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THE WINTUN HESI CEREMONY

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INTRODUCTION

The Wintun Indians formerly occupied a territory lying, in the main, between the Sacramento river and the crest of the Coast Range of California.¹ While the subdivisions of the stock have not been exactly determined, there appear to have been three major languages, usually called the Northern, Central, and Southern. Within the Southern speech there were at least two dialects, whose distribution on the whole conformed to the topographical differences between the open Sacramento valley and the foothill and mountain region. These two dialectic groups may be designated as the Southeastern and Southwestern Wintun.

The culture of the Southwestern Wintun seems to be more closely related to that of the Pomo adjacent on the west than to that of the Maidu, who are separated from them by their own Southeastern kinsmen. This fact appears clearly in the arts and industries. The mortuary customs of both the Southwestern Wintun and Pomo favored cremation but omitted the celebration of a mourning anniversary. The Maidu buried the dead but held an annual "cry" or "burning" in their memory.

On the other hand, the ceremonial system of the two southern Wintun divisions, while of the general type common to the Indians of a large part of central California, appears to have had closer relation to the religious organization of the Maidu than of the Pomo. This is instanced by the Wintun and Maidu both practicing a Hesi ceremony, which the Pomo lacked.

Among the Southwestern Wintun of Colusa and Yolo counties, there still persists, or did until recently, something of the old organization of ritual dances, namely, a regular series of ceremonies extending from fall to spring. Formerly, this began and closed with performances of the *hesi hūya* about the first of October and first of May. Of late years, the initial *hesi hūya* has been replaced by a subsidiary rite, the *toto hūya*, but the spring Hesi continues to be made.

The object of all the ceremonies, but especially of the Toto and the Hesi, is primarily to insure plentiful wild harvests and secondarily to secure the health and general prosperity of the people. The performance of the Toto is believed to assure an abundance of "green foods," such as "Indian potatoes," by which is meant *Brodiaea*, *Calochortus*, and other bulbs, as well as the plants whose foliage is

¹ Present series, vi, 284-289, maps 1 and 2, 1906.

eaten. The Hesi is thought to produce "ripe foods" in plenty: grass seeds, manzanita berries, and especially acorns.

At intervals during the months between these two major ceremonies, there occur six others² of lesser importance, which are usually celebrated simply by each village, whereas for the Toto and the Hesi the people of neighboring villages are invited. These minor ceremonies are: *kenī*, *lole*, *sedeū* or coyote, *silai* or grizzly bear, *kūksū*, and *waisaltū*.

The ceremonies bearing these names occur in the order given and must be carefully distinguished from dances and dancers of the same names. In general, any dance may be introduced into any ceremony. In addition to the dances bearing the same names as the ceremonies, there are other dances, which do not correspond in designation to any ceremony. These are the *waima*, *silī*, *salalū*, and *gīlak*. This makes about a dozen dances and eight ceremonies. The word for dance is *tono*, for ceremony *hūya*.³

What dances shall be made during any one ceremony seems to be left largely to the volition of the participants, particularly the director, who appears to be usually also a shaman of some reputation. The particular dance named after a ceremony is always made some time during the ceremony, but a selection of other dances is usually also given, without any set rule as to their order within the ceremony. Between the eight regular ceremonies, gatherings without especial religious significance and devoted chiefly if not wholly to pleasure, may also be held. In these assemblies any or all of the twelve named dances are made, but without association as a ceremony. Such an occasion is known by the same name as a single dance, *tono*, as opposed to the *hūya* or complex of dances made with a sacred purpose.

Of the two major ceremonies, the Toto and the Hesi, the latter is the more important. It lasts four days and nights, and is the one ceremony whose regulations all residents and visitors observe scrupulously. In recent years its particular form and exact date are determined annually by the spiritual visit of a shaman to the abode of the dead, *bole wīlak*,⁴ where instructions are received by him from

² There may have been a greater number before aboriginal customs were disturbed.

³ *Hūya* means to gather or assemble. Strictly there is no Hesi dance but Tuya and Moki dances in the Hesi ceremony.

⁴ *Bole* is the ghost of a dead person; *saltu*, a spirit. The Southwestern Wintun distinguish their modern ceremonies, which contain a *bole* or ghost element (allied to the "Ghost Dance movement" prevalent about 1890 among the eastern Indians of the United States), from the older ceremonies which were free of such an element.

Katit,⁵ who controls the world at large, as well as the domain of departed human spirits.

The following pages describe a Hesi ceremony celebrated by the Wintun of the village Let, in Cortina valley, Colusa County, in the western foothill region of the great Sacramento valley, from May 5 to 8, 1906—less than a month after the earthquake that preceded the fire which destroyed San Francisco. The earthquake was felt strongly in Cortina valley and was interpreted by the Indians as a sign of the great displeasure of *Katit* with the world and its people. This ceremony was therefore attended more widely than had been customary for some years, and thus afforded an excellent opportunity for observation. The author attended the ceremony to record its salient features for the University of California; and, in the summer of 1907, was enabled to obtain from the old director and shaman, Salvador, or Sasa, whose trance had preceded the performance, explanations of a number of its features, as well as phonographic records of the speeches made by him in its conduct and of the several songs used.

Frank Wright, a man then of about thirty-five years, who spoke good English, served in this ceremony as Salvador's chief assistant, and on the latter's death a few years later succeeded him as principal director of the Hesi among the Wintun of the region. He furnished the author with information during the progress of the ceremony; and he served as interpreter for Salvador when the phonograph records were secured. As many as possible of the speeches and songs were transcribed by the author and translated for him by Mr. Wright on this occasion. In 1909 Dr. A. L. Kroeber had opportunity to verify these transcriptions and to obtain translations of the remaining records. This work was done by him with Mr. Thomas Odock, a South-eastern Wintun, who understands the Southwestern dialect of Cortina and is himself conversant with the Hesi through the instruction of Salvador.

Since the ceremonial dance system of the Maidu Indians of Chico was very similar in its outlines and in many details to that of the Southern Wintun, and since the former has been described by Dr. Roland B. Dixon,⁶ it is unnecessary to repeat here the features common to all the dances of the region. Such matters as the structure of the dance house, the use made of the center post, the performance of the *Moki*, and the like, which are practically the same for all the rituals of several ethnic groups, will therefore be assumed as familiar

⁵ *Katit* is a species of hawk.

⁶ The Northern Maidu, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., xvii, 283-333, 1905.

to the reader, and the account that follows is restricted to descriptions of the ceremony witnessed and explanations secured from the Indians. In short, this paper is primarily a record of information that may never again be obtainable. It is not an attempt to elucidate a part of a complex religious scheme with reference to the system as a whole.

THE HESI CEREMONY OF 1906

A few days after the earthquake, Salvador suddenly went into a trance and on his awakening announced that he had journeyed to *bole wīlak*, "ghost world," and that *Katit* had directed him to announce to his village that on a certain day, which was Saturday, May 5, all must assemble for the Hesi, and to invite the Indians of the adjacent parts of the Sacramento valley, and the Pomo and Wintun of Cache creek, Sulphur Bank, and Upper Stony creek.

FIRST DAY

Friday, May 4, and the forenoon of the first day of the ceremony, Saturday, May 5, were spent by Salvador and one of his assistants in the preparation of ceremonial poles, head dresses, rattles, and the like. Most of these paraphernalia only needed rejuvenating, since they had been kept over from the ceremonies of the year before. The work on them was done in the dance house.

POLES AND MOKI CLOAK

These ceremonial objects consisted of the following pieces. There was a pole about 25 feet long, with a small bunch of feathers at its apex and near this a sort of banner of pieces of colored cloth. It was also wound about its entire length with cloth of different colors. This pole was to be erected in front of the dance house entrance and was the most important of the ceremonial objects. There were three smaller poles, also decorated with variously colored cloth, for use about the feasting table. Further, there were a short cloth-wound pole, and a cylinder of black cloth twelve or fifteen inches high and eight or ten inches through; both for the roof top of the dance house. All these objects were called *bole sak*, and while prepared without any special ceremony, were placed in their respective positions with singing and ritualistic observance.

The only other strictly sacred object used was the long cloak worn by the *moki* performer. In earlier times, this cloak was a net of eagle feathers and covered the wearer completely from head to foot, except that small openings were left through which he might see to make his way about. In the present instance the network was replaced by gunny sacking and the feathers by strips of cloth, so that the costume was but a sorry representative of the aboriginal form.

SETTING THE POLES

As each of the ceremonial objects was completed in the dance house, it was placed on the floor just south of the center post. They were then placed in position in the following manner and order:

The large pole was first placed in position in its permanent hole in front of the dance house. With an ordinary digging stick, Salvador, who will hereafter be designated as the director, removed the cobble stones with which the hole had been filled to keep it from crumbling from year to year. He then took a six-foot cocoon rattle, called *cōkōkai*, and rattled four times over the hole, crying in each case a long drawn out "hē." Toward the end of each call his voice gradually fell in volume. He stretched his rattle the first time toward the west, that is, the dance house, then to the south, then the east, and finally the north.⁷ In each instance he stood on the opposite side of the hole and extended his rattle across it. Thereupon he stepped back toward the east, and setting the end of the rattle on the ground shook it in time to the *teoli muhī* song, which he sang until the pole was in place.

<i>Teoli Song</i> ⁸				
teo'lule	wile	teo'lule	hūyama	teo'lule
stand up	healthy	stand up	assemble	stand up

As the director began this song, his assistant commenced the ceremony of taking the pole from the dance house to place it in position. From just back of the center post of the dance house, he slowly walked completely around the recumbent pole and to the south of the butt of the pole (fig. 1, A). Here he stopped, faced west, raised his right hand over his head and slightly forward, and gave a long "hē," toward the end of which he let his voice, and simultaneously his hand,

⁷ West, south, east, north is the invariable ceremonial circuit of the Hesi, at any rate with reference to the directions faced.

⁸ University of California Museum of Anthropology phonograph number 14-1505; words transcribed by A. L. Kroeber, translated by Thomas Odoek. Said to be the composition of the singer, Salvador. *Teoli muhī* means "inanimate-object-standing-erect song," that is, pole or stump song.

fall very slowly, and blew two short blasts upon a double bone whistle, *tōka*. He then turned completely around, made another circuit about the pole, and repeated the same cry, motions, and whistling at the same point as before, but facing in turn south, east, and north. Next, he circled rapidly four times round the pole, continuously blowing short

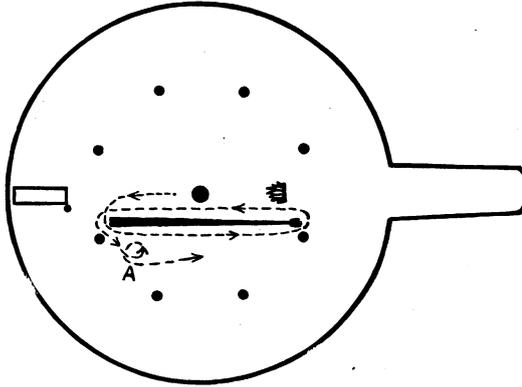


Figure 1

Ritualistic course of the director's assistant before removal of the long pole from the dance house.

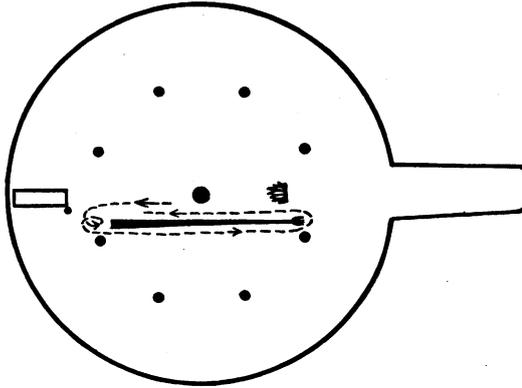


Figure 2

Second course about the pole.

blasts on his whistle, stopped at the foot of the pole, made a motion to pick it up, and turned completely around. This he also did four times (fig. 2). The fifth time, he actually picked the pole up, carried it out, circled four times about the hole prepared for it, stopped on the east, held the pole up toward the west, turned himself around, and repeated, extending the pole south, east, and northward. He now walked once

around the hole and pointed the base of the pole at it four times. The fifth time, he actually inserted the butt and tamped it firmly into place. He then joined the director, and the pair, facing the now erected pole, sang the following *tcupa* song for several minutes:

*Tcupa Song*⁹

The refrain, indicated in the text by "A," is:

tcenti'	weni'	tceenwe'r	tceenwe'r
down	arrive	down-come	down-come

A¹⁰

wile leluero mi

A

mato wole na

A

tcalal wole wole

tcalal wole na weni

A

wile leluero

A

tcalal wole wole Lami

A

mato wole wole Lami

A

wile leluero

A

mato wole Lami

A

tcalal wole Lami

A¹¹

Crying "hē," the pair sang a few more words of the song, and then called "he, he, he, he," bending themselves toward the pole four times.

