sink beneath the water; the *yap!a daldā*, or wild men of the woods, one of whom, *kukū*, Blue Jay's son, was burnt to death by the culture-hero, and seems intended to represent, in his transposed form, the echo; a race of dwarfs no bigger than children, said to be able to pack whole elks and to be termed *dinī' dinī'* by the Shastas; the rolling skulls of dead people, *xilam t!egilixi*, who kill all in their path, and with whose dread cry of *ximī+ ximi* disobedient children were wont to be frightened;

the *gelgál*, a serpent that was believed to squeeze human beings to death; and the *da^siwadagalài*, a black four-legged, tailed "water-dog," who was supposed to crawl at the bottom of a creek and never to come to land (cf. Dixon: "Water Monsters in Northern California," in J. A. F. L. vol. xix, No. 75, p. 323). This third group belongs to the vast horde of unreal terrors with which men plague themselves the world over, and are perhaps not rightly to be considered as of the same class as the powerful animal spirits first referred to.

CHARMS. These latter are appealed to for the cure of disease or for the attainment of other desired objects through the mediation of medicine-men, but it is characteristic of the Takelmas that many of them were directly addressed in set prayer-formulas. The general content of these prayers is an adjuration to powers of evil to depart and an expression of the desire for long life and prosperity. The formulas were uttered when one of the spirits under consideration manifested itself, in other words, when certain animal cries were heard, at the appearance of a snowstorm, or the like. There must have been a very large number of such "medicines" in use for various circumstances of life, but the few following were all that could be obtained. They are given in text and translation.

1. When the screech-owl (*bōbōp'*) was heard, a prayer for the capture of deer the next day was recited, this bird being looked upon as a harbinger of good, itself greedy for the fat of the deer. Directing a whiff of tobacco smoke towards the screech-owl, the following words were uttered:—

"Xemelát'ēdi?	Dewénxa	hadēhal	nā ^a nán	ha ^s 'ixdil
"Dost thou wish to eat?	To-morrow	five (deer)	I shall catch them	or ten (deer)
nā ^a nán. Gas ⁱ 'e	yámx	ga-iwadá ^e	yōm	ga-iwadá ^e . Xemelát' "
I shall catch them. Then	fat	thou wilt eat it	blood	thou wilt eat it. Thou wishest to eat, "
nagàn. Gas ⁱ 'e	dewénxa	ha ^s 'ixdil	nagā ^a nán.	Ga nagánhan
it was said. And then	next day	about ten (deer)	were caught.	That used to be done
hat'gā ^a dē	hōp!ē ⁿ	bō ^u s'í ^e	emé ^e	áni ^e ga nagàn. Yap!a
in my country	long ago	but now	here	not that is done. "People
lōhōg ^w ulùk ^w	neyé ^e	bō ^u è ^a	bōbōp'	yiwiya ^a -uda ^e .
are about to die, "	they say	nowadays	screech-owl	when he talks.

Translation: "Dost thou wish to eat? I shall catch five or ten deer and then thou shalt have fat to eat, thou shalt have blood to eat. Thou wishest to eat." Thus he was addressed. And then, on the morrow, five or ten deer were caught. Thus it was done in my land long ago, but nowadays here screech-owls are not thus addressed. Nowadays, when a screech-owl screams, it is said: "People are about to die."

The prayer (or charm, as it might be termed) is intended to confirm the good omen by a promise of food to its bringer. The fat and blood refer to the waste scraps of deer meat that the screech-owl may find after the feast.

2. Hummingbirds were looked upon as messengers of medicine-men sent to work evil. When one of these birds was heard buzzing near one, it was supposed to be tearing out one's hair. In all probability there is here involved the widespread belief of the power to do one harm by an application of "sympathetic magic" to one's hair, nail-parings, or the like. To obviate, if possible, the ill omen of the hummingbird's message, a curse is directed to it, or perhaps to the medicine-man whom it represents, in the following words: —

“Walōhōgwadā^ε ūlūk'lit'k' dā'ibū't'basda^ε.
 “Thou shalt die with it my hair when thou pullest it out from side of my head!
 Wlī't' ganāu wahawax-xiwigwadā^ε.”
 Thy house in thou shalt rot with it!”

Translation: “Mayest thou die with my hair which thou pullest out of the side of my head! In thy house mayest thou rot with it!”

