

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE NORTHWEST
COAST RAVEN RATTLE

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with a problem in the interpretation of non-western art: the iconography of the raven rattle, a carved ritual object of widespread distribution on the Northwest Coast of North America. Iconographic analysis (after Panofsky) involves identifying cultural themes and concepts associated with artistic motifs. Because of the relative scarcity of recorded primary sources of interpretation, the method adopted in this analysis has been to infer meanings from relevant cultural contexts and data. Relevant data have been judged to be museum notes, ethnographies, and myths and relevant contexts, the ceremonies in which the rattle was used. The problem has been to identify the individual motifs appearing on the rattle with associated themes and concepts, and, because the rattle is a complex image, to interpret their interrelationship within the context in which the rattle was used: initiation ceremonies presided over by chiefs.

For the dominant motifs on the rattle I have argued the following interpretations:

1. The "reclining figure motif" on the back of the rattle represents the guardian spirit quest, in which the reclining figure is the novice, the protruding tongue stands for the passage of power, and the animal at the other end of the tongue identifies the source of power.
2. The "raven" at the head of the rattle refers to the origin of daylight, an event of key significance in Northwest Coast cosmology.

3. The creature on the belly of the rattle represents a trapped, wealth-bringing, supernatural, sea monster.

These interpretations subsume the more specific identifications that have been made by ethnographers and informants of the objects on the rattle. Within the context in which the raven rattle was used, I have suggested that the interpretations relate to each other as follows: the origin of daylight marks the beginning of the social and natural order, of the guardian spirit quest, and of reciprocity. The sea monster on the belly is a symbol of controlled supernatural power and wealth -- or the fruits of the successful quest. The relationship of these associations to the chiefs who used the rattle, is that the chief was both wealth-bringer to his tribe and had access to the controlled use of supernatural power. This he exerted on behalf of the social order in initiation ceremonies.

These conclusions indicate that the raven rattle was a significantly general symbol whose thematic referents were assumptions basic to Northwest Coast culture. In reaching these conclusions, the utility of the iconographic approach, as adapted and applied to an analysis of images in Northwest Coast art, has been demonstrated.

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CHAPTER I
DEFINITIONS AND METHODS

This thesis is concerned with a problem in the interpretation of Northwest Coast art: the iconography of the raven rattle (Fig. 1), a ritual object of particularly widespread distribution on the Northwest Coast of North America.

"Iconography", in the sense in which I shall use the term, refers to the classification and description of visual images (icons) from the point of view of whatever meanings they may carry within their own cultural context. Image is to be defined as a visual motif plus whatever themes are culturally associated with it. Themes refer to conventional meanings, whatever they can be identified to be (after Panofsky 1955).

Although "iconography" is essentially concerned with symbolism, its specificity to meaning within cultural context renders it preferable, as a concept, for purposes of analysis to "symbolism". The word "symbol" has been applied to Northwest Coast materials in a variety of senses, from:

... x motif (say, stylized animal form exhibiting prominent front teeth, grasped stick, and cross-hatched tail) "symbolizes" Beaver (cf. Boas 1927, Deans 1891, Montgomery 1949, Holm 1967).

to:

... y motif (say, a feathered serpent) "symbolizes" the cosmic dualistic opposition between upperworld and underworld, good and evil, etc. (cf. Locher 1932, Fraser 1968).

"Symbol", coming from the Greek *symballein*, "to throw together, to compare" (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary), is vague as to terms of reference (i.e., symbolic of what and to whom?) particularly when applied to historical materials.

A few studies of Northwest Coast art have used the term "iconography" (principally Vastokas 1966). Several others have been iconographical in their approach without actually using the term (Boas 1927, Fraser 1968, Badner 1966, Waite 1966). I will consider the substance of these contributions below, but in none of them are any precise guidelines laid down for an iconographical analysis of Northwest Coast art, or for any kind of systematic analysis of images. For this reason, I have based my definitions and basic approach on the work of the Art Historian, Erwin Panofsky (1955, 1962).