This entire act of setting the pole is said to be a notification to *Katit* and his associates among the dead that the preparations had been made and that the Hesi was about to be celebrated as directed.

The director now resumed his singing in the same place, while his assistant entered the dance house for the rain fetish and the food fetish. The former was the above mentioned four-foot, wrapped pole, tufted with cloth and feathers; the latter, the cloth-covered cylinder. Feathers tied to projections at the top of this gave it somewhat the appearance of a high crown. The bringing out of these two objects was attended with much less ceremony. The assistant merely carried

⁹ Record 14-1506, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Composed by Salvador.

¹⁰ This refrain frequently occurs three or four times over in the song where "A" has been written only once. Many of the other phrases are repeated.

¹¹ Glossary: *wile*, healthy; *leluero*, make, become; *mi*, you; *mato*, your; *tcalal*, rose, pretty, beautiful; *wole*, floor of dance house; *weni*, arrive.

them on the roof of the dance house (blowing his double whistle continuously, while the director sang), and circled sixteen times about the roof around a diameter of twenty or twenty-five feet, holding the fetishes up in the four usual directions once after each four revolutions. However, he extended them toward the north four times instead of once. He then set the stick in the roof a little northwest of the center, slipped the cylinder over the stick on the roof, descended, still blowing his whistle, rejoined the director, and sang with him for a short time.

The director now went into the dance house and set about preparing his ceremonial cloak and certain dance paraphernalia.

Two assistants meanwhile set the three smaller poles at the ends of the feasting table, with the following procedure. All three poles were first leaned against the eastern end of the table and a sub-assistant, standing a short distance off, began to sing the *tcupa* song. He accompanied with a split stick instead of the cocoon rattle, but it is said that this substitution had no significance. The chief assistant passed counterclockwise four times around the table and poles, turned completely round, reversed his direction, circled about four times clockwise, and turned again, all the time blowing rapidly upon his double whistle. He then took the two poles which were to be set east of the table, and carried them four times around in each of the same directions, waving them four times over the table after each set of circlings. He then passed four times around the holes dug for them, turned himself around again, motioned four times as if to set them, turned again, then put them in, passed four times around both, turned once more, and finally took a position beside the singer and accompanied him for a minute or two. They then both cried "*yñ*," sang a few moments more, and ended with "*ha, ha, ha, ha*," bending toward the poles with each syllable.

The pole for the western end of the table was then taken up and set with the same cycle of movements and songs. This placing of the poles ended shortly after noon of May 5.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIRST DANCE

About two o'clock, the director went on the roof of the dance house and cried a prolonged and loud "*hē*" successively in the four ritual directions, waiting fifteen or twenty minutes between each call. This crying is said to have notified *Katit* as well as the Indians present that the preparations were complete. Returned to the dance house, the

director continued his work on the dance regalia until about sundown, when he ascended again to the roof and cried as before, this time with even greater force.

In the early part of the evening of May 5, the fire was lighted in the dance house and kept burning low. About nine o'clock the people of the village (the visitors having not yet arrived) assembled inside, while four men dressed themselves for the dance just outside the rear or western door of the house. Three of these men wore the *tūya* costume or "big-head," as it is currently called in English, and the fourth the *tcelītū*.

THE TUYA

The chief feature of the *tūya* is a skull cap or *ana*,¹² of shredded tule (*Lol*) into which are stuck a large number of long, slender willow rods, decorated with feathers. These plumes are called *tcalal*, "roses," and the whole head-dress, *saltū*.¹³ This is often three feet in diameter and half as high. The plumes mostly pointed forward, and those in front downward, hiding the face of the dancer. Frequently also, small twigs are stuck into the front of the tule cap so as to hang down directly in front of the face and complete its concealment. Among the plumes, four, called *kēwe*, of extra length and with special feathering, are forced down through the tule cap and into the wearer's head net or *tīcin*, thus serving to keep the entire head-dress in place. One or more skewers (*paka*) also hold the cap to the net. From another skewer at the back there hang a pair of long yellowhammer quill bands (*pīt*), almost reaching to the ground and floating out in the rapid motions of the dance. About the neck is suspended a small double whistle, *tōka*, usually made of wing bones of the chicken hawk.

The body of the *tūya* dancer is bare to the waist. Formerly, only a clout was worn below. At present, some article of civilized clothing is worn about the lower part of the body, with an improvised clout, such as a bandana handkerchief, tied over it. From the waist to the knee there is a kind of skirt made of thin cloth, on which are sewed variously shaped bits of cloth of different colors. This is a degenerate substitute for the feather skirt of the old days.

In ancient times, the exposed parts of the body were painted black with *sīka*,¹⁴ paint of charcoal or black mud. There were no definite

¹² "Head."

¹³ At least so informants stated. As *saltū* means "spirit" they were evidently naming the head-dress as the most distinctive feature of the impersonation.

¹⁴ Southeastern Wintun: *sīka*, grizzly bear; also the name of a ceremony among these people.

designs, whole areas such as the face or chest being colored, although narrow bands were sometimes drawn. This body decoration seems not to have had any special signification. At present very little painting is done.

A split stick rattle, *tcakatta*, in each hand completes the outfit of the *tūya* dancer, except that in certain cases the wrists are bound together with a stout cord. Only certain individuals have their wrists tied. The Indian explanation of the practice is that it prevents cramps due to the violence of the dancing.

In this first dance, two of the three *tūya* danced in their tule caps, the feathered rods for the head-dresses not having been completed in time.

THE TCELITU

The fourth of the company, the *tcelitū*, who was to start and stop the *tūya* dancers and direct their movements, wore neither the large head-dress nor the imitation feather skirt. He had on a down-filled head net (*pūte*) and toward the back of the top of the head a tuft of magpie feathers (*toiti*) fastened with skewers. Across his forehead he wore a "short" yellowhammer head band (*talūk*) and about his neck a necklace (*hīlī*). His body was bare to the waist. In his left hand he carried a bow, (*nūn*), and in his right a quiver (*koltcis*), containing arrows (*nūko*). At least he carried them constructively. In reality, a skin folded over a stick represented the quiver full of arrows, and another stick the bow.

THE FIRST TUYA DANCE

At about ten o'clock, everything being in readiness, the dancers blew their whistles and the director and others who were inside the dance house cried "*hē*" and commenced a song, to which the dancers stepped in time as they circled about the point where they had dressed outside the dance house. This circle was about fifty feet in diameter, and after four revolutions, all went to the front door, where they rattled their split sticks loudly and finally entered. They then marched, without dancing, four times around the floor, going as near as possible to the side posts which divided the space reserved for dancing from that occupied by the spectators (see fig. 3). They next marched once around the center pole alone, after which the three *tūya* went out into the tunnel of the front door and later, upon receiving a

signal from the *tcelitū*, danced back into the main part of the house, just as they would dance in during an ordinary dance, which is usually not preceded by the circling about the inside of the dance house.

The music for this dance was furnished by one or more air singers, called *koltū*, provided with cocoon rattles, several burden or chorus singers, called *tcokīwin*, each provided with a split stick rattle, and one or sometimes two drummers, called *tīnel*, who usually stamp with their bare feet upon the large hollowed section of a log used as a drum (*tcobok*). Sometimes the drummers use a large stick (*tok*), which they strike vertically upon the drum much as a workman uses a tamper. The positions about the drum of these three classes of musicians are shown in figure 3; the air singers are designated by two small triangles, the chorus singers by a number of small crosses, and the drummers by two squares upon the drum itself. The air singers carry the melody, accompanying it with the swishing sound of their cocoon rattles, while the chorus adds volume with a loud "he, he, he," accompanied by the clack of the split sticks upon the palms of the left hands.

The signal to begin is given by the *tcelitū* with a motion of his quiver. After the singing of what might be termed an introductory verse, he signals one of the *tūya* to dance. This the dancer does by suddenly whirling around from his position in the tunnel and moving very rapidly with high steps back and forth between the two side posts nearest the door (fig. 3, MN). He dances in a bent posture with his stick rattles extended before him and crossed lightly near their free ends. Thus, the lower half of the upper and the upper half of the lower rattle form the bases upon which the other halves of the rattles strike in their vibrations. They are shaken at frequent intervals, the dancer usually squatting very low as he rattles. As he reaches either end of his short course, he squats low and whirls suddenly about and dances rapidly to the opposite end. His long yellowhammer streamers are thus thrown out and float and flutter behind him as he moves from end to end. At the same time he shakes his head from side to side in time with the music to keep the long plumes of his head-dress trembling, especially when he rattles.

The *tcelitū* meanwhile stands at the back of the dance house, near the singers, and, when he deems it proper, gives the signal for the change in the dance. This he does by running up to the singers with his "quiver" high in the air and bringing it suddenly down with a loud and long "h̄yō," the chorus singers bowing and shouting in unison with him. The air singers, however, continue their melody uninterrupted, and the chorus is immediately taken up again. The

tcelitū then dances, with the high rapid step already mentioned, back and forth directly in front of the singers' space (fig. 3, xy) for a few minutes, after which he runs rapidly to the singers and shouts "hīyō" one or more times, bringing his quiver down and bending his body as before. Most frequently he gives this signal as "hīyō, hīyo, hīyō, hīyō," the last utterances being longest and most emphatic. Again the chorus singers shout in unison with him, all facing the air singers. The latter still continue their air and are again rejoined by the chorus as the *tcelitū* resumes his dance, which he does for some minutes over the same course as before. After this he moves out along the north side of the dance house (fig. 3, xz), beckoning with his quiver toward the *tūya*, who all this time has been dancing rapidly back and forth over his course between the two front side posts of the house.

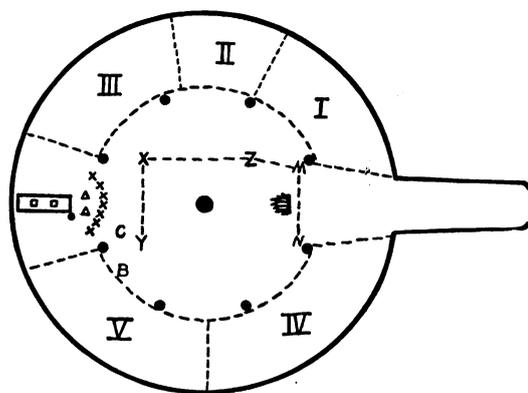


Figure 3

- I Wintun visitors from Indian creek and Little Stony creek.
- II Pomo visitors from Sulphur Bank.
- III Wintun visitors from Long valley and Cache Creek.
- IV Wintun visitors from the Sacramento river region.
- V Host villagers.
- Drummers.
- △ Air singers.
- × Burden singers.
- B Fire tender.
- C Moki delivering ceremonial speeches.

Now the *tūya* moves out along the north side of the dance house (fig. 3, mz), until he meets the *tcelitū* at z nearly opposite the fire. Here the two turn to face the fire and dance in place for a considerable time, this dance consisting simply of a rapid and forceful stamping of first one foot and then the other, the bodies being held erect. The chorus increases the volume of its shouts, and the drummer beats

harder. This loud music continues until suddenly the *tcelitū* wheels about and runs to the singers with the same motion and cry of *hīyō* as before, the *tūya* also wheeling about, running to his place between the two front posts, and resuming his former dance.

From this point on the same cycle is performed, except that upon this occasion the director finally dances to the south side and is met by the *tūya*, the two dancing there as before on the north side. Finally the *tcelitū* again wheels suddenly, and runs to the singers with his usual cry of "*hīyō*," and calls "*ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha,*" letting his voice fall gradually. This marks the end of this particular set of the dance.

The *tūya* immediately resumes his stooping posture in the entrance tunnel, from which presently he, or one of his fellows, may be called forth to dance the same set over again, or from which, if the dance is to be ended, he may be summoned, either by the *tcelitū*'s voice or by a tap on his back by the quiver, to return into the main part of the dance house.