3. The larger hooting owl (*t'gwalā^a*) is, unlike the screech-owl, a bird of ill omen, prophesying death and stealing children. When heard hooting he is addressed in the following terms: —

“Libín di we^εgás·dam? Hā^{aε} dā^at'gayawā^ada ‘al'yó!
 “News ? didst thou come to tell me? Yonder alongside the earth's¹ rib (= N.) look!
 Né'k'di t'ōmōmán? He^εdadā^ε yap!a gwalā, gé di alxí'gít,
 Who has been killed? Far away people many, there ? didst thou see them,
 gé di lōhōyá^{ue}? Ga dí ga'al libín we^εgásdam?”
 there ? are they dying? That ? for news didst thou come to tell me?”
 Nagán t'gwalā^a yiwiyá·uda^ε.
 He is spoken to owl when he talks.

Translation: “Didst thou come to tell me news? Off yonder towards the north look thou! Who has been killed? Far away there are many people. Didst thou see them there, did people die there? Didst thou come to tell me that for news?” Thus an owl is addressed when he hoots.

This charm may be interpreted as a prayer, for the owl is cajoled, as it were, into reporting the death of some one far removed instead of referring to that of one in the neighborhood of the speaker.

4. Of the yellowhammer (*t!ē^kw*) the story was told, how once,

¹ The earth is conceived of as a vast animal lying on its belly and stretched out towards the east, or perhaps the reference of points of the compass to parts of the earth's body is to be regarded as only metaphorical. East is termed *gwen't'gāa-bōk'danda*, “at the nape of the earth's neck” (*gwen-* “at nape” + *t'gāa* “earth” + *bōkdan* “neck”); west is *dī't'gāayúk!umāda* “on back of the earth's tail” (*dī-* “on back” + *t'gāa* + *yúk!umā* “tail”). The word in the text, *dā^at'gāa-yawāda* “alongside the earth's ribs” (*dā^a-* “at ear, alongside” + *t'gāa* + *yawāa-* “rib”) can evidently mean either north or south, so that a gesture was probably necessary to remove the ambiguity. The *-da* at the end of these words is the possessive pronoun of the third person in local relations, corresponding to *-dē* of the first (cf. *hat'gāadē* “in my country” in No. 1); the word for west would accordingly be more literally translated by “at the nape of its, the earth's, neck,” and correspondingly for the other points of the compass.

when a number of people passed a group of ten houses, he, unable to control his excitement, announced to all the stages in the process: "T!é^kw! Now they have passed the first house! T!é^kw! Now they have passed the second house!" and so on through all the ten. Hence, when his cry is heard, he is supposed to be telling of some one's arrival:—

Yap!a baxámda^e alt!ayàk': "Yap!as'íe baxá'm!" "Baxā-
 People when they come he discovers them: "People they are coming!" "That
 xmia-uda^e yap!a ma dí 'alt!ayagít'?" ga nagàn yiwiyá-uda^e
 they keep coming people thou ? didst thou see them?" that is said to him when he talks
 t!é^kw.
 yellowhammer.

Translation: When people come, yellowhammer discovers them and says: "People are coming!" "Didst thou see that people keep coming?" [as much as to say: "Thou need not tell us thou hast seen them!"] That is said when a yellowhammer screams.

5. At the appearance of a new moon (*bixal bā^at!ebét'a^e*) it was customary to yell and address to it the following words:—

"Dap'óit'e^e, déhi kliyák'de^e. 'ís'íe yap!a 'Amadi lōhō'íe"
 "I shall prosper, still longer I shall go. Even people 'Would that he died!'
 nēxigi', ma yā^a na'nát'e^e, hawi^e bā^adēp'de^e. 'ís'íe
 if they say of me, thee just like I shall do, again I shall rise. Even
 k'áigwala hé^ene he^enagwásbik'na^e, lap'ām gá-isbik'na^e, k'ái-
 many beings then when they devour thee, frogs when they eat thee, many
 gwala lasgúm iūxgwát', 'ís'íe ga gá-isbik'na^e, gas'íe
 beings little snakes handed, even those when they eat thee, still
 (= lizards)

hawi bā^a tlebét'am. Ma yā^a na'nát'e^e dé^exa." Prolonged
 again thou dost rise. Thee just like I shall do in time to come."
 yelling: bō+.

Translation: "May I prosper, may I remain alive yet awhile. Even if people say of me: 'Would that he died!' may I do just as thou doest, may I rise again [the same word is here used as for the rising of the moon]. Even then when many evil beings devour thee, when frogs eat thee up, many evil beings such as lizards, when those eat thee up, still dost thou rise again. In time to come may I do just like thee!"

This prayer is a very good example of the class. The moon, in passing through its phases, is supposed to be subjected to the attacks of its reptilian enemies and to be completely worsted at the end. But only for a brief space, for the moon has a powerful "medicine" with which to combat its enemies and triumph again. The speaker asks, in effect, that to him also may some of this power be granted, so that he may withstand the malice of those that wish him ill.

