THE WOLF MASKS OF THE NOOTKA WOLF RITUAL:

A STATEMENT ON TRANSFORMATION

by

SUSAN ROSA TOVELL MOOGK

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Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date April 25, 1980
ABSTRACT

Objects from other cultures have been collected for museums for more than a century with the hope that we could 'read' these objects and learn more about them and their makers (Taylor 1959 [1957]). The inadequacy of the field documentation for these objects has too often been considered a barrier to achieving this goal (Haselberger 1961:343). This thesis attempts to decode Nootkan Wolf masks by using a more sophisticated intellectual approach. First, a classification of the masks was discovered through museum documentation and the ethnographic record. Then the ritual and cosmological contexts of the masks are recreated.

The examination of native texts disclosed a critical dimension of the Nootkan cosmos: that it is a cosmos in which beings are continually altering or transforming from one state of being to another. An analysis of the Wolf ritual itself showed that it is an initiation ritual; and more significantly that the central theme of the Wolf ritual was the processes of transition and transformation of its major actors. It was then possible to return the analysis to the masks themselves, and to explain their iconography, style, dance and dance nomenclature in terms of the previously identified process of symbolic transformation discovered the Nootkan concepts. Thus the artist's purpose in making these masks can be said to be a visual and behavioural encoding of a native cosmic principle in so far as the Nootkan vision of the process of transformation has been exposed through this 'reading' of the masks.
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INTRODUCTION

Museums have collected and preserved artifacts for centuries. While these collections have served as trophies and treasures in the past, today these museums are seen as storehouses of knowledge. The artifacts, like books in a library, are the repositories of knowledge (Brawne 1965:7ff). But artifacts, especially masks, a common type of object in ethnographic collections, are difficult to 'read'. Thus, I propose to develop a method for reading masks, and to test it by applying it to an ethnographic problem.

Any method employed to read masks should recognize how masks communicate ideas; it must identify the aspects of a mask which can be manipulated to formulate and consolidate conceptual categories. To this end, I will consider a mask first, as a material and visual artifact and second, as an artifact which is meant to perform a role in a ritual. Since visual artifacts can communicate through iconography and style (Nodelman 1971:98), I propose to approach the study of masks by analysing their iconography and variations in style as symbols, things which refer to or stand for other things. In this thesis I will use the term "iconography" for the expression of ideas using colours and graphic forms, and the term "style" for the ordered manipulation of lines and balance in the composition of a form. Further, certain aspects of behaviour that are focussed around the masks can be regulated to extend the range of
these visual symbols to other levels of cultural expression. The Nootka of Vancouver Island, from whom the ethnographic problem to test this method will be drawn, equate a mask with the dancer who wears it; that is, a man who wears a Crawling Wolf mask in the Wolf ritual will become a Wolf spirit when he dies (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:5). In addition, the mask the man wears, and the dance and ritual role he performs are given the same name by Nootkan informants speaking in English. For example, "Crawling Wolf" refers to the role, the mask and the dance which represents the Crawling Wolf (Drucker 1951:493; Ernst 1952:66 and 73). Therefore, to encompass the nature of masks the method proposed to 'read' them will include a study of the identity of the masker, the dance he performs and the ritual role of the mask; they are three aspects of the ritual context of the masks. They will be analysed as three sets of symbols.

When selecting an ethnographic problem to test this method of reading masks, I used certain criteria regarding its subject and topic. To begin the selection process, I found it expedient to limit the subject of the problem to a single culture. A single culture would yield a manageable amount of information that would have the advantage of being ideologically integrated. Further, I found it preferable to confine the analysis to a single ritual so that I would have an even more controlled body of information. The Wolf ritual of the Nootka of the late 1800's offers this kind of data, and the masks of the ritual can be used to test the method for reading masks. The name of the Wolf masks indicated that they were central to the Wolf ritual, so I narrowed the scope of the study once more to encompass just the Wolf masks. I decided to study all the variations of the Wolf masks because I sensed that this polymorphic group
of masks would be more likely to represent the wide range of styles and iconography in the artistic tradition of the Nootka than a single Wolf mask.

The topic of the test problem must also be selected carefully. The range of cultural information that can be expressed through a mask is regulated by the message that the mask is required to communicate. That is to say, it is easier to discern the topics that are most pertinent to the context in which the mask is worn. Thus, the Wolf masks which are meant to be seen in a ritual situation where religious questions are in the forefront, can be expected to convey concepts which are primarily about cosmology, the understanding of the world as an organized and functioning universe.

The problem that ethnographers have had with the cosmology of the Nootka was set out by Philip Drucker in his work on the Northern and Central Nootkan tribes (1951). He said "it is clear there is no well defined system of thought...to Nootkan cosmological and supernatural concepts" (Drucker 1951:151). I challenge that statement. Drucker might have been unable to perceive such a system or to detect the principles which give cohesion to Nootkan thought and actions because he looked at the world of the Nootka, apart from human society, as a myriad of animal and supernatural personages drawn out of their behavioural contexts. He did not look at the interactions between these personages and men, nor at the contexts of these interactions which can be found in the myths, legends and rituals of the Nootka. This thesis will attempt to refute Drucker's statement by analysing Nootka cosmology from this second perspective and thus will study masks in their ritual context.
Masks are a particularly useful instrument for studying a people's cosmology for masks alter the identity of a person in a special direction. They change him into something other than an ordinary human, and through this transformation create a link between the human masker and the non-human identity of the mask. A mask is shaped so that it smoothly and convincingly fits over and substitutes for the part of the wearer's body that is being altered, most often the head and/or the face. It is also shaped and coloured to represent a form appropriate to a new identity. By covering the wearer's human identity with one from outside of humanity, a mask moves the human wearer out of the human circle and into the greater cosmological arena of action. Thus a Wolf 'headdress' whose inner shape accommodates a human head, and which outwardly displays the shapes, lines, and masses symbolic and significant of a Wolf, an animal, is really a mask. Thus, I have chosen to call the Wolf masks "masks" though they are worn on the head rather than over the face and are thus often called "headdresses." I object to the term "headdress" because it is ambiguous and can mean any head covering; even a hat which changes a person's social status, but nothing more. A mask does more, it effects a cosmic change. Thus, through a study of the Wolf masks, I should be able to explore aspects of the Nootkan cosmology.

I propose to begin by studying the statements of the masks as they are related to other levels of cultural expression when the masks are presented in the Wolf ritual. Then I will seek out the visual and choreographic statements the Nootka artists make through the Wolf masks. Through this analysis, I should come to comprehend the message which is expressed when the Wolf masks are presented in the Wolf ritual. Because
the Wolf ritual is a major ritual of the Nootka (Kenyon 1977:28), and the Wolf masks are central to the Wolf ritual, the masks' statements and message will be expressed in the logic of the system of Nootka thought. A final analysis of these statements and message will disclose some of the principles of logic of the Nootka cosmology.

In order to carry out this study, published and unpublished sources were mined to extract data; journals, accounts, ethnographies, archival material in museums, and the masks themselves.

Observers have written about the Nootka for only the past two hundred years, though the Nootka themselves have lived on the northwest coast of North America for several millennia (Dewhirst 1969:239). In the anthropological literature, the Nootka have been divided into three cultural groups; the northern groups which live along the west coast of Vancouver Island from Cape Cook to Nootka Sound, the central groups which live along the same coast from Hesquiat to Barkley Sound, and the southern groups which live on the Island's west coast south of Barkley Sound and on Cape Flattery which is on the mainland facing Vancouver Island. The northern and central groups speak Nootkan proper, while among the southern groups, those on Vancouver Island speak Nitinat and those on Cape Flattery speak Makah (Drucker 1951:3-5).

Early explorers and fur-traders recorded their encounters with the Nootka between 1778 and 1820, the period of the sea otter fur trade (Cook 1784; Meares 1790; Jewitt 1815). The journals they left are useful for establishing the age of some ethnographic details which were described more completely by later writers. After this period there is a gap in the records until the beginning of intensive European settlement of the
area in the 1850's, when missionaries and Indian agents took up the observers' task. In 1868, G.M. Sproat published his account of the Nootka in the Alberni area. This included a very impressionistic description of a central Nootkan winter dance or Wolf ritual. Father Brabant, the Catholic missionary at Hesquiat from 1874 to 1908, recorded the proselytizing of this Nootkan group in his diary (Brabant 1977 [1926]). More substantial accounts of the Makah in this same period were made by J.G. Swan, a United States' federal agent (Swan 1870).

Anthropologists started to record the Northwest Coast cultures in the 1880's. Franz Boas published his first work on the Nootka in 1890, and included Nootkan material in his publications of 1897 and 1916. This material was collected by George Hunt at Yuquot, the summer village of the Moachat, a northern group, and by Boas himself, from native informants among the central Nootka at Port Alberni (Rohner 1969:110). Boas' publications include accounts of rituals and ceremonies, and myths.

Edward Sapir did important field work from 1910 to 1914 at Port Alberni. He collected information on the social order, myths and legends, ceremonies and rituals from the older people who recalled events and life in the 1870's and 1880's. He analysed and published some of his data before the First World War (Sapir 1911 and 1913); the bulk of his field notes have been published as linguistic texts since his death (Sapir and Swadesh 1939 and 1955). Some texts of family legends are still unpublished (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:1).

Sapir's students have continued his work on the Nootka. They include Frances Densmore, Mary Haas, Helen Roberts and Morris Swadesh (Densmore 1939; Haas 1930; Roberts and Swadesh 1955). Some have had access
to Sapir's notebooks; or have used his informants. E.S. Curtis' co-author, W.E. Myers, consulted Edmund Schwinke, a Makah, George Hunt, and Frank Williams, one of Sapir's informants (Curtis 1916). These later anthropologists recorded ceremonial songs and dances, and myths from the memories of old people. In this post-war period some studies were made of the old Nootkan material culture and contemporary social structure (Waterman 1920; Koppert 1930).

Philip Drucker did his field work among the northern and central Nootka during the 1930's. He gathered a wide range of material that belonged to the period between 1870 and 1900 (Drucker 1951:2). At the same time, Alice Ernst, encouraged by Franz Boas, gathered information that also dated from the late 1800's, from elderly informants among the Makah, Clayoquot and Port Alberni groups (Ernst 1952). She focused her investigations on the Wolf ritual. In the 1940's Elizabeth Colson gathered contemporary material among the Makah (Colson 1953). She found very little of the old indigenous religion that had been recorded by earlier writers.

More recently anthropologists have been analysing the material that Sapir and Drucker collected. These include Swadesh (1948), Langdon (1976), and Rossman and Rubel (1971). They have worked on problems of political, economic and social structure.

Several people are currently interested in the ethnography of the Nootka. Barbara Effrat, of the British Columbia Provincial Museum, is working on the linguistics of the Hesquiat (1978). Studies of the history of the early contact period have been done by Christian Archer (1978), Barry Gough (1978) and Terry Moore, an anthropologist (1977).
There is also a renewed interest in the Nootka belief system. Susan Kenyon is studying the contemporary ceremonies of the Nootka (Kenyon 1977). Barbara Moon and Nancy Turner are studying the biological nomenclature of the Hesquiat, a central Nootkan tribe (1978). Two graduate students, Susan Golla and Nathalie Macfarlane are engaged in field work at Port Alberni. This thesis is part of the revived interest in the Nootka cosmology.

Much of the information used in this thesis has been drawn from the published work of Sapir, Drucker and Ernst, and thus dates from the late nineteenth century. These ethnographies describe various contexts for the utilization of the same symbols that are centred on and around the Wolf masks of the Nootka Wolf ritual. The problem with this data is that it is second-hand. It was collected and translated by individuals who were not a part of the Nootka culture, and thus it has been removed from the Nootkan language and idiom and put into English, a vehicle of expression of another culture. Fortunately for this investigator who cannot speak Nootkan, there is another source of primary expression from the Nootka culture of that period which is still accessible. These are the Wolf masks. They are material manifestations of the Nootka culture as it existed between 1850 and 1900 when they were made. They are a source of primary information. These immutable informants are the motivation and final arbiters of this ethnographic study.

This study is based on the Nootka Wolf masks in the collections of the Museum of Anthropology at The University of British Columbia [U.B.C.], the British Columbia Provincial Museum [B.C.P.M.], and the National Museum of Canada [N.M.C.]. The bulk of the Wolf masks in these
museums were collected around the turn of this century, primarily from the Port Alberni groups. The collections have been augmented with specimens from all the other major Nootkan groups on Vancouver Island. I found no Wolf masks from the Makah in Washington state. I have also relied on photographs found in the literature. The masks at U.B.C. appear to be of a consistently later date than those of the N.M.C. and most of those at the B.C.P.M. But the documentation is scanty and uncertain.

To begin the reading of the masks I developed a typology so that some order could be discerned in their forms. The identity of only a few of the Nootka Wolf masks in the museums is recorded in the accompanying catalogue notes. The forms of these identified masks were studied and the shapes of unidentified Wolf masks were compared to them. Similar shapes were put together in one form category, and the identity definitely attributed to the few masks in any one form category was ascribed to all the masks in that form category. It was noted that each form category bore a great similarity to one of the beings depicted on the Nootka dance screens (see plate 1).\(^5\) On further investigation, these form categories which were based on shape and identity, coincided with differences in the masks' ritual contexts and basic differences in style. I concluded that there are three main categories of Nootka Wolf masks. They are Crawling Wolf, Whirling Wolf (also referred to as Spinning Wolf or Lightning Serpent in English sources) and Standing Wolf (Ernst 1952:96).

Within these categories, the shapes of the Wolf masks vary a great deal. Different artists, each employing their personal styles, account for some of the variations of style found in the Wolf masks, but
PLATE 1. A SET OF NOOTKA DANCE SCREENS

Photographed from Art of the Northwest Coast Indians by Robert Bruce Inverarity, 1973.
no systematic work has yet been published to identify the various Nootkan artists, and the regional and historical styles of the Nootkan artistic tradition.

Different owners accounted for some of the variation in iconography within each category of Wolf mask. In Nootkan legends, it is not unusual for the ancestors of separate families to receive what seems to be the same Wolf mask. Thus two distinct lineages may claim the ownership of a Whirling Wolf mask. But, according to each family's legend, their mask was received under a unique set of circumstances. The result is that the actual privilege and power associated with each Whirling Wolf mask is unique. For example, masks VII-F-379 and VII-F-380 in the National Museum of Canada are both Lightning Serpent (Whirling Wolf), yet -380 represents "Lokwana power from the Wolves" and -379 represents "power for hunters from a mimic-tate bird [a type of duck (Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 231)]" (Sapi-N.M.C. catalogue notes). The different sponsors and powers associated with the same type of mask are reflected by the different mechanisms (see plate 2) attached to the top of the Whirling Wolf's head.

Differences in the contexts in which the masks were meant to appear account for some of the variations in colour. Some of the Wolf masks were made for use in the Wolf ritual, which makes a coherent statement about the cosmological order during a formal or bounded period of initiation activity, while other Wolf masks were made to be displayed during the ceremonial portions of such occasions as weddings and funerals. On these later occasions, an individual's right to take a particular part in the Wolf ritual could be displayed along with representations of other items of wealth as a statement of his position in the social order.
PLATE 2. TWO NOOTKA WHIRLING WOLF MASKS

N.M.C. #
VII-F-379

N.M.C. #
VII-F-380
(Drucker 1951:247-8) and 257). On these occasions, the character of each mask appeared in isolation rather than in relation to the other characters of the other masks. Ernst noted that the festival or ceremonial masks are more colourful than those used in ritual (Ernst 1952:25). Ernst's statement is corroborated by my own observations. In the museum collections, I found that two different sets of colours were used on the Wolf masks. Only red and black were used on some masks, while many colours were used on others. When the information was available, the colourful masks were catalogued as potlatch or festival masks (Ernst 1952:Plate 2; see plate 3, U.B.C.:A8098; N.M.C.:VII-F-407B; see plate 4, N.M.C.:VII-F-427 and VII-F-428). I concluded that the somber red and black specimens are the ones that were used for ritual purposes. I shall return to the question of colour in Chapter 3 when I discuss the Nootkan iconography of colour.

The typology of the masks used for this thesis makes distinctions based on identity (Standing Wolf, Whirling Wolf and Crawling Wolf) and context (ritual or ceremonial). I am assuming that variations in form that could be attributed to the different lineages that own the masks, and the different artists that made them fall within the general pattern of the Nootkan cosmology because the owners and makers lived within the context of the Nootkan culture. The distinction between ritual and ceremonial masks is important because it is my purpose to examine a complete set of masks used in a ritual rather than those displayed in a ceremony.