In the case of the dance ending, he backs, in his stooping posture, into the house until he reaches a point between the first two side posts, when he straightens up and walks at a medium pace to a point north of the center post. Here he whirls, rattling, walks to the corresponding position south of the center pole, whirls and shakes his rattles again. Then he walks out the front door and, once outside, runs to the dressing place, which at night is near by, but in the day is in the brush far enough from the dance house to be out of sight. In passing out, he lays his rattles over his head to press down the long plumes, so that they may not catch on the sides of the tunnel and break off. In entering he also backs in, since the plumes project forward.

Only one of the *tūya* dances at a time, and usually each performs but once in any one dance, going through the above described set or cycle completely. This requires from fifteen to twenty minutes. If there are several *tūya*, the second is usually called by the *tcelitū* immediately after the first has returned to the tunnel, and so on until each of them has completed his set. When touched by the *tcelitū*'s quiver, they leave the dance house as described above, but the song is kept up.

As soon as the *tūya* have passed out, the chorus singers and the *tcelitū* dance out, with a short, high, sidewise step, in two lines, one along the north and one along the south side of the house. The step consists in simply lifting the feet very high and bringing them down with force, and in no case does such a step move a dancer more than

six or eight inches. Having finally reached a point opposite the fire and center post, the two lines, facing each other, dance in place for perhaps a minute or two, using the same step but without the side-wise progression. Suddenly, the *tcelitū* runs rapidly to the air singers, who are still singing in front of the drum, raises his quiver, and brings it down violently with his usual cry of "*hīyō*," to mark the ending. Throughout this dance, the air singers are accompanied only by a low "*he, he, he*," of the dancing chorus.

The *tcelitū* immediately runs back to his position in one or the other of the lines of dancing chorus singers and the dance continues. In fact, the chorus has not ceased dancing during the time he has been running back and forth. After another minute or two, they all start, at a signal from the *tcelitū*, to dance back sidewise toward the drum. When about half way, they suddenly break and run to a position in front of the air singers, where they all shout "*hīyō*," bending their bodies almost double. This marks the end of the dance and the music ceases. The *tcelitū* walks out leisurely.

At frequent intervals during all this dancing, the spectators cry a prolonged "*ō!*" to signify their approval of the dance. At the very end they all call "*ō!*" loudly at least once, and some repeat the cry several times, proportionate to their satisfaction.

One of these dances lasts usually from twenty minutes to half an hour or considerably more, its duration depending chiefly on the number of *tūya* participating. The motions are violent, and a dancer is usually more or less exhausted at the end of his set, and cannot continue throughout the night. At the present time, when the population is reduced, and dancers few, a considerable intermission between one dance and the next is therefore necessary. Anciently, however, several sets of *tūya*, each with its *tcelitū*, are said to have been available, so that as one set finished, another was ready to take its place. Thus the dance was kept up almost continuously throughout night and day, intermissions for feasts being ordinarily the only breaks in the continuity of the dances. The first *tūya* dance, on May 5, having three *tūya* and a *tcelitū*, lasted about an hour.

THE MOKI DANCE

At the conclusion of the *tūya*, the director put on his long cloak, thus becoming *mōkī* and, as the dancers left, commenced the first of his ceremonial orations. He danced four times around the inside of the house, constantly blowing his double whistle, and finally halted

near the rear of the dance house opposite the *koimērū* or fire tender. The positions of the two are shown in figure 3, c, b. Here he delivered a long speech in a high-keyed, squeaky voice, occasionally bowing forward or to the sides or settling slightly downward under his cloak, these motions being for emphasis and apparently in lieu of gestures with the hands, which are the ordinary Wintun means of emphasizing speech. This oration was intended for all, but was addressed to the fire tender, who frequently cried "ō!" in approval. On completing his oration, the *mōkī* circled around the inside of the dance house once and finally went to a place near the drum and removed his long cloak.

Mōkī, as the director is called when covered by his long cloak and speaking in his high voice, is the same term as is used to designate a class of clowns, who in certain parts of the ceremony amuse themselves and the spectators by mimicking dancers, singers, drummers, and spectators.

The *mōkī*, in modern times, represents a messenger from the keeper of the abode of the dead, delivering his messages and instructing the people in order that they may be provided with an abundance of food, the supply of which depends upon their conduct. He also addresses himself to the keeper of the dead and pleads, as it were, the cause of his people. It could not be found that he represented a mythical being.

After the *mōkī*'s first speech, an intermission of about an hour followed. The spectators engaged in conversation most of the time.

ORATION

Then, a number of visitors having arrived, the director rose and, this time without his *mōkī* cloak, delivered another oration—a speech of welcome. This he subsequently spoke into a phonograph, as follows:

*Tabat tē'wi, Speech of Welcome*¹⁵

ō Yes,	ō yes.	pīūrū ¹⁶ All	botī stay.					
pīūrū All		pīūrū all	bote stay,	colec listen	mīlet you		lomūle glad,	
apateū my uncles,		būm	maiin chief's wives or sisters,	būm	sektō chiefs,		ma	
īlainma my children.		pīūrū All	bote stay	ēū thus,	pī	bo	teū I	ēū thus,
								pī

¹⁵ Record 14-1518. Transcribed by the author and translated by Salvador and Frank Wright.

¹⁶ *Pīūrū*, said to be an esoteric term signifying "all," *awe* in ordinary speech.

bo	teū I	ēū thus,	bo	teū I	pī	ēū thus,	bo	
ete one	ma	tēwe word	būm	pampa two	ma	tēwe words.	sī	
milet You	lomūro glad	apateuba my uncles.	nat Me	hūn	lōiba girls			
nat me	hūn	pī	ma	wīn see	tara	dihūse Wake up,		
dihūse wake up,	teū I	dihuse wake up,	teū I	pītara	ōū yes	pītara		
bote stay,	ō yes	pītara	bote stay,	ēū this	bū	wēi Thanks!	ēū This	
rū	hūya feast	ēū this	keweLa house-in,	ēū this	waleLa floor-on	pīLa there in	pīūrū all	bote stay
pīūrū all	bote stay	colec listen	ūn	colec listen	ūn	manū my		
tēwe words.								
	poi Who	elēLaō none	sektun chiefs,	elēLaō none	maino chief's wives,			
elēLaō none	po who	pomī	let	pīūtī will do that	ū			
pūtī	ūrbe ¹⁷ Nothing	wīn people	liptūra dying,	wīn people	hatara going,			
pīLa there	pe	ēū	tī	pīLa there	wē things	ūn		
wē things	ūpiretī everybody,	ō yes	ūpiretī everybody,	ō yes	ūpiris everybody,			
a	pele we	ēū this	ra	wilak world	wilak world	Labe villages,		
eūLa then	nō go	ībo	ewīLa there	pūel ¹⁸ east	tībo	euLa there		
waiel ¹⁸ north	tībo	euLa there	nōmel ¹⁸ west	tībo	eūLa there	wor ¹⁸ south		
īna	bo	ōū	pīūtara Thus	botī be	wē things	ū		
pīūtara thus	botī be,	pīLa here	pele we	pīū thus	botī remain,	eū this		
bote remain	pele we	bo' stay,	elecū nothing	ūpūra (I) tell	milet you,	milet you		
lōmūra ¹⁹ glad,	milet you	cektū chiefs	ma	lōmūra glad,	milet you			
main chief's wives	ma	lōmūra glad,	milet you	seribama boys	lōmūra glad,			

¹⁷ *Urbe* means "nothing" in the Central Wintun dialect. Southwestern Wintun says *elec*.

¹⁸ *Pūi'be*, *waibe*, *nombe*, *woribe*, east, north, west, south.

¹⁹ *Lōmī*, "glad"; *ōūpiri boli* "glad" in ceremonial speech.

wē "thanks"	ūpīreti ²⁰ tell one another,	ō "Yes"	ūpīreti tell one another	ō "Yes"	ūpīri tell one another	
sa	pele We,	pele we	ōū "Yes"	pīrēsa say	ūpūto tell you,	ūpūra tell
momūpīreta ²¹ everybody,	ūpūra tell	cok ²²	pīlita	hetcama how many	pele we	
eūsai do that,	pīūsa do that,	pele we	pīūsa do that	piūla	pelepo we ourselves	
loitano girls themselves	ēlēLaū none	po who	seri boys	tana dance,	ēlēLaū none	pī these
temano dancers themselves	ēlēLaū none	pī this	yōhos ²³ announcer,	ne	ēlēLaū none	
pī this	Lūpī tūya	tono dancers	ēlēLaū ²⁴ none	pīūsa do that,	pele we	
pīūsa do that,	ōū yes	sa	pele we	ōū	petara	wē "thanks"
ūpītara call one another,	Ian "brothers, sisters"	ūpītara call one another,	tē "sons"	ūpītara call one another,	o yes	
tai "nephews, nieces,"	o yes	tai "nephews, nieces"	ūpīreti call one another,	ūpīreti call one another.		

SECOND TUYA DANCE

About midnight, came another *tūya* with his director, and a second dance was held in exactly the same manner as that previously described. This ended about half past twelve. The people remained to talk and amuse themselves in the dance house during the remainder of the night or, as they chose, went to their houses to rest before the ceremonies of the following day.

SECOND DAY

SWEAT DANCE

A little before sunrise, several men, particularly those who had participated in the dances of the night before, gathered in the dance house for the "fire" or "sweat" dance, called *tcūppa*. A very hot fire was built and the doors and smoke hole tightly closed. The

²⁰ *Upireti*, *upirita*, and *tīpirita* are said to be esoteric terms meaning "tell one another," *pīri* signifying "each other" in common speech.

²¹ *Momūpīrēta* is an esoteric term for *tcaket*, "everybody."

²² *Upūra* is a ceremonial term, while *cok* or *coko* has the same signification in common speech.

²³ The *yōhos* is the announcer who delivers an oration from the roof of the dance house as visitors approach the village.

²⁴ *I.e.*, the *yōhos* is not here, nor are the *tūya*.

dancers stripped themselves of all clothing except an improvised clout and danced slowly about the fire in time to the song and rattle of a single singer. Their motions were very slow and the feet raised but little off the ground. The body was swung from side to side considerably, so that at each step a different part of the body was presented to the heat. The dancers also bent over the fire first forward and then sidewise in such manner as to expose themselves to the heat, while each rubbed his body rapidly. At the end of perhaps twenty minutes, during which the temperature had grown intense, the dancers, now in profuse perspiration, rushed out and plunged into the creek. In plate 2, figure 1, two of these dancers are shown returning after their plunge.

RECEPTION OF VISITORS

Nothing else took place until the entry of the guests. These were Wintun from the Sacramento river, largely or wholly from Grimes; from three villages along North Cache creek and Long Valley creek; and from three villages along Indian and Little Stony creeks to the north. The only people other than Wintun who came, were a few Pomo from Sulphur Bank or East Lake, one of the arms of Clear Lake, who are more or less in touch with the Wintun living along North Cache creek.

All the visitors had arrived the evening before and made their camps at short distances from the village. Those from the west and north camped a short distance northwest of the village, while those coming from the Sacramento river, camped to the east.

About half past eight, the director went on the roof of the dance house and gave his long cry "*hē*" to the four cardinal points, to call in the visitors. It is doubtful whether this cry could have been heard, but at any rate in a short time those camped to the northwest came in sight. Meanwhile the "captain," as he is called, that is, the chief of the host village, the one who exercises whatever there are of gubernatorial functions, joined the director on the roof of the dance house. He took his station just below the smoke hole and sang for a considerable time, accompanying with two cocoon rattles. When the visitors from the northwest appeared, the director gave several of his long-drawn cries of "*hē*" toward them. The "captain" continued his song. On arriving at the outer edge of the settlement, the visitors halted, left their horses and traveling equipage, and advanced toward the dance house, the inhabitants of each visiting village forming in

single file, each group led by its captain who carried a present from them to the people of Let, the host village. These lines coming one after another formed a long continuous file of people with only slight breaks between the successive groups. The captain of the host village continued to sing on top of the dance house (pl. 2, fig. 2) until the head of the column neared the entrance, when he descended and led the way, still singing, into the dance house. He led the column contra-clockwise around the fire and center pole, and finally took up his station near the drum, the visitors going directly to the particular portion of the spectators' areas allotted them at the side of the dance house. As each column filed past the singing captain, its leader stopped and presented him with the gift brought by his people for those of the village giving the ceremony. These gifts the host captain placed near the wall behind the drum where most of the dancing paraphernalia were kept. The presents consisted usually of strings of beads, though sometimes ropes of native milkweed fiber or other objects were brought.

