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CEREMONIES OF THE POMO INDIANS

BY

S. A. HARRETT

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INTRODUCTION

It has been at least twenty years since the last of the Pomo ceremonies was held in a truly aboriginal fashion. Religious ceremonies of a more recently introduced "Messiah" cult were held as late as perhaps fifteen years ago, but these "Messiah" ceremonies contain only a few features common to the indigenous tribal observances.

Dances are even yet to be seen in connection with some celebrations, principally on the Fourth of July, but there now remains so little that is really primitive about these that they are virtually worthless to the student. Information obtained through direct observation is at present, therefore, impossible, and we must depend for our knowledge of Pomo ceremonies and ceremonial organization upon the statements of the older men, and particularly those concerned with such matters in former days. From such sources rather full information concerning some of the ceremonies and dances is obtainable, but, under the circumstances, it is impossible to secure exhaustive data concerning all of them. In many instances informants recall only a few of the details of a given ceremony or dance. Sometimes only its name is remembered. Doubtless even the recollection of some ceremonies and dances has been lost.

During a residence in the Pomo region from 1892 to 1904 the existing vestiges of some of these Pomo ceremonies were observed whenever possible, but no attempt at a systematic collection of data on the subject was made until 1903 and 1904, when this work was undertaken in conjunction with the collection of Pomo myths, as part of the investigations of the Ethnological and Archaeological Survey of California, maintained by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California through the generosity of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. This information was obtained from informants of three Pomo dialects—Northern, Central, and Eastern. Where a native term is used in the following pages, therefore, the dialect is indicated by N., C., or E. in parentheses directly after it. The phonetic system employed is fully explained in "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo Indians."¹²

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

The ceremonial organization of the Pomo was very loose. There was no secret society of importance, as there was among the Maidu and presumably among the neighboring Wintun, and no organized priesthood ruled with control over ceremonies. The ordinary chiefs, however (or "captains," as they are more often called), were predominantly concerned with all ceremonies, and there were other officials in charge of particular rites. We may begin therefore by mentioning the various officials in the order of their importance.

¹² Present series, et seq., pp. 51-54.

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APPENDIX

As has been elsewhere pointed out,⁷ the social organization of the Pomo is based principally upon blood relationship, the blood relatives who resided in a definite village grouping themselves into a political unit under the leadership of an hereditary "captain." Usually several of these consanguineal units comprise a village, and their captains form its governing body. From among these the people elect a head captain. Not even the head captain has absolute authority, nor has any captain important judicial power, or power to inflict punishment. In short, the function of the captain is primarily that of adviser to the group. The special duties of the head captain in older times were to welcome and entertain visitors from other villages, and to meet in council with the other captains concerning matters of general public welfare, and to arrange for and preside over ceremonies.

What may be termed an honorary captainship was accorded any man who, through his wealth or his prowess as a hunter, made himself very popular by providing large quantities of food and numerous feasts for the people. A similar honorary office, that of female captain, *dalvalik* (E), was based upon a woman's popularity, which depended in turn on her good-heartedness and her fame as a cook. Neither of these honorary offices, however, was hereditary. In spite of the ambiguous nature of the office, incumbents were accorded great respect at ceremonies and other public functions.

The other officials had duties almost, if not quite, exclusively connected with ceremonies and had nothing directly to do with governmental affairs. We may recognize the fire-tenders, the head singers, the chorus singers, the drummers, and the masters of ceremonies. Such offices were considered very honorable and were, as a rule, hereditary. This was particularly true of the offices of fire-tender, head singer, and drummer, in which the succession followed precisely the same rules as did the chieftainship.

The fire-tenders, called *mazde* (N), and *lañor* (E), were officials of very great importance. Connected with each of the large, semi-subterranean "dates-houses"⁸ there were two fire-tenders, who saw to all matters concerning the fire and the preparation of the dates-house except actually procuring the firewood. All the men

⁷ "The Ethnogeography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," present series, 24, p. 37-57.

⁸ An article by the present writer called "Pomo Buildings," in the *Harvard Museum of Natural History*, fully describes these structures, which were erected especially for ceremonial purposes and which formed the religious centers of Pomo villages.

participating in the ceremony were supposed to bring wood, which they placed just outside the dance-house. One of the fire-benders then carried it up and dropped it through the smoke-hole, while the other stacked it in ricks in the proper places within the house. As remuneration for their labor, they received the beads which were thrown at the dancers¹ by the people during the ceremony and which were swept up when the dance-house was cleaned.

The head singer, called *ke'kai tea* (U) and *ke'nyia* (E), was a man of great importance in ceremonies, though he was very inconspicuous. It was his duty to plan previously the proper sequence of the dances and songs, and it was also his duty to start all songs and to carry the air. The head singer had to possess a very good voice, and had to make it his business to know the songs for the various ceremonies. Now and then he was at a loss for the proper song for a particular occasion. He was allowed to consult some other singer, or, upon occasion, he might ask for suggestions from the audience. Any one who knew a song which fitted the occasion might come to the head singer and sing it for him in an undertone, until he caught it and was ready to lead in the singing. As a rule he kept time with a split-stick rattle, or a rattle made of coconuts.

The chorus or burden-singers, called *skum* (E), give volume to the music and mark time with their split-stick rattles, *harritamituka* (N). Their usual burden was "he, he, he, he . . ." sung in a heavy monotone.

The drummers, called *tsil'guuk* (E), *tsil'tea* (U), and *tsil'nuutsi* (E), were always two in number, and as a rule they took turns in playing the large wooden drum which was set in the ground at the rear of the dance-house, and which was beaten by the stamping of the feet. The office of drummer was considered one of the most important, and second only to that of fire-bender.

The master of ceremonies, called *xab'i diap* (E), *xab'i guuk* (E), and *lu'lina* (U), started and stopped all songs and dances by certain signals. The participants in the dance usually maintained certain positions, but the master of ceremonies ran about from place to place supervising the activities and giving directions as required. His

¹The reason for the throwing of the beads is as follows: Some custom prescribes a period of mourning lasting one year. If a dancer so far forgets his sorrow as actively to participate in a ceremony of the Xit before the expiration of the prescribed mourning period after the death of a friend or relative, punishment is required. It is customary under such circumstances for some one in the audience to throw some loose shell beads at the dancer, these being evidently intended as an offering to the spirits and having nothing directly to do with the dancer himself.

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presence was absolutely necessary at all ceremonies, and without him
a dance could not proceed. He acted under the general direction of
the head captain, but that official himself never served as master of
ceremonies. Very rarely did the same individual serve as master of
ceremonies and head singer. While as a rule the drummers and the
singers wore no special dress for ceremonial occasions, the masters
of ceremonies were almost always painted and dressed according to
different requirements for each ceremony (see below). They were
usually among the dancers who impersonated supernatural beings.

GENERAL FEATURES OF POMO CEREMONIES

A ceremony always centered about the dancehouse,⁵ and lasted
four nights, or some multiple of four, beginning usually soon after
sunrise. In the case of the "ghost ceremony," which began at sunrise,
the preceding night was spent in performing other dances. Such
ceremonies were made up of a varying number of dances.

There was usually no prescribed sequence, but the ceremony took
the name of the dance which was its special feature, though this need
not necessarily open the ceremony. In a few instances it was arranged
that certain dances should be performed together.

A ceremony consisted of (1) an introductory procedure, accompanied
by more or less ritual, such as the initiation of the children
through the gôksu ceremony (see below, p. 425); (2) a series of
dances; (3) a series of speeches by officials and men of importance
concerning the religious life or other matters of public interest; (4) a
final purification rite; and (5) various feasts, particularly one held in
the morning after the final night of the ceremony.

There were certain special ceremonies, such as the gôksu ceremony,
in which a definite opening procedure was required, but after
this almost any desired dance might be held at any time, day or night,
throughout the duration of the ceremonial period. The procedure of
the final night of the ceremony was also usually fixed.

The principal ceremonies of the Pomo were:

The xab'gash xakilgaingibut (the "ghost" or "devil" ceremony).

The xab'medtû xakilgaingibut (the thunder ceremony).

The gôksu xakilgaingibut.

The dñima xakilgaingibut.

⁵ For a description of this large semi-subterranean structure see "Pomo Buildings," by the present author in the *Bulletin* (University Volume).

* These words are in the Eastern Pomo dialect.

INVITATIONS TO CEREMONIES

The captains of the village discussed with other important men the question of holding a ceremony, just as they discussed other matters relating to the general public good. Having agreed upon the date and other details, the head captain usually walked through the village delivering an oration, as was customary upon occasions of importance, in which he announced to the people the decision of their captains. This oration might, however, be delivered as he stood before the door of his own house or before the door of the dance-house.

Invitations were then sent to the people of other villages to attend the ceremony. This was done by means of a special invitation string. Wormwood or willow sticks about two inches in length, were tied, each separately, into a short string, the number of sticks being equal, according to some informants, to the number of days intervening before the ceremony was to begin, usually not fewer than two or more than eight. Other informants stated that this number was equal to those intervening days plus the number of days during which the ceremony was to be held. For instance, if a four-day ceremony was to begin four days hence, these being the usual numbers in both instances, eight sticks were tied into the invitation string. According to another informant, if the number of sticks was from two to five, the guests were invited for the first of two or more ceremonies. If six or more sticks were present, they were to come for a later ceremony. This latter, however, seems to be rather improbable. To one end of the string was tied, as an ornament, a small section of forehead-band made of yellow banner feathers. This string might be presented as such, but frequently it was tied to the end of a wand about two feet long. Its general name among the Central Pomo was *hawel*; before sending, it was called *hawelit*; after it had been sent out, it was termed *hawelakai*.

A messenger took this string or wand to the captain of the village invited and, if it was necessary for him to make a journey of any considerable length, he broke off a stick for each day of his journey. According to most informants, he simply delivered the string to the head captain of the invited village and immediately returned home with the message of acceptance from that village. According to one informant, however, he remained as the guest of the head captain, and himself broke a stick each day from the invitation string and finally conducted the visitors to the ceremony.

As a rule, visitors arrived at least one day before the ceremony.

the important men they discussed other things agreed upon the walk through the village upon occasions of the decision of their chief as he stood before the dance house.

Other villages to attend a special invitation which in length were number of sticks being number of days intervening not fewer than two days, but this number was of days during which a four-day ceremony and themselves in both a string. According days from two to five, more ceremonies. If for a later ceremony, possible. To one end of string of forehand and might be presented us a wand about two feet long was added. Before went out, it was turned

captain of the village be a journey of any day of his journey tied the string to the lately returned home. According to one the head captain, and the string and finally

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began, but they never entered the village itself until the morning of the first ceremonial day, making camp meanwhile at some convenient spot within a short distance. The visitors collected a present of a considerable number of shell beads, which was carried by their head captain as he led them into the village. None, at least, of the younger men among the visitors attired themselves in their dance costumes and danced into the village, usually following a little apart from the rest of their people.

As soon as the visitors appeared in sight, a watchman, stationed on the roof of the dance house, gave notice to the head captain who was inside. He at once came out and, taking a position directly in front of the dance house, delivered a short oration inviting the visitors to enter and making them welcome. As the visitors entered each group was assigned to its particular position in the dance-house, and all seated themselves with their head captain, captains, fire-tenders, and other officials in front. When the head captain of the host village finally entered the dance-house, which was not until after all the visitors had taken their seats, he was called by the visiting head captain to their position. The visiting head captain then made a short speech of presentation and gave the beads to the host head captain, who made, in return, a second and more lengthy speech of welcome. He then took these beads to his own house, and they were later divided among his people. A present of equal value was returned to the visitors, either immediately or at some time before the close of the ceremony.

This formality of welcome over, some dance might be held at once or the guests and hosts might enjoy a general visit. If one of the secret ceremonies was to be held, all the women and children and the uninitiated men retired from the dance-house before it commenced.

THE GHOST OR DEVIL CEREMONY

This ceremony was perhaps the most important of the four-day ceremonies of the Pomo. It was usually held in the spring and was witnessed only by properly initiated men, never by women or children. The uninitiated men, as well as the women and children, were much afraid of these dancers and kept a very respectful distance when they entered the village. This was due to the belief that to approach closely would produce serious illness.

Such esoteric ceremonies are unusual among the Pomo, though

they occur among other California tribes. As examples might be mentioned the Hesi ceremony among the Wintun and Maidu, especially among the Maidu, who have a definite secret society.