Panofsky's guidelines for the study of visual images include three levels of description, analysis, and interpretation with different kinds of data (he calls them "equipment for interpretation") relevant to each. The study of the use of images through time or across cultures he designates as "iconology" ("the manner in which under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts"). Iconology is to iconography as ethnology is to ethnography (Panofsky 1955: 31).

Summarized briefly, Panofsky's approach is as follows:

1. pre-iconographic description, which concerns itself with "primary or natural subject matter." Forms are seen as representations of objects, and the mutual relation of objects as events. An object participating in an event is a motif. What Panofsky calls the "equipment for interpretation" is "practical experience." The "controlling

principle of interpretation" is a concern with the history of style, or the "manner in which, under varying historical conditions, objects and events were expressed by forms."

2. iconographical analysis, which concerns itself with "secondary or conventional subject matter" or, "images", "allegories", or "stories", that is, with motifs as they are connected with specific themes and concepts. "Equipment for interpretation" is a "knowledge of literary sources" or "oral tradition", that is, a "familiarity with specific themes and concepts." The "controlling principle of interpretation" is a concern with a history of types or the "manner in which, under varying historical conditions, specific themes or concepts were expressed by objects and events."
3. iconographical interpretation (or, iconology) which is concerned with "intrinsic meaning or content". "Equipment for interpretation" is "synthetic intuition", or "familiarity with essential tendencies of the human mind." The "controlling principle of interpretation" is a concern with the history of "cultural symptoms or 'symbols' in general," or the "manner in which, under varying historical conditions, essential tendencies of the human mind were expressed by specific themes and concepts." (Panofsky 1962: 3-17, 1955: 26-40 paraphrased).

Panofsky's approach was developed for an artistic tradition very different from that of the Northwest Coast, namely, Renaissance art and its Graeco-Roman roots. Furthermore, he takes a predominantly historical perspective as his "controlling principle of interpretation". A comparable perspective on Northwest Coast art is not possible, for while the oldest archaeological sites here are over 9000 years old, most documented visual materials available for analysis span but a relatively brief post-contact period of less than two centuries. The time depth of Panofsky's studies, from ancient Greece into the Renaissance, is well over ten centuries.

For these reasons certain adjustments have to be made in Panofsky's formulations, particularly in the areas of "equipment for interpretation" and "controlling principle of interpretation". In this thesis I

am primarily concerned with adjustments at the second level. A brief comparison, however, between Northwest Coast and European iconographies and stylistic traditions would indicate that there are also difficulties in Panofsky's conception of "essential tendencies" of the human mind, that is, at the level of cross-cultural iconology. Hopefully, my analysis of the iconography of raven rattles will contribute to the development of cross-cultural iconological interpretations.

One necessary adjustment at the level of iconographical analysis is in the "equipment of interpretation". The main problem to be confronted in an iconographical analysis of Northwest Coast motifs is that of discovering the themes and concepts conventionally associated with them. For Panofsky, this was not as great a problem for he was working within his own cultural tradition, with motifs and themes in western European art from Graeco-Roman times through the Renaissance. The Western mind continues to think in terms of early Christian images as well as those of Classical times (e.g., Father Time, Blind Cupid, Pandora's Box). These persist at least in the mind's eye, if not in contemporary art.

Furthermore, Panofsky had at his disposal a visual record of variations on Classical motifs, most of them depicting events from Greek mythology. More importantly, he had access to preserved written documents -- philosophical treatises -- which provided a parallel history of the varying ways in which people of different centuries have interpreted Classical themes. Renaissance man in particular was quite self-conscious in his art and in his writing of his chosen role as a reinterpreter of Classical themes.

On the Northwest Coast very few thematic interpretations of motifs have been recorded directly from informants. As a consequence, one must work by inference from cultural contexts. Given this dearth of recorded explications of Northwest Coast themes as they might be related to particular motifs, Anthony Forge's analysis of a problem in the interpretation of Sepik art (Forge 1965) is instructive.