Before embarking on the analysis of the ritual Wolf masks of the Nootka, I will describe the Nootkan cosmos in Chapter 1, because it
PLATE 3. NOOTKA WHIRLING WOLF MASKS

U.B.C. #
A8098

N.M.C. #
VII-F-407B
PLATE 4. NOOTKA WHIRLING WOLF MASKS

N.M.C. #
VII-F-427

N.M.C. #
VII-F-428
provides the ultimate context for the message of these masks. Chapter 2 will present an analysis of the cosmological boundaries and social categories of the Wolf ritual. It will locate the Wolf masks in these categories. Chapter 3 will study the visual symbols of the Wolf masks. The discussion will flesh out and define the Nootkan concept of the cosmological categories discerned in the Wolf ritual. In Chapter 4 a similar study of the 'movements' of the Wolf masks will further our understanding of these major Nootkan categories. The last chapter of the thesis will attempt to present a coherent statement of the meaning or message of the Nootka Wolf ritual. The conclusion will summarize the Nootkan 'system of thought' and how the masks have served to lead us to comprehend the Nootkan cosmology.
Panofsky (1962:3-17) makes a similar distinction in the levels of interpretation with which one can analyse a work of art. His 'iconography in the narrow sense of the word' is here 'iconography', and his 'iconography in the deeper sense of the word' is here 'style'.

Even today, the dancers are so closely identified with the mask that the Nootka speak of the masks as if they were alive and motivate themselves. Joe David, a contemporary Nootka artist, remembering the dances he saw as a boy, said "They were just beings, half wood, half man." To him the masks were real creatures (March, 1978). To the Nootka the dances and the mask form a fully-integrated unit.

For political reasons the Nootka are replacing the word 'Nootka' with the popular, turn-of-the-century term "West Coast People" which refers to the west coast of Vancouver Island. They are restricting "Nootka" to references to the language. In this thesis I will use the term Nootka for the people, culture and language and thus follow the accepted anthropological usage.

I shall refer to these institutions in the discussion below with the following abbreviations;

Museum of Anthropology at The University of British Columbia - U.B.C.
Provincial Museum of British Columbia - B.C.P.M.
National Museum of Canada - N.M.C.

The dance screens were occasionally used as a backdrop for the Wolf ritual. "The paintings...represented a Thunderbird holding a whale...a wolf...and a he'itlik" (Sapir 1913:68). He'itlik will also be called Lightning Serpent in this thesis.
Chapter 1

THE NOOTKAN COSMOS

This thesis is based upon a conception of the Nootkan cosmos in which a fourth realm - the sacred domain of the supernatural - occupies the spaces between the three realms of profane existence: the land, the sea and the sky. I further postulate that the supernatural or Inbetween realm is also found in the interstices between the categories of being within these profane realms (see Figure 1). In this cosmos, archipelagos and islands of secular or profane life are scattered over a sea of supernatural and sacred beings, the Inbetween or fourth realm.

All Nootkan rituals involve, in some fashion, the dangerous passage of humans through this fourth realm. On first acquaintance with Nootkan thought and life, the categories of their cosmos appear to us to blur into each other because the Nootka themselves emphasize travel between these divisions rather than the divisions themselves. The intense ritualization of Nootkan life is a result of the frequent necessity for humans to enter the fourth realm. It will be argued in this thesis that this is the need to obtain power.

In this chapter I will describe the realms of the Nootkan cosmos, and how, why and which humans move from one realm to another. In the following chapters I will look more specifically at the fourth
realm, the "Inbetween" area and the boundary-crossers, as expressed by the ritual Wolf masks.

A. Moral Geography

When a Nootka performs a secret ritual for aid in an enterprise, he begins with a prayer to the four chiefs: the Chief of the Sky, the Chief of the Land, the Chief of the Undersea and the Chief of the Horizon (Drucker 1951:152) which is also called South (Curtis 1916:28 and 32). The realm of the South Chief is described as the "narrow strip of land believed to border the sea where the sky at the south meets the water" (Curtis 1916:106); that is, it lies between the sea and the sky. The Horizon, Drucker's gloss of this Chief's realm, also lies between the land and the sky. These two horizons, together, are part of what I call the Inbetween. Thus I can recognize four distinct realms in the Nootkan cosmos: the sea, the land, the sky and the 'inbetween'. The sky is always named first. None of the other three realms enjoy primacy over the others for the order in which their chiefs are named varies, although the Chief of the Horizon tends to come second. His 'inbetween' realm is unlike the other realms which are similar to each other in many features. A closer examination of each of these realms is needed to illustrate the difference.

The realm of the human prayermaker is located in the human villages along the coast line. It is a division of the Land realm (Sapir) and Swadesh 1939:75). The Nootka conceive of their settlements as conglomerations of lineage or family units (Drucker 1951:220), each with its own house and chief, who band together in a village of the basis of real and possible marriage ties between the lineages. The chief of the ranking lineage is the chief of the village.
The formation of these settlements is regulated by the economic conditions of the seasonal food gathering cycle. The villages are usually formed during the summer and winter but not in the spring, which is a salmon fishing and berrying season, nor in the fall when each lineage is busy preserving stores of salmon for the winter at its salmon stream. During the postcontact period, the lineages of each of the northern fjords banded together in the summer in very large villages to form loose federacies (Drucker 1951:67). More traditionally, the largest villages were formed for the winter ceremonial and ritual season. In all these settlement patterns, the lineage and its house is always the basic organizational unit.

The Land is also the realm of several other orders of beings which are further subdivided into smaller categories. The order of four-footed land mammals, sastu.p (Moon 1978:76) includes the Wolf who travels in the woods (Ernst 1952:48) and hunts Deer and Elk (Ernst 1952:79 and 90); Bear, a slow-witted large individual; the fierce Grizzly Bear; Cougar; Squirrel; Mink [a being of the lowest rank, a slave (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:221)]; Land Otter and others also belong to the order of four-footed land animals. Trees and bushes form another order of beings who live in the Land realm. This order includes such beings as Yellow Cedar, Hemlock, Red Cedar, Yew, Berries and various berry bushes, especially Salmonberry and Gooseberry (Swan 1870:65).

The Undersea realm is where the sea beings live. They are differentiated into larger categories such as sea mammals, fish and invertebrates (Sapir 1919:352) which are broken down into sub-categories such as Killer Whale and Whale, Salmon and Herring, or Sea Urchin and Chiton.
Seal, Cod, Halibut and Sea Otter are some of the other denizens of the sea. The spirits of some of these species have a house, much like the chief of a human lineage, where they take off their skins and walk about as men (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:220 and 230).

The Sky is the realm of the sky creatures. The different orders in this realm are not as clearly conceptualized in the published myths and legends as those in the other realms. Heavenly bodies such as Sun and Moon (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:99; Densmore 1939:212) belong to one order; they are both chiefs who have daughters and lineage houses. Another order of Sky beings are the birds, such as Eagle, Woodpecker, Raven, Crow, Bluejay, Wren and Sparrow. In the context of the order of birds, Eagle and Woodpecker are chiefs (Curtis 1915:23; Boas 1910:894), Blue Jay is the mother of Raven, while Sparrow and Wren are the wives of Woodpecker (Sapir 1939:219) and the mothers of berries, one of the forms assumed by Raven (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:51 and 53).

Raven from the Sky and Mink from the Land share the name Kwati and the role of trickster. Like Mink, Raven is a meddler who is always trying to change things. Sometimes his deeds turn out well, such as when he stole fire, light and fresh water for mankind (Boas 1916:888-897); other attempts, such as his efforts to copy Red Cod's method of feeding himself, brings disaster to Kwati when he kills his own daughters instead (Boas 1916:897). Both Raven and Mink are prone to transform their identity to escape awkward situations.

Finally, the Chief of the Horizon leads us to consider the realm of the Inbetween. All liminal places in the Nootkan cosmos are the spatial loci of this realm. These include the intertidal zone of the
beach which separates the land from the sea, and the horizon which separates
the sky from the sea and the land (Curtis 1916:106). Another liminal area
is the strip of brush or woods which separates the villages from the rest
of the Land realm, which includes the deep woods and the foot of the moun-
tains. The Inbetween realm is also located in the shallow waters and rocky
points of land which serve the Nootka as boundaries between the bays in
the shoreline. A Nootkan word for bay also means 'groin' and 'lower
belly' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:318). These multiple meanings of the word
indicate that the Nootka see a bay as a unit of the shoreline that contains
sites of life (such as human villages), as does a groin or belly, while
they regard the waters near the capes and points of land between inlets
as the boundaries between the bays.

The realm of the Inbetween in inhabited by dangerous, incredible,
'out of this world' beings who are not classifiable as are ordinary beings,
because the components of these beings are combined so that they form
logical paradoxes. In addition, their forms are more indeterminate or
flexible because they have shifting identities. This will become more
evident as they are described. The woods near the village are the haunts
of demi-beings such as wild men (Pookmis and Achmako) and insane people
(Sapir and Swadesh 1939:67; Ernst 1952:71). In the waters off the points
of land which separate one bay from another, giant spirit sharks and
octopii wait to pull men to their death (Northwest Coast Artists' Guild
1977:#8; Densmore 1939:195; David 1978). According to the Nootka there
is a sandbar at the horizon to the southwest from where the Southwest winds
bring bad storms (Curtis 1916:106; Densmore 1939:256-7). For us, the
higher reaches of the mountains have affinities with the land and the
sky, but, to the Nootka they belong to the realm of the Inbetween; they are the home of Thunderbird (Swan 1870:8), a spirit who has the inner form of a man, but dons the outer form of a gigantic bird when he ventures from his home to hunt Whale (*ibid.*). Lightning Serpent, an important figure in this thesis, lives in the wing feathers of Thunderbird. Thus the realm of the Inbetween is located in the liminal areas which exist between the other realms, and is populated by ephemeral, dangerous and paradoxical beings which do not fit into the categories of the Sky, Sea or Land. The Nootka call them "spirits," *toeha* (Drucker 1951:152) or *eiba* (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:281).

It is my thesis that the realm of the Inbetween is the realm where basic dimensions of being are transferred from one realm to another. By this I mean transformations of identity by a being, be it from animal to man (Drucker 1951:166), from childhood to adulthood, from berry to bird (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:51) or from bird to man (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:47). In each of the other realms, - Sea, Sky and Land - the beings are "real" and stable though there are individuals who are more closely associated with the Inbetween and who transform themselves more readily. I will call these beings "transformers." Salmon is the transformer of the sea. Raven is the transformer of the sky, while Mink is the transformer of the Land (Densmore 1939:30). In human society, the transformers are those who are in the process of acquiring supernatural powers and skills needed for adulthood, that is children, especially the children of the chiefs who have the largest number of privileges to obtain. Lightning Serpent, or *Heitlik* is the transformer of the realm of transformation and spirits, the Inbetween. He manifests himself as the lightning flashing
between the sky and the sea, or from the sky to the trees on the land (Sapir 1925:314). This thesis will specifically explore and establish the nature of transformation in the Nootkan cosmology.

B. Moral Travel and Transformation

1. What is transformation?

Transformation is movement across the boundaries of the realms, orders and categories of the Nootkan cosmos. I shall show that for the Nootka, transformation is also necessary for a human being to alter his social status because Nootkan rituals symbolize the social transitions from non-hunter to hunter, from childhood to adulthood, from single to married (Drucker 1951:293-7), as transformations. Transformation involves changing one's identity to that of a being in another realm, order, category, or status.

Transformation is inherently dangerous because it involves passing through the realm of the Inbetween whose inhabitants might kill any ritually unprepared people they might meet (Drucker 1951:152). Unwary people have been killed by the spirits in the woods (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:66). Even the ritually prepared have to approach these beings with caution; an appropriate ritual cry (Drucker 1951:157) or some other symbolic ruse is needed to maintain control over the spirits (Drucker 1951:160).

It is through an encounter with a being in the Inbetween that a Nootka receives power. This power has moral, social and economic dimensions. It is manifested socially as a "privilege" and materially as a name, mask, dance and/or song which is privately owned.
2. How does transformation take place?

Humans may transform and change his identity through ritual actions performed at appropriate times and places. There are two stages in the Nootkan process of transformation. First, the ritualist discards his original identity, sloughing off his "skin," before he assumes a new identity. For instance, the whaling ritual (Drucker 1951:169) seeks first to transfer the prospective whaler out of his state of humanity, and only then into the state of a being in the order of the whale. To rid himself of his human identity, the ritualist acts in several nonhuman ways such as abstaining from sleep, from sexual intercourse, and from large amounts of food and water. During the ritual itself, he rubs his skin with scented vegetation, the exact identity of which is a closely guarded secret, to rid himself of his human smell (Curtis 1916:16). Often the rubbing is so vigorous that the skin breaks and bleeds. This is symbolically appropriate. The blood is draining out of his body, and to be bloodless is to be dead (Ernst 1952:84) and no longer a denizen of any realm or order of profane or living beings. To erase another physical manifestation of life, the ritualist will abstain from warm food and bathe in cold water to rid himself of the warmth in his body (ibid.; Drucker 1951:167-8). If the ritualist is preparing for a specific enterprise, such as whaling or trolling for fish, he proceeds to the second stage and imitates the significant characteristics of a being from the same order as the objective of his enterprise in order to become that being. Thus a whaler imitates the hunter of whales, the killer whale, and a fisherman becomes a male fish, the metaphorical hunter (see below in the discussion of the metaphor of
Thunderbird's hunt) of female fish (Drucker 1951:169; Sapir and Swadesh 1939:108).

Changes in time and place, as well as actions, are employed to achieve transformation. To stage an escape from the bounds of the human village and profane time, one must place oneself at their spatial and temporal limits.

The spatial limits are crossed by entering the places which belong to the realm of the Inbetween. Nootkan ritualists transform themselves in the woods near the village, and in the intertidal zone of the beach in front of the village (Drucker 1951:167-8). The surface of bodies of water, either salt or fresh, between the sky and the undersea are also favoured by ritualists (ibid). Points of land and rocks jutting out into the sea are some other favoured ritual locations (ibid).

The temporal limits are found at the beginning and end of units of time. The day is a span of time when normal human activity takes place, while night is a complementary unit of time in which people sleep. Dawn and dusk, because they are the times which serve as boundaries between day and night (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:201), are good times to escape from profane human time into a time that exists between that of the secular realms. Similarly, each cycle of the moon is bounded by the appearance of the first quarter (Drucker 1951:116); and the year begins in November during the night of the extraordinarily high "turning over" tide (Drucker 1951:115 and 156). The times when the sun stands still (summer and winter solstices) divide the year in two. These beginnings which are also endings, are boundary times and, as such, are propitious for ritual activity, for transformation and boundary crossing into and out of the realm of the Inbetween. For instance the Wolf ritual was always held when the moon
was becoming full (Ernst 1952:76), near the time of the winter solstice and the "turning over" tide.

3. Why transform and travel?

An old man when counselling his grandson said "we have the term 'changes into hunter at intervals' for the reason that we train for everything" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:187). This may be glossed as "we prepare ourselves ritually (train) so that we can transform our identity as a hunter does" or as "so that we can become a hunter." From this, it is clear that the Nootka believe that a man must transform himself before he can travel to the home of the animal he wishes to hunt. This is because a Nootka perceives of himself as a member of a particular kin group and as the inhabitant of a particular place, his house and village. Thus, a man has to leave the village and go into the woods as a predator of the land to hunt deer and bear, and he has to go out onto the sea as a sea predator to catch fish, in particular salmon and herring, halibut and cod (Drucker 1951:36-61; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:27-46). It is through hunting that a man augments his economic wealth.

In this old man's speech, the hunt is also a metaphor for the aggressive, predatory, and supernaturally-aided action any person must undertake in order to acquire social success from the world around him (see the section on the iconography of Wolf in Chapter 3). Thus, to survive socially as well as economically, a man must also transform out of his group, and travel from his house. So war and marriage involve transformation and moving out from one's group of kinsman in the Nootka
culture. A person's proclaimed family allegiance, among the Nootka, determines his political, economic and social base. The economic resources he can exploit and the house he lives in are those which belong to his recognized lineage. But he marries outside of this group (Rossman and Rubel 1970:76); he seeks a bride among groups with whom he could claim kinship but has not formally activated such ties. In contrast, warfare involves political interaction with groups with whom one has no ties of kinship, whether formally activated or not.³

Thus in the ceremonial and ritual associated with war and marriage, the Nootka symbolize these boundary crossing activities as a hunt replete with transformations. The symbolism of the marriage ceremony will be discussed in Chapter 3; that of the rituals and ceremonial surrounding warfare will have to be illustrated in another paper. The metaphor of a hunt is used in the rituals for war and marriage because they are two means by which a Nootka may aggressively augment the social status of his lineage and family. Marriage augments the status of a man's lineage because part of a bride's status is passed on to her children who normally belong to their father's lineage (Drucker 1951:244 and 267). Similarly, one wages war in order to 'capture' the status of any of the enemy that might be slain (Drucker 1951:343).