The last of the column was a very old shaman or dance leader from the village of *Tōktī* on North Cache creek. He came at some little distance from the rest and instead of going directly with his people to the side of the dance house, he moved, singing and rattling with cocoons, four times contra-clockwise around the inside of the house and then once in the same direction about the center pole alone, before seating himself with his companions.

At last, all visitors being seated, the host captain brought in a large basket full of acorn soup, *yīwit*, and a large cake of black meal, *hūle*, made from the seeds of one of the wild plants of the region. These he presented to the leader of the visitors, who saw to it that each one received his share.

The host captain then rejoined the director on the roof of the dance house, there to await the arrival of the people from the Sacramento river. Presently shouting was heard from behind a hill to the south-east, which was a signal that the visitors were on their way from that quarter, and also that they were dancing into the village instead of filing in like their predecessors. Upon hearing the shouts the director gave his usual long "*hē*," and the captain began to sing again. Presently a *tūya* dancer, followed at a little distance by his *tselītū*, came over the brow of the hill toward the village, followed at some distance by their captain and the remainder of the people walking slowly in single file.

TUYA DANCE

On arriving at the door, the two dancers conducted themselves as is customary. The *tūya* stopped before the door and shook his rattle several times. The *tcelitū*, however, did not immediately enter, as is the custom in an ordinary dance, but also waited without until the last of the visitors from his region had been led in and properly placed and provided with food by the captain of the host village. The singers then assembled before the drum, the *tcelitū* entered, and the dancing proceeded as on the evening before.

CLOWNS

With this dance was introduced a new feature. As the dance progressed, several men, apparently without any special dress or preparations, went about in the dance house speaking in a very high-keyed voice, similar to that of the director when he becomes *mōkī*. They made all manner of fun of the dancers, the singers, the drummers, and any of the spectators that they might single out. These clowns are also called *mōkī*. As above stated, however, it is maintained by the Indians that the office of these clowns is purely that of amusing the people.

The antics which these clowns perform are sometimes genuinely ludicrous. For instance, at one time later in the day, when the captain of the host village was singing as he marched slowly about the inside of the dance house, one of the clowns stationed himself before the captain and marched slowly backwards in step with him, while delivering joking remarks concerning the latter's ability to sing and the particular song he was voicing, and in general endeavoring to give a comical turn to what otherwise would have been a most solemn ceremony. This did not seem in the least to disconcert the singer, who continued to sing in his gravest manner; but his song was not received with the usual seriousness.

These clowns enter into ceremonies among the Pomo to the west, where they are called (by the Eastern Pomo), *katsa'tala*^{24a} and act much as here described, although the Hesi ceremony is not known. The Maidu clown is called *peheipe*.²⁵

The dance having been completed, the captain caused to be brought in several baskets of acorn soup and an abundance of other food, and all feasted in the dance house.

^{24a} Sergeants-at-arms, fine collectors, and clowns. Present series XII, 417-421, 1917.

²⁵ R. B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 286, 310, 315, 318, 1905.

ALLOTMENT OF DANCE HOUSE PLACES

The parts of the dance house (*zūt*) used for special purposes were in this ceremony as follows. The portion of the floor (*wole*) within the line of side posts was reserved for the dancers and singers, the singers occupying the space in the rear and immediately in front of the drum. Different dances were held in several parts of the floor as described previously and below. The space back of the side posts (*dorī*) was divided into five sections of varying sizes, each allotted to the spectators from a certain place. In figure 3 are shown these five divisions.

SINGING BY INVITED INDIVIDUALS

After the feast held in the dance house, the people gave themselves over to conversation and visiting for some time, while the clowns continued their business to the amusement of all. Finally the individual singing began, partly, at any rate, as a result of the clowns' actions. They are privileged to levy a fine on one who does anything contrary to custom, and especially upon those who show displeasure at their ridicule or refuse to do their bidding. When, therefore, they ask some one to sing, he must accede or pay a fine. It is said that nearly all individual singing is due to the commands of the clowns.

A singer provides himself with two short cocoon rattles which he uses one in each hand. They are grasped firmly between the thumb and first finger and are shaken by means of a movement of the wrist. Another movement is given them by means of the second, third and fourth fingers, which tap upon the handle as it projects down into the hand. The invited performer sings for some minutes wherever he happens to be sitting, then rises and walks to a position on the south side of the dancing area and a little back of the center pole (fig. 3, Y). Here he sings for some minutes, pacing back and forth in one direction or another over a short course. He then walks rapidly over to the point marked N in figure 3, where he again sings for some time; then goes to M and sings for some minutes; then to X, and finally to Y again, singing at each of these stations as described. He then either goes directly to his seat, or repeats the cycle. In any case, when he arrives at his seat he turns completely around before sitting down, after which he continues singing for some minutes.

While this is the commonest method, some singers go round and round the dancing area counter-clockwise, moving continually with a slow step and not stopping at the four points above mentioned.

When a singer begins, a loud shout goes up, each person in the house shouting "ō." When he arises, a still louder chorus of the same indication of approval is heard; and at frequent intervals during the song similar shouts from one or more people in different parts of the house are audible. On taking his seat, he is greeted again, and on the ending of his song, he receives the loudest applause of all.

Any one may be asked by the clowns to sing and is expected to respond. But in practice only men known to be proficient singers are called upon. Their songs are said to be private and more or less hereditary from father to son. It is asserted that such songs are not and were not formerly learned from the inhabitants of the ghost world or the keeper *Katit*, though the latter teaches other songs. The individual or private songs show some variety. Three examples follow. The words of these were written down during the ceremony, but it proved impossible to obtain phonographic records.

Individual Song 1

hōlūū dū hwēē	hōlūū dū hwīī (4 times)
watōhōōna wīlak mee	hōlō wee walēī hēme (4 times)
halūū dū hwēī	halūū dū hēha (4 times)
(Repeat)	

Individual Song 2

nanī ⁿ hē ⁿ hīla hīhye	nanī ⁿ hē ⁿ hīla hīhye (4 times)
wīnīī hīla hehye	wīnīī hīla hehye (4 times)
wīlēē hīla hehye	wīlēē hīla hehye (4 times)
wai wai hīla wēwē	wai wai hīla wēwē (4 times)
(Repeat)	

Individual Song 3

haiīē walēihō	haiīē walēihō (twice)
wīhwala walēihō	
haiīē walēihō	haiīē walēihō (twice)
(Repeat)	

It will be seen that these songs are simple. Some consist merely of a phrase or two repeated a definite number of times, usually four. Often this set is repeated over and over again throughout the song. In more elaborate songs the first set or "stanza" of a four-times repeated phrase is followed by another with more or less different words, and so through perhaps three or four stanzas, after which the whole group of stanzas is indefinitely reiterated, sometimes for half an hour or longer. It is maintained that the words have no meaning, though now and then a word, such as *wīlak*, "world," is recognizable. It is possible that more of these words may at one time have had meanings, but that, like parts of the speeches of the *mōkī*, they are esoteric or archaic. In the speeches, however, only some of the terms are of this

nature, and the bulk of the orations is intelligible to the Wintun public. However, it is certain that in both songs and speeches some at least of the terms used are esoteric and have meanings definitely known to the initiated.

VISITORS' TUYA DANCE

About half past eleven, two of the visitors from the Sacramento river, a *tūya* and a *tcelitū*, performed the second dance of the day, which lasted some twenty minutes.

FEAST ORATION

After this, the midday feast was served at the long table under the trees near the dance house (pl. 1, fig. 4). When the meal was ready, the director made a long speech of welcome exhorting the visitors to eat heartily and enjoy themselves.

*Ba Tcema, Food Speech*²⁸

o'u, yes
 we'reti (3), come on!
 we'reti, come on!
 lo'iba we'reti (2), girls come on!
 se'riba we'reti, youths come on!
 i'lain we'reti, children come on!
 ba'La huya'lis (2), at eating assembled
 e'u ba'La, at this eating
 e'u ba'La huya'lis, at this eating assembled
 e'u kori'La huya'lis, at this *pinole* assembled
 e'u yiwi'La huya'lis, at this acorn-soup assembled
 e'u tipa'La huya'lis, at this acorn-bread assembled
 mile' o'upi'ni, you say yes to one another
 o'upini (2), say yes to one another
 pi'La piu'roti, will be doing that
 ta'i upi'reti, will (call one another) sister's child (or grandchild)
 pi ba'La, at eating that
 wile ba'La huya'ro, at healthy eating assemble
 pi ba'La huya'ro e'u ba'La huya'ro, at eating that assemble, at eating this
 assemble
 e'u tea'lal ba'La huya'ro, at this pleasant eating assemble
 e'u wile ba'La huya'ro, at this healthy eating assemble
 pi'La o'u u'pitaro ba'ti, at that say yes to one another's eating
 o'u pitaro ba'ti (2), say yes to one another's eating
 we yu'pini, rejoice at one another
 we a'patcu u'ro, rejoice: "my mother's brother"

²⁸ Record 14-1498, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Each line of the text represents a phrase or separate ejaculation. A number indicates that the phrase is repeated so many times.

we ta'tcu u'ro, rejoice: "my father"
 we La'ntcu u'ro, rejoice: "my younger brother"
 upu'taro ba'ti, say thus to one another's eating
 weyu'ti, rejoice
 mile't ba'mahem, (at) him who causes you to eat
 milet do'ihem, (at) him who gives to you
 ba do'ihem, (at) him who gives food
 e kori' do'ihem, who gives this *pinole*
 e tipa' do'ihem, who gives this acorn-bread
 pi'La lomu'ti, at that be glad
 pi'La lomu'ti pi, at that be glad
 piu weyu'ro, so rejoice
 mile't weyu'ro, rejoice for you
 ta'iteu ba'uro, my sister's children (eat?)
 La'ntcu ba'uro, my younger brothers (eat?)
 pi'uro ba'ti (3), doing so eat
 tap mile' ila'in, you children
 mile' lo'iba, mile seri'ba, you girls, you youths
 mile' ila'in, you children
 pi'uro ba'ti, so eat
 pi'uro katu'les, so satisfied
 katu'ro weyu'les, satisfied rejoice
 katu'ro weyu'les, satisfied say yes
 u'no te'we, his word
 u'no te'we u'no so'ko, his word, his teaching
 u'i mile't sokoheh, he who teaches you
 pi'uro ba'ti (4), so eat!

The feasting was in the following order. First were served the visitors who arrived earliest at the village, that is, as many as could be seated at the table, the remainder eating at the second table. Third came the visitors who had arrived later, and finally, at the fourth and last table, the people of the home village ate. The food was all prepared by the women of the village in their houses and was brought to the table by three or four men. In general, this serving of food was under the direction of the fire tender of the dance house.

FURTHER TUYA, SWEAT, AND MOKI DANCES

Immediately after this meal, which ended about two o'clock, a third *tūya* was held in the dance house, along the same lines as those previously described. Later, at half past five, a fourth dance was made. An evening feast with attendant speeches began at six.

After this meal, a hot fire was again built in the dance house and three men, who had participated in the dancing during the day, danced another fire or sweat dance to the music of the two singers. Toward the last of their dance, the *mōkī* danced once around the floor, then

outdoors, and several times around the high pole in front of the dance house, the while blowing his whistle constantly. Soon after he left the dance house for his dance about the pole, the three dancers ran out to the creek, swam for a few minutes, and returned to the house.

About ten o'clock, the first *tūya* dance of the night was held, being followed before morning by several others, all about the same as those described.

THIRD DAY

MORNING DANCES

About five in the morning another sweat dance was held, immediately after which the *mōkī* danced, as before, slowly about the dancing floor and out the front door, and then performed a ceremony about the high pole (see pl. 1, fig. 3). He danced about the pole several times in a sort of shambling trot, finally coming to a halt on its east, that is, on the side away from the dance house, facing this. Here he settled slowly down, waving his cloak with his hands, until he had come to a squatting position, where he remained for some seconds blowing his whistle. He then slowly arose with the same fluttering of his cloak, circled the pole, and again settled down, this time facing toward the south, he being on the north side of the pole. This circling and facing were repeated in the usual sequence, that is, east and finally north. He next danced over to the table, around which he danced four times (pl. 1, fig. 4), after which he danced about the poles at the east end of the table. Finally, coming to a stop to the east of the poles, and facing them and the table, he settled down as he had done about the high pole in front of the dance house. He then danced around to the west end of the table and once around the high pole there, stopping to face it from the west. Here he again settled, after which he danced back into the dance house, passing on the north side, or contra-clockwise along the dancing floor, to the drum where, as usual, he removed his cloak.