Forge's basic assumption was that art is a form of communication, and his general concern was to find out what sort of things art might communicate within a culture. His specific concern was to learn what certain architectural features of an Abelam men's house might mean ("symbolize" -- i.e., communicate). When he asked the Abelam, however, they would answer only that the men's house took a particular form and was decorated in a certain way because it was "traditional" or "correct" that it be so.

By observing the ceremonies performed during the actual construction of a men's house, however, Forge found that the symbolism of these houses was related to specific cultural themes, having to do with the relationship between men and women in Abelam culture, fertility, and warfare. Forge even went so far as to postulate that not only was the men's house symbolic of certain things, but that it also made a statement about the relationships between these things, a statement that possibly could not have been made in another medium (Forge 1965: 30). Whether or not such "revealed meanings" can be demonstrated to be conscious or not is a moot point (the Abelam could have given their argument as to "tradition" or "correctness" because they considered Forge to have

only a child's understanding of their culture, or because talking about certain powerful and secret things would have diminished their power). The lesson to be drawn from Forge's study is that despite what people say about what something "means", the underlying logic becomes apparent in what they actually do with them. Furthermore, whether or not people can articulate meanings, these meanings can be inferred from inspecting relevant cultural contexts.

Adapting this approach to the specific problem of interpreting the raven rattle, I notice that Forge's informants merely cited "tradition" in explanation. My informants, as far as they can speak through the selective filter of ethnographies and museum records, have only told a few myths by way of "explaining" the presence of certain key figures on the rattle. To the culturally uninformed outsider, however, these myths are as abstruse as the rattles themselves. Nevertheless, the figures on the rattle also have their counterparts in more general myths and therein are associated with particular attributes. The rattles themselves are used in specific ceremonial contexts, by specific people (primarily chiefs and sometimes shamans), and in conjunction with particular kinds of ceremonial dress. It is from these contexts that I will try to infer thematic associations, or conventional meanings.

For problems of analysis and proof, I have taken a cue from Victor Turner's approach to the analysis of Ndembu ritual symbols. He distinguishes between three classes of relevant data: "1) external form and observable characteristics [i.e., of the symbols]; 2) interpretations offered by specialists and by laymen; and 3) significant contexts largely

worked out by the anthropologist" (Turner 1967: 20). For purposes of iconographical analysis, I will arrange available data relevant to the raven rattle into classes roughly along the lines of Turner's divisions.

For a "controlling principle of interpretation" I cannot rely on a historical perspective except to the extent that the conceptual derivations of certain Northwest Coast motifs and designs are known.¹ But this is a relatively undeveloped area and a major research problem in itself. Instead I shall look for logical interconsistencies between whatever meanings I can infer from relevant contexts and other aspects of Northwest Coast cultures. My general method of "proof" will be to consider each class of data separately, drawing inferences from each in turn, and then to compare these separately arrived at inferences to see if they coincide, or if any common conceptual ground can be found between them.

Finally, in my attempt to identify such a common conceptual ground, I have found Mary Douglas' discussion 1) of anomalous species in the classification of animals and 2) of the powers and dangers residing in marginal states and the cognitive functions of marginal rites (Douglas 1966), a useful framework within which to look at animal representations and Northwest Coast ceremonialism.

1. I am not here referring to the various arguments that there is a historical connection between the Northwest Coast and Asia on the basis of observed similarities between Northwest Coast and ancient Chinese motifs, but rather to information recorded in ethnographies that the design elements on a Chilkat blanket, for example, are named after (and presumably derive from) natural forms (Boas 1907: 366), or that the well-known chief's "copper," according to the Tlingit, comes from the shape of the forehead of the Gonakade't, a great wealth-bringing sea monster (Waterman, 1923: 450).