6. The spirit of Snow (*p!ā^s*), though he drove down the deer from the mountains, was not believed to be particularly well disposed to men, whom he begrudged the game. When it snowed too heavily,

advantage was taken of his niggardly character to bring him to a halt by reciting the following address as a ruse, each syllable being pronounced clearly by itself and with pomp.

“T'gam mé^e degingán gwens'ō'mál s'i'ulit'a^e gwent'gém
 “Elks hither drive them on in back of mountain which are staying black-necked
 hagwelt'gémt'gam” nagánhan plá's. Gas'íe ání^e lōp'lōt', hōnō^e
 in dark places under trees!” he used to be told Snow. And then not it snowed, again
 ha-uhaná's. Gelheyé'x p'lá's, ání^e t'gam ha-uhimíà
 he was quiet. He is stingy Snow, not elks down hill to drive them
 gelgulúk'^w.
 he desires.

Translation: “Hitherwards drive the elks, the black-necked ones, that dwell back of the mountain, in dark places under the trees!” Thus it was customary to speak to Snow. Then it no longer snowed, again he became quiet. Snow is stingy; he does not desire to drive down elks.”

7. Similar to this, in that the undesirable spirit is gotten rid of by trickery, is the following metrical song-charm, addressed to the winter-storm. The storm-spirit is conceived of as a supernatural woman going out with her children to dig up roots, only instead of uprooting camass with her digging-stick as mortal women are wont to do, she upturns the trees. This “medicine” served to banish her from haunts of men.

“Heedadá^e hi nà. T'gap'xiūt'e^e
 “Away from here pass. Thy digging stick
 Heedadá^e hi nāk'^w.
 Away from here pass with it!
 Hees'ō'mál hi nāk'^w deges'et'
 Mountainwards pass with it thy sifting basket-pan!
 Heewilámxa hi nāk'^w t'gap'xiūt'e^e
 To Mt. Alwilámxadis pass with it thy digging stick!
 Wede mé^e ginagwàt'
 Not hither come with it
 Wede mé^e gingàt'
 Not hither come!
 Hāp'de^e xilam yō'uk'lā^a
 Thy children dead ones their bones
 Yewē sallats!āk'.”
 Perchance they touch them with their feet.”

Nagán ga'à. Wihin klū'yápxā^a malák'wak': “Gwalt'
 It was said to her just that My mother her friend she told her: “Wind
 mahai wōk'í^e ga nā'ag'ek'.”
 great if it should come that say to it.”

Translation: “Go thou away from here, with thy camass-stick pass thou away from here, mountainwards pass thou with thy sifting-pan, away to Mt. Alwilámxadis pass thou with thy camass-stick! Come thou not hither with it, come thou not hither! Perchance thy children touch with their feet dead people's bones.” Just that was said to her. A friend of my mother's told her: “If a great storm comes, you shall say that to it.”

The purpose of the storm woman's digging-stick is evident — to root up the trees. The object of the supernatural sifting-pan is not quite obvious, but the idea implied seems to be that the dense masses of falling snow are sifted therein as mortal folk winnow their acorn-meal.

8. Another supernatural agency of a meteorological character whose presence was felt to be undesirable is the whirlwind (*p'ô-yàmx*).

Gas'it Now	pō'yàmx whirlwind	wili house	bā'it'gwálak ^w whirls up past	dedewil'ida, by house-door,	t'gā ^a earth
salp'úlüp'ilin. it is kicked.	“ε _R ^{nε} ε _R ⁿ . “	k!ūyabát'ε Thy friend	eīt'ε ^e I am,	gwīneixde ^e thy relative	eīt'ε ^e ” I am”
nagàn. is said to it.					

Translation: “When a whirlwind whirls up by the door of a house, the earth is kicked and it is said: “ε_R^{nε}ε_Rⁿ. I am thy friend, I am of thy relations.”

The meaning of the charm, according to Mrs. Johnson, lies in the attempt to pacify the whirlwind spirit by claiming relationship with it and hence immunity from harm. Like the hummingbird, the whirlwind was believed to be the bearer of a message fraught with evil for some one.

9. Winds were supposed to be efficacious in driving sickness out of the body, and were appealed to for the purpose. The following medicine-formula was used:—

“Hě!	Gwel'wā ^a didē	ba-ideye ^e giwidá ^e	k'ai ^e wa	íłtslak ^w ,
	“From lower part of my body	thou shalt drive away	evil things	bad,
dak'hawalak'idē	ba-ideye ^e giwidá ^e ,	dak'íūdē	ba-ideye ^e giwidá ^e ,	
from crown of my head	thou shalt drive them away	from above my hands	thou shalt drive them away	
hats!ek'tsligidē	ba-ideye ^e giwidá ^e	k'ai ^e wa	íłtslak ^w ,	
from within my backbone	thou shalt drive away	evil things	bad	
dak'saldē	ba-ideye ^e giwidá ^e	k'ai ^e wa	íłtslak ^w .”	He ^e ne dap'ōp'au,
from above my feet	thou shalt drive away	evil things	bad.”	Then they blew,
h ^w + was said to it.	nagàn.			