About half past six, breakfast was served at the long table in the usual manner after another speech by the director.

SPEECHES OF INSTRUCTION

About half past nine, the director took up a position in front of the dance house and near the high pole and here delivered a long oration. This oration, as also those that followed during the afternoon, exhorted the people to live properly and in accordance with the instructions

recently received by the director from *Katit*. These instructions were to recount to them the history of the world and outline the reasons why it was in its present condition; and also to tell its future and the ultimate destiny of mankind.

From a summary of the ideas expressed in these speeches, as rendered at the time by one of the Indian auditors, it appears that the conceptions of the Wintun in respect to the world are as follows.²⁷ The world originally had a different form, but in those days there were comparatively few people. Later, as its population increased, the earth was stretched to accommodate the people and for a time all things went satisfactorily. Again the population grew, the world became crowded, and the earth was stretched; thus it has up to the present time been enlarged four times. The last time its form was materially changed and the present mountains were created. There is to be a fifth and final upheaval and stretching, which will bring these mountains down and render the world a level plain as is the Wintun abode of the dead. To be sure, the Wintun population has, since the coming of the whites, greatly decreased, but the influx of Americans has greatly increased the population of the region, so that the country is very crowded at present, and it is expected that this final great world change may come at any time. When the earthquake of April 18, 1906, was felt, it was considered part of this final upheaval, and especially was the belief confirmed when the Wintun saw the effect on upper Cache creek, which drains Clear lake. Here a body of earth, large enough to block the passage of the stream, slid into the canyon, backing the water up into the lake itself. After a time the pressure broke through the dam and carried the débris down in a great flood through Capay and the other valleys along the lower course of Cache creek. The stream lies but a few miles to the south of the Cortina valley village and the flood had occurred only three days before, so that considerable excitement was still running among the Indians at the time the director was preaching to them.

Another feature which had recently inspired the Wintun of the region with awe was the immense mass of smoke which was visible to them from the San Francisco fire. Some said that at night even the glare of the fire could be seen. By many it was feared that this was the final great world fire, which, in common with the other Indians of this part of California, they anticipated.

²⁷ A short note in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xix, 324-325, 1906, gives the substance of the following account.

OTHER MORNING DANCE

About eleven o'clock, four of the Sacramento valley men danced again. As before stated, such dancers always put on their costumes out of sight of the spectators. They usually approach dancing in single file (see pl. 2, figs. 3 and 4). Each *tūya* upon reaching the door squats in front of it and shakes his two split stick rattles. The *tcelitū* goes in immediately on his arrival, and when all is ready calls in the *tūya*.

AFTERNOON DANCES

The midday feast began a little after noon, as usual preceded by a speech from the director. The next dance was made by four men about three o'clock in the afternoon.

This being the last time that the particular dancers participating were to appear, a purification ceremony immediately followed the dance of each.

As each dancer took up his position in the tunnel of the dance house after completing his set of the dance, the fire tender went to him and, seizing his wrists, lifted his hands and his rattles high above his head. He then looked the dancer carefully over from head to foot and finally, letting go his hands, allowed the dancer's arms and rattles to fall to his sides, after which the dancer replaced his rattles in their former crossed position. The fire tender then, commencing at the dancer's feet, blew several times with much force on various parts of the dancer's body, waving his hand upward with each blast, and ending with a long blast directed so as to spread his breath over the whole body of the dancer. He then passed around to his back and again blew in the same manner. Before performing this ceremony, the fire tender chewed *mītcil*, a parasitic plant found on oaks, probably mistletoe as nearly as can be judged from its description. His breath being laden with the sweet-scented *mītcil*, served to expel from the dancer's body any spirit or evil effect of a spirit, *tcoyī*, which if unremoved would cause illness. Having blown upon a dancer in this manner, the fire tender stepped back to a position directly in front of the fire, that is, between the fire and the front door, and there raised his right hand high above his head and gave a long cry of "hē," dropping his hand and lowering his voice slowly toward the last. This completed the purification ceremony and the dancer was at liberty to depart.

Immediately after this dance and the purification of each of the

dancers, the director again delivered an oration, the latter part of which was cut short by the arrival of another set of dancers about four o'clock. Their dance was the same as the preceding, and was followed by the same purification ceremony. After they had departed, the director proceeded with his oration for perhaps half an hour longer.

ORATIONS

Several of the formal speeches delivered by the director on this afternoon as well as at other times during the Hesi were subsequently recorded as follows:

*Bole Ho, "Ghost Yes" Oration*²⁸

hō yes,	hō yes,	ūrabōte believe				
hō yes,	ūrabōte believe,	hō yes,	ūrabōte believe,	hō yes,	ūrabōte believe	
ūyōrihem what taught		ūyōrihem what taught				
pīūLa here	pele we	ōū yes	piribūm tell,	pīū'La here	pele we	ōū yes
	piribūm tell					
wilak world	wilak world	Lapa all-over	tēwe speech	doibūm giving		
teama white	win people	mūtū to hear	kabec waiting,	tcama white	win people	
	mūtū to hear	kabec waiting				
tōpī all	ma	paLēta save	tōpī all	bōle ²⁹ ghosts	ma	
tōpī all	pile they	winībūm seeing,	tōpī all	pile they	winībūm seeing	
pilēi they	manan just like	pile they	tonobūm dance,	pilēi they	manan just like	
	pile they	tonobūm dance				
ōū yes	La	pilē they	imanatibūm will be the same,	ōū yes	La	pilē they
	imanatibūm will be the same					
pe	him (they will not assist)	bapa	oubūm			

²⁸ Record 14-1495.²⁹ So literally, but translated as "dreamer," "doctor," or "dance director."

pe	him (they will not do it)	ba	ilē	bûm		
pele we	wīnihem seers					
elēl believe	nanta not	harabûm will go,	elēl believe	nanta not	harabûm will go	
ūs this	pelet to us,	ūs this	pelet to us			
pele our	tan father,	pele our	tan father			
piūLa sometimes	pele we	ūleLa them	ka (what is the matter)	pēibûm		
piūLa sometimes	pele we	ūleLa them	ka (what is the matter)	pēibûm		
yapai dance	mo	dōitibûm will give,	yapai dance	mo	dōitibûm will give	
tcama white	win people	ma	dōitibûm will give	laiūkarū good	wīlak world	
	laiūkahem goodness					
oū yes	hem (people)	oūbûm yes,	oū yes	hem (people)	oūbûm yes	
elēl not	mūite believe					
nantēwēic my speech,		nantēwēic my speech				
ūs this	pelet to us	a	ūs this	pelet to us	a	
piūrū all	wīlak world	wīlak world	La on	didī villages	La in,	piūrū all
	wīlak world	wīlak world	La on	didī villages	La in	
tēwē speech	toyū stopped	werebem coming,	tēwē speech	toyū stopped	werebem coming	
piū what	Laba doing	bōle ²⁹ ghost	tcama white	win people	ma	yapai dance
	ma	dōitibûm ³⁰ will give;	pēi show	manan just like	ton dance	mato your,
	pēi show	manan just like	yapai dance	matō your,	pī that	ma
	ūlet them	doiūra give	bebempū there			
piū what	Laba doing?					

²⁹ So literally, but translated as "dreamer," "doctor," or "dance director."

³⁰ The speaker was asking a colleague or rival, Bulkas by name, from the Clear Lake region, what he intended to do, whether he intended to give another dance as the white people do.

teanaman Chinaman	titecabûm will know,	teanaman Chinaman	titecabûm will know				
wilakno world's	Lûturu trouble	werit coming					
pila They	titecatibûm will know,	teanaman Chinaman	titecatibûm will know,	teama white	win people	win people	
	win people	Leksûm later	titecatibûm will know,	teama white			
	titecatibûm will know						
pal now	pile we	têwê speech,	titeca-mata let them know	dôibûm will give	tono dance		
	dôibûm will give	yalûmas leave	parûrû crowded	win people	win people	antara many	
	pîurû for that	teû I	Lahis look				
wilak world	teû I	Lahis look,	wilak world	teû I	Lahis look,	wilak world	
	teû I	Lahis look.					
teû I	mit you	pîuLa sometimes	teû I	mit you	mûtmaton will tell,		
	cômara let know	mit you	heLa somewhere	tepitî go out	ôlel above,	pitc wilak world	
	henpa find	La in	ôlel above	tepitî go,	piLa there	heLa somewhere	
	henpa find	La in	henpa find	La in	waiyel north	henpa find	
	La in	nôwîna west	henpa find,	tî	pîunpî thus	teû I	
	Lahîbo look,	pîun thus	teû I	Lahic look,	ûn	pîuLai there	
	pinai do this	wilak world	boteitî ³¹ break down				
nai I	henpa find	La in	ûn	nai I	henpa find	La in	ûn
wilak world	boteitî break down						
ûnica so said							

Free Paraphrase

You must believe what he has taught you. Here we should be glad. Give this speech to all the people, to the white people also for they are awaiting it. Every one is to be saved. All the dreamers see that. Just like them (the ghosts) we dance.

³¹ "When I do this the world will end."

Some people will not assist, some will not do as they are instructed. Though our father (*i. e.*, ruler of the ghost world) told us this, we see that some people do not believe it. Sometimes we ask what the reason is.

We must give a dance. We will give it for the white people also. It is for the betterment of the world and for the improvement of the people.

Yes, some people do not believe my speech, but this is for us, for all the world and for all the villages.

What are you going to do? Do you intend to give another dance as the white people do?

The Chinese know that the world is coming to an end, and the white people will realize this after a while.

Now let us speak that all may know. Let us dance. The world is crowded with people. That is the reason for my search. I call you all to let you know that I am going away in search of the future world. I do not know just where it is, but know I shall find it somewhere above, either in the north or in the west. That is the way I shall look about and, when I do, the world will come to an end.

That is what I (the seer) said.

*Another Bole Ho Oration*³²

o'u yes					
so'les listen	bo'ti stay,	so'les listen	bo'ti stay,	so'les listen	bo'ti stay
pele't us	ti'ptarobe' telling		pele't us		
mo'mhurobe' telling us		ete'ma one	te'we word		
ete'ma one	te'we word				
tiple teach	mile't you,	tiple teach	mile't you		
na't me	yo'rihem who tells				
na't me	tipi'hem who teaches				
pi'ma that	mile't you	mo'mhule (I) shall tell			
pa'l now	pele't we	pisi'n with that	li'ptitobe' shall die		
pi'sin with that	pale'i we	hara'tobe shall go			
pisi'n with that	pele'i we	tepi'tobe shall come out			
pi'ubem thus	eu'bem being so				
piu'La when	upu thus	pele' we			

³² Record 14-1510. A. L. Kroeber transcriber, Tom Odock translator.

wila'k world	upu thus	pele' we	tono'Le dance					
wi'lak world		noitono'La when dance	upu thus		pele' we			
piun thus	tce'ltaro continue,	piun thus	tce'ltaro continue					
piun thus	tce'ltaro continue,	piun thus	tce'ltaro continue					
lipti'tibom all will die,		lipti'tibom all will die						
u-ni'sa that told,	u'-nisa that told		na't me					
na't me	upu'-nisa thus told		mo'meLa (tell)					
na't me	upu'-nisa thus told,	nati me	pi'La there		piu'nisa thus told			
pi'uro thus	e'unputa'n jumping,		e'unputa'n jumping					
e'unputa'n jumping,		e'unputa'n jumping						
tce'ltaro continue	pi this	pele we	pi'ura thus					
ha'wir quick		peliptu'nica die said						
pi that	pi'mana that		teupa'ro (we) finished,		pi'mana that		teupa'ro (we) finished	
e that	wilak world	in ,	e that	wilak world	in ,	e that	wilak world	in
pisi'nupu that is what		pele we	li'ptibom die		li'ptibom die			
eun that	putu'ruteu I jumped		teu I					
nati me	piLa there							
emus four times		tcanda'kumanisa make step told						
emus four times	na me	tcandakumanisa make step told,		piura thus		nat me		
tcanda'ku step		u'nisa told,	tcanda'ku step		u'nisa told			
pius that	teu I	tcanda'k step		wi'nisa saw				
pal	nai	pi'uLa when	pi'uLa when	teu I	lu'mnisa died			
pi'uLa when	teu I	ui	upuLa (he) said	lu'mnisa died	pi'uLa when		nai	
piu'ra thus	teibo' was,	piu'ra thus	teibo' was	piu'ra thus	teibo' was			

tepu'nisa (I) came out					
wei ³³ Thanks,	piu' that	ma	nat me	wi'nit get up	
winit get up	pi'uro thus	hetca's often		yuku'robe' awaken	
uni'sa told	nat me				
ba'kuma'nisa made (me) count (it),		ba'kuma'nisa made (me) count (it)			
pi'ut that	nai I				
emus four times	nai I	lu'mitaro should die	be'nisa told	uro that	be'nisa told
o'u yes	piu'-nisa thus it was,	piu'-nisa thus it was,	piu'-nisa thus it was		