Travel and transformation are also necessary for the Nootka seeking morality. To obtain wealth, health and luck, which are all manifestations of the approbation of the spirits for one's moral and ritual conduct (see Chapter 5), a man would leave his village, and go into the woods or onto the beach nearby to "train" (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:185; Drucker 1951:138). This is another way of transforming. It involves
only the sloughing off of the transformer's human identity and skin; that
is, the ritualist becomes a former person, a spirit (Sapir and Swadesh
1939:177); it does not include becoming a being from one of the profane
or secular realms, the land, sea or sky.

Thus in the Nootkan cosmology, hunting, travelling from place
to place, changing status and transforming are intertwined concepts which
involve the acquisition of wealth, be it economic, social or moral; and
a chief can boast of how he acquired his economic wealth and social
status by declaring "hunting. . .I go about the distant tribes" (Sapir
and Swadesh 1939:71).

4. Who can travel and transform?

Not all men can travel across the boundaries of the Nootkan
 cosmos. The power to transform is called a 'privilege' by the Nootka.
It is both a family heirloom (Drucker 1951:377) and a supernatural gift
(Curtis 1916:62).

There are two kinds of privileges; economic and ritual (Drucker
1951:247). For the Nootka, an economic privilege has two basic aspects;
first, the economic right and physical skill to exploit a resource in a
particular location, and secondly, the private ritual and moral strength
to effect the transformation which is needed to exploit that resource.
Economic privileges include the use of particular sites for habitation,
fishing, hunting and salvage. Ritual privileges include the sponsorship
of communal rituals (such as the Wolf ritual) or the performance of a
certain act in them (Drucker 1951:248). A crucial factor for the efficacy
of these communal rituals is the moral strength of the sponsor which enables him to help those undergoing the ritual to transform themselves from the pre-ritual to the post-ritual state.

Usually both types of privileges are manifested ceremonially as a name, mask, dance and/or song. Both the secular and ritual aspects of the privileges are linked to their ceremonial display by legends which are recited during the ceremony (Sapir 1958:106; Drucker 1951:409). The display of privileges defines a man's social status. The majority of privileges are held by the most important chiefs while the lesser chiefs and nobles own fewer privileges; commoners are conceptualized as those people who have only a few minor privileges or none at all (Drucker 1951:247). Many of the privileges are ranked (Drucker 1951:164) and only the chiefs of the Nootka have the numerous economic and appropriate ritual privileges required to maintain a large household (Rossman and Rubel 1970:78-9).

The participation in and enjoyment of the commoners of these chiefly economic and ritual privileges assure their acquiescence to the cosmological and social structure of which the privileges are a part (Drucker 1951:251 and 273). The chiefs depend on the labour and goodwill of the commoners living with them in their large houses, to maintain and exercise their ritual and economic properties and privileges. In return for the commoners' labour, the chief feeds his tenants and takes their children into his Wolf ritual so that they can assume their own hereditary privileges or some of his on a 'tag along' basis. He also helps them in other "life crises" rituals, often by "lending" them some of his own privileges (Drucker 1951:273).
Thus a chief will lend the dentalium shell headdress used by pubescent girls to a relative living with him for his daughter's puberty observances (Drucker 1951:260).

A person cannot claim full membership in a Nootkan family until he has received the insignia of a "privilege" of that lineage; family membership is determined by publically assumed and acknowledged consanguinal ties. Ideally, these ties are traced through the members' paternal lineages, but in many cases, maternal lineage bonds are activated in order to facilitate a person's claim to a particular property or privilege. A person's position within the family, which is determined by the rules of primogeniture, defines his economic and social status, whether he is a commoner, a noble or a chief. This status is then expressed by the number and nature of the "privileges" to which he is entitled and which he has claimed.

A Nootka may receive a privilege during a supernatural experience; either as an ancestor in a legend, or as a living person during the Wolf ritual. The later is the most common way. In its most powerful manifestation, the Wolf ritual (Loqwana) (Drucker 1951:386) is a life crisis ritual for the chiefs and their immediate families for attaining manhood, and more specifically, chieftainship. Women and girls may undergo the Wolf ritual as if they were men. Irving Goldman, in his study of Kwakiutl cosmology, deals with a similar situation in which women act as metaphysical men (Goldman 1975:39). The Wolf ritual is concerned with social transition as well as cosmological transformation. Part of the social transition from boyhood to adulthood is marked by the acquisition by the novice of a privilege.
Since transformation and transition are both boundary crossing actions, the Wolf ritual is a good place to look for the depiction of the boundaries and categories of the Nootkan cosmology. The study of categories and boundaries has been developed in the recent work of Edmund Leach (1976) and Mary Douglas (1966). This study permits an exploration of the relationship between the Wolf masks that are used in the Wolf ritual and these conceptual categories as they are acted out in the ritual's context. In later chapter I will explore how the visual symbols and the actions of the masks describe the process of transformation.
CHAPTER 1: FOOTNOTES

1The inhabitants of each realm are depicted in the myths of the Nootka. Particularly good sources for the texts of these myths are Boas (1916), Sapir and Swadesh (1939:14-103) and Swan (1870:67ff).

2Some ritual is done at night which is not a time for normal human activity and is thus a time of nonhuman activity. Night rituals are used for shamanizing (Drucker 1951:203) and sealing rituals to catch the seals asleep (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:113).

3A man may refuse to join a proposed war or raid on the grounds that he has relatives living in the enemies village (Drucker 1951:337).

4I have decided to describe the second type of privilege as 'ritual' rather than 'ceremonial' as Drucker did (1951:247) because all Nootkan privileges are ceremonial in that they can be displayed ceremonially. But their primary functions are carried out in ritual or economic contexts.

5Today, the potlatch has superseded the Wolf ritual as the most common ritual or ceremonial form by which privilege are acquired. In the text, I am speaking of the period 1850-1900.
Chapter 2

TRANSFORMATION IN THE WOLF RITUAL

The portrayal of the realm of the Inbetween in the Wolf ritual is the topic of this chapter. In section 'A' I will look at the realms of the Nootkan cosmos as they are depicted in the different stages of the Wolf ritual. This will serve to locate the realm of the Inbetween in the ritual action. Section 'B' will focus on the relationships between the masks and the stages of the ritual's action because it is through the roles of the Wolf masks in the ritual that I can identify the mask which belongs to the Inbetween realm. In section 'C' I will turn my attention to the relationships between different social positions and the cosmological categories represented by the stages of the Wolf ritual. The relationship between social and cosmological categories is established by the sponsor's decision as to who are the appropriate people to wear the masks. This will illustrate the Nootkan perception of a parallel between cosmological transformation and social transition.

A. Stages of the Wolf Ritual

The action of the Wolf ritual develops in three stages which we can most easily distinguish by the movement of the novices from one place to another.¹
At the beginning of the ritual, the novices and their parents attend a feast in the lineage house of the chief hosting the Wolf ritual (Ernst 1952:65). Each family is seated according to its rank (Drucker 1951:260). This is an expression of the profane social order. The order is upset when men masked as the Crawling Wolves appear and kidnap the novices from the feast house. This ends the first stage.

The Wolves take the novices into the woods where the novices' behaviour becomes wild, frenzied and dangerous to the uninitiated. The novices remain in the woods for the second stage of the ritual. During this stage the Wolves give the captive novices a specific social privilege which is also recognized as a supernatural power.

The return of the novices to the profane world in the third stage begins when the novices are recaptured from the Wolves by the people of the village who have already been initiated. They return to the *klukwana* house, as the lineage house of the host is now called (Ernst 1952:65 and 68). *Klukwana* means "shaman" (Drucker 1951:386), a person who is close to the spirits. Thus the term 'klukwana house' indicates that, at this point in the ritual, the host's house is part of the realm of the spirits, the Inbetween. All efforts are now directed towards calming the wildness that possesses the novices. They practice the dances or displays which represent their new privileges. At first, the performances are done before a select audience of people who have already been "bitten by the Wolves" or initiated (Sapir 1911:22), and later, before all the people in the village, thus marking a gradual return to the human realm. The final return of the novice to the profane human order, and the end of the ritual is marked by a feast where all the
initiates show their new status by dancing or displaying their privileges.

Thus, the three main stages of the Wolf ritual are: (1) the novices' abduction from the feast in the village, (2) the novices' sojourn in the woods and (3) the "calming" in the Klukwana house which is followed by the display of privileges. These phases fulfil the same purposes as (1) the rites of separation, (2) the interval of separation, and (3) the rites of aggregation, as defined by Leach (1976:77); that is, the first stage moves the action from a profane plane to a sacred one, the second stage, at the sacred plane, changes the state and/or status of the ritualist and the third stage moves the plane of action from the sacred to the profane again. It is through these stages that the action of the Wolf ritual defines and characterizes some of the categories of the Nootkan cosmology.

First, the ritual action defines the village and the woods near it as two separate places in the Nootkan cosmos. The village is shown to be a place of order while the woods are shown to be the site of "frenzy," "wildness" (Ernst 1952:24 and 77) and danger (Drucker 1951:153). This is done with the contrast that is set up between the decorous behaviour of the people at the feasts at the beginning and end of the ritual in the village, and the wild behaviour of the beings from the woods (Ernst 1952:71). The woods are seen as an area of confusion which lies between two loci of order, the human village on the beach and the home of the Wolves at the foot of the mountains.

Thus, the stages of the Wolf ritual differentiate the sacred from the profane. The profane is located by the initial and final stages
of the ritual, when the ritual action moves away from and back to the profane plane. These two stages focus their attention on the humans in the village, and thus classify this orderly place as profane. Similarly, during the second stage of the ritual, the sacred plane is located in the woods, with all the ferocious and fantastic beings that belong there. We can see that for the Nootka the woods are a sacred place as well as a part of the realm of the Inbetween. Thus, the realm of the Inbetween encompasses the sacred nature of the woods and the second stage of the Wolf ritual.

B. Roles of the Wolf Masks in the Wolf Ritual

Each stage of the Wolf ritual is the occasion for the appearance of one of the three types of Wolf mask. The Crawling Wolf masks appear during the first stage; they represent the spirit Wolves that take the novices away from the village, and initiate them. The Whirling Wolf mask appears only during the second stage and represents the novices receiving privileges and powers. The Standing Wolf mask represents the initiates with their new gifts in the third stage.

The Crawling Wolf is the first Wolf mask to appear in the Wolf ritual (Budic 1964:27). In the ritual action, the Crawling Wolf is a Wolf (ibid.); an animal that is not bound by the human social conventions. The Wolf pack, the leaders of which wear Crawling Wolf masks, break into the feast through the back wall rather than through the door. They interrupt the human chief's feast for his people and dominate the action. They introduce a breakdown of human social relationships. In the confusion
of their entrance, the fire is put out so that in the darkness the distinctions between chief and commoner, man and wolf, become invisible, invalid and confused. The initiating Wolves, led by a dancer wearing the Crawling Wolf mask, snatch the children to be initiated from their parents and thereby break the parent-child bond.

Furthermore, the Wolves dominate the novices. They take their human captives out of the human village and into the woods. The Wolves upset the human modes of behaviour during the abduction, but present the novices with a new mode of conduct when they show them a privilege. This is a token of a specific "hunting" skill. When the Wolves show it to the novices, they give them knowledge of it.

But the Crawling Wolf's dominion is not absolute. On the fourth day of the ritual, the people of the village who have already been initiated are able to recapture the novices and to restore them to their parents. The humans are able to prevail over the Wolves once they organize themselves into the proper "wolf hunt" on the morning of the fourth day (Drucker 1951:410 and 422). As the Wolf ritual proceeds through the four days of calming and dancing, the initiates become more immune to the effect of any reminder of the sojourn in the woods, but retain the gifts they received.

The Whirling Wolf mask appears in the second stage of the ritual and thus belong to the realm of the Inbetween. This second Wolf mask dances in the village from the time of the novices enforced departure (Ernst 1952:38) until they begin to calm down after their recapture. During this time, people who have not been initiated into the Wolf ritual do not dare to go about the village; they keep to the relative safety of
the houses (Densmore 1939:103; Curtis 1916:73; Ernst 1952:17 and 76) because outside of the houses, the village has become part of the Inbetween.

Whirling Wolf's role is that of the chief representative for several beings from the Inbetween. First, he is the visible stand-in for the novices during the second stage of the ritual (Ernst 1952:20 and 21). Second, he is the leader of several other Nootkan spirits who dance with him. These spirits share the novices' state of being during the second stage of the Wolf ritual. Achmako and Pookmis, the Wild men are the spirits who accompany Whirling Wolf most often (Ernst 1952:38 and 71). The Wild Men are former people like the novices. For instance, Pookmis is a man who almost drowned at sea and then died of exposure on the beach upon which he was cast (Drucker 1951:153). He thereby left the human circle and became a denizen of the woods. He is eccentric and he walks with a queer gait; he is so wild that he cannot enter any of the houses in the village (Ernst 1952:70). His companion Achmako is dangerous and "goes about smashing things, breaking canoes, scattering flour or food" (Ernst 1952:71). Similarly the novices in the second stage are 'wild' and 'crazy' because they are human beings who are in the realm of the Inbetween, instead of the profane village where they belong in secular times. The Nootka call a man who has gone into the woods for ritual purposes a 'former person' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:117), and the novices are now called ah't'sa which means "dead" or "unconscious" (Curtis 1916:70). Whirling Wolf is like the spirits and the novices in the woods because he too is described as "wild" (Ernst 1952:35) and "frenzied" (Ernst 1952:24) or eccentric. Thus Whirling Wolf, the novices he represents and the Wild
Men are all beings who have died somehow and become possessed by the wildness of the woods (Ernst 1952:70; Sapir 1911:23) which are part of the realm of the Inbetween.

The Standing Wolf mask appears as the ritual action approaches the profane plane, and the locus of the human realm, after the novices have returned from the woods (Ernst 1952:38). Standing Wolf either presides over or leads the procession of dancers through the village during the later part of the ritual (Ernst 1952:25 and 104; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:114). The dancers are the novices who have just learnt how to perform the newly acquired dances, masks, songs and use the names that are the tokens of their new status. Thus, Standing Wolf is an example to the new initiates of an adult man who is already an initiate.

The ritual roles of the three types of Wolf mask are in order of appearance: Crawling Wolf as the initiator, Whirling Wolf as the novice and Standing Wolf as the initiated person. In the ritual context, the characters of the three Wolf masks show a shift from Wolf or nonhuman, to a being from the Inbetween realm or temporarily nonhuman, to adult human. Whirling Wolf, in the second and sacred stage of the ritual, is the mask that represents a being that belongs to the realm of the Inbetween.

C. The Social Status of the Maskers

The identity of the Wolf dancers can be added to the concepts associated with the Wolf masks during the performance of the ritual because the Wolf masks are worn on the dancers' heads so that their faces can be seen below the masks.
The Crawling Wolf masks are worn by men of low rank. Only a chief can hold the privilege to make the Wolves appear but because he is only one man, he must ask some of his kinsmen to act the parts of the initiating Wolves (Drucker 1951:392). Sometimes, branches of the Chief's lineage who are so distantly related to the chief as to be commoners (Drucker 1951:392) have the right to act the part of particular initiating, Crawling Wolves (Drucker 1952:393; Sapir and Swadesh 1939:131).

The Nootka believe the Crawling Wolf dancer is a man whose spirit becomes a Wolf when he dies (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:55). This is symbolic of his separate social status. The Crawling Wolf dancers are not closely related to the chief so they cannot become the chief. Rather, because they become Wolf spirits after death, their ultimate fate is to dwell in the "house" of the Wolves, rather than in the human afterworld. According to the categories set up by the Wolf ritual, the Crawling Wolf dancer belongs to the orderly, profane realms of both men and wolves, and not to the disordered and sacred Inbetween realm.

The Whirling Wolf mask is danced by the chief's son or the chief's younger brother if the son is not yet old enough (Ernst 1952:96). How can a young child, the chief's son, and a young man, the chief's brother, be put into a single category? They are both at different times, the chief's heir. Becoming a chief is a long process that begins with the first rituals performed even before the birth of each noble child (Drucker 1951:266-7) because one has to receive all the chiefly privileges one by one, during potlatches and Wolf rituals (Sapir 1911:25). Thus, in Nootkan society, both the child and the young man are in the process of becoming hawil, chief or complete (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:250 and 300).
The Nootkan language also incorporates the young man and the child in one word - H̓awak (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:330). In its "all but one" sense it applies to the chief's brother or son when he is a young man, for they have both completed all the steps to chieftainship but one, the last move into the position of chief when the incumbent chief resigns. -H̓awak- in its "inbetween" sense applies to the chief's young child who is becoming chief though he is not as far along in the long process as his uncles or older brothers. He is "inbetween" being a newborn and an adult rather than 'all but one' step short of being chief. Thus the Whirling Wolf mask is worn by a man who is becoming a chief, and occupies a position in Nootkan society which is "Inbetween."