Translation: “Hě! From out of my body do thou drive all bad things away, from the crown of my head do thou blow them away, from above my hands [*i. e.* from my arms] do thou blow them away, from within my backbone do thou blow all bad things away, from above my feet [*i. e.* from my legs] do thou drive all bad things away! Then they blew, saying h^w+.

10. When it rained hard and it was desired to put an end to the downpour, the rain spirit was asked:—

“Gwiné ^e di ha-uhán'sda ^e ?	Ge ^{nè}	lōp!ōdát'.”	(To folks in
“How long thou wilt cease?	So long	thou hast rained.”	
house :) “Dīt'gāyúk!umā ^a da	duyùm	“alplīts'!ō'łts'!alhip'.”	
“At the earth's tail = west	cat-tail	do ye burn it.”	

Translation: "How long is it before thou wilt cease? So long hast thou been raining!" (To folks in house :) "Do ye burn cat-tail rushes towards the west."

Why the burning of cat-tail rushes should cause the rainfall to cease is not evident. Inasmuch as the rain-bearing winds come from the west, it is possible that the burning in the west is to be construed as a means for frightening away the rain spirit as he proceeds to the east.

11. The charms heretofore given have all been addressed to animals or natural phenomena conceived to be possessed of supernatural powers. The following differs in that it is spoken to an absent human being, but resembles in general tone some of the preceding, the main idea of the charm being a prayer for long life and prosperity. When a person sneezed, it was believed that his name was being mentioned by some one afar off. To prevent the evil effect to the person named of a possible mention of his name in connection with ill wishes (for words as such may have power of good or ill), it was customary to apostrophize the absent ones.

"Nék'di k'lūyūmísi? 'Dap'óit'a', nēxdaba' 'hawi bē
 "Who he calls my name? 'Thou shalt prosper,' ye shall say of me, 'yet day
 mū^uxdàn déhi k'liyigadá.' Desbūsba-usdaba'."
 once further thou shalt go.' Ye shall blow to me!"

Translation: "Who is it that calls my name? May ye (who speak of me) say in regard to me: 'Do thou prosper, mayest thou go ahead [*i. e.* continue life] yet another day!' May ye blow to me!"

At the conclusion of the address a continued current of air was blown by the speaker as symbolic of the long life desired. In general, blowing, particularly of a whiff of tobacco smoke, was used before and after the recitation of a charm; apparently there was ascribed to it a certain magical power to bring about the prayer of the speaker.

SHAMANISM. Needless to say, the theory of disease held by the Takelmas was that which almost universally obtains among primitive tribes. The disease or ailment itself was conceived of as directly caused by a "disease spirit" or "pain," known as a *ts'idáxgwa*, that had become lodged in some part of the victim's body. The *ts'idáxgwa* was thought of in quite material terms, and could be extracted by persons properly qualified in the form of a splinter of wood or the like, whereupon the ailment necessarily vanished. No bodily ill, not even death, was the result of purely natural causes, but was in practically every instance due to the malice of some evil-minded person, either a shaman (*gōyō*) or one who had hired a shaman to inflict disease upon some hated person. The shaman, always feared, and always suspected of being responsible for whatever ill

might befall the individual or the village community, was said, when bent upon the death of some one, "to go out of his house with a disease-spirit (*da-uyáa*) that he has obtained" and "to shoot people with it" (*yap!a da-uyáa ts!ayák'i* = people disease-spirit he shoots them with). A powerful shaman might also reach his victim by merely "wishing" him ill or (mentally) "poisoning" him, as my informant put it; this method was frequently employed by mythological characters such as Coyote, and was indicated in the language by a special verb (*wiyimási*, "he wished to, poisoned me"). As we have already seen, the evil "wish" could sometimes be carried to the person aimed at by means of such emissaries as the hummingbird or (perhaps) the whirlwind. It not infrequently happened, when some one fell ill, that a particular shaman was accused by another of being the responsible party; in such cases the accused shaman was compelled to cure the sick person or else suffer death as a penalty. So great was the distrust felt for a shaman that in some villages their presence was not tolerated at all for fear of the results of their malicious practices. The attitude of the Takelmas towards the shamans is significantly illustrated in the matter of retaliation for murder. Ordinarily the murder of an Indian gave rise to a blood-feud, sometimes long protracted, settled only by a payment of considerable value to the injured party. On the other hand, when a shaman was slain, his or her¹ relatives were obliged to be content with the payment of a small fine, and could not demand retaliation. Evidently the death of a shaman was considered as merited in any event, for who knew how many deaths he had himself been responsible for?