STEPHENS' ANSWERS ON THE GHOST DANCE

The ghost dance of the Pomo has been attributed by Powers¹ to a secret society. In speaking of the subject of charity among the Pomo, he describes a "devil-raising" ceremony conducted by what he terms a "secret society" which had several branches in the various Pomo villages. His description of this ceremony is given from information obtained by him from an old resident closely connected with the Indians of the region in early days, and, while his assumptions and deductions are in many respects incorrect, it is plainly a description of the ghost dance.

After speaking of the "secret society . . . whose simple purpose is to conjure up infernal terrors and render each other assistance in keeping their women in subjection," Powers says:²

Their meetings are held in an assembly house erected especially for the purpose, constructed of peeled pine poles. It is painted red, black, and white round colors; on the inside is spiral stripes reaching from the apex to the ground. Outside it is thatched and covered with earth. When they are assembled in it there is a doorkeeper at the entrance who suffers no one to enter unless he is a regular member, pledged to secrecy. Even Mr. Potter, though a man held in high honor by them, was not allowed to enter, though they offered to instruct him, if he desired. They do not scruple to allow to Americans who are well acquainted with them, and in whose discretion they have confidence, that their object is simply to "raise the devil," as they express it, with whom they pretend to hold correspondence; and to carry on other demoniacal doings, accompanied by frightful whooping and yelling, in order to work up the狂妄ness of the proudest prides, or whit more guilty than themselves.

Once in seven years these secret women-tamers kill a grizzly devildance (badland bear), which is looked forward to by the members of the tribe with fear and trembling as the scourging visit of the dreadfiul Mukuk-oh (the devil). As this society has its ramifications among the many Pomo tribes, this great dance is held once septenaria in one valley, another in another, and so on through the circuit of the branch societies.

Every seven years, therefore, witnesses the construction of an enormous assembly-house which is used for this special occasion only. I have seen the ruins of one which was erected in Potter Valley somewhere about the year 1850. The pit, or cellar, which made a part of it was circular, sixty three feet in diameter and about six feet deep, and all the enormous mass of earth excavated from it was piled up with small, broken sticks and carried away in baskets by both men and women, chiefly men. It was about eighteen feet high

¹ *Cont. N. A. Ethn.*, iii, 158-169, 1877.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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in the center, and the roof was supported on five posts, one a center pole and four others standing around it, equidistant from it and the perimeter of the pit. Timbers from six to nine inches in diameter were laid from the edge of the pit to the middle posts, and from these to the center pole. Over these were placed greenish brush, and the whole was heavily covered with earth. Allowing four square feet of space to each person, such a structure would contain upward of seven hundred people. In their palmy days hundreds and even thousands of Indians attended one of these grand feasts.

When the dance is held, twenty or thirty men array themselves in buckskin rig and bearfrie paint and put vessels of pitch on their heads; then they secretly go out into the surrounding mountains. There are to personify the devils. A herald goes up to the top of the assembly house and makes a speech to the multitude. At a signal agreed upon in the evening the masqueraders come in from the mountains, with the vessels of pitch flaming on their heads, and with all the frightful resources of noise, fire, smoke, and costume which the savage mind can devise in representation of demons. The terrified women and children flee for life, the men lead them into a circle, and, on the principle of lighting the devil with fire, they swing blazing firebrands in the air, yell, whoop, and make frantic dashes at the marauding and bloodthirsty devils, so creating a terrible spectacle, and striking great fear into the hearts of the assembled hundreds of women, who are screaming and fainting and clinging to their valiant protectors. Finally the devils succeed in getting into the assembly house, and the bravest of the men dash and build a parley with them. As a conclusion of the whole farce, the most summing courage, the devils are expelled from the assembly house, and with a prodigious roar and racket of shouting are chased away into the mountains.

After all these terrible doings have exercised their due effect upon the wanton Indian mind, another stage of the proceedings is entered upon. A rattlesnake was captured some days beforehand, its fangs were plucked out, and it was handled, stroked, fed, and patted, so that it could be displayed with safety. The venerable, white-haired Pomo chief now takes his station before the multitude, within the great assembly-house, with the rattlesnake before him as the visible incarnation of the dreadful Yukukuk. Slowly and solemnly he begins speaking to them of mortality and future existence. Then warning with his subject, and brandishing the horrid reptile in his hand full in the faces and over the heads of his shuddering auditors, with solemn and awful voice he warns them to beware, and threatens them with the dire wrath of Yukukuk if they do not live lives of chastity, industry, and obedience, until some of the verified squaws strike him and fall swooning upon the ground.

Referring again to the "devil dance," as practiced among the Gualala, Powers says:⁸

In the midst of the ordinary dances there comes rushing upon the scene an ugly apparition in the shape of a man, wearing a feather mantle upon his back reaching from the armpits down to the mid-thighs, robes painted on his breast and legs with black stripes, bearskin shako on his head, and his arms stretched out at full length along a staff passing behind his neck. As entered in this harlequin rig, he dashes at the women, cajoling, dancing, whispering; and they and the children flee for life, keeping several hundred yards between him and themselves. If they are so unfortunate as to touch even his stick, all their children will perish out of hand.

⁷ Op. cit., pp. 193-194.

THE GHOST CEREMONY PROJECT

The dancers were of two classes, the ordinary ghost-dancers, or "devils," called *xalbiigak* (E), and the "ash-devils," or fire-singers, called *xa'xalbiigak* (E). The former danced almost exclusively during the day, and the latter at night, though these regulations were not quite absolute. The ash-devils were always present at the ghost ceremony and during the ghost dance proper they served, in a way, as sergeants-at-arms and as clowns.

According to some informants, a new dance-house was especially built for each ghost ceremony. Other informants did not particularly mention this fact and it seems probable that in more recent times, after the ceremonial procedure of the Pomo had become somewhat lax, this rule was not observed, and the same dance-house may have been used for more than one ghost ceremony, and for other ceremonies as well.

In this ceremony the dancers impersonated the spirits of the dead, as is indicated by the speech of the chief devil-dancer made just before disrobing.²⁴ The dance is said to have had its origin in mythical times when the birds and mammals had human attributes. The Pomo narrative is as follows:

Hawk, the captain of a village, was killed by Vulture. After being absent from the village for some time Hawk suddenly returned, came into the dance-house, and sat down in front of the center pole, at its foot. A ceremony was about to begin, and the people noticed nothing out of the ordinary about Hawk and were perfectly willing to allow him to participate in the dancing. Meadowlark, however, noticed an older hawk which showed that he had just returned from the realm of the dead. With his characteristic garrulity, he commenced to chatter about the inappropriateness of mortals dancing with dead people. Hawk was a chief and one of an impudent family and felt especially offended at these reflections upon him and left at once, never again returning to the village. According to one version of the myth, Meadowlark had, in those days, a long tail like most other birds. His action upon this occasion, however, encouraged the other members of the village that some one struck at him with a fire poker which happened to be near at hand. Meadowlark was able to dodge the blow, but the poker clipped off a large part of his tail. He has, therefore, had only a stub of a tail since that day. The people then fell to discussing what could be done to atone in some way for this insult to Hawk. A number of men immediately went out into the woods and dressed themselves as the devil-dancers now do, returning to the village to personate the spirits of the departed. From this mythical source has descended the present day ghost or devil ceremony.

The ceremony was directly under the supervision of the chief "gūksū doctor," and it was he who safeguarded the ghost-dance

²⁴ See below, p. 414.

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any ghost-dancers, or devils," or fire-eaters. These regulations were present at the ghost they served, in a way,

re-house was especially the did not particularly in more recent times, become somewhat lax, re-house may have been for other ceremonies as the spirits of the dead, after made just before right in mythical times attributed. The Pomo

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xvision of the chief ruled the ghost-dancer

paraphernalia during the long interval between ceremonies. The ghost-dancers and the ash-devils were actually assisted in dressing by the *gukuk* doctors.

The dress of the ghost-dancer proper was quite elaborate. Each ghost-dancer repaired to some secluded place in the woods or brush, preferably back in the hills about the village, where he dressed. This going into seclusion to dress is called *tsunuk' kahuk* in the Eastern Pomo dialect. He first rubbed his body with chewed angelica root, at the same time making a prayer for long life, good health, and prosperity for himself, his fellow-dancers, and the people of the village. He also made a prayer to a certain supernatural being¹¹ to lend him a striped skin. He next painted his body with white, red, and black paints. A man might paint his body entirely one color. The upper half of the body might be of one color, while the lower half was of another. The same difference in color might obtain between the right and the left sides, and bands and stripes might also be freely used.

Before finally finishing the painting of the face and arms, however, the remainder of the attire was put on. This included, for the head, (1) a head-act with which to enliven the hair; (2) a down-filled head-net; (3) a feather tuft on top of the head; (4) a yellow-hammer quill forehead-band fastened at the top of the forehead, passing back through the parted feather-tuft and hanging down the back; and (5) a fillet of pepperwood leaves. The remainder of the costume consisted of a short girdle of pepperwood branches worn about the waist and, if desired, a similar adornment about the neck.

The ash-devils, or fire-eaters, dressed more simply. According to some informants, they were entirely nude except for a coat of blue paint. According to others, their attire was somewhat more elaborate. The face was painted red, black, or white, two colors never being used together. The legs were painted white, then scratched with the fingernails so as to remove some of the paint and produce longitudinal stripes. The hair was bound up with the usual head-act into which a single black feather was inserted,¹² or a feather tuft was attached to it. As a screen or mask before the face, the dancer also wore a fringe of great twigs further to disguise his identity. Otherwise he was completely naked.

¹¹ The exact identity of this supernatural being could not be determined from informants.

¹² According to one informant, two feathers instead of one were worn by these dancers. These were placed so that they projected laterally from the forehead.

When everything was in readiness in the village, the head captain sent out a messenger to notify the dancers. When the latter were ready to enter the village, a small fire was built in the hills to give notice of the fact. They made their first entry just about daybreak on the first day. A crier, who was always one of the captains or a fire-tender detailed to this duty, took his position on the roof of the dance-house just below the smoke-hole, where he gave the ghost call "yé . . ." four times. At other answering calls were heard from the ghost-dancers in their several locations, for they had scattered to a number of different places, each man by himself, or in groups of not more than two or three individuals. The ghost response was a long "wah-wah," repeated four times. If the ghost-dancers were sufficiently close together, this was given by their leader only. The crier continued his calling until one or more of the dancers appeared on the outskirts of the village. They came running in,¹³ each carrying in his hands two bunches of grass or twigs a foot or so in length, behind which he at times pretended to hide. Each suddenly stopped as he came in sight of the dance-house and stood for a moment with outstretched arms. Thereupon the crier shouted, "Lá, lá, lá, lá!" after which he delivered an invocation to the ghost-dancers, asking them to come running into the village bringing health and happiness to the people. This invocation was as follows:

top of Village	parent	gi-wa-lé run to
mo-yá-ná-ké girls	child-pit-sal	gi-wa-lé run to
á-wé-wé-ké children	pit-sal	gi-wa-lé run to
in-wá-né-ké cheerleaders	pit-sal	gi-wa-lé run to
kwé-wé-ké children	pit-sal	gi-wa-lé run to

Then, according to one informant, all the people who were assembled in the dance-houses shouted, while the drummer beat rapidly for a minute or two. The lead singers took their rattle rattles and

¹³ One informant stated that each dancer was blindfolded on his back, head, and arms, and that smoke issued from his mouth. This accords with Power's statement, quoted above.

¹⁴ According to one informant, some of these dancers carried snakes, long sticks, or even snakes with which to frighten the spectators. Note also Power's reference to the use of the rattlesnake in the ghost dance, quoted above.

village, the head captain and his helpers were built in the hills to give entry just about daybreak. One of the captains or a position on the roof of the house he gave the ghost call. Calls were heard from the hills they had scattered to himself, or in groups of three. The ghost response was a call if the ghost-dancers were near their leader only. The leader of the dancers appeared running in, each carrying a staff a foot or so in length.¹⁴ Each suddenly stopped and stood for a moment with shout. "A, a, a, a," after ghost-dancers, asking them to health and happiness to the

givale
run to

givale
run to

givale
run to

givale
run to

givale
run to

The people who were assembled beat rapidly for the spectators. Note plan Power's rattle and a shaker on his back, head, and six swords with Power's state. The dancers carried stones, long spears, bows, arrows, etc. Note plan Power's ghost dance, quoted above.

intoned a song as they marched outside to meet the dancers. After singing outside for a short time, they re-entered the dance-house.

The dancers then came running in, making a loud noise produced by a voiced expulsion of breath through the relaxed but closed lips, "bu . . ." and ran to a point about one hundred yards directly in front of the dance-house door (see fig. 1). While the dancers were running into the village, the singers sang the following song:

yihiyat, yihiyat, yihiyat,
yihiyat, yihiyat, yihiyat,
yihiyat, yihiyat, yihiyat.
(Repeat indefinitely.)