The Standing Wolf mask is worn by the chief (N.M.C. catalogue entry for VII-F-302) or the chief's son (Ernst 1952:25), if as a novice, he has just been given the dance by the Wolves.² Both of these people, because of their paramount status on the human social ladder are the epitome of human achievement. The Nootkan word hawil means "to finish or complete" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:250) as well as "chief" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:300) from which we can infer that a chief is an individual who is complete and has finished acquiring all the privileges he needs to be the most accomplished human being possible. The chief has reached the "peak of life" among the Nootka (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:193). When a chief wears the Standing Wolf mask, his chiefly qualities as the best of men and the ideal human being are associated with the mask. If one "short-circuits" the line of logic, Standing Wolf represents the complete man.
There is both continuity and discontinuity in the sequence of the social statuses of the novices and the Wolf dancers. The novices, the Whirling Wolf and Standing Wolf dancers are all on a course of social progression which leads to becoming a complete human or chief, while the Crawling Wolf dancer is on a different course. The novice is making one of the many moves that are needed to accomplish the social transition from unprivileged newborn to privileged chief; the Whirling Wolf dancer has almost completed the course, and the Standing Wolf dancer has completed it. The Crawling Wolf dancer does not fit into that sequence because the men who wear the Crawling Wolf masks will eventually become spirit Wolves, rather than chiefs. On the other hand, the Crawling Wolf dancer, whether a low-ranking noble or a commoner, is like the young novices for they both have but a few privileges. Furthermore, the novice will probably never complete the numerous transitions needed to become a chief since few people become chief in Nootkan society. But the Crawling Wolf dancer and the novices are now committed to the endeavour and to its rules which include helping their chief.

We have seen that the masks that the dancers wear, Crawling Wolf, Whirling Wolf and Standing Wolf, illustrate three stages of the transformation from Wolf, through creature of the Inbetween, to Human. When the masks and the dancers are seen together during the Wolf ritual, the stages of social transition (without a privilege, receiving a privilege, and with a privilege) are aligned with the stages of cosmological transformation (Wolf, Inbetween, Man). Thus, I have suggested that for the Nootka, the sacred realm of the Inbetween is inseparable from the process
of gaining a supernatural attribute or the ability to transform, and the process of acquiring a social status or privilege.

D. Conclusion

There is a congruity between the structure of the stages of the Wolf ritual, the different ritual roles and characters of the Wolf masks, and the social status of the Wolf dancers. They are all three-part structures which are aligned with each other in the Wolf ritual. The alignment is not quite exact. For instance, the Crawling Wolf appears in the second stage of the ritual but the action, at this stage, focuses on the novices and the Whirling Wolf, not the Crawling Wolf. So we can assign the Crawling Wolf to the first stage of the ritual, and ignore his secondary role in the second stage. The alignments created through the action of the ritual are particularly striking when we consider the correspondence that is set up between the Nootkan cosmological structure and their social structure. We have seen how this correspondence is expressed through the three Wolf masks in the context of the Wolf ritual.

The action of the Wolf ritual sets the Whirling Wolf apart on a sacred plane away from the profane plane in which the ritual places the Crawling Wolf and the Standing Wolf. Thus, in the Nootka cosmology, the commoners and the chief, the uninitiated and the initiated, and the masks they wear belong to the profane Land realm. On the other hand, the realm of the Inbetween is populated with Whirling Wolf masks, wild men, novices transforming and receiving supernatural gifts and social privileges, and chief's heirs, - all of whom are sacred and in the ritual state of transformation; they are also transformers.
CHAPTER 2: FOOTNOTES

1 Several good descriptions of the Wolf ritual are found in Ernst 1952:Ch. I, II, and IV; Drucker 1951:386-443; and Sapir 1911:20-28.

2 This practice would seem to indicate that the giving of the Standing Wolf mask signifies the giving of the status of 'chief' or 'holder of the Wolf ritual'. ['When one gives a Wolf ritual, the one is a chief and an eldest brother' (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:111).] Thus, even if a novice wears the Standing Wolf mask to lead the dancers in the third stage of the ritual, it would still be the chief who leads the dancers, for the young initiate would be the new chief.
Chapter 3

THE VISUAL SYMBOLS OF THE WOLF MASKS

In this chapter I will continue the study of the boundary areas and boundary crossers of the Nootkan cosmos as I look at the categories established by the visual symbols of the Wolf masks. The preceding chapter examined the statements made by the masks through their ritual context; now I shall look at their material statements, starting with an analysis and partial exegesis of the visual categories of the Wolf masks. This will set out the parameters of the visible cosmological categories of the Nootka.

A. The Visual Statements of the Wolf Masks

The three Wolf masks make three different visual statements by using an iconography of personages, colours and style which I shall now describe.

The first Wolf mask to appear in the Wolf ritual, the Crawling Wolf mask is carved in three dimensions from a single block of wood (see Plates 5 and 6). The mask is very small, about 6" long. It fits on the dancer's forehead but does not cover his face nor the top of his head. After the mid-nineteenth century, the ritual Crawling Wolf mask was gradually replaced by the simpler expedient of tying a blanket over the dancer's head to resemble a Wolf's head (Drucker 1951:393).
PLATE 5. NOOTKA CRAWLING WOLF MASKS

Top to bottom:
B.C.P.M. #
2120
B.C.P.M. #
6633
N.M.C. #
VII-F-519
PLATE 6. NOOTKA CRAWLING WOLF MASKS

Berlin #
V-B-27

B.C.P.M. #
10,708
The Crawling Wolf mask is easily recognized as a Wolf's head; the ears are missing but the mouth and eyes are emphasized with paint and incising. The style of the Crawling Wolf mask is natural and relaxed. The curves marking the transitions between planes are gently rounded. Ernst calls it an 'animal wolf mask' (Ernst 1952:21). This mask, in my judgment, represents a Wolf who is primarily an animal from the Land realm.

The Crawling Wolf mask is usually painted solid black, though sometimes traces of red paint can be detected (see Plate 5:B.C.P.M. #6633). In other cases, it is painted with black stripes over natural wood (see Plate 5:N.M.C. #VII-F-519).

The second Wolf mask, the Whirling Wolf, has two forms (see Plates 3, 4 and 7). The first, and probably older form, is carved from a block of wood. The second, the more common, is constructed from two flat boards which are fitted together to form a 'V'. Horizontal struts between the top and bottom edges of the boards hold the mask together and form the harness that fits on the dancer's head.

The style of the Whirling Wolf mask is characterized by swooping, diagonal lines which contrast with the gentle curves of the Crawling Wolf mask. A design which is often painted on the flat surfaces of the mask is a diagonal 's' or '~'. Frequently, other elements such as feathers, eyes and teeth are aligned diagonally.

The Whirling Wolf (or Lightning Serpent) mask represents both a Wolf and a Lightning Serpent. The flat side of each board is the profile of the Wolf/Lightning Serpent's head. The Wolf form is evident in the accentuated teeth and long muzzle. The Nootka describe the Wolf as a 'big nose' animal who is taunted about his nose by Deer in a myth.
Plate 7. Nootka Whirling Wolf Masks

Top to bottom:

N.M.C. #
VII-F-667

N.M.C. #
VII-F-669

B.C.P.M. #
14,936

U.B.C. #
A5281
(Sapir and Swadesh 1939:25). Wolf is also noted for his mouthful of teeth that are too dangerous to name aloud during the Wolf ritual (Drucker 1951:388), but are so significant that to say that a Wolf ritual initiate has been 'bitten away' is enough of an allusion to Wolves to be readily understood (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:27). The wood or real feathers that swirl back from the top of the head and droop gracefully from the back of the head, the slant of the eye and the sharp nose of the Whirling Wolf mask can also be seen in the images of Lightning Serpent on the dance screens (see Plate 1).

The colours used on the Whirling Wolf masks range from black on natural wood to a variety of hues. The somber versions of the mask use either black or a combination of red and black lines. On more colourful masks, blue is substituted for black. The most flamboyant masks use green, perhaps purple and light blue instead of black; pink, orange and light red instead of dark red; and white or yellow instead of unpainted natural wood. The iris of the masks' eyes and the eyebrows are almost always black. Rarely, the iris is made of a piece of mirror, glass or copper, all shiny materials.

The third Wolf mask, the Standing Wolf (see Plate 8) is made from two flat boards like the Whirling Wolf mask. The style of the Standing Wolf mask is characterized by solid, stubby, vertical lines. The teeth are often broad and upright; the nose is large and square; the 'feathers' form an upright crown; additional bluntly tipped 'feathers' jut back horizontally. The designs painted on this mask are more symmetrical and balanced than those of the Whirling Wolf mask; 'u's and 'o's which lend themselves more readily to vertical symmetry are more frequent than 's's.
PLATE 8. NOOTKA STANDING WOLF MASKS

N.M.C. #
VII-E-545

N.M.C. #
VII-F-302
The form of the Standing Wolf mask depicts both Wolf and Thunderbird. The basic shape of this Wolf mask is that of a wolf's head. The teeth, nose and long muzzle are diagnostic features of the Wolf. The eye and forehead line could belong to either Wolf or Thunderbird. A crest has been put on the crown of the mask which is similar to that on the Thunderbird mask (Ernst 1952:73 and 104; see Plate 9:B.C.P.M. #2128). This crest of broad wood feathers is also congruent to the crest shown on the Thunderbird on the most traditional Nootkan dance screens. These 'feathers' are representations of small men; their forms have been reduced to two eyes and a mouth (see Plate 10:N.M.C. #VII-F-656). This abbreviation of the form of a small spirit man has been identified as such by Sapir on mask N.M.C. #VII-F-428 (see Plate 10). On the Standing Wolf mask, these small men undoubtedly represent the 'life principle' which is located at the crown of a man's head (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:169), which is distinct from the 'life principle' which is in a man's throat (ibid.). For the Nootka these 'men' feathers represent more than a 'life principle'. They conceive of a man's mind as composed of ten people on his head, all of which must agree on a course of action before it can be undertaken (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:169). Thus the 'men' on the Standing Wolf mask are emblematic of both the mask's identity as Thunderbird and its mind which contains all the knowledge inherent to a man's mind.

The Standing Wolf masks are painted with black and red stripes. White is often used as a background. The Standing Wolf masks are never as colourful as the Whirling Wolf masks. Green is sometimes substituted for black, and orange for red (N.M.C. VII-F-655:catalogue notes; see Plate 9).
PLATE 9. NOOTKA THUNDERBIRD AND STANDING WOLF MASKS

Above;
B.C.P.M. #
2128
Photograph
courtesy of the
British
Columbia
Provincial
Museum.
Left;
N.M.C. #
VII-F-655
The three types of Wolf mask, both ritual and ceremonial versions, are not found with equal frequency in the three museum collections that were studied. I found seven Crawling Wolf masks, forty-one Whirling Wolf masks and seven Standing Wolf masks.

I shall now look at what these variations of colour, identity and style signify to the Nootka. I am assuming that the iconography of the Wolf masks is a visual statement expressed in the categories of the Nootkan cosmology.

B. Iconography of Personages

The basic form of all the Wolf masks is that of a wolf; so I will examine the significance of the Wolf to the Nootka. Through variations of design elements, the different types of Wolf mask are associated with two other mythical beings; Thunderbird and Lightning Snake. What is the relationship between these beings? And how are they associated with the Wolf?

The relationships between Thunderbird, Lightning Snake, Wolf, and whale are the major symbols of the Nootka. These relationships are expressed in Nootkan art and literature (speeches, myths and legends) and provide the major components of the metaphor that the Nootka use "to organize their experiences and direct their behavior" (Needham 1979:17). I shall also show that the Wolf alone is the symbol of the personality that is needed for a successful life in the Nootkan cosmos.

The importance of these two symbols, the Wolf alone or in company with the other beings, is reflected by their pervasiveness in
the Nootkan culture. All ethnographies of the Nootka have related the myth of Thunderbird and have referred to the Wolf ritual. The depiction of these beings on the large dance screens has been documented all along the west coast of Vancouver Island and over a long period of time. My discovery that the Wolf masks incorporate iconographic shapes that refer to Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent as well as Wolf, suggests that their importance is even greater than had been thought.

What are the concepts that these iconographic personages represent that are so important to the Nootka?

1. Wolf

For the Nootka, the Wolf is a hunter, first and foremost. The Wolf's hunting ability on the land is underlined by the names given to the Crawling Wolf masks when the word 'wolf' is too dangerous to say aloud, and by the nature of the initiating Wolves' companions. During the Wolf ritual the Crawling Wolf mask is called 'cougar' or 'panther' (a poor translation of cougar), another large, predator. Thus, in using this euphemism, the Nootka characterize the Wolf as a hunter for they chose another 'hunter from the order of large four-footed land animals' as the closest alternative. The only other large predators on Vancouver Island are bears (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:49 and 306). Grizzly bears are clearly grouped with the wolves because Grizzly Bear dancers sometimes appear with the initiating Wolf pack (Drucker 1951:394). Ordinary bears do not appear with the Wolves. Instead they are hunted and their carcasses are honored and addressed as Haquem or 'Queen' in the same manner as whales (Drucker 1951:178 and 181); and we shall see later in this chapter, that Whales belong to a very different category then do Wolves.
Several aspects of the wolf as a hunter are emphasized. His swiftness and stealth, and the fact that he kills with his teeth are some of his notable attributes. Speed, useful for chasing down game, is the particular talent of the Messanger Wolves who are also the initiating Wolves who break into the feast house during the Wolf ritual (Sapir 1911:22). Their names reflect their relative fleetness (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:34); they are called (As-fast-as-the-)Sound-of-a-stick-breaking-on-the-ground (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:34), (As-fast-as-)Water-drips-down-from-a-standing-bush (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:34), (As-fast-as-)Adze-chips-falling-on-the-ground (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:217), and (As-fast-as-)Muddy-water-that-has-been-stirred-up-settles-down (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:217). The Wolves hunt by stalking their prey (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:85 and 87). The term 'smoke' that is used to allude to the Wolves during the Wolf ritual (Drucker 1951:391) brings into focus the Wolves' ability to move quietly when stalking. The name of the mythical Wolf warriors' band, 'fond of bones' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:87) highlights the Wolves' ability to kill living beings, since bones are the only part of a body that remains in the profane realms after it has died (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:69). The weapons that the Wolves use are their teeth, which their warriors sharpen in preparation for a mythical war just as their opponents the Lice sharpen their spears (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:87). The Wolf appears as the hunter of Deer and Elk in Nootka myths (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:85 and 87).

The Nootka also admire the Wolf because of his 'wisdom' (Ernst 1952:91) or ritual knowledge. The Wolves' success in hunting is a testament to their supernatural powers (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:187). In myths,
Wolf leaves his own house at the foot of the mountains and goes into the woods, where he kills Deer and Elk. Thus, according to Nootkan thought, Wolf has the supernatural ability to cross boundaries and to force Deer and Elk to travel over the boundary between life and death, and thus to transform them into beings of the realm of the Inbetween. When one recalls that the Nootka conceive of people who are in the ritual state as 'former people or dead', (see Chapter 2) this line of thought discloses the dual force of the Nootkan ritual symbolism that selects the Wolves to be the ones that carry the novices of the Wolf ritual into the realm of the Inbetween.

The Nootka believe that the Wolf's powers of transformation can be used on himself and that a Wolf may transform himself into a Killer Whale when he goes to sea (Roberts and Swadesh 1955:319); and that the Killer Whale becomes a Wolf when he comes onto the land (Roberts and Swadesh 1955:319; Drucker 1965:135; Curtis 1916:20). The logical basis for this transformation lies in the metaphorical parallels between Wolves and Killer Whales. The Killer Whale hunts whales like a Wolf (Drucker 1965:135; Densmore 1939:53; Curtis 1916:86). "Hayte [Densmore's informant] said he once saw a whale. . . . It was pursued by a Killer Whale which. . . made a noise like a wolf - a long howl. . . ." (Densmore 1939:53). The Nootka point out that the Killer Whale, like the Wolf, is not the prey of another animal (Ernst 1952:48). When a Wolf transforms into a Killer Whale, the Wolf's tail becomes the Killer Whale's dorsal fin (Roberts and Swadesh 1951:319). A Wolf can be killed by breaking his tail (Drucker 1951:127) and the tail is kept as a trophy of the kill (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:87). In parallel fashion, a man's life principle
is at the crown of his head, which his enemies' warriors cut off and keep as trophies of that kill (Drucker 1951:341). Since a whaler keeps the dorsal fin of any whales he kills as trophies (Drucker 1951:180), the 'life principle' of the Whale is in the dorsal fin (Sapir 1919:352). Wolf's tail, whale's dorsal fin and man's head are analogous parts of the bodies of these three predators from different orders and realms.