*A Third Bole Ho Oration*³⁴

ō, ō! cō'lec bō'ti³⁵ (3). nai nai wini³⁶ (2), nat yori³⁷ (2), pima mīlet momhūle,³⁸ pima mīlet tiple, piūLa mīleupū. Wilak³⁹ wilakLa (2), oūbūm⁴⁰(2). pila pelet laiukon⁴¹ tiabūm,⁴² ō pima teū ōū'nisa, laiūk tepī, soro⁴³ laiūk mo'mi, soro ōū'nisa, piū manat, ēwīsin mīle (2), piū weresūn.⁴⁴ ēwīsin mīt pi'ūmatō ēū ti hitamatō⁴⁵ (2). teī teū mara poiīma mīle nisa. pima nat momī sa teī'tei⁴⁶ (2), pi'ma teū (2), pima dūkamaru,⁴⁷ pima Lūtūmara,⁴⁷ būnica ūrteū mū te'ū, mū teū būnica pi'ū Lanai. pi la'iūk ic. pi la'iūk ic ūn, piēin pi mīlē weretī. piēin pi mīle piūti piū'La (3), poiīma mīlē'nica.⁴⁸ ūi teiteūmūrū⁴⁹ (2), (pi) pi la'iūk ic ūn (2), piūLa teur Lo'tūmara⁵⁰ būnica, teū teūma būnica (2), pi mana teō ūnica ēū mīle (2). were ta bē ic eū ūnica, aihikūsai⁵¹ ūnica. piūLa teū teū

³³ An exclamation of pleasure.

³⁴ Phonograph record 14-1513. Numbers in parentheses in the text indicate the number of times that the immediately preceding phrase—that is the group of words following the last mark of punctuation—is repeated.

³⁵ Listen!

³⁶ What I see.

³⁷ Teach me.

³⁸ I shall tell you that.

³⁹ World

⁴⁰ Believe.

⁴¹ Good

⁴² Call.

⁴³ "Tell good thought."

⁴⁴ Come, arrive.

⁴⁵ "When you do this, let him ask him."

⁴⁶ He that told me choked.

⁴⁷ "That wrong."

⁴⁸ "Would not let me mark (or write)."

⁴⁹ All choked.

⁵⁰ Bad.

⁵¹ "How is that?"

mülenica⁵² (2). nai nai piū, piū nai ōū'nica (2), piūmas ur ōūnica. pi pi tewihem⁵³ piū mateōūn laiukara bes ūnisa mile pi cin wereLa wetūra⁵⁴ bec ūnica, picin mile were laiukara bec piūLa bōnica tēu muūr. piūLa piū mas ūr nat win tara (2). el nai piūra dukamara⁵⁵ bo ou latūmas mī pīmami poros ūnica pi piūra yopnanica.⁵⁶ piūLa kaL Lamana⁵⁷ ūtīpi'hem⁵⁸ (2), kaL Lamana⁵⁷ ūpurbenica.

*A Fourth Bole Ho Oration*⁵⁹

ō, ō! mile pi (2), mile pi tepibo⁶⁰ (2), mile pi hele har milē be (2). wilak wilak Labon,⁶¹ didi⁶² Labon, sūn pi meli tepibo, sūn pi meli werebo, sūn pi mile henebon, piūLa mile mile, elelebosa⁶³ (2), mile pima mile, tepī yapai⁶⁴ win⁶⁵ lūmū⁶⁶ La pin (2), heLa hara⁶⁷ pe, lum tar pele bobatin termūr.⁶⁸ teelmū⁶⁹ ūr ūbasa mile, pi mile yōma⁷⁰ les mile pelebnan males topi mile hene ē wilak La ēū dīhī⁶² La teūn pi mile henē bō teūn pi mile tepibō yōūmelēbe,⁷⁰ hēna pūina⁷¹ harmelēbe, worna⁷² harmelēbe (2), teūn (ic) melē hene⁷³ cok (ic) (2), pi pi eūra hene bo, eūle pile ic ūn, eūle pi pile ūn pabe⁷⁴ tewe⁷⁵ ōūra ūn. eūle piū La tewe, mūtūhem⁷⁶ e e pabe tewe. nai tewe tcaihun⁷⁷ behem⁷⁸ (2). pi eū henes, ūrū tepū maneca, teū mōmūn La melet eū matōūn. sūn laiūkara tepū matōūn (2). teū piū boūn piLa mile piū bosaūn ūpun mile tewe bo sa elele, bo sa mile, pi pi tewe, hene bosa. male piūhem ūn sūnpī⁷⁹ (2), henebo ūn sūnpī (2), werebo ūn sūnpī, mile tepibo ūn, wilak wilak La bo ūn, didi La bo ūn, piū La mile mile ūpūbosa malē tewe. pi ma bome bosa. mile ūpūbosa nai mūtū La ūn. mile nai mūtū La (2). nai sori⁸⁰ La tepī pabo, win lūmu La harabo, hetūka harabo, bobo pele eū kir⁸¹ La ūn, pi La mile bobo ūnisa, ūnī mile teuteubosa⁷⁵ ūn, ūnī mile tewibosa.⁷⁵

⁵² Then I said nothing, he said.

⁵³ Spoke.

⁵⁴ Is right.

⁵⁵ Inside me thus is bad.

⁵⁶ Took it off.

⁵⁷ Made a cracking noise.

⁵⁸ That is what he learned.

⁵⁹ Record 14-1514.

⁶⁰ Emerge, leave.

⁶¹ Everywhere.

⁶² Villages.

⁶³ Doubt, disbelieve.

⁶⁴ Dance.

⁶⁵ People.

⁶⁶ Dead.

⁶⁷ Go.

⁶⁸ "We are all dead."

⁶⁹ Travel.

⁷⁰ Lost; melēbe, never.

⁷¹ East.

⁷² South.

⁷³ Come.

⁷⁴ New(?)

⁷⁵ Word, speak, talk.

⁷⁶ Listeners, listening, hearing.

⁷⁷ Sorry.

⁷⁸ Being, who are.

⁷⁹ Here.

⁸⁰ Listen.

⁸¹ Earth.

These speeches are to a certain extent traditional, but partly made up on the spur of the moment by the director. They are therefore subject to a greater or lesser variation from year to year and cannot be considered as strictly ritualistic and fixed in their terminology. The speeches here recorded must therefore be considered to evince some personal element, although the various orations of the successive ceremonies are without doubt in a fair measure the same verbatim, and certainly contain similar substance and sentiment. While they include certain esoteric elements, they consist more largely of words which are of the common speech, so that the people are able to understand their general tenor.

FINAL DANCE

The last dance of the ceremony was made about ten o'clock in the evening by four of the men from the host village. Toward the end of this dance, the *mōkī* appeared and participated in the same manner as in the initial dance on the opening night.

At the end of this dance all three of the *tūya* or big-head dancers were purified by the fire tender in the same manner as in the afternoon. This dance and the *mōkī* ceremony connected with it marked the end of the Hesi proper.

Early in the evening a grass game, *kosī*, was started outside the dance house and this continued throughout the night, not even being stopped during the above mentioned final dance.

FOURTH DAY

At about the usual eating time on the morning of the fourth day, a final feast was served at the long table near the dance house, after which the people all assembled in the dance house, each group taking its particular allotted place in the space for spectators. The host captain again brought in baskets of acorn soup and cakes of black meal and all were served in the same manner as on their arrival four days before.

FAREWELL ORATION

During this feast the director delivered a farewell oration, including a song, as follows:

*Bole Ho and Song*⁸²

hanise teū nat ku tiyamti⁸³ (3). mūtmatū⁸⁴ tēwī (2), cōmatū⁸⁴ nat iyamti,⁸⁵ nat ku tiyamti. piūLa tea hanicai,⁸⁶ piūLa bonica, t'almū⁸⁷ pūtatara⁸⁸ hamtara⁸⁹ bonica. pi La ōū teū mit tiyasa⁹⁰ (2). mūmata⁸⁴ sorūmata⁹¹ nai piūn Lakalasok⁹² (2). eū wilak ūn, eū toL,⁹³ pīrō,⁹⁴ matapan,⁹⁵ matapan, ōlel⁹⁶ bobon, pantiaLa⁹⁷ bobon, ponoLta⁹⁸ ic ūn, ponoLta ic matapan, matapan, teūn eteta⁹⁹ bos olelbe⁹⁶ bi ponoLta bebe ūn wilak teū teū Lahitic¹⁰⁰ ūn Lahic¹⁰⁰ teū wilak hela henpato,¹⁰¹ helapa tcenpati,¹⁰¹ eūn teeltara¹⁰² win¹⁰³ paros,¹⁰⁴ piūra win paros, na nanū dīhī,¹⁰⁵ nanū dīhī nat.

woainī woainī (9)
 eū wilak¹⁰⁶ woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (2)
 eū mēmēm¹⁰⁷ woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (2)
 eū toL¹⁰⁸ woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (3)
 eū bulī¹⁰⁹ woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (1)
 eū mēmēm woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (2)
 eī kapai¹¹⁰ woainī (2)

⁸² Records 14-1515 to 1517; numbers have the same meaning as in the two last speeches.

⁸³ "Went I me called."

⁸⁴ Hear.

⁸⁵ Called.

⁸⁶ Went.

⁸⁷ Naked.

⁸⁸ Toward the east.

⁸⁹ "Toward the sitting."

⁹⁰ "Was glad I called you."

⁹¹ Listen.

⁹² Play, dance.

⁹³ Mountain.

⁹⁴ "All."

⁹⁵ Your mother's brother (or grandfather).

⁹⁶ Above.

⁹⁷ High up.

⁹⁸ Three

⁹⁹ One.

¹⁰⁰ Seek.

¹⁰¹ Find.

¹⁰² Travel toward.

¹⁰³ People.

¹⁰⁴ Crowded.

¹⁰⁵ My villages, settlements.

¹⁰⁶ This world.

¹⁰⁷ These waters.

¹⁰⁸ These mountains.

¹⁰⁹ These foothills.

¹¹⁰ These streams.

woainī woainī (1)
 eī mēmēm woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (2)
 eī tūki¹¹¹ woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (1)
 eī mēmēm woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (2)
 eī kodoi¹¹² woainī (2)
 eī mēmēm woainī (2)
 woainī woainī (4)

eū pī bō teū tē¹¹³ (2), muhīma Le'tara¹¹⁴ (2), eū pī bō teū tē (2), teūmūpi¹¹⁵ teū eū bō eū pī bō teū nai Lakala La,¹¹⁶ e nai toL Lakala La, e nai wīlak Lakala La, e nai tūki Lakala La, e kodoi Lakala La.

eūn pī teū tē (2). Lakala bon eūn pī teū, Lakala bon. eura polopūra¹¹⁷ (2), polopūra (2), e teōlic¹¹⁸ bo teōlic bo, eūra pī teū were bo. tūn¹¹⁹ ūt poltūra¹¹⁷ eūnīsa, tūn ūt poltūra. eūrū be ūt pīLa pīLaō ūt kaLaptonīsa.¹²⁰ pīLaō hatara¹²¹ hatara hatara hatara. mobtara¹²² nat boni¹²³ teū teū, pīnīsa.¹²⁴ eū pī bō teū ūnīsa¹²⁵ (2), nai Lakala La.¹¹⁶ toL pī teū Lakala bō (2), eū mem Lakala bo, eu mem in pī teū Lakala bo, ūnīsa.

Free Paraphrase

My father called me and spoke to me. He called me to hear his counsel. I went above and found him naked and seated facing the east. He was glad to see me, and said: "I called you that you might hear what I have to say. This world and these mountains are your maternal uncles. There are three worlds above. There are three there, three of your uncles. There are already three worlds above, but I shall somewhere find a place where people may be sent. The world is crowded enough."