The shaman (*gōyō*) obtained his magical power to cause and cure sickness from one or generally several guardian spirits (known as *yō^uláp̄xdā^a*), as a rule animal spirits or natural objects and forces. The method of securing the guardianship of these spirits was the same as that so commonly employed in the Columbia valley for the acquisition of a "personal totem" or "protector" (ordinarily referred to by the Chinook jargon term of *tamanwas*); *i. e.* the intending shaman would undergo a suitable term of training, generally consisting of fasting and praying in the mountains; during this period one or more spirits would appear in a dream and make known their guardianship by the bestowal of a medicine-song, for each of the shaman's *yō^uláp̄xdā^a* has its own particular song suited to its general character.

¹ Both men and women could be shamans without apparent difference. There is nothing to show that the women were looked upon as more potent, as was the case among certain other tribes. Mention was made by Mrs. Johnson of a so-called "hermaphrodite" (*swayāū*) or man-woman with man's voice and female attire, credited with strong shamanistic powers; this was evidently one of the "berdashes" found also among the Shastas.

The coyote, for instance, is represented in the myths as beginning nearly every word with a meaningless prefixed *s*—, and this characteristic peculiarity would be imitated by a shaman in his “coyote song,” provided, of course, he had acquired the coyote as one of his guardians. It is to be carefully noted that guardian spirits were not possessed by the great run of people (or *yap!a gamáxdí*, “raw people,” as they were called), but were vouchsafed only to the shamans; the general doctrine of individual guardian spirits characteristic of the tribes along the lower Columbia thus weakens towards the south, or perhaps it would be better to say that it was never developed in this area. Among the guardian spirits generally held by shamans are to be mentioned the panther, wolf, coyote, rattlesnake, eagle, hummingbird, woodpecker (*bák'ba*), yellowhammer (*t!é'k^w*), moon, sun, and wind. Some animal spirits, such as the chicken-hawk, were distinctly hostile to the *gōyǎ*, as will be later shown, and never served as his guardians. Of those enumerated the sun was undesirable, in so far as its acquisition, it was believed, entailed the loss to the shaman of his own children. This illustrates, to some extent, the relation which we must conceive to exist between the shaman and his spirits. The former was not free to choose whichever of the latter he preferred, his choice being, at least in theory, quite involuntary and due to the good will of the spirits themselves. It is therefore easy to understand why a shaman was said to be the “slave” of his spirits and why his actions were interpreted largely as a carrying out of their behests. Moreover, they had to be kept in good humor, as shown by this custom: If a shaman was called to a house even of a far distant village, he was not permitted to partake of food before dancing for his most potent guardian spirit. This dance was the food of the spirit; if the shaman were to eat first, he would be guilty of satisfying his hunger before that of his master, an insult to the latter that the spirit might greatly resent.

In “doctoring” a sick person the method employed was to appeal to the guardian spirits for information as to the location of the pain-causing *ts'idáxgwa*, so that the shaman might be enabled to “catch” it and extract it from the body. The medicine-song itself consisted as a rule of meaningless syllables (burdens) intermingled with snatches of connected words, all sung to a monotonous tune of indeterminate length in which the people assembled in the house joined, but *without* the accompaniment of a drum, an instrument entirely unknown to the Takelmas. The following, taken from the myth of “Panther and his Deer-Wife,” will serve as an example of one of these monotonous shaman's songs. A medicine-woman of the Deer people is supposed to be guarding the pancreas (really the “life”) of Panther, that his deer-wife has stolen from him and has brought to her people

she did. If nowadays such a splinter of wood should hurt you, would you not feel it? That is how she pulled it out; I felt it when she pulled it out. And then I arose. 'Give me food, mother!' I said. Then the shaman laughed (from joy) and said thus: 'Tell her to wait now until I set right her body.' Then again she sang and set my body completely right. Then she put the blood into a basket-bucket [*k!el*: small shaman's bucket used to put 'pains' in] and set everything right. With her lips she sucked it from me, took out the blood, and put it into the bucket. Not again did I then become sick. Then thus she said: 'Not again will you become sick as long as I remain alive, as long as I do not die. If I die, just then will you again fall sick,' she said to me. 'She is a good girl, not badly she talks to people, always good her heart, ever she laughs,' said that shaman. 'Now let her bathe [speaking to my mother]. Prepare hot water and let her bathe; *then* give her food to eat.' So my mother prepared warm water. Then she made me bathe and then gave me food. After this they all returned to their homes, and then the shaman returned to her own house. She cured me; not again did I become sick at that time. Then when I recovered my hair all came out; this way did I become: no hair at all on my head. I just tied a neckerchief about my head. Thus she cured me. For that reason I for my part believe in shamans."¹