Thus the Nootka see many analogies between man, Wolf and Killer Whale. The analogies rest on the fact that they are all predators and not the prey of another predator. In the Nootkan cosmology, the Killer Whale in the sea, and Wolf and Man on the land can be assigned together to a category defined by this role. This reasoning makes it possible for a man to become a killer whale. This happens during the secret whaling rituals, when Nootkan whalers swim through the water with their fists clenched and thumbs held upright in imitation of a whale's fin (Curtis 1916:37), most logically (Nootka logic), a Killer Whale. Thus, while Wolves transform into Killer Whales, and Killer Whales into Wolves, men transform into Killer Whales. And men transform into Wolves during the Wolf ritual when they place Wolf masks on their heads to become the various Wolves.

From this we can comprehend how the Nootka can place men and Wolves who are both inhabitants of the Land Realm into an even more closely defined conceptual and moral category. This is done by forbidding men to eat the flesh of wolves (Drucker 1951:61) because it is cannibalism to eat those similar to oneself. In addition, the Nootka envision wolves living in a house, and having a chief with warriors and messangers like men (Drucker 1951:273 and 269; Ernst 1952:65). Furthermore, Wolves and men eat food that is similar in the Nootkan language. Mok means 'deer'
and *mokmokω* means 'cod', one of the staples of the Nootkan diet (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:265). Lastly, men hunt like wolves. *Wa-win* means 'hunting deer in the manner of Wolves' and 'employing wolf howls to scare out the deer' (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:316). Sproat witnessed the Nootka hunting deer in this manner and called it *wa-win* (Sproat 1868:145). The person accumulating wealth is like a Wolf hunting. Wealth is seen as a form of prey with 'big eyes' who 'is wary of those he suspects' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:163). "Big eyes" are significant of Deer (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:113), the Wolf's primary prey. Thus a guest at a feast could compare the host chief's skill in accumulating the food, gifts and dances for a feast to the hunting skills of a wolf. He praised his host for being so swift to make food so plentiful (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:201), thus aluding to the Wolf's swiftness in the hunt.

Because the Nootka ascribe the role of hunter who lives on the Land to both Wolf and man, we can understand why their legends recount that a teaching relationship exists between Wolf and man. Thus, Wolf is seen as a good friend of hunters and whalers (Curtis 1916:21). Wolves will admire a man's bravery when he dares to invade the Wolf's house and will reward him with supernatural gifts needed for whaling (Curtis 1916:20) or the ownership of the Wolf ritual (Swan 1870:66-7). In one legend a man who helped an injured Wolf was rewarded with a gift which enabled him to become a chief (Drucker 1951:162); the word for chief, *hawil*, also means 'wealthy' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:237), so the gift was the ability to hunt for wealth or novices like a Wolf.
2. **Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Whale**

   The Wolf masks have a second identity by which they can be analysed. The Crawling Wolf mask is identified only with the Wolf, but the Whirling Wolf mask is secondarily identified with Lightning Serpent, and the Standing Wolf mask with Thunderbird. These beings represent categories of Nootkan thought and in their relationships with each other they define part of the structure of the Nootkan cosmos. I shall examine who they are, and how they act toward each other. I will begin where native informants begin, with the myth explaining the relationship of Thunderbird and Lightning Serpent. Then I will explore what this metaphor signifies by analysing how it is applied to Nootkan life. This will elicit more of the nature of the boundary areas of the Nootkan cosmos because I will, in fact, be discussing the nature of Lightning Serpent who appears in the iconography of the Whirling Wolf mask, the mask of the realm of the Inbetween.

   a. The myth of the Thunderbird

   "The Thunderbird who lives on the summit of a mountain, difficult of approach is believed, when in need of game, to fly off to the sea and catch a whale, which he then carries off to his home. The heavy flapping of his wings is what we call thunder. ...he'itlik [is] the mythological serpent belt of Thunderbird who, as he zigzags through the air or coils about a tree, causes the lightning." (Sapir 1911:68)

   *He'itlik* is often glossed as Lightning Serpent or Lightning Snake (Sapir 1913:68; Northwest Coast Artists Guild 1977:#7). *He'itlik* is also described as living in the wing feathers of Thunderbird (Drucker 1951:163).
In this Nootka myth, Lighting Serpent is not a passive creature. He is a self-propelled weapon which Thunderbird employs to kill Whale (Northwest Coast Artists Guild 1977:#7). He zigzags through the air whereas an inanimate missile would follow a smooth trajectory, either a straight line or a simple curve. Ron Hamilton, a contemporary Nootka artist, tells the story of how Thunderbird's three brothers were drowned while hunting Whale without the help of Lightning Serpent (ibid.). Thunderbird needs Lightning Serpent; Whale is killed by Lightning Serpent's sharp head (Swan 1870:8). This more active aspect of Lightning Serpent is reflected in the name 'belt of Thunderbird'. A belt can be an active object when it defines the human shape of a person clothed in a loose garment such as those the Nootka wore traditionally (Densmore 1939:283).

Wolf is a teacher in the legend about "A Thunderbird [who] has been given by the Wolf to a chief to hunt Whales with" (Ernst 1952:21). This needs interpreting, for though the word are English, the ordering of ideas is Nootkan. This legend is about how a Wolf gave a human chief the privilege to hunt whales. The narrator of the legend makes the assumption that his audience knows that the Wolf has taught the Thunderbird to hunt whales, and that the Thunderbird in turn will teach the chief.

b. The manifestations of Thunderbird's hunt in Nootkan culture

I shall now investigate how the myth of Thunderbird's hunt is metaphorically integrated into several aspects of Nootkan life, such as whale hunting, marriage and sexual intercourse. This will contribute
to an exegesis of the iconography of Thunderbird and Lightning Serpent on the Nootkan ritual Wolf masks.

The whale hunt is a respected activity reserved for the chief and his brother (Drucker 1951:51). Only the chief may kill the whale with a harpoon (Drucker 1951:51). The motion of the lanyard attached to the harpoon head as it uncoils to strike the whale is described with the same word, *waci(λ)*, that is used for the motion of *He’itlik* as he moves through the air (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:257). The whaling harpoon head is incised with designs depicting Lightning Serpent and his scales, further associating the harpoon with Lightning Serpent. While a whaler does not eat the oil from the whales he kills (Drucker 1951:179) his reputation grows with the number of whales he beaches (Drucker 1951:49). His social persona, if not his physical person, is augmented by his prey, the whale.

The marriage ceremony of the chiefs of the Nootka is a symbolic reenactment of Thunderbird hunting Whale (Boas 1890:601; Drucker 1951:289). The groom or his surrogate, acts as the Thunderbird and seeks to catch the bride as if she were Whale. He harpoons her with a line of blankets tied together, covering a column of relatives, zigzagging like *He’itlik* up the beach to her house (Densmore 1939:247; Koppert 1930b:51). The line of blankets also represents the groom's payment for his bride (Koppert 1930b:5). Sometimes the blanket-covered column is led by a man wearing a Lightning Serpent or Whirling Wolf mask (*ibid.*). Sometimes a real harpoon, with its association with Lightning Serpent, is thrown by the groom at the door of the bride's house (Koppert 1930b:1). Just as the whaler's reputation grows with the number of whales
he brings home, so the reputation of the chief/groom and his lineage is augmented by the dowry of privileges that his bride brings with her because the dowry represents an inheritance for the children of the marriage who will belong to the groom's lineage (Drucker 1951:267).

The Thunderbird metaphor has deep roots in the Nookan language. The suffix 'i is used for 'eating', 'paying for' and 'having sexual intercourse with' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:323). Thus, just as a man has sexual intercourse with a woman, so the chief pays for his bride and Thunderbird eats Whale. The three actions are similar in the Nootkan language because they are represented by the same word. In addition, the verb 'to spear' is linked metaphorically to the verb 'to have sexual intercourse'. The Nootkan term mayak is a euphemism used while whaling for 'to cast a spear'; literally it means 'particle of gum pops out' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:263). In a myth recorded by Sapir (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:81), Mink uses the foam of some gum that he is chewing to impregnate a girl by having her swallow it. The foam with particles of the gum in it acts as semen. Thus 'a particle of gum pops out' can mean both 'to cast a spear' or 'to ejaculate sperm'.

Four sentences can be drawn from the above discussion which the Nootka link metaphorically in action and speech.

1. Thunderbird eats Whales.
2. Whaler spears whale.
3. Groom pays for his bride.
4. Man has sexual intercourse with woman.

In Nootkan thought these different subjects, verbs and objects are interchangeable between the four sentences. The Whale is the mythic form of
the whale in the second statement. The whale is metaphorically linked with the wife of the chief in the ritual of the whale hunt when the whale is addressed as 'noble lady' or *haquem*, the title given to the chief's wife (Drucker 1951:197). During the whale hunt, the behaviour of the whaler's wife is believed to affect the behaviour of the whale (Drucker 1951:177). The wife is also the bride and a woman. We have seen that the verbs are euphemisms or homonyms for each other. Since the Thunderbird and the whaler both hunt Whale/whale, since the whaler is the same person as, or the brother of (a surrogate), the chief and groom, and since they are all men, the metaphorical unity of the four sentences becomes clear.

If the four sentences are merged into one as they would be in Nootkan thought, three concepts emerge which are of primary interest in this thesis. They are 'hunter', 'prey' and 'that which links the two'. In the myth of Thunderbird and Whale, Lightning Serpent is the link between the two as well as the actions of hunting and eating. Thus *he'itlik*, Lightning Serpent, is the personification of the action between the hunter, personified by Thunderbird, and his prey, personified by the Whale.

Let me pursue this metaphor further. Lightning Serpent is the agent that brings about change by aiding the process in which two separate beings come together to transfer something of value. Lightning Serpent facilitates the incorporation of a part of one being by another, and the transformation of the incorporated being by separating it from that aspect of itself which is then ingested into the identity of the incorporating being. The incorporator is then transformed by being augmented by the
separated aspect of the incorporated being. Thus, Whale's flesh is eaten by Thunderbird which leaves Whale with just a set of bones (McCurdy 1961:112; Swan 1870:8), and Thunderbird replete with a meal; likewise the Whale's precious oil is consumed, its bulky flesh is taken by the whaler's lineage, and the whaler's prestige is greater than ever; analogously, the marriage privileges of the bride's lineage will belong to her husband's lineage and her other ceremonial and economic privileges remain in her village for her children to claim and activate if they wish and are able to do so.

Death, or at least the transferral of vitality of the incorporated from one area, either a realm or village, to another, is part of the process of transformation because the Whale is killed and leaves the sea, and the bride leave her village or family, before their "wealth" (oil, privileges) can be incorporated by the "hunter." Leaving the whale bones on the beach (Drucker 1951:66) and the bride's inactive kinship bonds and the associated economic and ceremonial privileges in her natal group, would seem to be a method for providing a framework for the eventual return of the prey to its source, while transferring the 'wealth' to the new home.

Thus, in the Nootkan metaphor, Lighting Serpent personifies an action that creates change, a change which transforms the incorporator through augmentation, and transforms the incorporated through diminution. In short, Lightning Serpent is the Nootkan personification of transformation, a process by which dimensions of being are exchanged.

3. **Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Wolf, and the Wolf Masks**

The identities of the Wolf masks incorporate both Wolf the hunter and Wolf the teacher, Thunderbird the hunter or Lightning Serpent the weapon. These dual identities of the Wolf masks raises a question. How do both
identities of each mask fit into a single conceptual scheme? Since the Nootka combined the Wolf with Thunderbird and with Lightning Serpent in the forms of the Wolf masks, an analysis of these forms will indicate how the Nootka synthesize the concepts they symbolize.

The basic shape of each Wolf mask is that of a wolf, and the designs which signify Thunderbird and Lightning Serpent are subordinate to the Wolf because they are appended to the Wolf shape. The secondary personality of the mask is expressed through the crests on the top and back of the mask. The Wolf-like qualities of the Whirling Wolf and Standing Wolf masks are concentrated near the front of the form. Furthermore, the Wolf traits, the mouth and the forehead silhouette, are more strongly delineated than the Lightning Serpent and Thunderbird traits because the lupine outlines are also the outlines of the solid forms of the mask. In addition, the edges of the Wolf's forehead and mouth are strengthened with a solid line of black or red. The crests that signify Lightning Serpent or Thunderbird are lightly attached to the Wolf's head, and the connection is made through thin bands of wood. These connections are weakened visually by the open spaces between them. On the masks, it is the Wolf's shape that sets the parameters of the design field. Thus, the visual statements made by the masks declare 'wolf' more strongly than they describe the nature of the Wolf, whether tutor (Crawling Wolf), hunter (Standing Wolf) or weapon for transformation (Whirling Wolf).

At the same time, the form of the masks can be ambiguous. On the Standing Wolf mask, it can refer to Wolf or Thunderbird. On the Whirling Wolf mask it makes simultaneous reference to Lighting Serpent and Wolf. This is because the solid black eye, the centre of the visual composition of the masks is shared by the two identities on each mask. The identity of the mask will change if one shifts one's attention from the front and centre of
the mask to the eye, and then out to the crest at the back and on the fringes of the mask. The focussed identity becomes the foreground while the unfocussed identity becomes the background. Thus the two identities are separated and fused at the same time.

By these means, the Wolf masks make the visual statement that the Wolf can form a cohesive image with each one of the components of the Thunderbird's hunt. But this is only possible, according to the visual statement of the masks, if the Wolf remains the central identity and the identity from the Thunderbird's hunt is given a subserviant or secondary role in identifying the being portrayed by the mask, and if the possibility of transformation from Wolf (a profane creature) to Thunderbird or Lightning Serpent (creatures of the Inbetween) remains.

What are the conceptual implications of this image? No matter what their secondary identity, all the masks represent Wolf the hunter. Thus, in the Wolf ritual, the masks represent one being in different moods. The Wolf's basic identity is modified by the adjectival influence of the beings from the myth when he dons the crest or "mask" of Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent or Wolf. Thus, the Crawling Wolf is the hunter teaching, Whirling Wolf is the hunter transforming, and Standing Wolf is the hunter being a hunter. These different aspects of the Wolf are presented at different stages of the ritual. Another implication is that being a hunter also means that one has the ability to transform.

A second question arises. Given that Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Wolf are related in a major metaphor, is there is parallel relationship between the three roles of the Wolf masks in the Wolf ritual? Yes. Because each mask appears in a separate stage of the ritual, each component of Thunderbird's hunt is assigned a place in the development
of the ritual action, so that Wolf and Lightning Serpent must be invoked before Thunderbird can appear. The implication is that the Wolf ritual creates a Thunderbird and that Wolf and Lightning Serpent are needed along with the human novice to create a Thunderbird. The relationships between the masks are similar to those of the personalities in the myth. The Standing Wolf mask is the focus of the ritual. The Whirling Wolf mask, like the Lightning Serpent, represents the weapon - the means that Standing Wolf uses to sustain and create himself - because the novices in the ritual become Standing Wolf after being Whirling Wolf. In the Nootka Wolf ritual the young novice follows the Whirling Wolf mask and takes on the Lightning Serpent's identity to be able to be like the Standing Wolf mask, and to become, metaphorically, Thunderbird the hunter. The addition and transferral of dimensions of being associated with Lightning Serpent in the Whirling Wolf mask, are used to transform the human novice into a human adult. Crawling Wolf is a teacher like the Wolf in the myth, because he helps the novices to change into Standing Wolf by showing them how to behave. Thus the Crawling Wolf and Whirling Wolf roles create and sustain the Standing Wolf role, in the same manner that Wolf and Lightning Serpent teach and feed Thunderbird in the myth.

C. **Iconography of Colour - Red and Black**

While studying the Wolf masks in the museum collections I noticed that the ritual masks were painted red and/or black. The Crawling Wolf masks are solid black (Ernst 1952:38). The ritual Whirling Wolf masks are painted with only black lines or with black and red lines. The lines
I 71,
painted on the ritual Standing Wolf masks are always red and black, never black alone. The background colour of the masks is usually bare wood or white. In the festival or potlatch versions of the Wolf masks, other colours are substituted for the red, black and white (see pages 35 and 36). Red, black and white symbolize attributes that are acquired through supernatural circumstance in Nootkan rituals and ceremonies.

On the Wolf masks, white is used as a substitute or symbol for bare wood (page 35). We can regard the bare wood as a deliberate representation of what would happen if a colourless transparent liquid were applied to it. One such liquid which is important to the Nootka is whale oil (Macfarlane 1978). Thus, I believe that white paint signifies the limpid oil that is rendered from the whales that are beached through the ritual power and efforts of the chief. The oil symbolizes wealth and substance; it is the most prized form of food and the essence of the Whale's blubber, its bulk (Macfarlane 1978).