The song follows. "My father's" speech to the dreamer then continues: "I do thus (*i. e.*, sing this) when I look for another place (*i. e.*, world). I never talk bad. I do this when I play, when I play on these mountains, when I play on this world, when I play on these trees, when I play on these rocks. I do this, my son. I swell up thus (illustrating) and swell and swell and swell. I shall show this way to you. This is the way I come." His body was wholly swelled. He was like that for a while there. Then he became normal in the

¹¹¹ These woods, trees.

¹¹² These rocks.

¹¹³ Son.

¹¹⁴ "Song stop."

¹¹⁵ Not speak, say nothing.

¹¹⁶ Play up on, when play.

¹¹⁷ Swelled.

¹¹⁸ Stay.

¹¹⁹ Body.

¹²⁰ Said, it is well.

¹²¹ Gone.

¹²² Good.

¹²³ Stay.

¹²⁴ Said this.

¹²⁵ Said that.

same place. The swelling was gone. He told me, "Remain to talk. I do thus," he said, "When I play on those mountains, when I play in the water, I play thus," he said.

DEPARTURE

The guests then prepared to depart, and by half past ten or eleven o'clock, the village was left with only its usual population. The director and the captain, together with one or two assistants, rolled up and laid away the dancing paraphernalia and in general took care of whatever it was desired to save for a future ceremony. The village then resumed its usual quietude and the people recuperated from the long vigil of the ceremony, for during these four days and nights most of them had scarcely slept.

ADDITIONAL SPEECHES AND SONGS

The following additional speeches and songs belong in the ceremony but have no fixed place in it. Various other songs and speeches were also delivered but time did not permit their recording.

*Bole Ho Speech*¹²⁶

pi'roboiti, remain thus
 gu'tcima mile't ti'ple, a little (I) you inform
 ete'ma t'e'we pa'mpama t'e'we, one word, two words
 millet ti'ple, inform you
 o'uraboiti (2), (and ye) say yes
 pi'ro wi'lakupo (2), thus in the world
 mo'ktaro were'bem (2), make will come
 pele'tuka, to us
 to pimma pele't pale'to (2), they us will drive out
 pi'ura were'bem, so will come
 he'u wila'k (2), this world
 pi'ura were'bem, so will come
 pi sun mile didi'La didi'La, here you in the settlements, in the settlements
 nanu t'e'we o'ura mi'le were' (2), my words approving you come
 pi tei'derobes, that was straight
 pi la'iokarobes, that was good
 male'ipiu, what you do
 nana t'e'we o'u, my words approve
 pi'uLaupu tcama'win, when on those white persons
 tcama'winupa (2), on white persons
 pi'lei i ma'natibom (2), us will resemble
 mui'tibom, will sing

¹²⁶ Record 14-1509, Thomas Odock translator, A. L. Kroeber transcriber. The lines indicate the phrasing, which is marked by considerable pauses, which are rhetorical rather than grammatical. Numbers denote repetitions of phrases.

mu'hun tono'tibom, sing will dance
 o'ura o'uLa pile piu'tibom, approving, when approve we shall do so
 o'ura were'hem, approving who come
 pi'uLa upu were'bem, thus will come
 pi'uLa wile'tuka, thus they
 wile'tuka we'rebem, they will come
 wile'i o'uLa o'uLa we'rebem, they when approve, when approve, will come
 la'iohoto were'bem (2), being good will come
 eu tcama'winoi pele'no t'e'we, these white people our words
 pale uli teu do'is ule teu do'is, we (only) I give, (only) I give
 ule teu tipis, (only) I inform
 male'yimanan (2), like yourselves
 eu'n laka'lmato (2), thus playing (dancing)
 teu do'is pimma, I give them
 nanu t'e'we, my words
 na'i tcayu'nobem (2), I who remain ashamed
 pi'mma teu ti'pis, them I inform
 pi'umato, doing thus
 to pi'mma mele't pale'mato, they you (putting out?)
 to pi'mma mele't ebu'mato, they you (getting out?)
 sun sun teu mele't pi'us, here, here I for you do so
 sun sun te'pito, here, here emerge
 mile e'ula ha'r miles, you when go (nowhere?)
 pe mi'le le'luna'nmu eles (2), you become otherwise (at death)
 pi'uLa mi'le sun he'nes, so when you here come
 sun mi'le he'nes, here you come
 sun mi'le te'pis, here you emerge
 sun pi he'nebo wilakwila'ksel, here will come from all over the world
 di'disel pi sun hene'bo, from the settlements here will come
 eu ke'weLa, to this dance house
 eu wo'leLa, to this dance floor
 sun hene'bo sun pi hene'bo, here will come, here will come
 urabes, so (I) say

*First Moki Tcemaho*¹²⁷

wuu'u wuu'u
 tate' (3), father
 wile cekte'i (3), healthy chief
 wiles euLa', healthy
 pima teu euLa', that I
 pida euLa', (bring?)
 pima teu euLa', that I
 pida t'eweda euLa', that word
 wile t'eweda euLa, healthy word
 (record indistinct)
 wileda' (5), healthy

¹²⁷ Record 14-1508, Odock-Kroeber transcription. The phrases are very marked and accented on the last syllables. The translation of the eternal "euLa'" has not been attempted. It seems to mean "at this" or "when so." This speech is in much more rigid ritualistic form than the last, and may be more representative of the pre-ghost-dance Hesi manner. It is perhaps a prayer as much as a speech. It is not a report of a recent vision of the "father," like several of the preceding.

*Second Moki Teemahō*¹²⁸

wuu u wuu u
 piLa teu euLa
 naminda teu euLa
 nan wileda euLa
 nanu *Lupuru euLa
 pima helairu euLa (= B)
 (indistinct phrase)
 (indistinct phrase)
 pima teu were *boti *boai
 euLa
 nanuda euLa
 nanu takada euLa
 wile takada euLa
 pima *Lupuru euLa (= A)
 pima helairu euLa (= B)
 humli takada euLa
 pida helaira euLa
 A
 sai takada euLa
 A
 B
 tekis takada euLa
 wile takada euLa
 A
 B
 nanu humtu takada euLa
 A
 B
 hima euLa
 nanu yulakda euLa
 A
 B
 nanu *Lupuru euLa
 B
 nanu Loda euLa
 A
 B
 A
 pisin *hobloro euLa
 (indistinct phrase)
 namin *Lekicda euLa
 nanu *Leida euLa
 nanu *pelel euLa
 nanu piLa euLa
 hima euLa
 wile *Lupura euLa
 pima *holumpuluru euLa

¹²⁸ Same source as the preceding, and the same remarks apply. "A" and "B" in the text stand respectively for "pima lupura euLa" and "pima helairu euLa." Helairu means to hold something in the hands and move it alternately to the right and left. Starred words are said to have an esoteric meaning.

nanu *pototoi takada euLa

A

B

A

pida euLa

hima euLa

pida teu (4)

*Lupuru teu

pima teu helairu teu

*wesai taka teu

e wile taka teu

e Lo taka teu

e pima *hobloro euLa (2)

pida teu (2)

pida teu wetaru (2)

hene boti *boai

Glossary of principal words in order of occurrence.—*piLa*, at that, there, when; *teu*, I; *namin*, mine; *-da*, translated “and” (*sic*); *nan*, *nanu*, my; *wile*, healthy; *pima*, that, they (*-ma* is a causative suffix of verbs and a plural of nouns denoting persons); *were*, arrive; *taka*, crop of acorns or wild growths; *humli*, a species of oak; *sai*, a species of oak; *tekis*, a species of oak; *humtu*, fat, grease, probably referring to the oily acorn called *hamsu*; *hima*, indeed, surely; *yulak*, acorns of *Quercus wizizeni*; *Lo*, a kind of long acorn; *pisin*, with that; *wetaru*, arrive with; *hene*, come.

*Four Speeches by the Moki*¹²⁹

I.

wuu u (4)

piLa teu euLa (2)

nanu tealala euLa

wile tealala euLa

pira helayuru euLa

pima *Lupuru euLa

pima *cekaru euLa

piLa euLa

(indistinct phrase)

wile t'ewe euLa

(indistinct phrase)

nanu t'ewe teu

wile t'ewe teu

tecalal t'ewe teu

tecalal t'ewe teu

nanu bole t'ewe teu

piLa teu wiaru

*Lupuru teu pima helairu teu

(indistinct phrase: piLa teu . . . kayire teu)

piLa *pulaki *boti *boai

¹²⁹ Record 14-1494, Odock-Kroeber transcription. Spoken by Salvador in a high-keyed voice, while walking about the dance house in his Moki cloak. Starred words are esoteric; the principal others will be found in the preceding or following glossary.

II

wuu'u (2)
 wi'le sekte'i (2)
 wi'leda teu
 nanu wi'leda teu
 nanu wile teu
 wi'leda teu hela'iru teu
 lila'inma wile le'loru teu
 lo'ibama wile le'loru teu
 se'ribama wile le'loru teu
 pida' teu nanu wi'leda teu
 tea'lal wile'da teu
 bo'le wile'da teu
 pi'da teu *pula'ki *boti *boa'i

III

wuu'u (3)
 wile sekte'i
 wi'leda teu
 nanu wile'da teu
 na'nu
 wi'le tea'lalda
 wile *Lupi'da
 wile helai'da
 (indistinct phrase)
 pi'ma teu hela'iru
 pima *Lu'puru
 pima teu (indistinct word)
 ila'inma teu
 lo'ibama
 wile le'loru
 se'ribama wile le'loru
 se'ktubama
 pi' ra teu weta'ru he'ne *boti *boa'i

IV

wuu'u (2)
 wile sekte'i (2)
 wile *be'sai
 wi'leda teu na'nu wi'leda teu
 bo'le wi'leda teu
 pima *Lupuru teu pima teu hela'iru teu
 pi'da wile'da teu
 pi'da *pulaki *boti *boa'i

Supplementary Glossary.—*tcacal*, pretty, literally, rose blossom, probably a ghost-dance word; *helairu*, *helayuru*, *hela-da*, sway, swing sidewise repeatedly; *t'ewe*, word, speak; *bole*, ghost, spirit of a dead person; *wiaru*, gather; *sektei*, *sektu*, chief; *lilain-ma*, *ilain-ma*, children; *leloru*, are made, become; *loiba-ma*, girls, maidens; *seriba-ma*, youths.

*Farewell Speech to Visitors*¹³⁰

o'u
 pi'ra hene'ti (4)
 pe'le hene'sa
 hene'sa pe'le hene'sa
 se'ktu ma'tin
 ma'in ma'tin
 ma'ino t'e'we
 o'uura
 o'uura ut piu'ti
 o'ura ut e'ubu
 e'ubu e'ubu
 pi'La lomu'ru
 piLa we'yuru
 e'ura pele' huya'La
 e'ura pele' piu'La
 piura pele' huya'sa
 u'no wo'leLa (2)
 u'no te'wekLa
 u'La pele' huya'sa
 piLa' pele' huya'sa
 piu'La (2)
 pima lomu'ru
 ewet lomu'ru (2)
 weyu'ti
 o'u'ti
 o'u'sapi
 pele't piu'La
 tei'dupasa pele't
 pi'ra pele't witi'lupasa
 pi'ura pele' u'no ke'weLa piu'sa u'no wo'leLa piu'sa
 pi'La pele' o'uparo
 ut lomu'ru
 ut we'yuru
 weyu'ru pele' piu'sa (2)
 eu'to eu'to
 eu'n pele' piu'to
 u'no wo'leLa ha'mtaro
 u'no ou'La ha'mtaro
 pi'ra pele' piu'to
 weyu'to
 o'u'to
 (h) eu'sa pele' eu'sa
 (h)eu'sa pe'le
 (Pause)
 o'u'ra o'u'ra (2)
 o'u'ti
 ut o'u'ti
 ut weyu'ti
 ewe'ti sektuma
 ewe't mainma

¹³⁰ Record 14-1499, Odock-Kroeber transcription.

o'u'ti
 o'u'ti u'no t'e'we
 u'no so'ko
 u'i mile't piu'hem
 piu'ra tci'dupara mile't
 piu'ra witi'lupahem
 pi'La o'uti
 u'no t'e'we
 u'no t'e'we u'no so'ko
 pi'ma *koto'ro
 pi'ra lomu'ti
 lomu'ti ut lomu'ti
 e'ura mile't huya'ma
 e'ura mile't we'yuma
 e'ura mile't tiya'sa
 o'u'ti u'no t'e'we
 u'no o'uti
 o'u'ti o'u'ti
 o'ura pele were' (2)
 se'ktuno t'e'we
 ma'ino t'e'we
 pi'ma pele' lomu'ru
 pi'ma pele' we'yuru
 pi'ma pele' piu'sa
 o'u'sa pele' o'u'sa

Glossary: Endings.—*sa*, -*nisa*, past; -*ti*, -*tis*, future, exhortative, imperative; -*to*, future; -*ma*, causative; -*hem*, he who; -*pa*, -*paro*, for; -*bem*, -*tibom*, future; -*t*, objective; -*no*, possessive; -*La*, on, in, at, when; -*sel*, from; -*sin*, with; -*upo*, -*upu*(?), at, on (?); -*tara*, -*taro*, toward, on to. *Stems.*—*hene*, come; *pele*, pile, we; *main*, "queen," "chief's sister," woman of princely family; *ou*, yes, say yes, approve; *piu*, do that; *lomu*, glad, rejoice; *weyu*, glad, rejoice; *huya*, gather, assemble; (*u*, he), *ut*, him, *uno*, his; *wole*, floor or area of dance house; *tewek*, cleared space in front of dance house; *tcidu*, straight, come straight; *witilu*, run; *kewe*, dance house; *ham*, sit; *mile*, ye; *soko*, teach.