Besides the *gōyō*, or "shaman," properly speaking, there was the *s'ōmlōhōlxa's*, also endowed with supernatural powers and capable of influencing powerful spirits, yet in every respect entirely distinct from the *gōyō*. He was said to be able to dream of the creation of all things and of all that was to be. Like the *gōyō*, he could cure disease, but, unlike him, had not the power of inflicting it, or at least did not, being looked upon as of a friendly disposition towards his fellow-men, nor was he able to "catch" the "pain." He did not dance, like the *gōyō*, nor did he require the services of any one else in the singing. His procedure consisted mainly in sitting down by the side of the invalid, rubbing the part affected by the malady, and singing his medicine-song, in which the untranslatable, probably meaningless words "*hā'gwatci hā'gwatci*" were said frequently to recur. It is somewhat doubtful whether the Takelma *gōyō* and *s'ōmlōhōlxa's* correspond respectively to the two classes of medicine-men frequently found in many Indian tribes and illustrated among the

¹ This account indicates the importance of the number *five* in the ordinary conceptions of the Oregon and Washington Indians, as well as in the mythology of this region (four shamans are unsuccessful, only the fifth cures). Interesting also is the idea of a sympathetic relation between two persons, by virtue of which the well-being of one is dependent upon the life of the other — an idea that may well be included under the general concept of "sympathetic magic."

Wascos of the Dalles by the *idiágiwam* (shaman, one who "shoots" people) and *idiáxlalit* (one who "doctors;" cf. *-gila-it*, "to doctor"). The *idiágiwam* is practically always also an *idiáxlalit*, or "doctor," but a *göyö* can never be at the same time a *s'ömlöhólxa's*. In fact the two are mutually exclusive terms, and the relation between the two sorts of medicine-men was one of hostility, the *s'ömlöhólxa's* having been often hired to counteract the evil work of a *göyö*. It is interesting to note that the two appealed to entirely different spirits as supernatural helpers, and thus made use of different medicine-songs. No supernatural power that was wont to aid the *s'ömlöhólxa's* could ever become the guardian spirit of a *göyö*, but, on the contrary, was ever ready to inflict punishment upon him. The most potent of these spirits were the chicken-hawk (*hú's'ú*), the sparrow-hawk (*yěk!iye*), the acorn-woman, and a number of local mountain spirits. Among these latter was the *dan mölögöl* (Rock Old Woman) addressed as "Grandmother," and closely associated with a rock of about three feet in height and with an elongated round top, situated in the vicinity of *Daldanik'*, a village north of Rogue River, and between Grant's Pass and Leaf Creek; near the rock impersonating the old woman were a number of others known as her pipe (*nāx*), bucket (*k!èl*), stirrer (*s'umxi*), to prevent it from boiling over, and tongs (*k!áma*) for picking up the hot stones used for boiling (the purpose of these cooking instruments will soon become apparent). Various kinds of food were laid on top of the rock as an offering to the old woman for the cure of sickness.

A mountain spirit subordinate to her was *Aldanyá'k'wadis*; the four fir-trees that surmounted its summit were termed the ceremonial feathers of the mountain spirit, the mountain itself and its presiding spirit being, as usual in such cases, more or less commingled in one conception. Still other such mountain spirits were another *Aldanyá'k'wadis*, near Illinois River, in sight from the summit of the former, and referred to as his brother; *Alsawēnt'adis*, next to the first of the two mountain brothers and covered with oaks and *r'bál* bushes (about three feet in height and of a yellowish color), used by the *s'ömlöhólxa's* in the cure of fever; and *Aldank!ólò'ida*, in the vicinity of the present town of Jacksonville. These various animal, plant, and mountain spirits (there must have been many others) had each his or her particular medicine-song, efficacious in bringing harm to the *göyö*. Of three of them, the chicken-hawk, the Acorn Woman, and the Old Rock Woman myths were obtained in which it is related how some great misfortune befell a shaman in the past; the recitation of these myths by the *s'ömlöhólxa's* has power to injure the *göyö* against whom they are directed. The myth of the Old Woman and the mountain *Aldanyá'k'wadis* is here given in literal translation:—