Red signifies the supernatural gift of power. Red signified the gifts which were received by those who were being initiated into the ancient red klukwana or Taeyak ritual, a healing society (Boas 1890:598; Drucker 1951:215-8). The gift which was received during this ritual was good health from a supernatural origin. But red signifies more than good health for the Nootka. Nootkan ritualists cause themselves to bleed so that they will be like the dead, bloodless (Ernst 1952:84), thus for the Nootka blood is like life or vitality; the loss of either one leads to death. Red paint is sometimes referred to as 'blood paint' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:119), so red paint signifies vitality and the good health which attends it, in Nootkan ritual and ceremonial symbolism. The sacred wildness of the woods, a manifestation of sacred power (Ernst 1952:71-2),
is also signified by red paint (Curtis 1916:89). This second symbolic use of red indicates that the Nootka perceive vitality as having a sacred or supernatural dimension. The Nootka call this vitality in all its dimensions, power.

The initiates of the Wolf ritual paint their faces black to signify that they have received a supernatural gift (Ernst 1952:67 and 78). This gift is a special identity, which can be deduced from an analysis of the manifestations of the concept of black in the Nootkan language.

Table I

The Nootkan stem for 'black' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:269)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>topk-</td>
<td>'black, dark coloured'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to.pel</td>
<td>'evening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topal-</td>
<td>'salt, saltwater, sea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topal-</td>
<td>'privilege from a supernatural source'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[also 'marriage privilege' brought by a bride to her husband from her family (Drucker 1951:141)]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nootkan word for black, topk-, provides the root for several words which refer to things which are similar because they do belong outside of the bounds of a particular human group or village. Topaltofal(-) refers to the sea and saltwater. Humans drink fresh water (Boas 1916: 892) rather than salt water, and they do not belong on the sea for they must be ritually prepared before they dare to venture out on the sea (Drucker 1951:168-70). The sea is a dangerous and hostile place for human beings. A woman who waded carelessly into the sea was dragged out and drowned by the seal skin she was washing (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:63).
Topa.\(\text{ti}\) means a wedding privilege from a supernatural source that belongs to the bride (Drucker 1951:141). Both the privilege and the bride come from outside the group into which she marries. To.\(\text{psi}(\lambda)\) means evening, the time for secular human activities to end and the time for rituals. Thus in Nootkan speech, thought and action, black identifies things which are beyond a particular human group.

Red and black play an active role in Nootkan rituals such as Whaling. For the Nootka (Drucker 1951:169 lff., for a description of whaling) this is a dangerous undertaking which demands much strength and skill, both physical and supernatural (Densmore 1939:47-8). The preparations include painting the canoe to symbolize these attributes. The inside is painted red (Swan 1870:38) which signifies and reinforces the vitality where the crew sits. The outside of the canoe is charred black (Swan 1870:38) to identify it with the nonhuman sea which laps against it. The colour scheme allows the men to augment their physical strength and vitality inside the canoe, while the black gives them access to the whale in the sea. The harpooner paints his face black (Drucker 1955 65:142) because he must assume the sea identity of the whale before he may harpoon it. Even these precautions are often inadequate; failure, injury and death are constant refrains in Nootkan tales about whaling.

The Wolf ritual is another occasion that is full of danger for the Nootka. Anything can happen when the wolves are in the village, and the uninitiated are careful to keep to the safety of their homes (Densmore 1939:103). Thus, because paint is used by the Nootka in other dangerous ritual situations, I submit that when only red and black, highly symbolic colours, are used on some of the Wolf masks, these somber masks are
intended for use in the Wolf ritual rather than for display during profane and orderly ceremonial occasions such as potlatches. It is clear that these colours are applied to the ritual Wolf masks to signify supernatural gifts; red, a gift of power received by the intervention of a spiritually adept human patron; and black, a gift received through the patronage of an animal, of something identified with the sea, with other human villages or with the wolf.

In general terms, the use of solid black, and red and black lines on the Wolf masks can be seen as a process of transformation when they are placed in the order of their appearance; the solid black of the Crawling Wolf mask is broken up to become the black lines of the Whirling Wolf mask; then red, expressed as red lines, is added to the design on the Standing Wolf mask. The temporal progression starts with a black mass which is broken and then penetrated by red lines, which can be seen as a modified red mass. The transitional stage of colouration is expressed by black lines, and coincides with the partial incorporation of a Wolf identity in the Wolf ritual. If the transitional stage were expressed on the Wolf masks in red stripes, it would indicate a being who has incorporated some vitality. But the colours of the masks express the transitional stage in terms of identity, and so the Whirling Wolf and the novice he represents are beings who have changed identity. Then, in the next stage of the Wolf ritual, the Standing Wolf mask represents, through its red and black lines, a being who has changed initially in terms of identity, and secondarily, in terms of vitality or power.

The colours and the manner of their application indicate the source and nature of the gifts that the masks have recieved and
incorporated as components of their *persona*. The black paint of the Crawling Wolf indicates that he shares an identity with a nonhuman realm or another tribe of humans. Since the Crawling Wolf comes to the ritual from his home, this identity is from the house of the Wolves and the foot of the mountains. In the context of the ritual, the Whirling Wolf's black stripes indicate that he has acquired some of the Wolf identity of the Crawling Wolf. The red and black stripes of the Standing Wolf mask indicate he has some of the Wolf identity or habit of mind, and some supernatural vitality. In the context of the Wolf ritual he must have received both of these qualities from the Whirling Wolf. Since the source of the black is the Crawling Wolf's home, the source of the red paint and power must be Lightning Serpent - the secondary identity of Whirling Wolf - or equally the realm of the Inbetween, the home of Whirling Wolf.

D. Iconography of Style

On each of the three types of Wolf mask the dominant Wolf shape is altered so that the masks differ from each other in style and balance. I shall now examine these variations in my pursuit of the categories of the Nootkan cosmology and statements about the Inbetween.

The Crawling Wolf mask is the least stylized of the three. The natural proportions of the Wolf's head are barely altered. The lines that delinate the Wolf shape are almost as variable as in nature. The length of the mouth is natural. The teeth are not bared to suggest tension and to display the wolf's weapons - weapons being a human artifact. The forehead and skull are unadorned. The ears are not depicted, one of
the few unnatural touches. Other departures from the natural wolf's head are the use of wood rather than fur for the surface, and the solid black colouration, rather than hues of grey. The general lines of the Crawling Wolf form is balanced and relaxed. The visual message of the mask is that this is the essential Wolf for the Nootka.

The Whirling Wolf mask presents a different treatment of the Wolf form. The Wolf's long mouth, muzzle, eye and forehead are retained but realigned along the diagonal axis and rendered in straight lines. Whether the mask is made from a single block of wood, or from two thin boards, the profile of the front of the muzzle is a diagonal, straight line. The nostril is thrust farther forward in relation to the lower jaw than is natural. The muzzle is longer than that of a real wolf. The forehead, though rounded like that of a real wolf, is unnaturally low. The exposed teeth are sharp, straight-sided triangles set at a slant. The eye which is sometimes set diagonally, is an elongated rectangle with rounded corners. The Whirling Wolf masks become totally unlike a natural wolf at the top and back of the head. These areas are decorated with real or wooden feathers. These are placed at an angle so that they slope back from the Wolf's brow and top of the head; and sweep downward from the back of the head.

The vigorous diagonals and straight lines of the Whirling Wolf masks are very different from the relaxed, natural curves of the Crawling Wolf mask. The diagonals thrust out in opposing directions so that the forces in the visual composition pull against each other and nullify each other's effect. The lines of the feathers and the front edge of the nose fail to carry their full force and energy because the strength of the
lines is dissipated through tapering ends. The diagonal lines are unstable and threaten to fall down and destroy the pattern. This self-destructive composition, with its visual force lines leading off in a multitude of directions may be viewed as the artist's visual rendition of the paradoxical, logically self-negating nature of many Nootkan spirits. The effect of the Whirling Wolf mask is one of visual imbalance, agitation and transitoriness (see Figure 2).

The style of the Standing Wolf masks is based on vertical lines rather than diagonal ones. The ears are still missing, the nostril is built up to a squared mound. A crest of vertical, blunt 'feathers' ornaments the top and back of the head. The eye form is a short rectangle with rounded corners. The teeth are often blunt, broad, and set vertically into the upper and lower jaws. The muzzle is thicker than that of a real wolf. The front silhouette of the muzzle is an abrupt, straight vertical rather than rounded and tapered as in a living wolf.

The visual message of the lines of the Standing Wolf mask is concentrated, ordered strength. The verticals move in the same direction. The consistent thickness of the lines means that they end with their full width and visual strength intact, so that the thrust of each line is maintained. Each line is balanced, and does not threaten to tip over. Visually, the motion is orderly and its energy is constant and able to complete its allotted task. The vertical balance of the pattern is reinforced by the uniform direction of the lines while the formal composition of the mask is given tension by the insistent use of straight lines. This stylization of the wolf form is full of power and stability.
Figure 1. Diagonal lines and the direction of their visual thrust in the form of the whirling wolf masks.
The style and balance of the masks convey two sets of concepts in general aesthetic terms. The stylization of the Whirling Wolf and Standing Wolf masks is the visible manifestation of a force pushing against the natural lines of the Crawling Wolf mask, a form which is relatively free of stylistic flourishes. This energy is external to the nature of the Wolf, the basic form of the masks. The balance in the composition of the Crawling Wolf mask and the Standing Wolf mask expresses stability and the absence of change. In contrast, the teetering diagonals of the Whirling Wolf mask, which point in all directions at once, express instability and turmoil. Its style hints at the imminant prospect of change, the disintegration of the form of the mask, and the release of the energy that is contained by the frenetic, but precarious composition of the mask's form.

Through the context of the Wolf ritual, we can place these concepts into the categories of the Nootkan cosmology. The energy expressed by the stylized design must be the supernatural vitality of the Inbetween, power. This is also the power (Densmore 1939:297) that the novices are experiencing as they are changing, transforming on a sacred level, from childhood to adulthood. Since the Standing Wolf represents the calmed but still powerful initiates, the stylization of this mask can also be equated with the power or vitality of the Inbetween. The balance in the composition of the Crawling Wolf and Standing Wolf masks must reflect the stable and earth-bound nature or profanity of the Wolf's and the human's identities; while the imbalance of the Whirling Wolf mask must reflect the temporary, fluid nature of the sacred, special beings in the realm of the Inbetween. Further, I conclude that the ritual context of
the Whirling Wolf mask expresses the belief that change and power originate in the realm of the Inbetween in the Nootkan cosmos.

E. Iconography

"Wolfness" is the primary identity of the form of the Wolf masks, but the secondary aspects of the Wolf masks reveal three different personalities through the use of visual categories. The identity, colour and style of each mask separate messages which are joined together through the agency of the complete form of the mask. The identities and colour of the Crawling Wolf mask defines him as a tutor of a profane realm who has the identity and knowledge of a predatory Wolf, but the style of this mask indicates that he is not a source of energy, vitality or power. The style, colour and identities of the Whirling Wolf indicates that he is the means to power, and in the context of the ritual he resides in an unstable state in the realm of the Inbetween. The visual categories of the Standing Wolf mask define it as a hunter who has power and the Wolf's knowledge, both received in sacred circumstances. The style of the third mask indicates that Standing Wolf will not change, and in the context of the ritual, he does not reside in the realm of the Inbetween. The unstable and active qualities of the Whirling Wolf mask set it apart from the other two mask types. These characteristics, change and energy, which belong to the Nootkan realm of the Inbetween are in contrast to the inactive stability of the Land realm.
CHAPTER 3: FOOTNOTES

1The Wolf mask collected by John Webber in 1778 (Boas 1897:478) is called a 'cat' (Gunther 1972:224) probably a gloss for 'cougar' which is the ritual avoidance name for the Crawling Wolves (see below). Thus Webber's 'katz' is the old form of ritual Crawling Wolf mask. Since the ceremonial Crawling Wolf masks in Canadian museums, which are also referred to by Drucker (1951:393), are very similar in form to Webber's 'katz', it is safe to analyse these more modern forms as if they belong to the ritual series of Wolf masks. See plates 5 and 6.

2The word for 'dull', misk, also means 'without power' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:267).

3The ritual avoidance names for Crawling Wolf is saʔakw (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:306) and sa'kšisi or crawlers (Drucker 1951:388). Crawlers, four-footed animals, is also an epithet for cougars (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:49). Sa'nek, very similar to saʔakw, is the name given to the panther dance (Ernst 1952:74). Panther and cougar are the names given to two masks (See plate 5, BCPM 2120; NMC VII-F-519) which are similar in form to two Crawling Wolf masks (See plates 5 and 6, BCPM 6633 and BCPM 10708). Thus panther and cougar must be epithets for wolf.

4The dead have no bones in their bodies to give them solid shapes (Swan 1870:84). The bones remain in the profane realm where the being lived. But the dead themselves are residents of the Inbetween.

5There is a term meaning 'under the arm to' used for the people in a lineage house who are most closely related to the chief (Drucker 1951:279). These people are nobles who live under the leadership and protection of the chief, just as Lightning Serpent lives under the Thunderbird. The affinity in the West Coast Cosmology, between the chief's son, a high-ranking noble, and the Inbetween is more apparent.

6Joe David, explaining the greatness of a whaler, flexed his arm muscles to indicate physical strength, and spoke of the spiritual 'power' at the same time. To him, the two were synonymous. 1978, spring.
Chapter 4

MOVEMENT

Each Wolf mask was displayed with "its own appointed" dance (Ernst 1952:15), the Crawling Wolf dance, the Whirling Wolf dance or the Standing Wolf dance. The Nootka used these three modes of movement to distinguish the three Wolf masks from each other, and the realm of the Inbetween from the rest of the Nootkan cosmos. The three modes are expressed by two sets of symbols, the nomenclature and the form of the dance which belongs to each mask.

A. Nomenclature: Crawling, Whirling and Standing

Though the three Wolf masks are called Wolves, each type is distinguished from the others by a sobriquet which designates a mode of moving. In order of appearance in the Wolf ritual, they are Crawling, Whirling and Standing (Ernst 1952:38 and 106). These sobriquets are the English gloss for the form and name of the three Wolf dances. The Northern Nootka called the Crawling Wolf dance sa'ishi or 'crawlers' (Drucker 1951:393) while the Port Alberni and Ucluelet groups call it sa'nkyak or 'crawling dance' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:129 and 226). The Makah call the Whirling Wolf dance he-quat'iluck, "the masked dance symbolizing the Wolf frenzy" (Ernst 1952:21) while the Vancouver Island groups use the
term Ha-et'lik (Ernst 1952:75), the native name for Lightning Serpent. The Vancouver Island groups call the Standing Wolf dance quaiyatsiniq or 'wolf imitator' (Durcker 1951:412) and the step itself is called tuhtuh (Drucker 1951:412). Tuhtuh is very similar to tutus, the Makah name for Thunderbird (Densmore 1939:109). I have proceeded to analyse the English glosses because I believe they hold some validity for several Nootka informants, especially Charles Swan, who appeared to have concurred with Ernst (Ernst 1952:38) who's study of the Wolf ritual is the most detailed.

The different steps in the English names of the Wolf masks can bee seen to symbolize in general terms the transition from inept to adept, and in Nootkan terms the transformation from one state of being to another, from animal to human.

The first manner of moving to appear in the Wolf ritual is crawling. In general terms, it is the gait of a baby, a human who does not have the strength and skill to move into the upright posture needed to walk like an adult, a man. For the Nootka, crawling is the gait of a four-footed Land animal. They often refer to Wolves as 'crawlers' (Drucker 1951:393) and to panthers or cougars as creatures who walk on all fours (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:49). The similarity inferred between the human baby and the land creatures by the sobriquet 'crawling' can be that neither are adult humans.

The second mode of action, whirling, is intermediate in the ritual sequence between crawling and standing. In general, it is an action which one can execute when shifting from crawling to standing. Let me explain. In whirling, the forward motion of crawling is halted, and the performer is anchored, more or less to a single spot as in standing.
But the motion itself has not ceased. Rather, the energy has been translated from a forward direction to a whirling one. So whirling is like crawling since there is motion, and like standing because the actor remains in one place. Whirling is a movement without direction. Thus whirling is pure movement.

Whirling has a special significance for the Nootka. It is the apparent movement of a man's soul when it is held in a shaman's hand in a clump of birds' down after it has detached itself from the man's body when he is ill (Drucker 2951:211). When the soul is returned to the patient's body, his health and vitality return. Whirling is not the movement of an animal who crawls, nor of a human who stands. Whirling is the name of the Wolf mask that belongs to the realm of the Inbetween. Thus whirling is the movement of the beings and things that belong there, including health, vitality and power.

Standing, the attitude suggested by the name of the third Wolf to appear in the ritual sequence, also has general and Nootkan significance. In general, the human adult is able to hold himself erect and is able to maintain his position as a man, two feats which are impossible for an infant or an animal. Furthermore, the Nootka characterize the stance of an important man, a chief, as that of a man standing in a canoe being carried up the beach to a feast (Roberts and Swadesh 1955:317), or as the harpooner, also a chief (Drucker 1951:50-51) standing in the prow of the whaling canoe poised to thrust the harpoon into the whale alongside (Swan 1870:11). Thus to the Nootka, 'standing' is the posture which designates a successful adult human, and not a four-footed animal or child.
B. Dances

Each Wolf mask is displayed with a different dance (Ernst 1952: 15), a statement expressed in body movements. The dance's statement is related to that of the mask during the ritual performance when the dance and the mask are used to portray a single, integrated character.