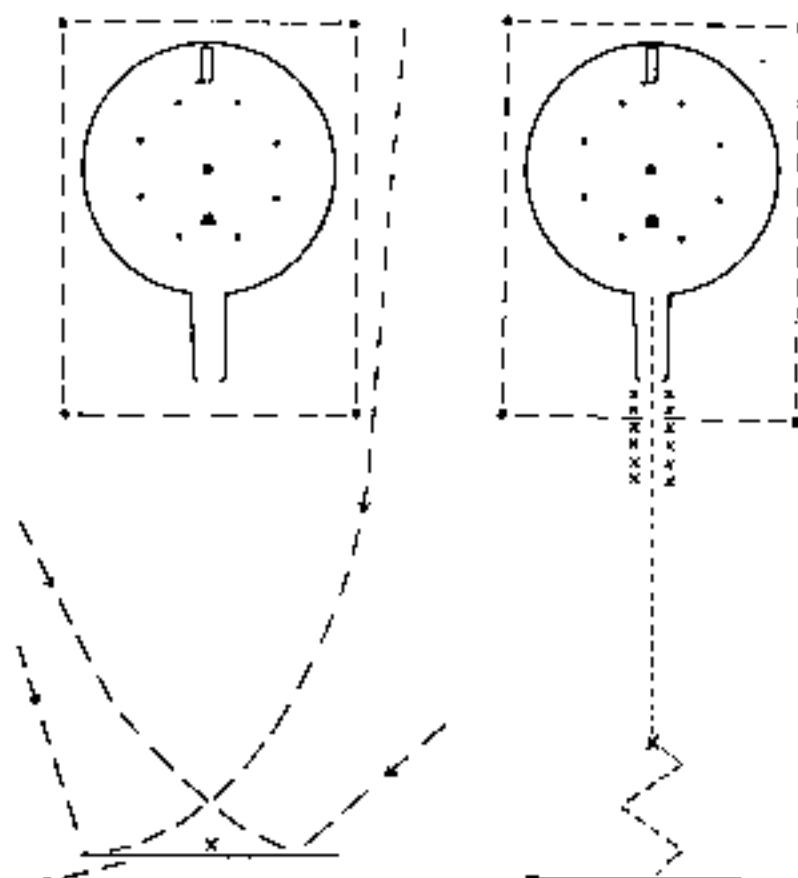


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 1—Paths of the ghost-dancers as they enter the village, and their course before the dance-house.

Fig. 2—Positions taken and course traveled by ghost-dancers in approaching dance-house.

Meantime the erier and the dancers continued their respective cries. The head ghost-dancer always dressed at a place north of, in the rear of the dance-house, so that in entering the village he ran past the dance-house to take up his position. Here he bowed very low, and quickly dropped his arms with the bunches of grass above mentioned, at the same time crying "we . . ." He then trotted perhaps twenty feet in one direction, where he repeated this motion and cry, and then took a point an equal distance in the opposite direction from his central position, repeating the same motion and cry there. This he did four times, finally stopping in the middle of the forty-foot line thus blocked out, and directly in front of the dance-house door. The next dancer to enter the village might come from any direction. He ran toward the head dancer and crossed, if possible, in front of him; though, if necessary he passed behind him. In this case the head dancer turned around so as to face the runner. The newcomer began to pass back and forth along the line, making the motions and cries as above described. He then took up his position at one side or the other of the chief dancer. These dancers were at liberty to laugh, talk, and play at will. Frequently they performed various comical antics, such as pretending to be stung by wasps, and doctoring one another.

The erier continued his calls until finally the leader of the dancers walked along a zigzag path to a position about one-quarter of the distance between the line of dancers and the dance-house (see fig. 2). Here he halted and cried "we . . ." after which the erier at the dance-house called all the initiated men of the village to assemble.

There was a fixed restriction against the presence of the uninitiated in this assembly. One informant maintained that the ceremony, as held in his locality (the coast of the Central Pomo area), required that four posts be set up, each at a distance of several yards from the dance-house, as is shown in figures 1 and 2, the imaginary lines from post to post forming an enclosure for the dance-house and its immediate vicinity, within which none but the initiated dare venture.

The singers and others officially concerned with the dance came from within the dance-house and formed two lines, one on each side of the outer door of the tunnel, as indicated by the small crosses in figure 2. As the erier gave his call, the initiates answered with a cry of "ye . . ." after which they formed these two lines between which the ghost-dancers must pass to enter the dance-house.

At the outer ends of these lines were two masters of ceremonies who directed the ceremony from this point on to its close. They first

sounded their respective cries. At place north fire, in the center of the village he ran past it so he howled very low, and in a line of grass above mentioned, he trotted perhaps twenty feet in motion and cry, and then in direction from his central position there. This he did four or five times, then blocked up the door. The next dancer was the chief ghost-dancer. He ran toward the center of the circle, though if he had been the lead dancer turned back. He began to pass back and forth as above, at one side or the other of the fire, laughing, talking, and various comical antics, such as imitating one another.

The leader of the dancers was about one-quarter of the distance from the dance-house (see fig. 2), after which the erier at the center of the village to assemble the presence of the initiated. It was agreed that the ceremony, as in Ponca area, required that all be present within several yards from the house, the imaginary lines from the dance-house and its immediate vicinity being indicated by the small crosses indicated in figure 2, two lines between which was the dance-house.

Two masters of ceremonies came on to its close. They first

shamed each of the dancers¹³ as he came to enter the house, returning each time to the heads of the two lines, there to await the arrival of the next dancer. These masters of ceremonies were called *xalilu'igak kildaiyau* (E) or *masca'kaldaiyau* (E'), and were entirely nude except for a head-ace and a feather tuft on their heads.

The chief ghost-dancer entered the house backwards and started towards the drum, passing, however, on the west or wrong side of the fire. Before he had gone very far, he stopped and groped around

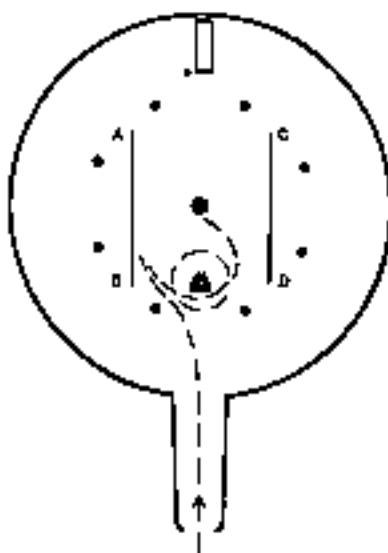


Fig. 3. Course of a ghost-dancer entering ceremonial house.

with one foot, as if to find his way, and finally inquired which way he should go. Ghost-dancers used the same words in speaking that ordinary people did, except that they inverted their statements and reversed the meanings of words. In this case the spectators replied, "You must go on the west side,"¹⁴ meaning, of course, that the dancer was expected actually to go down the east side of the dance-house. He then reversed his direction, as is shown in figure 3, and circled four times about the fire, finally passing to a position in front of the

¹³ Two or three dancers sometimes come together.

¹⁴ Mibax b'il matida (E).

uted their respective cries. In place north (i.e., in the direction the village he ran past) he howled very low, and of grass above mentioned, he trotted perhaps twenty paces in motion anti-*ery*, and then in direction from his central position. This he did four or five times, then crossed the door. The next dancer followed him. He ran toward the front of him, though if the head-dancer turned around began to pass bark sections and cries as above, one side or the other of liberty to laugh, talk, and gesticulate, such as staring one another.

The leader of the dancers about one-quarter of the way around the dance-house (see fig. 2), whereupon which the order of the village to assemble,

presence of the uninitiated and that the ceremony, as Picou wrote,¹³ required that of several yards from the entrance, the imaginary lines from the house and its immediate vicinity, required that the initiated dared venture.

With the dancer came two lines, one on each side of the small crosses in which was answered with a cry between which the house.

Two masters of ceremonies went to its door. They first

chased each of the dancers¹⁴ as he came to enter the house, referring each time to the heads of the two lines, there to await the arrival of the next dancer. These masters of ceremonies were called *xablu'iguk källdaiyä* (E) or *müs'än källdaiyä* (E), and were entirely nude except for a head-net and a feather tuft on their heads.

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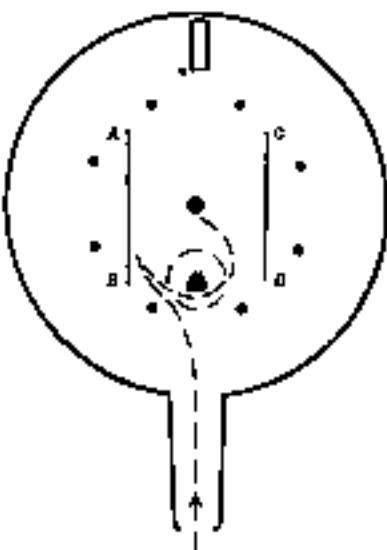


Fig. 3.—Course of each ghost-dancer entering dance house.

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¹³ Two or three dances sometimes came together.

¹⁴ *Mëba* (lit. multiplying).

center pole. The spectators meanwhile constantly called out to each dancer to pass down the "east" side of the house.

When the dancer entered through the tunnel, the spectators all cried, "Yeh-yeh." He at first advanced very slowly backwards until he reached the point at which he initiated his way. As soon as he received this direction he sprang up and ran the prescribed four times around the fire and finally reached the foot of the center pole, making meanwhile the same "hū . . ." noise which he had made upon entering the village. He here awaited the arrival of the other dancers, who went through the same succession of movements.

The chief ghost-dancer, upon arriving in front of the center pole, said, "mamulé" (E.), to which the spectators replied, "Mehé . . ." Then he made a short speech in a more or less archaic language. Its purport was: "I do not come to do any one harm, but rather to take all sickness away and to make everybody strong."

habotukys	gabon	kib'	pet'swad	gakka	gakukk	gabn	dakukk
ghost							ghostness
gakka	kathame	gabn	tsak	sina	tekka	gabon	comes always
rich	people						

He next marked off, according to one informant, two or three places on the east side of the floor, saying that he and his followers would dance there. This was contrary to the usual procedure in dances, for the regular dancing area in front of the center pole was always used. As a matter of fact, the ghost dance itself was actually performed in the usual area also, but this indicating of another area, and this superimposition, are only other evidences that the spirits must always do things differently from mortals. In fact, the whole dress and conduct of these dancers, their reversal of terms of direction, their grasping their way, etc., typify the conduct of the spirits of the departed, who find everything strange when they return to the realm of mortals.

Throughout the entire ceremony, and especially during the time that the ghost-dancers were entering, the spectators were urged to use great care not to obstruct their passage in any way, or otherwise to interfere with them, else they were likely to be very roughly handled by the dancers.

As the last ghost-dancer entered the tunnel leading into the dance-house, the men in the two lines outside cried "yehé" four times, after which they entered and took up their positions.

antly called out to each house.

Then, the spectators all slowly backwards until it is over. As soon as he had performed four times the center pole, making due tribute upon entering the other dances, who

replied, "mehō . . ." in the arboreal language. Its name, but rather to take

ing?"

skrik gata slatik
sheets cleatnesses
shūr yamai shiwata

ment, two or three places and his followers would go through the usual procedure in dances, the center pole was always set up himself was actually performing of another area, and it is said that the spirits must in fact, the whole dress in terms of direction, their of the spirits of the dead return to the realm of

especially during the time spectators were obliged to in any way, or otherwise be very roughly handled

leading into the dances, "four times, after

8.

The above described entry of the dances was according to the regular procedure. However, these dances, especially the ash-devils, were privileged to perform many comical antics, and it not infrequently happened that one or more of them would run up on to the roof of the dance house and dive through the smoke-hole. In fact, this was one of the usual modes of deception practised in this ceremony. A special net, *esk'fahit kahlahi* (N), was stretched about two feet below the smoke-hole to catch the dancer. A special post was set in the ground beside this net for the dancer to slide down. He would then go through the usual series of movements, running four times around the fire. After this he usually took up a position at one of the posts near the door, there to levy tribute upon the spectators. This tribute might be in the form of firewood, tobacco, or other commodities.

The music for this ceremony was provided by a drummer, two chief singers, and a number of burden-singers. The ghost-dances sometimes sang a kind of burden of their own while dancing. This was simply "hi, lu, hi, hi," etc., in a very high key. The chief singers were provided with erosion rattles. These and the drum were the only instruments used. The dancers carried no whistles, although these were ordinarily used by performers in other dances. The burden-singers also used no split-stick rattles, but clapped their hands instead in time to their singing.