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS IN NORTHWEST COAST ICONOGRAPHY

As noted above, the main problem facing the iconographer of Northwest Coast art is the scarcity of texts, that is, of recorded interpretations of Northwest Coast motifs made by people within the culture. There is also a scarcity of interpretations of motifs made by ethnographers. It is regrettable in this respect that Boas, who was particularly interested in Northwest Coast art and was in the enviable position of asking his informants questions about the categories in which they conceptualized animal forms, directed most of his inquiry to finding out merely what different forms "represented" (i.e., "beaver" or "killerwhale" or "raven"). We have from Boas a basic catalogue of schema (he calls them "symbols") by which one can "read" the highly stylized forms in Northwest Coast art as different animal species. We also have a body of literature dealing with various "conundrums" in the translations of different and sometimes ambiguous forms (Waterman 1923; Duff, 1970). But we have not been provided with an understanding of what other associations might have been brought to these representations beyond the obvious fact that they represent different animals.

While Boas and others were concerned primarily with identifying motifs as "objects", later other students have concerned themselves with the interpretation of motifs in Northwest Coast art that can be placed in the category of "events". Fraser et al.'s catalogue of Early Chinese Art and the Pacific Basin (1968) summarizes interpretations of

the following motifs: "long (or protruding) tongue", the "architectural mask" a feature of which involves the use of "devouring mouths" as doorways, the "displayed monster" and the "displayed flanked figure", and the "alter ego". This last consists of "an animal or monster looming over a human figure" (*ibid.*, p. 65). These motifs have been singled out mainly because they also appear in the art of Ancient China as well as of other cultures of the Pacific Basin. Whether or not they can be shown to coincide with native categories, these motifs are noteworthy because they are examples of images that actually do something in Northwest Coast art.

The meanings of these motifs have been arrived at partly on the basis of general cross-cultural intuitions and partly on the basis of a general understanding of the guardian spirit quest and of the initiatory rites of passage that validated the assumption of inherited prerogatives on the Coast. This latter perspective is essential to analyses and interpretations of Northwest Coast images. Hence the "devouring mouth" and "displayed monster" motifs that appear in house front paintings have been linked with concepts of the "vagina dentata" and of the dangers inherent in passage between realms (e.g., in the "displayed monster" format on house fronts, entrance is through the creature's belly) (Fraser 1968: 45-6, 38-9; Vastokas 1966: 138, 142-3). Specifically, Fraser associates the "displayed monster" with chieftainship and social prerogatives:

The majority of these images were carved or painted on screens (later on exterior facades) that served to set off the chief's quarters from those of the common people To cross from one part of the house to the other, the chief had to pass

through this hole, thereby reenacting the disappearances and rebirths characteristic of Northwest Coast inheritance -- validation rites -- (cites Drucker 1955: 119-20) (Fraser 1968: 45-6).

The "protruding tongue", a motif that also appears on the raven rattle, is generally interpreted as indicating apotropaic powers. It most commonly occurs in representations of Grizzly Bear, but also of Sea Lion and Killerwhale, and monsters such as the Gonakade't, Wasko, Tsonogwa and the Sisiutl (Badner 1966: 13). It must relate, therefore, to concepts associated particularly with these creatures. The "alter ego" motif is interpreted as a motif indicating both the apotropaic and tutelary relationship of the guardian spirit to the initiate (Fraser 1968: 75-6). For the Haida, Fraser interprets these motifs as indicating a "chief's prerogatives and claims to high rank" (ibid.).

These interpretations have an intuitive ring of validity to them, but they are quite generally stated and need more rigorously applied documentation. Fraser relies heavily on the generalizations of ethnographers and on interpretations several times removed from the cultures in question. Vastokas (1966) relies more on interpretations based on context. For example, she links the "devouring mouth" motif with the iconography of Northwest Coast architecture. Badner's study (op. cit.) of the "protruding tongue" and "joined tongues" motifs is the most exhaustive study of any one motif and relies on a wide variety of data. This study has direct relevance to the raven rattle, to the extent that Badner supports his generalizations with ethnographic data.