The first dance, the Crawling Wolf dance, is executed on all fours, on the knuckles of the hands and the balls of the feet. The dancer's thumb is pointed backwards, and down in imitation of the Wolf's dew claw (Budic 1964:29-30). The dancer's body remains horizontal as he moves at a moderate rate.

"The dancers become instruments for casting shadows of wolves. The slow even movements projected upon the walls of the dance house in shadows cast up by a central fire would seem to have surrounded the audience with the...aura of a wolf seeking prey." (Budic 1964:33)

The nonhuman quality of the Crawling Wolf dancer, his 'wolfness' and his hunting prowess are expressed by the dance. The moderate pace indicates how easily the Wolf fits in this role; the Wolf will always be a wolf.

The second Wolf dance, the Whirling Wolf dance is performed at a rapid pace (Ernst 1952:96). The dancer is half crouched, so that his body forms a zigzag - a series of diagonal lines. He whirls, crouches down and springs up while still in the squatting posture, four times in a row, and then pauses before repeating the four jumps (Budic 1964:35). The dancer's movements are rapid and energetic. For the Nootka, the dance is not the movement of a real man or animal, though it is performed by a man wearing a part-Wolf mask, because men stand and wolves crawl. The man and the animal are being animated by another identity. The Whirling Wolf
dance portrays a wolf that is moving because he is possessed by the craziness or wildness of the Wolf ritual (Sapir and Swadesh 1955:135) which is the same as the power or *haina* of the Inbetween (Ernst 1952:71-2). Thus this dance is an expression of the Inbetween or the Lightning Serpent aspect of the Whirling Wolf mask.

The Whirling Wolf dance is hard to maintain because of the difficult posture and rapid pace. Clearly, the degree of difficulty of the dance when compared to the Crawling Wolf dance, indicates, in the general language of dance, that being a Whirling Wolf is only a temporary role, for the dance can only be performed for a short time before the balance and speed of the dancer's movements must change resulting in a different dance. Thus the energy expended in the dance presages change, and the Whirling Wolf dance represents a single moment in the Nootkan process of change. Thus, for the Nootka, change is achieved through the expenditure of whirling motion and energy.

How is whirling related to transformation? In the Wolf ritual, Whirling Wolf does not yet have the gift of transformation: rather he is whirling in order to transform to someone who does. But whirling is also the movement of power. Thus, I must conclude that the power expressed by the 'whirling' is an aspect of the process of transformation. I must further postulate that whirling is the process of transformation for the Nootka; and that whirling is the means to power during the Wolf ritual. We are left with the paradox that the novice's new power is the result of their transformation during the Wolf ritual, but that their transformation comes about through the power of the initiators of the Wolf ritual, the host and the Crawling Wolves.
The third Wolf dance, the Standing Wolf dance is performed in a vertical position (Drucker 1951:412). The dancer moves forward in short, low hops, with both feet together (Drucker 1951:412). Or the hops are accomplished with a take-off from one foot and a landing on both feet (Budic 1964:44). Standing Wolf dances with his arms out in front of him and his hands clenched in a fist with the thumbs up.

"The dance step would seem to indicate that the dancers were trying to communicate the fact that they were inside a vehicle of movement, not actually moving themselves." (Budic 1964:45).

This brings us back to the image of the whaler standing in his canoe. The upright posture of the dancer's thumb symbolizes the dorsal fin of the Killer Whale, the chief hunter of the sea, and reinforces the interpretation of standing as the posture of the whaling chief. The pace of the Standing Wolf dance is not directly documented. It is probably slow, as is the pace of the song "All are watching me," a Wolf song which is appropriate for the Standing Wolf (Densmore 1939:97ff). Thus, the Nootkan Standing Wolf dance represents a human being of chiefly rank and status.

The dances associated with the masks help to describe the character of their ritual roles. The Crawling Wolf, according to the dance, personifies a wolf. Standing Wolf is a human whaler and chief. Whirling Wolf is the power (haina) that is associated with transformation. The Whirling Wolf dance represents the Inbetween as a temporary state, one to be passed through quickly. The other two Wolf dances can be maintained for a long time because of the slower pace; thus they represent the more permanent character of existence in the Land realm in the house of the Wolves and in the houses
of men. In the terms of the Thunderbird myth, the 'wolf' dance is asso-
ciated with the Tutoring Wolf, the 'transformation and power' dance is
associated with Lightning Serpent, and the 'human chief's' dance is asso-
ciated with Thunderbird. These associations are expressed through the
alignment of the dances with the Wolf masks during the Wolf ritual.

C. Conclusion

The two sets of action symbols, dance and appellation, express
congcepts that are parallel to each other in Nootkan thought. The Crawling
Wolf in dance and in name is a wolf who is linked with human children.
The Whirling Wolf expressed the relationship between power and transforma-
tion in dance and appellation. The Standing Wolf dance and name represent
a chief and an adult human.

Furthermore, the similarities and the differences of the dances
reveal the relationship between the three types of Wolf. The speed of
the Whirling Wolf dance sets 'power and transformation' apart from the 'wolf'
and 'man' represented by the other dances, but the diagonal lines of the
body in the Whirling Wolf dance, between the horizontal of the Crawling
Wolf dance and the vertical of the Standing Wolf dance, places 'power and
transformation' between 'wolf' and 'man'. And the appellation of the
masks suggests that 'changing identity' must fall between being a child and
being an adult. Thus the message of the dances and the names of the Wolf
dances is that before Crawling Wolf can become Standing Wolf, he must
whirl in order to transform; and before a child can become an adult he too
must whirl to change his identity. In the context of the Wolf ritual,
these transformations take place in the Inbetween, the sacred place.
Chapter 5

STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES: PRIVILEGES AND TRANSFORMATION

The symbolism of the Wolf masks has been explored in the last three chapters. I have demonstrated that it is expressed in several different modes which operate together to convey a multifaceted message through each type of Wolf mask. The visual statements are incorporated with each other through the visible forms of the masks. The other statements are associated with the masks in the context of the Wolf ritual.

In this chapter I will examine the message conveyed by all the Wolf masks together. This is a message about the Nootkan concepts of power and transformation. An analysis of the succession of messages conveyed by the three Wolf masks as they appear in the Wolf ritual should reveal the Nootkan process for receiving supernatural gifts, i.e. transformation; and the nature of the gifts, i.e. privileges. Both the nature of transformation, and that of the privileges should be the primary and clearest concepts that the Wolf masks express if I am correct in assuming that the acquisition of a privilege is the primary Nootkan purpose for holding a Wolf ritual.

Then I shall apply the insights gained from the analysis of privileges and their acquisition, to an understanding of the Inbetween, the realm of transformation and the power.
A. Supernatural Gifts - Privileges

The three Wolf masks could be regarded as a single mask that appears at three different times during the Wolf ritual since the three masks never appear together. Seen this way, a single Wolf mask transforms during the ritual from the knowledgeable Wolf of the Crawling Wolf mask, to the vitality and 'power of transformation' of the Whirling Wolf to the adult human with the power and identity represented by the Standing Wolf.

In the Wolf ritual, the Wolves and humans meet, and the humans receive privileges. Through the secondary identities of the Wolf masks, we can see that the Nootkan concept of receiving privileges as supernatural gifts is encoded in the Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Whale metaphor. That is, to reduce the analogy to the essentials, just as the Thunderbird learns from Wolf how to use Lightning Serpent to capture and devour Whale, so the novice, the future Standing Wolf, learns from the Crawling Wolf how to use and imitate Whirling Wolf to get what he wants, which is the knowledge and power to become Standing Wolf. The Nootkan work $his^o^k^t$ also expresses the idea that Lightning Serpent is the means of obtaining what one desires. It is defined as "'obtained by striking' one of the recognized modes of gaining property, whether material good or ceremonial rights" (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:221). 'Striking' is the action modes of lightning and Lightning Serpent.

The Nootkan conception of the process of receiving privileges is also expressed in the forms of the Wolf masks. The Crawling Wolf represents a Wolf from whom the novices acquire knowledge of their supernatural gift on their initial contact with the Crawling Wolf. Then, during their sojourn in the woods, the novices acquire the wildness which suggests
haina the power and vitality which are attributes of the Whirling Wolf's Lightning Serpent aspect. In the Whirling Wolf mask, we can see that the Wolf form and identity have been given the power and vitality of the Inbetween. The Nootka artists have created a very sophisticated image because power is essentially formless since it is a process and not a state of being; but they express it through style and personify it as Lightning Serpent, itself a paradoxical "form of the formless."

The Nootkan artists portray inbetweenness as inherently unbalanced and temporary. As expressed on the Nootkan Wolf masks, the dilemma of those in the Inbetween realm must be resolved by shifting to one of the permanent and stable profane realms on either side of the sacred realm. Thus in the Nootkan cosmos there is a force that affects beings from the profane realms and forces them to move out of the Inbetween realm, and the halfway position. I must assume that this force is the vitality and power that resides in the Inbetween realm, haina.

The power of the Inbetween manifested in the style of the Whirling Wolf dance and mask is like the power of an engine running in neutral. The engine needs to be started, regulated and then put into gear just as the power of the Inbetween needs to be incorporated, calmed and then channeled to be effective. This is accomplished in the Wolf ritual in two steps. First the novice must whirl, or act wildly like the other creatures of the Inbetween, and so become an Inbetween creature. Only then can he be like the Inbetween inhabitants, and have power. Then this power is controlled as the novices learn their new dances and gain mastery over their performance. The result of this process is portrayed on the Standing Wolf mask on which the wild power evident in the rendering of the Whirling Wolf mask is retained but in a calmed and orderly state.
The same two-stage process is stated in more abstract terms by the colours of the Wolf masks. The black representing the identity and knowledge of the Crawling Wolf and the red representing the power of the Whirling Wolf are incorporated at separate stages on the Standing Wolf mask.

Thus the nature and source of the supernatural gifts or privileges which the novices receive are two-fold. First, the knowledge of a good hunter comes from the initiating Wolf; this is the message of the Crawling Wolf mask. Secondly, the power or haina to animate the hunting lore comes from the Inbetween; this is the message of the Whirling Wolf mask. The end product is Thunderbird, the Standing Wolf mask or the complete man, hawil, a human chief.

B. Power and Transformation in the Inbetween

Through this analysis of the Wolf masks I have described the realm of the Inbetween as it is perceived by the Nootka. It is a realm of process and becoming rather than of being and stability. Those beings who do inhabit the Inbetween such as the wild men, and the novices during the Wolf ritual, are paradoxes whose attributes negate each other into conceptual oblivion. How can a man be wild, when man are the civilizers? How can a person be a former person, when he still looks like a person? Lightning Serpent, while part snake, is part bird and part fish, for he has scalely feathers or feathery scales, and is sometimes call Lightning Fish (Swan 1870:8); but he is none of these. The formlessness of the concepts which belong to the realm of the Inbetween is more positively expressed as
power or *haina*. But this force has a negative dimension for men. Human beings are knocked unconscious and sometimes killed by the power in the woods or other marginal places (Colsen 1953:259). The formlessness of the nature of Inbetween things is also symbolized by the abundant motion of the Whirling Wolf dance and the variability of the form of the Lightning Serpent, who is the personification of the Inbetween, when it is depicted on various Nootkan ceremonial or ritual objects.

The Inbetween is an important realm for the Nootka because they understand and experience it as the source of power and vitality. I have shown that in the Nootkan cosmos power does not come from the profane realm where beings enjoy a permanent, stable identity; the stability of the creatures of the sea, sky and land seems to preclude the creation of power or vitality through transformation and change. This sets the realm of the Inbetween apart from the others.

Obtaining power from the Inbetween is a necessity for the Nootka because it is an essential attribute of moral health; it is also called a life principle or soul. Thus, a young chief is urged 'to train' for everything so that he might enjoy 'wealth' (Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 185ff) and 'reach his peak' - enjoy a long life (Sapir and Swadesh 1939:193 and 233). Let me analyse this piece of grandparental advice once again. 'Training' is the first phase of all the secret hunting and wealth rituals (Drucker 1951:166) which effect transformation. In training the solitary ritualist rids himself of his human identity, and becomes a spirit but does not proceed to take on the profane identity of another animal of the land or sea as in hunting and fishing rituals (Drucker 1951:164-168). 'Wealth' for the Nootka is not only an abundance of food, clothing and shelter;
it includes ceremonial and ritual privileges (Drucker 1951:247) which
are earned through inheritance and the patronage of spirits (Drucker 1951:
257 and 258). Thus the wealth and long life imply moral, social and
physical strength. Since wealth and long life are acquired through ritual,
the physical and social status of a man is dependent on his spiritual
activity. All beings in the Nootkan cosmos who wish to maintain their
power must enter the temporary state of the Inbetween where they transform
by reducing themselves to their bloody, vital, sacred and spirit selves or
souls. This is why, men, animals and even the vegetation and rocks trans­
form themselves time and time again in Nootkan myths and legends; combs
into trees, oil into lakes, birds into animals, men into trees, rocks,
fish and birds (Swan 1870:65).

Thus the power or hainoa linked with transformation is the
physical, social and moral or spiritual animating force of the Nootkan
cosmos. But it is not a superior component of its universe because the
personification of power, Lightning Serpent is the weapon of Thunderbird,
not his master. The power of the Inbetween, as depicted on the Nootkan
dance screens (see Plate 1), is not superior to the other components of the
composition; rather it is only one of several concentric parts. The others
are knowledge and identity a gift from the Wolf, a creature of the Land,
and prey or the substance of wealth a gift from the Whale (Clutesi 1969:
175 and 182), a creature of the sea. Wolf, Whale and Lightning Serpent
all contribute basic dimensions of being to the Thunderbird who is the
focus of attention in the design. Thus for the Nootka the animating force
of the world, the supernatural of so many ethnographies, it not 'supra';
power is not above and over other things in the cosmos. It is one of
several components in the make up a Thunderbird, the mythic metaphor for a human chief.

The Inbetween is a formidable boundary area between the other realms of the Nootkan cosmos which must be crossed by the beings of the sky, land and sea. But it is dangerous to enter the Inbetween. Why? Because in the Nootkan cosmology, economic, social and ritual activities are expressed in the image of eating, most profoundly that of Thunderbird eating Whale. Thus sexual intercourse, hunting, marriage, whaling, pot-latching, war and the Wolf ritual itself ought to be done to or with someone outside of your group. To commit these acts within the group would be to commit moral transgressions as unthinkable as cannibalism, the worst crime of eating. In so far as cannibalism is a failure to recognize and avoid eating food which is like you, the boundaries which distinguish what is of your tribe and order of being, and what is not, are very important to the Nootka. Thus the Inbetween realm has a dual significance in the Nootkan cosmology. It must be maintained as a no-man's land between the different categories of being yet it must be crossed to replenish the economic, social and ritual health and power of the profane realm.

The moral difficulties of entering the realm of the Inbetween reinforces the social differences between the chiefs who own the many privileges that are the means of traversing the Inbetween, and the commoners who own few or none. Thus commoners cannot venture out of the village to gather food, especially salmon and herring, until the man who owns the right or privilege has gone first, and begins the exploitation of that resource for the season (Drucker 1951:251), and has made the necessary ritual encounter with the power in the area between the village and the
food source (Drucker 1951:175 and 177). Only the chief's children inherit the ritual privileges needed to make it possible for novices to cross the Inbetween to acquire the supernatural gifts associated with the ritual and economic privileges that enhance the social status and power of a chief; thus, a commoner who does not have the ritual privilege to send his son across the Inbetween, also cannot help him acquire the economic privileges that the son would need to pass on all of these privileges to his son. Thus the social structure perpetuates itself with the sanction of the structure of the Nootkan cosmos which renders the chieftainship accessible to only a few.
CONCLUSION

A "well-defined system of thought...to Nootkan cosmological and supernatural concepts" (Drucker 1951:151) has been revealed by the above analysis of a set of masks. The Nootka have provided the basic material which I have used to build the system but the validity of this reconstruction of the system rests on the efficacy of the method for "reading" masks proposed at the beginning of the thesis. If the 'reading" were incorrect in conception, method or execution, the content which I have assigned to the system would have been incorrectly perceived and the system that has been constructed around it would be faulty.

Let me emphasize that the form of the system perceived in this thesis is not a Nootkan construct. Rather it is a theoretical structure I have drawn to facilitate this analysis of the Nootkan masks. This form encompasses separation of the Nootkan experience into mythical, social, ritual, political, economic, moral and other such dimensions or levels. This dissection of behaviour and experience facilitated my own comprehension as an anthropologist. It is not a thought mode of the Nootka. The validity of the form of the system rests on its capacity to incorporate the Nootkan content without offending it.