After the performers had in this way entered the dance-house, the chief ghost-dancer called to the singer to start. The drummer then jumped upon the drum, crying "hatsuyahii" (E).¹⁷ With the first cry of the drummer, the chief singers sounded their rattles. After an interval of perhaps a minute, the drummer repeated his jump and call. The song started and the dance began.

The song as given by one of the informants is as follows:

yohiyah' yohiyah', yohiyah' yohiyah,
kali kahlahi . . .
yohiyah' kahlahi . . .
yohiyah' hatsuyah'
hi . . .
(Repeat indefinitely.)

The two masters of ceremonies took up their respective positions at A and C (fig. 4) and danced back and forth along the lines AB

¹⁷ This expression was said by informants to be untranslatable, surely an expression used to start the song. This jumping upon the drum and calling by the drummer were called *tehlahi* (E).

and C). In starting the movement, they stood with hands outstretched and beat their bodies sidewise toward the drum as they shouted "hutsuyuchit." They then ran rapidly sidewise to the opposite ends of their respective courses, where they repeated the same bending, this time in the opposite direction. When they had gone back and forth over these courses and had returned to their original positions for the fourth time, they again shouted as at first. This particular set of the dance was repeated four times, thus completing this part. After any such part had ended, it occasionally happened that one dancer would continue his steps just as though the music were in full swing. Ultimately one of his fellow-dancers would strike him lightly to call his attention to the fact that the dance was over, and he also would stop.

Four such parts completed the first division of the dance. After this the masters of ceremonies advanced toward the ghost-dancers, motioning them back toward the center pole with the palms of their hands turned outward and held in front of them, while they said "Indyū, hahyū" (repeated indefinitely).

The singers, masters of ceremonies, and the drummer then seated themselves or stood a short distance away from the drum, and the ghost-dancers proceeded with their ceremonial dancing.

The chief ghost-dancer proceeded from the foot of the center pole by a path as is indicated in figure 4, leading around the center pole and fire and back to the east side of the drum, which the ghost-dancers term *cupa'bilat* (E), literally "rump worn out." Upon his arrival at the drum the chief ghost-dancer made a speech in which he said that he and his fellows "had come from the hollow stems of the grass, crawling like snakes," to visit the people.

kots'utut'la — *wahabedokkuk* (E)
grass hollow — travel like a snake

He told them that he had come for their good and with no evil motives, that he had come to bring them good health and happiness, not sickness and misfortune. With a cry of "um...," he then jumped across the drum to its west side. The spectators cried "en'bax bishwowa" (E), literally "get on your west side," indicating the west side of the drum, according to the ghost-dancers' inverted method of speech. In compliance with this instruction, the chief ghost-dancer jumped across the drum, after which he sometimes felt around with his foot as if in search of something. Thus he jumped back and

ood with hands out-
of the drum as they
y sideways to the op-
y repeated the same.
When they had gone
med to their original
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of "hū . . ." he then
spectators cried "mibax
de," indicating the west
ees' inverted method of
the chief ghost-dancer
sometimes rolled around with
as he jumped back and

forth four times across the drum. He had really been in search of
the drum all the time and had feigned his inability to find it. He
finally, however, jumped upon it and stamped rapidly for a minute
or so to indicate his satisfaction. Throughout this whole performance
the singers and others near the drum continually cried "hū . . .
hū . . ." etc. While standing on the drum, the chief ghost-dancer
faced toward the wall, thus bringing his back toward the fire. Fre-
quently he made some comic observations to those near by,* and from
time to time turned his head toward the right so as almost to face the
fire, the while he made the peculiar noise, "hū . . ." characteristic

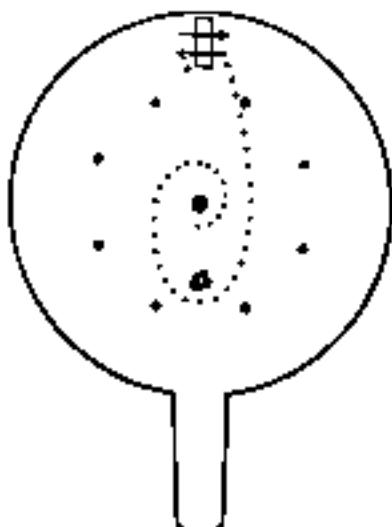


Fig. 4. Ghost-dancer's course in dancing.

of this dance. Meanwhile he turned his head slowly, first to the right
and then to the left, until he had done this four times in each direction.

He next took the brush or grass, which he had throughout the
ceremony been carrying in his hands, first in his left hand and passed
it downward over the right side of his body until he had passed it
down and up four times. He then took it in his right hand and
passed it in the same manner over his left side. He next took part
of it again in each hand and passed both hands back and forth side-
wise over his legs while standing in a bent posture, until he had done
this also four times. The brush or grass was then placed upon the
ground.

* Compare below, p. 419.

He next took off the girdle of twigs about his waist and dropped it to the ground, usually without ceremony, though if he chose he might pass this through the same series of motions as the twigs carried in his hand. He next took off his entire head-gear at once. This he held in his left hand and passed from his right shoulder up over his head four times, repeating the same motions with the right hand on the left side. He then placed this with the other paraphernalia on the ground.

He next left the drum and went directly back to the foot of the center pole, where he rejoined the rest of the ghost-dancers. The remaining dancers went, one by one, or in small groups, and performed exactly the same ceremony as that just described. When all had disrobed, each took his costume and retired to the woods or brush, redressed himself, endeavoring to change his painting to one as different as possible from that which he wore before. Later the same performance was repeated: the calling by the erier, entry of the dancers, series of dances, and ceremonial disrobing.

On the first day this entire series of dances was repeated four times in all—at about 5 a.m., 10 a.m., 2 p.m., and 5 p.m., respectively. After the ceremonial disrobing at the end of the fourth series, the ghost-dancers left their suits in the dance-house and repaired to the river or lake to swim, after which they returned to the dance-house. During the other three days of the ceremony they might appear any desired number of times during the day.

The dancers were forbidden to eat or drink on any particular day as long as the dance continued, but as soon as they had gone down to swim this restriction was removed.

As a rule, fire-eating and fire-handling were only incidental to the ghost-dancer proper. However, if occasion arose, the ghost-dancers themselves might handle fire, though they could not eat it. This privilege was especially reserved to the ash devils, *ni' xahlitgak* (M.). In case something was done to offend the ghost-dancers, such as an inglorious prancing of wood or some inattention on the part of the officials, they might attempt to show their displeasure by throwing fire about the dance-house. It then became the duty of the two fire-tenders to hold sticks of wood across the fire. This operated as a taloo to the ghost-dancers, who were prevented from touching the fire. If there were any of the ash-devils present, even though not regularly participating in this particular ceremony, they at once brought their special bird-shaped staffs, which served as their badges of authority.¹⁷

¹⁷ See below, p. 418.

his wrist and dropped it through if he chose he might as the twigs earned no garment once. This he held bunched up over his head, the right hand on the other paraphernalia on the

back to the foot of the ghost-dancers. The 11 groups, and performed described. When all had to the woods or brush, painting to one us dif before. Later the same the earlier entry of the exhorting.

series was repeated four and 5 pm., respectively, of the fourth series, the dance and repaired to the hall to the dance-house, they might appear any

week in any particular day as they had gone down to

on only incidental to the arose, the ghost-dancers could not eat it. This evils, no xalilipak (E.). ghost-dancers, such as an option on the part of the displeasure by throwing the duty of the two fire-cre. This operated as a red from touching the fire, even though not regularly say at once brought their fire badges of authority,"

and gave them absolute control over the entire assembly, including even the head captain. This caused the fire-tenders to remove their restriction, and the ghost-dancers were then privileged to do as they wished as long as they were under the patronage of the ash-devils.

While serving, during the regular ghost-dance, as messengers, sergeants-at-arms, and collectors of dues, the ash-devils were called kutsatala (E.), and were the special clowns who performed all manner of antics in their endeavors to provoke an outward expression of mirth from some unfortunate spectator. Should he so forget himself as to laugh or even smile at the jester, one of these kutsatala would hit him with his wand and levied tribute in the form of a payment of beads or some other commodity, or imposed a penalty requiring the offender to bring wood or water for the dancers. Furthermore, if some one of the dancers should see a spectator in possession of something desirable, he sent one of these kutsatala with his wand to this spectator to demand the desired article. The spectator must then bring it to the foot of the center pole and deposit it for the dancers.

In order to provoke the spectators to mirth, these kutsatala did many odd things and made themselves as grotesque as possible. For instance, one of them would prop his eyelids open with small wooden pegs (an action called *u'ibatak* (O!)), or he would hold his mouth open and stretch it out of shape (an action called *katsida, burak* (E.)), or he would fill his cheeks very full and puff them out with grace (called *kwe'is-kale* (E.)).

These ash-devils never actually danced in the ghost-dance proper, but accompanied the regular ghost-dancers when they appeared. The intervals between dances were filled and greatly enlivened by their antics, and it was during these intervals that they made good their name by rolling in the ashes of the fire, and by sometimes throwing live coals about, and "testing" them.

From time to time during the "rests," or ceremonial pauses, one of these kutsatala would seize a cocoon rattle, run four times about the fire and center pole, and throw the rattle at the chief singer, calling upon him for a song. This must be at once forthcoming, and the ghost-dance itself was then resumed. If some one in the audience wished to have the singing and dancing resumed, he threw a cocoon rattle at one of the fire-tenders, who passed it to one of the kutsatala, who then ran about the fire and presented it to the chief singer as just described.

Songs were sometimes sung independently and unaccompanied by

dancing. This was especially the case in what may be termed singing contests. Upon receiving the rattle, a singer was obliged at once to sing some song. He then passed the rattle to another singer, who did likewise. Thus each of the renowned singers was given an opportunity to prove his merit. Each man's song was accompanied by a parade of the performers, which carried the party, including the singer, four times around the dancing arena.

FIRE EATING

Fire-eating was restricted, as above stated, to the ash-devils, and while sometimes practiced during intermissions in the regular ghost dance, it was usually held as a separate ceremony in the evening and was preceded by a short dance.

The dress of the ash-devils consisted of a coat of paint and a very simple headdress.²¹ In addition, however, they carried special ceremonial staffs called *mablib* (E), *kashissua* (S), and *kasa'la* (E). To one end of this ceremonial staff was fixed the head of a crane. Grass was used to stuff the neck part, bits of abalone (*Haliotis*) shell made the eyes, and bluejay feathers were made into a topknot. It was permissible to use wands of slightly different forms, but all were crooked in some way, and the crooked staff was the recognized variety.

When this special ceremony commenced, the ash-devils became supreme and took precedence over everybody. A guard was posted at the foot of the side post to the east of the door, and no one was permitted to leave the dance-house after the ceremony had begun except upon payment of a certain sum of what was termed upon this occasion "head money" (*tababie* (E)). As a matter of fact, two or three stems of rush, from four to six feet in length, were bound together and were given to the guard as payment. He took this "money" and hung it on the wall near the drum, after having danced a few quick steps upon the drum with it in his hands. These rushes were legal tender during this ceremony, and if the dancers asked a favor of any one else in the dance-house they paid him for the service in this same legal tender. Their authority was especially shown by their use of the crooked wands, which no one else was permitted to touch. They could be handled only after a long fast involving complete abstinence from water and from meat or grease in any form.

²¹ See below, p. 420.

may be termed singing was obliged at once to another singer, who did as given an opportunity accompanied by a parade including the singer, four

to the ash-devils, and was in the regular ghost ceremony in the evening and

that of paint and a very they carried special oretes (E), and kushibutu (E), and the lead of a crane. *Haliotis* shell made into a topknot. It different forms, but all were staff was the recognized

d. the ash-devils became ready. A guard was posted the door, and no one was the ceremony had begun what was turned upon this a matter of fact, two or in length, were bound to payment. He took this the drum, after having it in his hands. These boys; and if the dancers because they paid him for his authority was especially ds, which no one else was led only after a long fast and from meat or grease

As soon as the ash-devils entered the dance-house absolute silence fell upon all. Except the ash-devils, no one, not excepting the head captain, was permitted to speak during the ceremony. The rule was that the ash-devils themselves must consult one another in low tones.

Immediately upon entering the dance-house the main group of ash-devils took up a position at the foot of the center pole and, in case some one of the spectators did not almost immediately start a song for their dance, they might jump into the fire and begin to throw brands and live coals about among the spectators. This drastic action quickly called forth a protest, and someone volunteered to sing.