“When this great world was first set [word employed is identical with that used in referring to the making of a basket-bottom], at that time the Old Rock Woman was told: ‘*Thou* shalt be a “shaman wisher’ (or “poisoner”); if an evil-minded shaman devours people, *thou* shalt sing for that.’ And she said: ‘Yes!’ ‘And thou shalt put thy pipe in the shaman’s mouth, thou shalt give him to smoke!’ it was said to her. Here alongside of her her rock bucket, and then in her bucket her stirrer, and her tongs. Thus it was given to the Old Rock Woman. Her bucket is for boiling the shaman’s heart, and her stirrer — with that she stirs up the shaman’s heart while she is boiling it, and with her tongs she lifts stones — hot stones. Then she made the stones steam in her bucket and boiled the shaman’s heart. For that — a shaman’s heart — is her rock bucket ‘medicine.’ And then she sang for the shaman, whereupon the shaman died. The Old Rock Woman, ‘My (paternal) Grandmother,’ has done it. And then Mt. Aldauyā^{ak}wadīs was told about it. ‘Now the Old Rock Woman has killed the shaman,’ he was told. *Then* he was ready to join her and tied his head-hair up into a top-knot [indicative of war-dance]. Then he put dust on his forehead [white war-paint]. Now when he came there, the shaman was lying dead. He took up his arm and wrenched loose the shaman’s arm. A little distance away he jumped with the shaman’s arm into a ditch. Then he danced around rapidly and brandished [like a knife] the shaman’s arm. Then he sang and danced with it. Now some time elapsed; he looked up, looked across to his younger brother [near Illinois River]. Then he did as before and also his younger brother did the same thing; and they on either side nodded to each other. In that way they killed the shaman, the evil-minded shaman. He brandished the shaman’s arm before his face; just as nowadays a knife is brandished, that he did with it. Thus, when this great world was set firm, thus it happened. In this manner the *s’ōmlōhōlxa’s* makes ‘medicine;’ my paternal grandfather made the *s’ōmlōhōlxa’s* ‘medicine’ with it [*i. e.* with this dance and song against shamans]. I don’t know who arranged matters thus; it is said the ‘Children Maker’ did it. Thus they call him: ‘Children Maker;’ nowadays people call him thus.”

Equally unfriendly was the relation subsisting between the *gōyō*¹ and the Acorn Woman, though the eating of the acorn, the staple article of food, was not tabooed to the former. Whenever, because of a strong wind, acorns, believed to be the flesh of the Acorn Woman herself, fell off before they ripened, the responsibility was laid to the door of an evil-minded shaman who thus desired to deprive the people of their food. The following myth bearing on this point is similar in its general character to the one given above, and, like

it, was recounted by the *s'ōmlāhōlxa's* as "medicine" against a *gōyō*: —

"'A shaman has blown thee off,' the Acorn was wont to be addressed by men of days gone by. That used to be said to the Acorn; old men said it. By means of a wind the shaman blew off the acorns; it was a shaman who blew the acorns off. Now the Acorn Chieftainess (*yana da'anā'k'da*), that one was sitting in her house and saw how they were being blown down. *She* had sent herself there to the tree [*i. e.* acorns growing there were part of herself]. Then the shaman had blown her off. So the shaman having been killed, this old woman, the Acorn Chieftainess, then dried him. When the shaman was dead, this old Acorn Woman, because he had blown her off, for that reason dried him. Like dried venison then, thus she dried him. For a long time she did that thing. Now whenever a shaman died, she used to dry him; the old woman did it. Then a long time elapsed. And then two men said to each other: 'Let us journey to the old woman; she has lots of venison, people say.' Then the two men came to the old woman. She did not look at them as they came into the house, sat with her back towards the fire. The two men seated themselves, she did not converse with them. A long time went by and *then* she picked up a basket-pan (*p!ēk*). Then she took dried venison [*i. e.* shaman's flesh] and put it into the basket-pan. Then she put it at their feet and then turned her back to the fire. She did not look at the men after she had put down this dried venison at their feet. 'Now the food has probably been eaten,' she thought to herself. And when a short time had elapsed, just *then* she looked in back of her across the fire. Now the two men were dead already, just then she turned towards the fire; and then she took up some water. Then she put the water in her mouth and blew it over their cheeks: *p^w*. The two men arose and recovered. Then she said: 'What did you think? Did you think in regard to me: "She keeps dried venison"? Did you think it was dried venison? This here is the flesh of shamans, not dried venison. Since they blew me off, therefore did I dry them.' Thus said the old woman, the old Acorn Woman said it. That really was she herself, the Acorn Chieftainess. Thus far it [*i. e.* the story] goes. Because the shamans blew her off, for that reason she did that."