A. The Keys to the System

There are two keys to the system of Nootkan thought and cosmological concepts. The first is the structure of the Nootkan cosmos - the
profane realms floating in the sea of the spirit realm, the Inbetween - and the constant need of creatures of the profane realms to renew their power and vitality through repeated forays into the Inbetween realm where power is constantly generated.

The second key lies in the comprehension and application of two root metaphors. The first is based on the myth of the Thunderbird who eats Whale with the assistance of Lightning Serpent. This myth provides a metaphor for the nature of the tripartite structure to be found in any Nootkan context. Thunderbird serves as a metaphor for the principal or initiator, the Whale as the metaphor for the object of his attention, and Lightning Serpent as the metaphor for the being, thing or action which links the other two. Thus Lightning Serpent may serve as a metaphor for the chief's son, the being who connects his father's (Thunderbird in the marriage ceremony and Wolf ritual) and his mother's (Whale in the marriage ceremony and whaling ritual) lineages by having the option to belong to either lineage. Lightning Serpent can also serve as the symbol or metaphor for the harpoon, which connects the whaler (who initiates the whale hunt) and the Whale (his prey). In the Wolf ritual, we have seen Lightning Serpent as the personification or metaphor of transformation, a process which enables beings from one realm to encounter those of another.

The second root metaphor is based on the mythic personality of the Wolf. Wolf provides the metaphor for the nature and the functioning of the relationships between the principal elements in any context; that is, that the relationships between initiator, object and the link-between-the-two operate as in a hunt. So, in Nootkan thought the principal elements of a given situation are either the hunter, his prey and those elements of
process or being which accomplish or represent the killing and eating of the prey by the hunter.

The Wolf masks as they are used in the Wolf ritual are one way in which these metaphors are expressed. They are also depicted on the dance screens (see Plate 1) on which the components of both metaphors are juxtaposed. Each ritual colour and the basic dimension of being which it symbolizes, can be linked with one of the peripheral components of the dance screen version of the metaphors; red and vitality are associated with Lightning Serpent, black and identity (including the thought processes suitable to that role) with the Wolf, and clear or white signifying wealth with the Whale (Macfarlane 1978). Each form of dance is similarly related to one of the mythic metaphoric beings; crawling with Wolf, spinning with Lightning Serpent, standing with Thunderbird and swimming [there is a swimming wolf which appears in some marriage ceremonies (Boas 1890:595; Koppert 1930:50; Sapir and Swadesh 1955:18)] with the Whale. The link between Whale and other Nootkan categories is not made in the Wolf ritual because the Wolf ritual is an initiation to manhood, whereas Whale is the metaphor for Woman (MacFarlane 1978), and thus is not a direct concern of the Wolf ritual.

An understanding of the dense symbolic and cosmological structure of the Nootka could throw light on the cosmologies and art of other Northwest Coast peoples. Two areas of investigation hold promise for rewarding insight; the logic of transformation found in the legends and myths where it seems that a being transforms from one identity to another within a closed system of options of what he can becomes; and the logic of human behaviour, be it economic, social, political or ritual. Both systems of
logic can be approached with the metaphor of Thunderbird's hunt as the principle which gives uniformity to the structure of the different orders of various realms, and as the principle of the structure of the action in different activities.

Some of the puzzlement about some Nootkan practices and habits of thought expressed by other investigators such as Drucker, Sproat and Goldman have been dispelled, and the logic of Nootkan thought can be seen more clearly in light of this analysis.

When Sproat asked his Nootkan informants who was their "god" (Sproat 1868:206-211), the people had great difficulty in explaining their ideas. Some would say that he was the Transformer who changed everything to what it is today (the Creator aspect of Sproat's god). Other informants would counter that the Transformer's father, the Chief of the Sky, was stronger (the all-powerful, father in Heaven aspect of Sproat's god). The European would retire in bewilderment from the discussion unable to reconcile his concept of the animating force of the world as an independent god who was supreme in the cosmos with a cosmology in which vitality, morality or power is but one of several dimensions of being; in which to be complete one must have identity or status and wealth or substance, as well as moral power.

Irving Goldman (1975) dealt with the relationship between transformation and supernatural gifts among the Kwakiutl, a people who share many cultural similarities with the Nootka (Drucker 1950:175; 1963:198 and 200. He pointed out that "transformation is the means of transmitting supernatural power [gifts] both at the pristine level of myth and at the secondary level of current ritual (Goldman 1975:199)." But he did not discern the dual nature of these supernatural gifts. This thesis has
pointed out that for the Nootka, supernatural gifts received in the Wolf ritual have two components; an identity, a dimension of being, that comes from the patron who inhabits a profane realm; and power or vitality, another dimension of being, that comes from the spirit realm itself, - the Inbetween of the Nootka. This suggests that there is a need to reexamine the Kwakiutl texts for parallel concepts.

B. The Method

I can conclude that this method of reading masks has been successful for I have demonstrated that material culture embodies accessible information that can increase our understanding of the culture from which it springs. The information in the masks became accessible when I studied the context as well as the form of the masks; from this analysis, I have learned the concepts elucidated by the masks, and I have increased my comprehension of the Nootkan culture. This is exactly what the masks did for the Nootka.

During the course of the thesis it has become evident that the masks communicate in both active and passive modes. The passive modes are those which are evident to the observer even when the masks are sitting on a museum shelf - that is, the form of the masks makes statements about the existence of the figures of the root Nootkan metaphors: Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Wolf. The forms also use colour and style to define (to the cognoscenti) something of the nature of each of these beings. The categories of the root metaphors are established and embellished through the passive modes. The active modes of communication are those
which are brought into play when the mask is worn and manipulated in the context for which it was first made. In the case of the Wolf masks, this context is the Wolf ritual. The active modes of communication include the dances used in the presentation of the masks, the social status of the dancers chosen to wear the masks, and the ritual role of the persona represented by the mask. These active modes like the passive ones, express the mythic level of the metaphor. In addition, the active modes communicate several other dimensions of meaning. First, they create metaphoric links with other areas of the Nootkan cosmos. The dances that accompany each mask link Thunderbird, Lightning Serpent and Wolf to other beings of the Nootkan cosmology through the resemblance of the dances' movements to the movements of other creatures. The social statuses of the dancers are used to express the metaphoric links that unite the three mythical beings portrayed by the masks' forms to the social, economic and political structures of Nootkan society. That is to say that Thunderbird is established as a mythical being and as a transformation or the mythical dimension or metaphor for chief, a social, political and economic position. Secondly, the action of the ritual locates each mask and its various metaphoric dimensions or transformations in the cosmological structure - for instance: Lightning Serpent and the Wolf ritual novice are presented as beings of the Inbetween, the realm of the spirits; and men as the habitues of the village. Thirdly, the active modes of masked communication which operate in the ritual context express and recreate the relationship between the three mythical beings of the cosmic metaphor and their transformations; and they create the closed system of options within which transformations may take place in mythical, legendary, ritual, ceremonial, social, political
and economic activities. Thus, through their close association with the Whirling Wolf mask, Lightning Serpent, spirits, red, the Inbetween transformers, whirling and chiefs' heirs from one such closed system or category. These are some of the active and passive modes of communication which the Nootka employ when they use their Wolf masks in a Wolf ritual.

The masks are ritual forms which are used as textbooks to teach the novices during their initiation about this cosmos of dangerous transformations, and how to deal with it. We too can be novices, and learn from the masks and their context. We can "read" the masks in the same way and learn about the Nootka and the system of beliefs which they used to deal with the problems of living - their culture.
Archer, C.

Boas, F.

Boas, F.

Boas, F.

Brabant, A.J.

Brawne, Michael

Budic, C.

Clutesi, G.

Colson, E.

Cook, J.
Curtis, E.S.

David, J.

Densmore, F.

Dewhirst, John T.

Douglas, Mary

Drucker, P.

Drucker, P.

Drucker, P.

Drucker, P.

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CATALOGUE OF NOOTKA WOLF MASKS

Part 1--Nootka Wolf masks seen and studied.

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CANADA

VII E 545

VII E 560
Wolf mask. 17" long. Collected at Alert Bay in 1922 by D.C. Scott.

VII F 114

VII F 196

VII F 233

VII F 302

VII F 379 a, b
Head mask for Wolf Dance. Blue and white on a natural base. "Head mask used in potlatch, representing mixYtate bird: who gives power to hunters. See VI., p. 35a. Made by Qewāc of Ucluelet. Obtained from Tai̇la (Tsi:ic.)" note by Sapir. 22" long. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.
VII F 380

Head mask. Orange, blue, black and yellow on a natural base. "Used in ?aitst'ota' potlatch when another tribe is invited. Represents acquiring of Lōkwāna power from wolves. See VI., p. 34a. Made by Qāwāc. Obtained from Tayī:l-a." note by Sapir. 25" long. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 405

Folding mask (hinlkītsim). Red, white, blue and green. "Worn at a potlatch dance when much money is to be given away (say ?aitst'ota'). When folded out, there are seen inside He'ilīlk (inner side of folder) and raven with a moveable beak. Headdress (witqoqimi) of strips of whalebone, which, when mask is used, is covered with down. Mask was obtained by Galick's father (Galick does not know how his father got it or what legend is connected with it, he knows its two songs, however). Galick has never used this mask because he has never given big enough potlatch; he would be ashamed to show it in a small potlatch." note by E. Sapir. 28" long. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.

VII 407A

Head mask (hinlkītsim) used by women. Attached to top are erect strips of whale-bone and whale "teeth". Red paint is from QwāHāmis (red fungus) mixed with salmon eggs. Green paint is nīxwinik (grass mixed with salmon eggs). Black is made from charcoal of ts'li'wipt bush mixed with salmon eggs. Salmon eggs used to make paints stick. See VII., p. 34a for further details. Obtained from Mrs. Kishkish. note by E. Sapir. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 407B

--see entry for VII F 407A

VII F 427

Mask (hinlkītsim) Black, red, green, blue and yellow on white ground. Moveable rods with circular heads. Made by Ts'iHāmTk, Qittsma?atha Indian, who was hired for that purpose by Douglas,
Aleck's father. It was made expressly for Aleck's Tutchá. It is used with no. 148 (VII F 428) when any Hùshaula song is sung. At Téemtitá-emna, part of song round headed rods fly out fan-fashion, being worked by string held by dancer under his blanket. Obtained from Douglas. Note by E. Sapir. 21" long. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 428
Folding mask used as one of a pair of Hùshaula masks with no. 147 (VII F 427). White, blue, black, red and yellow. Made by same person for same purpose. These two masks appeared four times in Hùshaula song sung at Aleck's Tutchá. These two masks illustrate what Säyätlapis, Hisawista'th ancestor of Aleck, saw in a dream while up in mountains 'ös-mlting for wealth. Man on the central part of folding mask is Tsimimis, being who gives wealth. On inside of outer part of mask are shown male and female hayalin, another supernatural being that gives wealth. At Téemtitá part of song inner part of mask is shown, outer part being simply highly ornamented hinlákatsim of ordinary type. Tópati for these masks is Hisawista'th in origin. Note by E. Sapir. 21" long. Collected by E. Sapir in 1913-14 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 459
Headmask (hinlákatsim') representing He'ílít. Black and red on natural wood. Used only for oldest daughter in pälptýa dancing. Obtained from Captain Bill, father-in-law of Frank Williams, Ts'iioa'atH Indian. Notes by E. Sapir from information from Frank Williams. Collected from Frank Williams by E. Sapir in 1914 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 519

VII F 522
Thunderbird mask. Black and red on natural wood. Collected by H.I. Smith in 1929 at Poly's Point (near Alberni) in B.C.
VII F 523
--same as VII F 522.

VII F 531

VII F 609

VII F 653
Wolf mask. Similar to VII F 609. 12" long. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni Sound.

VII F 654
Wolf mask. 13" long. Red, black and white. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni Sound.

VII F 655
Wolf mask. 15" long. Red, black and green on natural wood. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Nootka Sound.

VII F 656
Wolf mask. 20½" long. Eyes inset with mirrors. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni Sound.

VII F 665
Wolf mask. Blue and red on natural wood. A pair with VII F 666. 16½" long. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 666
Wolf mask. Blue and red on natural wood. A pair with VII F 665. 17½" long. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni, B.C.

VII F 667
VII F 668
Wolf mask. Documentation not located.

VII F 669

VII F 685
Wolf mask. Black and red on natural wood. 20" long. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni Sound.

VII F 686
Wolf mask. Black and red on natural wood. 21" long. Collected by Lord Bossom around 1900 at Alberni Sound.

VII F 696

VII F 697

VII F 788

VII F 789
Wolf mask, male. Same note as VII F 788. 54cm long.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM

1334
2117

2120

6633

7089
Mask. Lightning Snake. Red, black and green on white. 18" long. Donated by Mr. & Mrs. Herbert Corfield, Sydney, B.C.

10245

10707

10708

10809

12032

12033
12708

12709

12710

13254

13496

14200
Mask. Hukluk'sim. Black, red and white on natural wood. Donated by A.E. Caldwell who was principal of the Ahousat Residential School from 1934 to 1939. From 1944 until 1960 he was principal of the Alberni Residential School.

14936

14973

15056
A3715

A4494

A4495
Wolf mask. A pair with A4494. Red, white and blue on natural wood. 15" long.

A5281

A7862

A7968

A8098

A9184
Headdress. Wolf mask, one of four set up on posts around a grave at Ahousat. From David Frank family at Ahousat. One is in Koerner collection in this museum. Other two are in the Glenbow Museum in Alberta. Purchased through Michael Johnston (Seattle dealer) from Edith Bevan Cross. 21-3/4" long. Red and black.

A9354 and A9355
Part 2—Nootka Wolf Masks located in the literature.

BRITISH MUSEUM

NWC71
"8" long. Collected by Captain James Cook, 1778." (Inverarity 1950).

MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE BERLIN-DAHLEM

1V B27
Mask. "Katz oder Wolf" (Gunther 1972:224). Cook expedition. 9-1/2" long. Black and white. (Boas 1895: Fig. 140).

1V B178

COLLECTION OF MIGUEL COUARRUBIAS

-- Mask. Representing the Hi'nemix, a fabulous bird-like being. (Paalen 1943).

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

16/1097
Wolf mask. Used in the Standing Wolf dance and the dancing ceremonial at the potlatch following the completion of the Wolf ceremony. Collected by F. Jacobsen from the Clayoquot . . . about 1896. Orange, blue and black. 15-1/2" long.

16/1902
Mask. "The Lightning Serpent mask, or Belt of the Thunderbird, with razor-like edges representing lightning. It was worn with a long cedar-bark fringe at the back and with the two white feathers
of the Klukwana headdress. Collected at Clayoquot by F. Jacobsen in 1897. 27" long. (Ernst 1952: Plate XVI).

-- Whirling Wolf mask illustrated in Drucker 1955:176.


-- Mask "Human face wearing the Wolf mask of the Klukwalle. Though collected in Quillayute territory by Farrand in 1898, it has been identified by informants as coming from Barclay Sound through maternal inheritance." (Ernst 1952: Plate XIV).

MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION
6/9137
Wolf mask. 66cm long.


ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM
939.31.10

DENVER ART MUSEUM
NNV-7
Mask. "Red, black and white. Human hair. This specimen was formerly in the Charles Ratton collection in Paris. May well date from about 1800." (Feder and Marlin 1968).
CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

19852
Mask representing the Hapektoak--belt of the Thunderbird; collected by J.G. Swan. Received as a gift from the department of Ethnology Collecting Expedition in 1893. 16" long. Red, white, black and green.

UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM

56464

93439
Mask. Collected by J.G. Swan at Neah Bay. (Boas 1895: Fig. 198).
Part 3--Nootka Wolf masks seen after the study was completed.

PACIFIC RIM NATIONAL PARK INFORMATION SERVICE


PORT ALBERNI MUSEUM

-- Mask. Copy of one owned by Agnes (Haipes) Dick who got it from her uncle, a Tseshaht. Black, blue, red and white on natural wood. Average length.

977-23
Wolf mask. One horn broken. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long. Donated by Mrs. Edith Cross who acquired it from the TRAIT family of Nitinat Lake. Said to date from 1900. Red and blue on natural wood. A pair with 977-24.

977-24
Wolf mask. Donated by Mrs. Edith Cross who acquired it from the TRAIT family of Nitinat Lake. Said to date from 1900. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\)" long. Red and blue on natural wood.

TOFINO MARITIME MUSEUM


Part 4--Photographs of Nootka Wolf Masks


2. Mr. Ernest Tututube, son of Charles of Ucluuetet (owner) holding a mask. BCPM photo #4689.
3. Nootkan dancer wearing the Huk-luk'sim mask and the robe representing Thunderbird, with which this mask is often associated. (Ernst 1952: Plate XIX).

Part 5—Miscellany.