The actual dancing lasted for perhaps half an hour, after which the ash-devils sat down and began to "test fire," jump into it, and perform other miraculous feats with it. They, to all appearances, actually picked up live coals, which they called bu (E), and devoured them, preferring the coals of matuzanita wood, as these were the strongest and hottest. This term bu is translated by the Peruvians as "potatoes," a term applied to the many species of bulbs and roots formerly an important part of their food supply. The word for coals is aguilk (E).

During the progress of the dancing a fire-tender had been preparing the fire for the special benefit of the ash-devils, and had selected a considerable quantity of live coals, which he had piled at one side of the main fire. Suddenly one of the fire-dancers put his hand into these coals and scattered them out over the dancing floor. Then he pretended to be burned and danced about as if in pain. Finally, however, he struck the center pole with his hand and evinced great satisfaction, for to him the center pole was as cold water. During this fire-testing ceremony many other feats were performed, such as catching with the mouth a live coal which had been thrown into the air, then running back to the drum and dancing upon it. The dancer usually turned toward the audience, opened his mouth, and exhaled his breath in such a way as to cause the coal to glow between his teeth or further back in his mouth. Such comical antics would in ordinary life provoke an outburst of merriment, but the rules of the ceremony absolutely forbade a sound of any kind, mirthful or otherwise, from the audience, and if the rule were violated a fine was exacted.

During this ceremony, and apparently as an initiation of novices, little boys were thrown by the ash-devils back and forth a number of times through the blaze of a large fire.

Finally, after about half an hour of this eating and juggling of

fire, the ash devils formed at the drum and danced over a course such as that shown in figure 5. This was repeated four times, and as each dancer stepped upon the drum he danced a few short, quick steps, as did the regular drummer in producing music for an ordinary dance. Upon completing this cycle of four, the dancers reversed their direction and traveled over the same course four times. They next passed over the course represented in figure 6, stopping at the four points marked I, where each dancer waved his wand, which he held with both hands, above and in front of his head in such a manner as to describe with it a semicircle, while the spectators cried "heh! . . ."

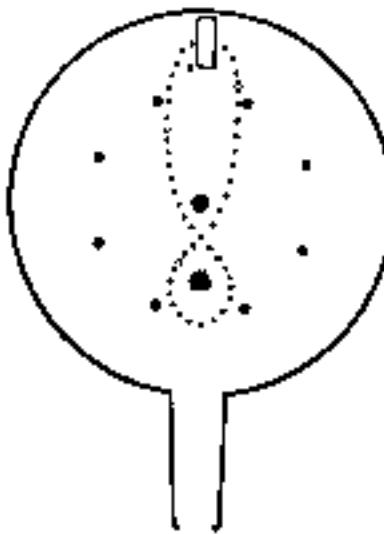


Fig. 5

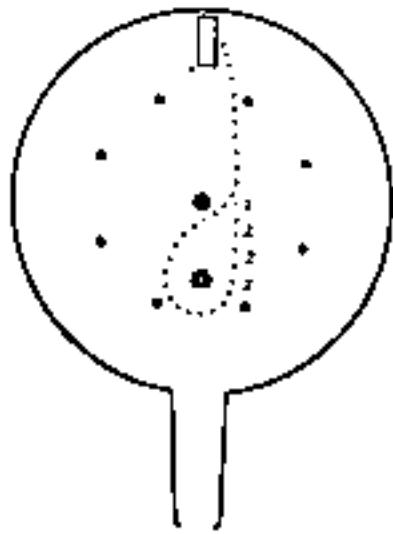


Fig. 6

Fig. 5—Course in first part of final fire-dance.

Fig. 6—Course in second part of final fire-dance.

The dancers then returned to the drum, removed their head-dresses and nets, and danced back and forth four times along the line indicated in figure 7. At the end of each journey along this line, the dancers blew their breath forcibly through their lips and waved their hands from their mouths. At the end of this cycle they sat down and became ordinary persons²¹ once more. The spectators were then permitted

²¹ According to the above information, which was obtained from an Eastern Pomo informant, the fire-dancers evidently did not make an attempt to hide their identity. However, a Central Pomo informant was very specific in his statements that the dancers of his locality were more particular in this respect.

danced over a course such as four times, and as each few short, quick steps, as far as an ordinary dancer, he reversed their direction. They next passed over all the four points marked to be held with both hands, manner as to describe with them . . ."



Fig. 6

al Eric Janzen
that fire dance.

removed their head-dresses along the line indicated by the dancers and waved their hands they sat down and became

water were then permitted
was obtained from an Eastern
not make an attempt to hide
man was very popular in his
more particular in this respect,

to do as they wished. They could resume their normal ways, including smoking, which had been prohibited because the fire and everything pertaining to it belonged exclusively to the fire-dancers during this ceremony.

THE PURIFICATION RITE

During the first three days and nights of the ghost ceremony, either the ghost dancer itself or some other dancer associated with it might be held. On the fourth night it was necessary that the entire night be spent in dancing, and near dawn there occurred a purification rite

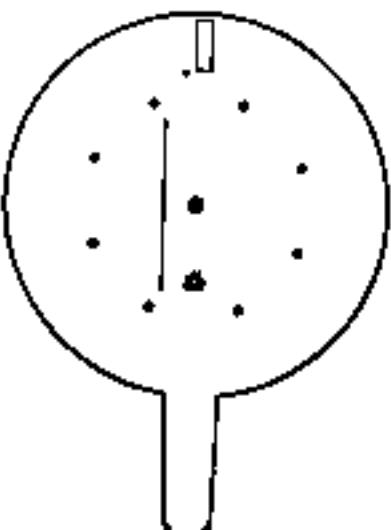


Fig. 7 Course in third part of final fire dance.

accompanied by special songs. Every ceremonial object about the dancer-house, whether it had been used during the preceding days or not, had to undergo this purification, and in case the owner of such a ceremonial object was not present, some near relative performed the ceremony with it.

Just before sunrise each dancer, holding up his personal ceremonial paraphernalia in his right hand, danced back and forth in time to the songs. He danced four times looking toward each of the six cardinal directions in the following order: east, north, west, south, up, down

and instead of remaining in the dancer-house after the ceremony they ran off and returned to their respective places of residence, there to dress in daily attire and return to the village.

All the ceremonial objects were then hung up in the dance-house and later stored away secretly by the chief Gūksū doctor.

The ceremony ended during the following forenoon with a grand feast, which differed materially from other feasts held at times during the ceremony, in that each separate class of individuals dined by itself in the order of rank—captains, fire-tenders, singers, drummers, masters of ceremonies, ghost-devils, ghost-dancers, and spectators. The food served to each class was, however, of the same kind and quality.

Certain restrictions were imposed upon the dancers after the ceremony was over. The regular ghost-dancers were not allowed to eat meat for eight days. Those who wore the chaplet of twigs upon the head were obliged to abstain from meat for four days. The Gūksū doctor who assisted a dancer in dressing might ask him for some article, such as a powerful poison. This had to be given the Gūksū and, in that case, the dancer was forced to abstain from meat for eight days. A dancer who wore certain kinds of feather ornaments abstained from meat for a month. The chief Gūksū doctor, who knew all about the ghost-dance and who was called yūntabate (E), was compelled to abstain from meat for several months. It was his duty to care for the ceremonial paraphernalia between dances. This had to be carefully hidden away in some lonely spot where no one could find it except the chief Gūksū doctor and his two or three assistants.

Whenever any one of these individuals ate meat or fish for the first time after this period of restriction had expired he was enjoined to say a short prayer over it.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE GHOST CEREMONY

The following are the most characteristic features of the ghost or devil ceremony:

1. The ceremony is supposed to have had its origin in mythical times and to have been instituted as an atonement for an offense against the dead.
2. It lasted four days, ending with an all-night dance, and, on the morning of the fifth day, a purification rite followed by a feast in which each class of individuals dined by itself.
3. The participants were several ghost- or devil-dancers personating the spirits of the departed and accompanied frequently, though not always, by one or more ghost-devils or ashenghosts, who filled the double office of clown and sergeant-at-arms, and who usually performed their special fire dance and fire-eating ceremony.

ing forenoon with a grand feast held at times during the day. The processions of individuals dined by themselves, singers, drummers, musicians, and spectators. The feasts were of the same kind and quality. The dancers after the ceremony were not allowed to eat or drink except a chapter of twigs upon the morning of the eighth day. The Galkash might ask him for some article, he give him the Galkash and, in return, receive meat for eight days. They ornaments abstained from eating, a person who knew all about the dance (*ED.*) was compelled to do so. It was his duty to care for the dancers. This had to be eaten before no one could find it except the three assistants.

USERS IN THE SUGGEST CEREMONY

...and its origin in mythical
or sacramental for all offence.

an all-night dinner, and, on the
site followed by a feast in
itself.

pects or devil-dances performed frequently, though by such ghosts, who filled the air, and who usually performed separately.

4. The officials particularly concerned with the ceremony were two head-singers, an indefinite number of burden-singers, a drummer, two fire-tenders, and two masters of ceremonies. The village captains retained their full authority in this ceremony except when the ash-devils were performing.
 5. The audience consisted of initiated men only, and silence was the rule. Any exhibition of mirth was absolutely prohibited under penalty.
 6. The attire of the ghost-dancer consisted of several pieces of headgear, supplemented in some cases by a chaplet of leaves, a girdle, and sometimes a neck-ring of leaves. The body was otherwise nude except for very elaborate painting in black, white, and red. The dancers dressed secretly in the woods and came to the village carrying bunches of grass or twigs in their hands, behind which they at times pretended to hide.
 7. The ash-devils wore only a single head-dress and a coat of paint.
 8. The special crane-head shaped wand of the ash-devil gave him absolute authority.
 9. The dancers entered the village at the egl of a crier stationed on top of the dance-house, performed an elaborate ceremony in front of the dance-house, and finally entered it backwards, groping their way, using an inverted style of speech, and in every other manner showing that the spirits of the departed were unaccustomed to the ways of mortals.
 10. The dancing was elaborate and was characterized by the occurrence of movements in cycles of four, followed by an elaborate ceremonial drumming at the drum, and then by swimming.
 11. During the fire-dance the ash-devils initiated novices.
 12. The dancers were subject to certain restrictions for varying periods of time following the ceremony.

THE GU'KSI CEREMONY

Gökṣū or kūkṣū, as he is called in the different Pomo dialects, was a supernatural being living at the end of the world toward the south, one of six supernatural beings living at the ends of the world in the six cardinal directions. The term is also applied to a large mosquito-like insect, called locally "gallinipper."

Toward the east lived Calmuc, the only one of these deities who was associated especially with Ushuk in the ceremonies of the Pomo.

Toward the north lived Shūpadax (whirlwind).

Toward the west lived Xalimatisi (water-occupation). The connection is here very readily seen when we know that the territory of the Pomo reached to the Pacific Ocean, and that this great body of water formed an important element in certain phases of their mythology. It was only toward the west that the world was supposed by the Pomo to be bounded by water.

Above lived Kali-matatsi (sky occupation).

Below lived Kali-mututst (earth-occupation).

Some of these terms really referred to groups of several deities each. The deities of all six quarters were particularly concerned with medicine practices. Healing was, however, especially the province of the Gōksus, and the Pomo medicine-men, or "doctors," made their prayers particularly to them, although all the remaining deities of the cardinal points were invoked.

Nothing very definite seems to be known concerning the places of abode or manners of living of most of these deities. Each was supposed to dwell at his own "end of the world," in a sweat-house or dance-house of one kind or another. Each was also supposed to be distinctly malevolent at times and to be a man-killer unless properly placated. Under the proper circumstances they were regarded as benevolent, as was indicated by the prayers of the medicine-men invoking the aid of these deities in curing the sick.

Concerning the personal appearance of Gōksu and Calmuc, more was known than of the others. Ushuk himself was said to be of about normal human size and his most characteristic feature was a very long, large, sharp, red nose. He was usually very good-natured. Calmuc, on the other hand, while resembling Gōksu in most respects except that of the elongated nose, was at all times a testy individual, and in the Gōksu ceremony his impersonator poked people and tripped them up.

Gōksu was impersonated by a number of dancers, while only a single one represented Calmuc. Those impersonating Gōksu were dressed as follows: They painted their entire bodies black, according to some informants, according to others, with horizontal red, white, and black stripes. The feet were painted black and the under side of the chin and the sides of the face were painted white. On their heads they wore either a "big head" headdress or a very bulky type of feather

one of those deities who preside over the ceremonies of the Pains, the Wind, the "Dance of the Sun," etc. They knew that the territory of the Sioux was large, and that this great body of men in certain phases of their mythological world was supposed by them to be the 'Pain' or 'Wind'.