*Three Toto Dance Songs*¹³¹

1. ne'pe sume huya'sane
2. he hiyo'yoho
 were'ltina were'ltina
 he hiyo'yoho
3. ho'pil hopi'l
 ho'pil hopi'l
 ne'pil nepi'l
 ne'pil nepi'l

Nepe, *nepil* is the first person inclusive dual, "I and thou"; *huyasane* was translated "rocking," but *huya* also means to gather or assemble; *were'ltina* was said to mean south.

¹³¹ Records 14-1492, 14-1496.

*Moki's Speech of Welcome in the Toto Dance*¹³²

piru boti
 piru boti piru
 laiakuru boti
 laiakuru boti laiakuru
 pima weyuru
 pima lomuru
 (h)e t'ewe lomuru
 e lomuru
 e tealal lomuru
 wile tealal lomuru
 millet iLa
 o'ura boti (2)
 o'uto pele were (2)
 eura pele piuto
 o'uto
 weyuto
 we tateu uto
 we apateu uto
 we labateu uto
 (h) eura pele huyala (2)
 piLa pele lomuto
 peleno t'ewe (2)
 pira weyuru
 weyusa teu weyusa
 teu lomusa
 lomuru oparu
 lomuru weyuru
 pima o'uru
 pima lomuru

Except for *laba*, older brother, this speech contains no words not found in the preceding ones: *we—uto* in lines 17–19 is evidently equivalent to *we(y)u-to*. This identity of phraseological material is significant for Wintun oratory. The speaker's freedom lies chiefly in making a different random arrangement of the same words. That a Toto speech should so closely parallel the Hesi speeches, need not surprise, in view of the Toto being only a modern substitute for one of the two annual Hesi performances.

THE HAND GAME

The "hand" or "grass" game,¹³³ often played by the Wintun as an adjunct to the Hesi, runs as follows.

¹³² Phonograph record 14–1496, Odock-Kroeber transcription.

¹³³ Mr. Stewart Culin mentions this Wintun game, giving its native name as *dam*, in his *Games of the North American Indians*, Rep. Bur. Am. Ethn., xxiv, 283, 1907.

Two pairs of cylindrical bones from two to two and a half inches in length and half an inch in diameter are used. One of each pair is wound about its middle with string or sinew in order to mark it. With these bones is required a considerable quantity of finely chopped grass or, if this is not available, straw.

The tally of the game is kept by means of twelve sticks about eight or ten inches in length. These at the start are held by what may be called a tally keeper or overseer of the game, called *koīmērū*. His name is the same as that of the fire tender of the dance house, and ordinarily the same individual serves both offices. His fee for this service is a portion, usually about ten per cent, of the stakes.

A large mat or blanket is ordinarily spread on each side of a middle ground which is perhaps five to eight feet across, and on each of these mats two players kneel, sitting on their heels. Each is provided with a quantity of the chopped grass, and each usually has with him one or more charm stones which he inserts under his mat for good luck. The tally keeper kneels or sits at a point midway between the two sets of players and at a little distance back, where he can see both sides as the game progresses.

He at first holds the twelve counters and the four bones with which the game is to be played. In case it is a game between residents on one side and visitors on the other, the visitors are always given the bones first. If it is played between two sets of visitors, or two sets of residents, priority is arranged by lot. The players of the holding side take each a marked and an unmarked bone and roll them between their palms for a minute or two, singing meanwhile their gambling song and usually spitting upon the bones as they roll them. They then take up in each hand a quantity of the chopped grass and hide each of the bones in a small bundle of it. The hands are now passed back of the body and the two bundles of grass rolled back and forth rapidly from one hand to another. Often the bundles are brought to the front again and shuffled there as rapidly as possible. The purpose is to confuse the opposing side, whose object it is to guess in which hand the marked bone of each player remains.

All this time the shufflers sing their individual gambling songs (*kosī māli*); although frequently only one of a pair of players actually sings an air, the other accompanying him with a more monotonous burden. Some players start with an air when they first take the bones, but upon burying these in the rolls of grass their song is reduced to a sort of low chant or hum, which is kept up until the guess

of the opposite side is finally made. If the guess is correct and the player loses, he sings again in a low voice; or in case the guess is incorrect and he wins, he breaks out wildly into the same air. During all this rolling and preparing for the guess, the body is kept swinging and swaying.

These are the words of a gambling song, which calls on the stakes to come to the player:

hima mi weni-hiya	hima you come
kay-uro mi weni-hiyo	walking you come
Lube mi weni-hiya	net you come ¹³⁴

Finally, when the player holding the bones is fully prepared, he places his right hand in front of him, and his left at the small of his back. The guesser meanwhile, for only one person of the opposing side guesses at a time, has struck his chest with his left fist several times, and swung his right arm at full length in front of him, pointing his right forefinger four times at the opposing side. Finally, when the rollers of the bones signify their readiness for the guess by placing their hands in the proper position, he points or snaps his fingers toward them and cries out his guess. If, however, he is not satisfied with the rolling and unprepared to guess, he gives a different call and the rollers must then shuffle the bones again before he is obliged to guess.

The positions may be as follows, x indicating the marked and o the unmarked bones.

<i>Right</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>	<i>Left</i>
x	o	x	o
o	x	o	x
o	x	x	o
x	o	o	x

Another position is now and then used: both bones in one hand. Since only the position of the marked bone counts, this device does not alter the effect of the guess.

As the guesser finally points and calls his guess, the two players open their hands. If he has guessed both of them correctly, the bones pass to his side, and one of the former shufflers now becomes the guesser. If he has guessed incorrectly on both bones, the tally keeper pays two counters to the shufflers and they retain the bones and resume hiding them. If the guesser is correct on only one of the bones, the

¹³⁴ Record 14-1500.

shuffler whom he has guessed stops playing, but no counters are passed, since the correct guess offsets the incorrect one. The surviving shuffler rolls the bones again and a new guess is made on his hands. If this second guess is incorrect, the tally keeper pays out one counter. The guessing is continued for the one outstanding bone, at the cost of a counter for each miss, until it is found. Both players of the original shuffling side having now been eliminated, the bones pass to the guessers, and the game proceeds as before. The tally keeper pays out for all incorrect guesses until all twelve of his counters are gone, after which payment for misses is made directly by the guessers to the hiding side.

The bones and counters may go back and forth from one side to the other for a considerable time. The game is won when one side possesses all twelve counters. The winners then divide the stakes, after the tally keeper's deduction. Anyone except the tally keeper may bet. A large number frequently join, each piece of property or coin laid down being matched by the opposing side. Custom rather expects any proffered bet to be met, although part is sometimes withdrawn if the opponents have difficulty in accumulating a like stake.

The guessing in this game is usually done by one or the other of the players themselves, but sometimes a side-better, reported to be skilful or lucky, acts as guesser.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 22

Fig. 1. The Wintun village of Let in Cortina Valley, Colusa County, California.

Fig. 2. Director's assistant placing the rain and food fetishes (recent type) of the Hesi ceremony on the roof of the dance house.

Fig. 3. Moki performing dance about the high pole in front of the dance house. This pole with its banner seems to be a recent innovation under *bole* or ghost dance influence.

Fig. 4. Moki performing ceremonial dance about the feasting table and poles used in the Hesi.

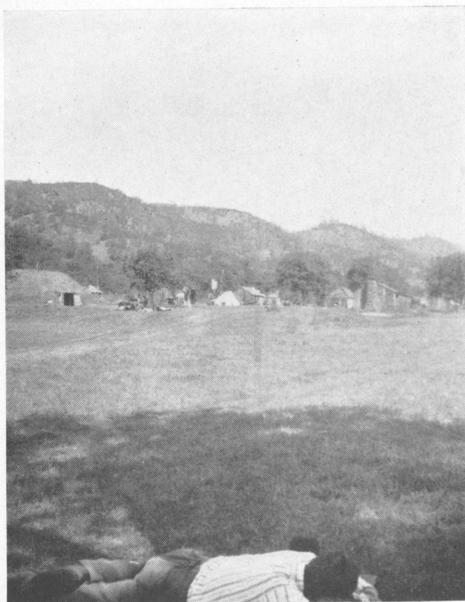


Fig. 1

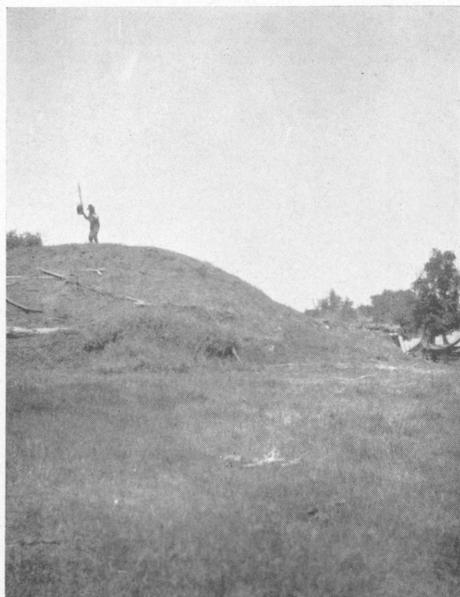


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

PLATE 23

Fig. 1. Fire dancers returning to the dance house after the plunge in the creek which follows the fire or sweat dance.

Fig. 2. Visitors from the Sacramento river region entering the dance house on their arrival.

Fig. 3. Tuya ("big head") dancers approaching the dance house.

Fig. 4. Tuya dancers, with their teelitū, standing in front of the dance house.

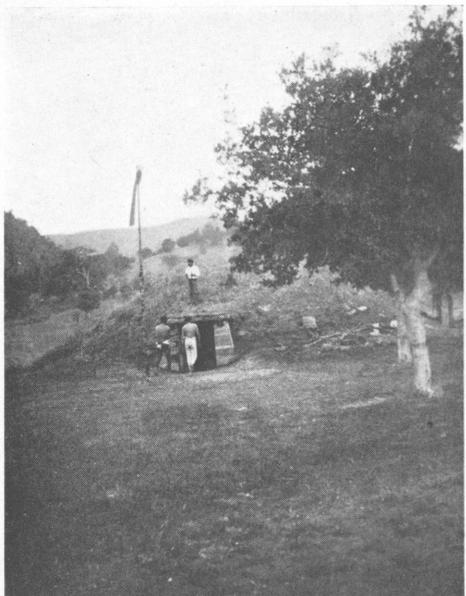


Fig. 1

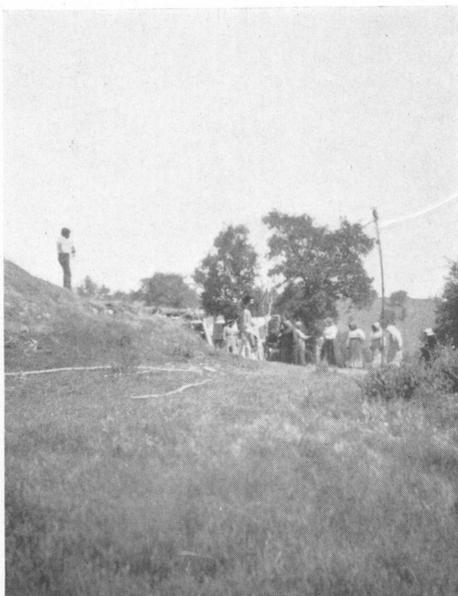


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4