In the chicken-hawk myth, which need not here be given, the shaman is treated with even less consideration. In order to revenge himself for the death of his wife, Chicken Hawk slays wholesale hosts of shamans, and, not content with that, proceeds to the annihilation of all mankind until caused to desist by a gigantic embassy of the Crow people. He was the chief helper of the *s'ōmlāhōlxa's*, and his war-song and myth formed particularly strong "shaman-medicine."

If a shaman made himself particularly feared by the community and the latter did not desire to go to the length of depriving him of his life, the *s'ōmlōhólxa's* was hired to drive out his guardian spirits (*yoⁿláp̄xdā^a*) and thus render him incapable of doing harm by "shooting." The account of the procedure which follows is literally translated from the Takelma text:—

"A bad-hearted shaman — of such a one his guardian spirits are driven out, since they eat up people. Now it is not desired to kill him, so for that reason his spirits are driven out. A *s'ōmlōhólxa's* does it, 'raw' people [*i. e.* those that are not medicine-men] do not do it. 'Do that to him,' he is told; he [the shaman] does not do it of his own free will. So now night has come and the people have assembled together in the house. . . . Then the shaman is placed alongside the fire without any clothes on. Then dust (or ashes) are scattered all over his body by clapping hands, and one of his guardian spirits goes out. Now as it goes out the shaman groans: 'ŭⁿ+' and there is blood in his mouth. Then he [the *s'ōmlōhólxa's*] does that to him again and claps dust (ashes) over him. Now when one of his guardian spirits goes out of him again, there is blood in his mouth. The shaman counts how many of his guardian spirits go out of himself. Now two have gone out. Then the shaman is addressed: 'Do not hide it! Let them all go!' he is told. . . . [As many as twenty spirits may be ejected.] Now the shaman is asked: 'Are they all gone now?' There are many people, the house is full. And he says: 'Yes! They are all gone now. There are none now.' He is asked: 'Do you tell the truth? Have they all disappeared now?' And he says: 'Yes!' The *s'ōmlōhólxa's* is told: 'Well, try him again!' So he does the same thing to him. He rubs dust (ashes) over him and scatters it, clapping his hands. There are no more of his spirits to come out, they are all gone now. The *s'ōmlōhólxa's* has done that. Since the bad-hearted shaman ate up people, therefore that was done to him. . . . Now when the shaman has recovered, then he has become like 'one that has had dust (ashes) thrown on him' (*algüⁿgüwük^w*). . . ."

Despite the supposed general efficacy of this method of driving out spirits, some shamans are said to have been clever enough to succeed in retaining one or more of their spirits and so continuing secretly to harm people.

MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS. In conclusion I give a few odds and ends of folk-lore.

1. After death, the soul or ghost of the departed was supposed to journey to the land of ghosts, situated at an indefinite distance down the river and on the opposite shore. This place was known as *hanxilmi*, which may be approximately translated by "across where

ghosts (or dead people) are." The Charon of the Takelmas used no paddle but just pushed off with his foot and waited for the newly arrived ghost at some distance from the shore of the living. The ghost jumped into the canoe, was ferried across, and in Ghostland lived on just as he had been wont to live on earth.

2. In going about in the night-time the Takelmas were sometimes frightened by hearing a peculiar inspiratory whistling noise similar to that often produced in urging on a horse. This noise was supposed to be made by wandering ghosts in order to frighten the people. The present stem of the verb used to describe this sound is very probably onomatopoeic: *ts!us'um-*.

3. A certain black long-legged bug about half an inch long was called *xilam sebèt*, *i. e.* "roasting dead people," because, according to a myth in which Coyote is really to blame, he was held responsible for the origin of death. Therefore this bug, when seen, was always killed.

4. If a black-striped snake crosses one's path, it should be killed. If this is not done, it is a sign that some one of your relatives will die.

5. If a rattlesnake bites your shadow, it is a sign that you will vomit.

6. *Dream Omens.* It is good to dream of traveling towards the east, but to dream of going westwards is a bad omen. To dream of muddy water is a bad omen, also to dream of snakes.

7. Blue Jay (*ts!ai's'*) was supposed to be trying to imitate Eagle with his cry. Eagle's screech was a sign of ill-omen, for it meant that some one would be killed with an arrow.

8. To cause the thunder to stop, it was customary to pinch dogs into barking. Probably the dog's bark was believed to frighten away the raccoon-like animal producing by his drumming the noise of thunder.

9. When a man hiccoughs, he is supposed to have told a lie. As a remedy a piece of food was given to him back across one's shoulder with the words: "*Al'ì gài*," *i. e.* "Eat this!"

10. Myths were never related to children in the daytime, because in that event they would get long ears and be caught by rattlesnakes. Nor were they told in summer, for then the days would get shorter.

Edward Sapir.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York.