Groups of several deities particularly concerned with the welfare of the people, especially the province of the sun, "doctors," made their appearance, and the remaining deities of the sun followed.

Concerning the places of assembly of these deities. Each was supposed to be associated with a "world," in a sweat house or a sweat house. Each was also supposed to be a man-killer unless properly propitiated, and they were regarded as helpers of the medicine-men in curing the sick.

Góksú and Gólkiss, more particularly the former, was said to be of about average size, and his characteristic feature was a very large nose. Góksú in most respects resembled a very fat, jolly, times a testy individual, who was always pursuing people and driving them away.

There were two classes of dancers, while only a few during Góksú were dressed entirely black, according to some authorities, others were painted red, white, and black on the under side of the chin and neck. On their heads they wore a very bulky type of feather

bonnet) or a large feather tuft on top of the head, and a yellow-hamer feather forehead-hand. The large nose of Góksú was represented by one made of feathers and of such a size as completely to cover the nose and mouth of the dancer. When painted red, this was said to represent very well this characteristic of the deity as he existed in the imagination of the Indians. The connection with the proboscis of the gull-snipe is especially apt. Each Góksú-dancer carried a cakirik (E), or staff, about two inches in diameter and from six to eight feet in length, on the top of which was a feather tuft. The Góksú-dancer, being supposedly a supernatural being, never spoke. The only sound made by him throughout this ceremony was produced by his whistle.

The Gólkiss-dancer was painted entirely black and carried a black staff very much like that of the Góksú, except that it was somewhat shorter and bore no feathers. On his head he wore an ordinary feather cap so drawn together that it formed an immense feather topknot which normally fell in all directions over his head. This was held in place by means of skewers passing through a Leadnet. Another point in which these two dancers differed was that while the Góksú-dancer was provided with a double bone whistle the Gólkiss-dancer had none.

The Góksú ceremony itself, called góksú xaxkilga (E), gaxaxaxaxa xaxkilga (E), kiksú haitibú (C), and djukad'jukadú (N), lasted for six days, during the first and the last two of which there was celebrated the special ceremony called gaxigixas (E), in which the children of the village were scarified.

THE SCARIFYING CEREMONY

Two or three days before the time appointed for the scarifying ceremony the men of the village went into the woods and cut a pole, perhaps from thirty to forty feet in length, which they trimmed and peeled preparatory to its erection. A hole a foot or two deep and large enough to receive the pole was dug directly in front of, and at a short distance from, the dance-house.

On the morning of the first ceremonial day a considerable number of men went out from the village dressed in a special ceremonial attire. This consisted of a body-painting either of black stripes or spots (the particular number being prescribed), and of a head-decoration composed of a headnet, a down headnet, two trembler plumes, a yellow-hamer feather forehead-hand, and a small feather tuft.

They brought in the pole to the area directly in front of the dance-house, and here the following ceremony was performed: To the upper end of the pole a streamer was attached. The fastest runner among the participants took the end of this streamer, and the other men, arranged usually in the order of their ability as runners, grasped the pole at different points down to its butt. Behind this line certain women who participated formed a second line. The pole was then carried, at the top speed of the runners, four times around in a counter-clockwise direction, the pivotal point being the hole in which the pole was to rest, and over which its base was held. As they ran the runners swayed the pole up and down, and the women threw upon the men handfuls of a small, pointed, black seed called *göle'* (E).

Upon the completion of the fourth round some one of the runners shouted loudly "ha . . . ö . . ." and at this signal all lifted the pole vertically into place in the hole. The call was repeated as the pole was about half way up. When in place, the pole was fixed by tramping earth and stones about it.

Within a few minutes after the erection of the pole the Hóksú-dancers appeared and stopped about two or three hundred yards away from the dance-house. Some of the men had been attempting to climb the pole, both men and women meanwhile throwing at them balls, *gabé' (E)*, of uncooked meal made of a certain grass seed.

As the Hóksú-dancers appeared in the distance the climbing ceased, and the children who were to be initiated were collected about the base of the pole. Boys who were to be thus initiated were called *yámtu* (E), while girls were called *masytu* (E). They ranged in age from perhaps five to ten years. The dancers proceeded to the foot of the pole, took the children in hand, and performed the following ceremony, the object of which was to secure for the children good health and to make them grow rapidly. The children were first made to lie down upon the ground and were covered with blankets. Then, under the supervision of the dancers, each child had two cuts made with a broken shell across the small of its back and about an inch apart. The cutting was done by the *gaxw'ale* (E), an old man selected for the purpose by the people of the village on account of his long life, good health, and particularly his good heartedness. This was one of the most important phases of the initiation, and upon it depended the effect upon the life of the child. The children were in each case covered completely with the blanket and were not permitted, under any consideration, to look up during this part of the

directly in front of the dancer was performed: To the upper left. The fastest runner among the women, and the other men, as runners, grasped the pole. Behind this line certain men ran. The pole was then four times around in a counter-clockwise direction in which the pole had been held. As they ran the runner who had run the fastest threw upon the ground called *gehe* (E). And some one of the runners at this signal all lifted the pole. This was repeated as the pole was fixed by tramping

into the ground the Gó'kád, or three hundred yards away had been attempting to climb it, throwing at them balls of certain grass seed.

At the distance the climbing initiated were collected about the tree thus initiated were called *Kota* (E). They ranged in age from 10 to 15 years. The dancers proceeded to the pole and performed the following cure for the children good. The children were first made to sit on the ground with blankets. Then, each child had two eggs which were broken on the back and about an inch below the navel (E), an old man of the village on account of his good heartedness. This was the initiation, and upon it the children were wrapped in a blanket and were not permitted during this part of the

ceremony. They might make any outcry they pleased, but if they attempted to look up from the ground they were threatened and even beaten with the sticks of the dancers. The cutting was done quite deeply, so that blood was always drawn. The children were also prohibited from looking up into a tree from under its branches until after these scarring operations had completely healed, else the tree would bear no fruit.

The entire assemblage next entered the dance-house, the dancers going directly to their positions in the rear without the preliminary ceremony of entry which was required in most other ceremonies. The children were made to lie on the floor and were again covered with their blankets. The dancers then performed for their benefit, making a great deal of fun both of the children and of the scarification ceremony. They danced thus for a short time, then went on the west side of the fire, where they turned their heads slowly to the left four times, after which the people cried "ya . . ." The dancers then ran out and into the brush, where they took off and left their dancing paraphernalia. This ceremonial leaving of the dance-house was supposed to remove all illness from the village, the dancers taking it with them as they went out. The spirits which they represented supposedly returned at that time to their supernatural home at the south end of the world.

Another feature of the initiation in the Gó'kád ceremony is described by a Central Pomo informant, who says that young men were initiated by being ceremonially shot with the bow and arrow.

STEPHEN POWERS ON THE HURSHU CEREMONY

Powers describes what he terms a "spirit dance" among the Gallinomero (which evidently refers to this same ceremony), as follows:²²

First they all unite men and squaws together, in a plangent dance, accompanied by a chant, while a clarinet keeps time by beating on his hand with a split stick. In addition to their finest deerskin chenises and strings of beads, the squaws wear large puffs of yellowish swimmers' down over their eyes. The men have mantles of buzzard's, hawk's, or eagles' tail feathers, reaching from the nape of the neck down to the thighs, and circular head-dresses of the same material, besides their usual breech-clouts of rawhide, and are painted in front with terrific splendor. They dance in two circles, the squaws in the outside one; the men leaping up and down, as usual, and the squaws simply swaying their bodies and waving their handkerchiefs in a lack-musical manner. Occasionally an Indian will shoot away through the interior of the circle and upper like a

²² U. S. Dept. of Interior, Comm. N. A. Ethn., III, 179-180, 1877.

harlequin for a considerable space of time, but he always returns to his place in front of his partner.

After this is over, the coward or clown is provided with a long, sharp stick, and he and his partner take their places on the ring ready for performances. A woman as nearly naked as barbaric modesty will permit it is placed in the center, squatting on the ground. Then some Indian intones a chant, which he sings alone and the sport, such as it is, begins. At the bidding of the drum-beat, the coward makes a furious dash in one direction, and with his spear stabs the empty air. Then he dashes back in the opposite direction and dashes with the spear again. Next he runs some other way and dashes again. Now perhaps he takes a front to pierce the woman. Thus the partner keeps him chasing backward and forward, spearing the空 air toward every point of the compass, or making passes at the woman until nearly fagged out, and the patience of the American spectators is exhausted, and they begin to think the whole affair will terminate in "more dumb show." But finally, at a word from the prompter, the spearman makes a tremendous run at the woman and stabs her in the umbilicus. She falls over on the ground, quivering in every limb, and the blood jets forth in a purple stream. The Indians all rush around her quickly and huddle her away to another place, where they continue laying her out for the funeral pyre, but huddle around her so thickly all the while that the Americans cannot approach to see what is done. Thus they mystify matters and let us some puny wren peer for a considerable space of time, when she somehow mystically revives, removes her feet, goes away to her wigwam, encircled by a host of her companions, dons her robes, and appears in the circle as well as ever, despite that terrible spear thrust.

Men who have witnessed this performance tell me the first time they saw it they would have taken their author that the woman was stabbed unto death, so perfect was the illusion. Although the gravity of gladiatorial combat is intended merely for amusement, yet all the Indians, these savages of the woods, gaze upon it with profound and passionless gravity. If they laugh at all it is only after it is all over, and at the mystification of the Americans.

Referring to another phase of the same dance, as practised in another division of the Pomo, Powers says:

The fashion of the spear-dance is different from the Gabilmeto. The man who is to be slain stands behind a screen of hazel bushes with his face visible through an aperture; and the spearman, after the usual protracted clashing about and making of feints, strikes him in the face through the hole in the screen. He is then carried off, revives, etc.⁵³

The novices who were thus shot were called *te'lkte'k* (C), (plural *te'lkte'kan*), and the person who did the shooting, at the direction of the head captain, was called *yolntu* (U). The informant did not state just where the shooting was performed and was not explicit as to its exact nature, but it appears probable that it occurred in the dance-house. These novices were forbidden to eat fresh manzanita berries and the flesh of the fawn, the gray squirrel, and the red-headed woodpecker. After the shooting ceremony the novices were taken out into the area directly in front of the dance-house, and here a ceremony

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

He always returns to his place
equipped with a long, sharp stick,
the gong ready for performance.
It is placed in the center,
whence it chants, which he sings
the bidding of the prompter, the
man, and with his spirit sinks the
gong direction and dashes into the
water again. Now perhaps he
the prompter keeps him chasing
and every point of the compass
is run out, and the patience of the
beginner to think the whole affair will
go on, at a word from the prompter,
he remains and stays here in the
ring in every trouble, until the blood
will rush around her quickly and
easier, driving her out for the
ceremony. I have heard her say
all the while that the American
is very mystic matter and bold some-
times, when she somehow mysti-
cally gets into her wigwam, surrounded by
a crowd in the circle as well as over
the ground the first time they saw
her woman was stabb'd unto death,
and of gladiatorial combat in intend-
ing the stones of the winds, gaze up-
ward, and they laugh at all it is only an
American.

A game dance, as practiced
by the Indians:

Different from the Gallinomero. A
man of hard boughs with his
group, after the usual proce-
dure, strikes him in the face through the
skin, etc. etc.

One called teukteuk (C) [play]
at the shooting, at the direc-
tion of the shaman (1%). The informant did
not know what it was called and was not explicit
as to whether it occurred in
addition to eat fresh manna
or may squirrel, and the red-hen
when the novices were taken
into the house, and here a cer-

emony of healing was performed over them by the one who shot them. He told them that they would have long life and health, and that a feast would be held for them in the course of a few days.

COMPLETION OF THE GÜLKSH CEREMONY

The Gülksh-dancers appeared only once each day in this Gülksh ceremony, though various other dances might be held during the day, and it was only upon the first morning that the ceremony about the pole and the scarification above described were held. The ceremony lasted, all told, six days. The ceremonies of the first day have just been described. Those of the following three days consisted of one appearance of the Gülkshs each day, accompanied by a simple dance.

On the morning of the fifth day, however, the children who underwent the scarification on the first day were again assembled and driven by the dancers as rapidly as possible about the village and out into the valley. The children held one another's hands as they were driven, making a continuous line. When they had become quite fatigued, they were made to lie down and the dancers covered them with blankets. They remained here throughout the day and were again driven about in the same manner just after sundown, being again covered with blankets, under which they stayed until morning. They were then brought in by the dancers and made to perform a short dance in a brush inclosure, called mule (E), which was built just outside the dance-house for this special purpose. After this, an old man, probably the same who performed the scarification, sang over the children. During this dance each child carried a small willow twig, which he threw onto a pile at the end of the dance, after which he was free to go his way, and the entire ceremony was ended. The fire-tender bore these twigs away and deposited them at some distance from the village.

A Gülksh-dancer appeared at other ceremonies, but only for the purpose of removing sickness from the village. He was sometimes called in, as were other dancers, but often he appeared uninvited. He, however, always invited at least one individual, whose duty it was to assist him and direct his movements. Apparently this individual was not a particular official, but might be any friend of the Gülksh-dancer. The ceremony was a very short one. The Gülksh ran rapidly in and passed in a counter-clockwise direction four times around the fire. He then hurried to a position directly in front of the center pole and here ran swiftly back and forth four times over a

short, straight course. He then ran around back of the center pole and stopped on its west side. Here he turned his head slowly to the left; then ran a short distance toward the door, stopping and repeating this motion, making in all four such stops. After this he ran swiftly out through the tunnel and back to the woods, where he undressed and returned as an ordinary civilian to the village. As he started to run out of the tunnel, the people said, "Yuk . . . s . . . putsalkam" (E), that is, "ya . . . s . . . healthy make us." The prolonged "s" was simply a hissing expulsion of breath, and as it was blown out in this fashion any disease which might possibly have found lodgment in the body of the individual was supposed to depart with it and to be taken by Gūksū to his home in the south.

Before dressing, the Gūksū-dancers always chewed up and rubbed upon their bodies the very sweet-scented seed of a certain species of conifer, *kuwacap* (E), growing plentifully in the region of Clear Lake. A Gūksū-dancer was forbidden to eat meat or drink anything before the ceremony or before doctoring a patient, as described below. The Gūksū-dancer might, however, eat vegetable foods and drink water after the ceremonial swim, which always occurred directly after his dance. He could not eat meat or greasy food of any kind for four days after a ceremony.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

In addition to their part in the scarifying ceremony just described, the Gūksū-dancers formed a class of medicine-men, and were often called in to minister to the sick. These "doctors," when curing the sick, dressed themselves in the costume of the regular Gūksū ceremony. As in the ceremony also, the Gūksū doctor had to be ceremonially summoned, and he came in from the woods impersonating the supernatural Gūksū. The latter was pictured, to all intents and purposes, as coming from his home in the south to perform the "medicine"rite and carry away with him the disease from the sick person. A special call was used in this case as follows: "Thuk . . . ley' . . ." repeated four times.

The Gūksū doctor never spoke and never sang over his patients, but constantly blew a double bone whistle in a characteristic way, a very short blast followed by a very long one. Upon reaching the patient, who might be either in or out of doors, he ran around him several times. He then inserted the point of his staff under the neck of the patient and made motions four times as if prying upwards.

and back of the center pole turned his head slowly to the east, stopping and repeating.

After this he ran swiftly westward, where he unclessed the village. As he started to " . . . pibet karo" ("us.") The prolonged "a" went as it was blown out invisibly have found lodgment and to depart with it and to

sky chewed up and cubbed root of a certain species of plant in the region of Clear at meat or drink anything patient, as described below, vegetable foods and drink days occurred directly after food of any kind for four

CASE

g extremely just described, chimney, and were often "doctors," when curing the the regular Gitksan cere- do doctor had to be cere- the woods representing etized, to all intents and to south to perform the the disease from the sick & as follows: "hyu . . .

is sung over his patients, in a characteristic way, a me. Upon reaching the door, he ran around him with staff under the neck & as if prying upwards.

He next inserted the staff under the shoulder and repeated this prying motion four times. He did the same at the hips, and finally at the knees.

He next tapped and pressed down with his staff: first upon the forehead, then upon the chest, then upon the belly, and finally upon the knees of the patient. After this he ran rapidly out of the village and into the hills, where he stopped and turned his head toward the left four times. He then disappeared and was supposed to have returned to his supernatural abode in the south, carrying with him the ailment of the patient.

While the above was the typical procedure of one of these doctors in curing a patient, he had great latitude, and might, at his own option, omit altogether certain of the above mentioned movements or use others in their places. For instance, he might pry as above, or he might press and pat the body of the patient. On the other hand, he might simply pass his staff down over the body of the patient a number of times, usually four or some multiple of four, or he might omit the use of the staff entirely and "doctor" with his whistle only, in which case he bent over or knelt beside the patient and blew his whistle over the various parts of his body, particularly those recognized by the patient as the seats of pain.

DANCES

The dances either formed integral parts of the above ceremonies or, as stated, might be incidental and entirely unrelated to them. The word for dance is xo in the Eastern Pomo dialect, and ke in that of the Central and Northern Pomo. The following is a list of the Pomo dances:

gitka ke	korljen ke
lchika ke or lchikne ke	sawtke
ekin ke	bitwke
litokn ke	clan ke
yo'yn ke	zo'ke
yo'ke	ashil'gak ke
mo'te ke	gitksu ke
litilye ke	ma'ta ke
kalimantotke or kalimantauke	lo'le ke
swake	sun'mi'quke
gi'ngka zr	so'to ke
ke'lechela xo	taig'ke
du'ma ke	sonjulen ke
tsja'ne ke	sun'ya ke

In a large measure the various dances were very similar to one another so far as the steps were concerned. The characteristic step of the men was a rhythmic stamping of the feet, with the body held in a half-bent posture. Sometimes this dancing was done "in place," that is, without moving from one situation. As a rule, however, the dancer moved over a definite course in each dance. The movement was varied slightly in accordance with the songs. Some songs were very lively and the steps correspondingly rapid, while others were much slower. All were usually sung to the accompaniment of the large foot-drum, and split-stick, or cocooc rattle. Sometimes the dancers used single or double bone whistles.

The women usually danced in place, twisting the body about and swaying slightly from side to side with little or no motion of the feet. In some instances, however, they moved over a definite course as did the men.

The dance paraphernalia of the men consisted of the following articles:

1. The feather skirt.
2. The head net, bolmuk (E).
3. The down-filled head net, obolmuk (E).
4. The skewer, called karib (N, U, E), with which the feather headresses, tufts, etc., were pinned to the head net.
5. The feather tuft, bafrik (U, Kacitik (C)).
6. The big head headress.
7. The yellow hammer feather forehead band, tschupu (N, U, E).
8. The shoulder plume, kudu's (N, U, E).
9. Painted down tuft (E), which was sometimes scattered about over the freshly painted skin.
10. A fillet of peppermine leaves, tschupu-marru (E).
11. A small green twig or a bunch of dried red lily, used in certain dances. Any object of this kind carried on the back while dancing was called karabbi (E).

Certain of these objects were prescribed for certain dances. In addition, various items of ordinary personal adornment were worn which do not specifically belong to dance paraphernalia—ear plugs, pendants, necklaces of beads, etc.

The dance paraphernalia of the women was the same as that of the men, though, as a rule, the men dressed much more elaborately than the women. The latter had, however, one special type of forehead band which they alone used. This was a flat band of reed provided with a number of beaded, yellow hammer quill bangles.

An important part of the attire for any dance was the painting, which varied greatly and was usually carefully prescribed for each

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Every dancer was the painting,
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dancer. The body, or a large part of it, might be covered with one solid color, and longitudinal or horizontal stripes of various widths and also dots of various sizes might be used.

Black paint, masik (E.) (literally, coal or charcoal), was most easily obtainable and most freely used. It consisted of ordinary charcoal from the fire. If a large surface was to be painted, the charcoal was pulverized in the palms of the hands and rubbed on. If lines were desired, this powder might be applied with the finger, or a piece of charcoal might be used as a pencil. Also stripes were sometimes produced by scraping off part of the paint with the fingernails, leaving the skin exposed along these lines. In case a sticky surface was required, as, for instance, when down was to be later applied, the paint was mixed with saliva.

White paint, walaiae (E.), made from a whitish or very light blue earth, was also considerably used. It was applied as was the black paint.

Red paint, obeyr (E.), was made by pulverizing cinnabar, which was a rather rare mineral in the Pomo region and was much prized and used very sparingly.

For purposes of presentation it is simplest to divide the dances into three classes: (1) those danced by men and women together; (2) those danced by men; (3) those danced by women. Fairly full information was obtained about some of these dances, while in other cases barely the names were remembered. The following dances come under the first heading:

g'lik	u-ah-ah	gi-ma
heho	ih-hye	di-na
co-kin	ku-lim-ko	di-jah
du-tchka	uh-	ku-may
ya-ya	ku-cheh	ku-oh
ya-		

DANCES IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN PARTICIPATED

G'lik.—The G'lik dance differed from most other Pomo dances in that it consisted of two performances: one used for opening and closing proceedings, the other, or main dance, coming in between.

The men painted with a single color (black, white, or red); all of the face below the eyebrows, after which they scattered eagle-down upon it. This gave the face a white, fluffy appearance. They painted the chest and shoulders black. The legs were painted either all black

or all white. Thus longitudinal straps were scratched through the paint with the fingernails. The arms were painted with three bands, each four fingers in width: one about the middle of the upper arm, one about the elbow, and one about the middle of the forearm.

Upon the top of the head each wore a feather tuft. This was putted from front to rear, and the yellowgreen-feather forehead-band, which was attached to the hair so as to hang down to the eyebrows, passed through the part in this and hang down the back to about the hips. A feather skirt tied just under the arms, and entirely covering the back, completed the costume, except for a few green twigs

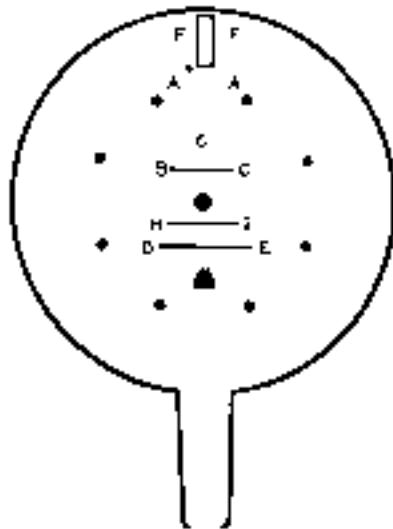


Fig. 8.—Positions of dancers in a circle.

which were held in both hands directly in front of the face while the dance was actually in progress. No whistle was used by these dancers.

The women painted the upper part of the body in the same way as the men and wore a feather tuft and the regular woman's forehead-band with bangles. They wore no feather skirt, but otherwise attired themselves as did the men.

The men were divided into two groups at A, A' (fig. 8) on both sides of the rear of the dancer-house, the women-dancers being likewise divided into two groups at F, F' on each side of the drum.

When all was ready for the dance, the head singer started in air and sang alone for several minutes. Then, at a given signal, the burden-singers joined in with the chorus, all accompanying their

shaded through the
with three bands,
of the upper arm,
forearm.
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feather forehead
down to the eye
over the back to
ms, and entirely
few green twigs

singing with split-stick rattles. This was the signal for the beginning of the first or preliminary division of the dance. The men went to a position about midway between the center pole and the drum, where they formed a line BC, the women forming a group in the position G, directly behind the line BC. Here was held the preliminary division of the dance, called *teleksax* (E), in which the participants danced in place for a few minutes.

The men next moved to the position DE, passing on each side of the center pole; the women following them to the position HI. They thus formed two lines, facing the center pole. Here the principal part of the dance was held. The chief singer again started the air, being joined at the proper time by the burden singers. Simultaneously with the latter, the master of ceremonies gave the signal for the dancers to begin. During the dancing he repeated the proper dance formula²² four times, finally saying, "I, I . . . I" and the dance stopped. At the beginning of the dance, upon the signal from the master of ceremonies, the dancers, both men and women, whirled around and faced the fire, and as the dance stopped at the above signal they whirled back again so as to face the center pole. The dancers moved sideways back and forth four times in all, along the lines DE and HI. Standing in their original positions, they then performed for the second time the movement first described, thus ending the dance.

This entire dance might be repeated as many times as desired, no definite number being prescribed; but when each set of three divisions, as above stated, was finished, the dancers returned to A, A and F, F, retracing as nearly as possible the courses which they had traversed in coming from these two positions. After the last set of this dance, they removed their dance costumes near the drum.

Kölkö.—The kölkö or kölköwa dance, which may be taken as a type of many of those dances which follow, lasted from one-half to three-quarters of an hour and could be danced at any time of year. The men were dressed as follows: The lower part of the face (i.e., below a line running from just under the ear to a point just under the nose) was painted black. A black band, about four fingers in width, ran from each of the eyebrows to the sternum. Four similar bands encircled each arm, two above and two below the elbow, while four such bands were placed upon each leg. Upon the head each man wore a feather tuft, a yellow-hammer feather forehead band and a pair of trogon plumes, and upon the back a feather skirt. Each dancer carried a bone whistle also.

²² Any dance formula such as this was called *telekhukuf* (E).

Each woman wore a feather tuft and the usual woman's forehead-band. In each hand she carried a small bunch of shredded turtle. These bundles, called katalib (35), were made by tying together at one end several stems, perhaps six or eight inches long, and then shredding the loose ends with a basketry awl. This dance was a very lively one and took its name, as did several others, from some of the words of the song accompanying it. Part of the burden of this song is a high-voiced "ho, ho, ho, ho . . ." very rapidly spoken by the burden-singers in unison.

The music was provided by a lead singer, several burden-singers, and a drummer. Each of the singers used a split stick rattle.

cōkīn kr.—The cōkīn-dance was very similar, in many respects, to the hōhō-ke. One informant said that the dress and painting were exactly the same, except that the upper arm and thigh bore one painted band each, instead of two as in the hōhō-ke.

dūtūkē.—The same might be said of the dūtūkē (37), or dūtūgūx (38). The dress of the men was identical with that of the hōhō-dancers. The men used no whistles. The women wore the regular woman's forehead-band. From one to perhaps eight or ten persons danced at once, and the dance had no stated duration. As one informant expressed it, they simply danced until they were tired.

yāyā kr.—Little could be learned concerning the yāyā-dance, except that it was danced by both men and women, and that the painting and attire were the same as for the hōhō. The feather skirt was worn, but no whistle was used.

gō' kr.—The men decorated themselves for this dance as for the hōhō-dance, except that there were three stripes around the arm instead of four, and with the addition of some down scattered over their legs and feet. Each woman had a narrow, black line running down the chin and a similar line running out from each corner of the mouth toward the ear. Otherwise her decorations consisted of a feather tuft and a yellow hammer feather forehead-band. A considerable number of men and women sang, each keeping time with a split-stick rattle.

mōtē' kr.—In the mōtē' dance the music was provided by one man, who accompanied his song with a split-stick rattle. The dancers painted themselves as in the yāyā-dance. Each wore a feather skirt.

kātē' kr.—The kātē'-dance was sometimes called the katalib. The term kātē' is the correct one for this dance. In fact, the term katalib has been applied to it only recently and was derived from the

and woman's forehead-band of shredded tube, made by tying together at intervals long, and then this dance was a very popular. From some of the words, from some of the burden of this song rapidly spoken by the several head-singers, split stick rattle.

In many respects, to this and painting were added bare one-painted

the dūñika (C), or identical with that of the Yuki. The women wore the perhaps eight or ten stated duration. As until they were tired, during the yaya-dapee, except that the painting feather skirt was worn,

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was derived from the

fact that whenever certain of the Pomo men became intoxicated they almost always sang the songs of this dance; hence the name "whiskey dance," or kōtashuk. If paint was employed it usually consisted of a coat of black on the lower part of the face and three bands about each arm and each leg. Other designs were used, however. Upon the head the dancer wore a feather tuft, a yellow-hammer feather forehead-band, and a very large trembler plume, worn erect at the back of the head. Each man wore a feather skirt. The women painted the lower part of the face and wore a feather tuft and a yellow-hammer feather forehead-band.

kālīmatōbō.—The kālīmatōbō or kālīmatōbō, the thunder dance, was danced each morning and each evening during fast successive days. It might be danced at other times of the day in addition if desired, and other dances might meanwhile be performed at any time of the day except morning and evening. The men painted their naked bodies with vertical stripes. Upon the face but one stripe appeared, running from ear to ear and just below the nose. Upon the head each man wore a down head net, a feather tuft, and a pair of trembler plumes. No yellow-hammer feather forehead-band, down, or feather skirt was used. The women dressed very simply. They wore the same stripe on the face as did the men, and upon the head a head net of down and a feather tuft. Both men and women had bone whistles, and each man had a light staff²³ four or five feet long, with one or more coconuts attached as a rattle at its upper end.

tañ'ke.—In the iwi' (C) or Coyote dance the men were nude except for a coat of white paint over the entire body. Upon the head there was a feather tuft, parted from front to rear to permit the passage of a large yellow-hammer feather forehead-band from the root of the nose over the head and down the back. The women were similarly painted and attired, except that each wore an ordinary skirt of shredded tube or other material. Each dancer carried a small bunch of green twigs in the hand, so held as to obscure the face as much as possible. This perhaps typified the crafty and slinking nature of the coyote. The music was provided by one singer who used a coconut rattle.

gūñilaxe.—In the gūñilaxe (E) or Coyote dance the women dressed as in the iwi' dance. The men painted themselves as did the performers in the ghost dance, and wore the parted feather tuft

²³ The general term xi'daluk (E), signifying anything held in the hand while dancing, is applied to this staff.

with the yellow-hammer-feather forehead-band passing through the part and down the back. They also wore feather skirts, and used whistles.

he'lekiheki.—The painting for this dance was the same as for the *hihi*. Each man wore upon his head a down head-net, a pair of trembler plumes, and a yellowhammer-feather forehead-band. Each had a bone whistle and a *keleige*. Neither whistles nor feather skirts were used. Each woman wore a feather tuft and a down head-net.

A fairly high pole similar to the one employed in the initiation rite of the *Galkit* ceremony was erected in the area directly in front of the dance house. The participants gathered about its base and each man attempted to climb it, while the women danced in a circle about its base. The wife of the climber, and sometimes other women, threw balls of "pinol," (grasses-seed meal) at him as he ascended.

da'nor k.—Concerning the *da'nor* dance, little could be learned save that it was connected with some sort of esoteric organization and was very rarely danced. There was but one woman who was said to know all the details of this dance, but the opportunity did not present itself to interview her. She is now deceased.

djase ke.—The *djase* dance was always danced by two men and four women, the men forming the middle of the line, two of the women being at each end. They wore similar costumes, which were very simple. All that could be learned concerning the details, however, was that the mouth was painted black with a short line running out from each corner, and that each dancer wore a feather skirt upon his back and used a whistle.

kare'gork.—The *kare'gork* dance was danced by two men and two women, and only once during any given ceremony. Men and women dressed alike, except that the women wore the ordinary woman's skirt. No paint was used. Upon the head was a feather tuft, a yellowhammer-feather forehead-band, two trembler plumes and some down. Each dancer carried a bone whistle.

one'f k.—No details were learned concerning this dance.

DANCES IN WHICH ONLY MEN PERFORMED

There are known among the Pomo at least five dances in which the performers were always men. They are the *hihi*, the *idam*, and the *si* or fire-dance and the *ghos* and the *Galkit* dances mentioned above.

hihi k*e*.—While this was danced by men only, women were privileged to witness it. The dancers first painted the entire body black

and passing through the other skirts, and used

were the same as for the
man head-net, a pair of
forehead-band. Each
skirted nor feather skirts
had a down head-net.

joyed in the initiation
area directly in front
of the base and
then danced in a circle.
Sometimes other women
joined as he ascended.

Little could be learned
of the secret organization and
woman who was said to
be its head. No ceremony did not present

ment by two men and
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short line running out
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feather tuft, a yellow-
jacket and some down.

ing this dancer.

PERFORMED

are dances in which the
feet, the hands, and the
feathers mentioned above.
Only women were permitted
the entire body black

and then added many white spots irregularly placed all over the body. Each dancer carried a staff six or seven feet long and similarly painted. The face of the dancer was painted black, and each wore a large feather tuft on his head. This was, however, not so large as that worn by the Gūksū-dancer. The music for this dance was quite unusual in that the drum was not used. The head singer also acted as master of ceremonies. The dancers formed a straight line and danced in place without any forward or lateral motion, and all joined in the singing.

Tiduk.—Little could be learned of the Tiduk dancer, except that it was danced by men, with women participating in the singing. One unique feature was that while it was in progress no one in the village might keep water in his house. Also if any one ate meat during a ceremony in which this dance was used he would become insane and could be cured only through the ministrations of the chief dancer of the Tiduk. While no further evidence was obtained in substantiation, these facts point to the existence of an esoteric society connected with this dance. One informant maintained that the last man who knew the details of this dance died some years ago.

Zo-ké.—The zo-ké, or fire-dancer, was held at any desired time during a ceremony. It usually followed the feast of welcome, as it may be called, which was tendered the guests immediately after their arrival. It required no special paraphernalia. In fact, it amounted to little more than a regular sweat-bath, such as was taken in the sudatory,¹⁹ except that it was on a larger and more elaborate scale.

Gashlikak.—See under Ghost Ceremony, above.

Gūksū-ké.—See under Gūksū Ceremony, above.

DANCES IN WHICH ONLY WOMEN PERFORMED

Two dances are still remembered which come under this heading. They are the mala and the tolé.

Mala &c.—One man acted as master of ceremonies and another sang to the accompaniment of a coconut rattle. The dancers painted the cheeks and lower part of the face black and then separated vertical lines in the paint. The only head-dress worn was the yellow-buzzard-feather forehead-band. In each hand was held a small green branch. The arms hung down, but with a flexure at the elbow which brought these green sprigs directly in front of the dancer. The dancers formed a line and danced back and forth side-wise over a short, straight

¹⁹ See the article on "Pomo Buildings," in the *Bulletin, University of California*, mentioned above.

course. This is one of the very few dances which may yet be seen, though in a modernized form, at Fourth of July celebrations.

taile ke.—As before, a man acted as master of ceremonies and another singing, accompanying himself with the cocoon rattle. The informant was not certain just what kind of costume was worn, but knew that no paint was employed.

ADDITIONAL DANCES

The names of several other dances are remembered, but nothing in regard to detail. These are mohimoni, toto, nūñgū, badjilua, and sataliya. The last of these was said by one informant to make up, along with the g'elak and Lō'bō and data'la dances, a special ceremony, about which nothing further is known.

THE MESSIAH CULT

During the latter years of the nineteenth century a "Messiah" cult has been introduced among the Pomo by the Wintun of the Sacramento Valley. In comparatively recent times the "prophets" of this cult acquired great importance and, while the cult degenerated, to a certain extent superseded the leaders of the old ceremonies. This cult first appeared among the Pomo at Upper Lake, then at Sulphur Bank, then at Long Valley, and finally in the Ukia Valley. The function of the prophet, or dreamer, as he is commonly styled by the Indians, was to have dreams or waking visions concerning dances and other matters in which the people were interested. The prophets were supposed to receive through these visions direct revelations from presiding spirits, and the people formerly gave much credit to their teachings. They virtually formed a priesthood which replaced the old "captains" in the direction of all ceremonial matters.

One of the characteristic features of this cult was the painted designs upon the exterior of the dance-house. The last truly primitive dance-house of this type in the Pomo region was photographed by the author in 1901, 1902, and is described and illustrated elsewhere.²³

Another important feature was the erection before the dance-house of a pole-bearing banner and streamers decorated with the particular designs which the priest had seen in his vision.

²³ "Pomo Buildings," *Bulletin, University of California*.

which may yet be seen, July celebrations, center of ceremonies and with the rattle. The costume was worn, but

remembered, but nothing to, though, bodies, and informant to make up, a special ceremony,

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CONCLUSION

Pomo ceremonies were in general quite simple and the ceremonial life was characterized by an absence (1) of any fixed ceremonial season or sequence of ceremonies, and (2) of any extensive priesthood or secret order controlling ceremonial matters. Some of the ceremonial performances possessed certain esoteric features, such as initiation rites and special restrictions on the part of the initiated.

We note the presence of a few fairly elaborate ceremonies and a considerable number of dances, some of which were employed as integral parts of certain ceremonies, others as merely incidental to them. These dances usually followed one another without any definite order or relation, though in certain cases definite dances were prescribed as parts of given ceremonies.

The ceremony has a definite mythological background, but this has been lost elsewhere. No myths are told today to account for the other performances.

In most of the dances an indefinite number of both men and women might participate. In two dances the number of performers of each sex was definitely prescribed. In five, only men might participate, and two were strictly woman's dances. In other words, there is patent in Pomo ceremonies a rather thorough going democracy regarding the positions of the sexes.

Transcribed September 26, 1976