Another study, of Kwakiutl transformation masks (Waite 1966), is noteworthy for the extent to which the author has relied on contextual evidence and because it highlights a very significant feature of Northwest Coast beliefs. This is the concept specific to the guardian spirit quest that animals and humans can intertransform and that there was a time in the mythical past when this happened freely.

Transformation masks, most widely used by the Kwakiutl, consist of an outer face constructed of hinged parts that fly open when the wearer pulls concealed strings, to reveal a different face within. These were worn in both of the Kwakiutl dance series, the Laolaxa or nontlem and the Winter Ceremonial. These masks were like crests in that they were originally the gifts from a supernatural benefactor to an ancestor of some kin group, were hereditary, and their inheritance had to be validated in a public ceremony.

Both ceremonies followed the general format of initiation myths (see Reid 1969): the individual is 1) isolated from society, 2) encounters the supernatural, 3) gains some gift, 4) returns to society "possessed", i.e., contaminated with supernatural power which is dangerous to the unprepared, 5) is "cured" (purified, resocialized), and 6) witnesses are paid and wealth distributed. The ceremony itself emphasizes the possession of the initiate, the demonstration of his newly acquired prerogatives, and his "curing" by a specialist. In one ceremony, however, the initiate's relationship with clan is emphasized, while in the other his relationship to a dancing or "secret" society is emphasized.

In the case of the former, the Laolaxa or nontlem, clan myths are associated with the masks and Waite interprets the use of the masks in the ceremony as a "dramatization" of these myths. On the basis of the myths, Waite concludes that the iconography of these masks has to do with the time when ancestors originally existed in the form of birds or animals and transformed themselves into human form (Waite 1966: 284).

Some ancestral benefactors could transform into several different forms. Waite cites a legend of the Gwewaenox^u clan about Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World who received supernatural power from Oomogwa, "King" or "God" of the Sea. Afterwards, Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World appeared alternately as a human being, a bullhead (sculpin), a whale, and a sea otter before he returned to human form laden with masks and dances and other gifts (Waite 1966: 270-1).

Bird-human transformation masks were particularly associated with the Laolaxa series in which initiates were considered to be borne to heaven by their initiating spirits and then returned (Laolaxa - "coming down" from heaven).¹ Masks used in the Winter Ceremony, in which the Cannibal (Baxbakualanuxsi'wae) was the dominant initiating spirit, usually represented the Cannibal, the Grizzly Bear, and Iakim, a Sea Monster (Waite 1966: 285).

The main inference that Waite draws from her data is that the masks represent dual or multiple natures. She links the iconography of Kwakiutl transformation masks with Siberian shamanism (Waite 1966: 291), and Eskimo masks, and draws parallels between the format of shamanistic

1. This is the ceremony in which the Kwakiutl used the raven rattle.

curing ceremonies and the format of the "ritualized hereditary guardian spirit quest" in the two ceremonies (Waite 1966: 267). One of her main conclusions is that the Kwakiutl transformation masks were "influenced" by shamanism, "stemming perhaps ultimately from Siberia" (Waite 1966: 295).

These, then, are some of the themes that have been associated with Northwest Coast motifs. The major limitation of these studies is that they lack an explicitly stated "controlling principle of interpretation". Waite lacks a theoretical overview that would make sense of all the parallels that she draws. All of them have a tendency to explain things in terms of "influences". This is particularly the case in explanations as to the influence of shamanism: Kwakiutl transformation masks were "influenced by shamanism" (Waite, op. cit.). Fraser on the subject of the "alter ego" motif states that "the imagery seems to have its origins in the tradition of shamanism" (Fraser 1968: 76). Such statements beg more questions than they answer. For example, what, exactly, is the phenomenon on the Northwest Coast that everybody refers to as "shamanism"? Why would chiefs be associated with monsters?

One way out of this conceptual muddle would be to assume that representations on the Northwest Coast are appropriate to particular contexts of use and to interpret their significance within these contexts as the "controlling principle of interpretation". Take "crest art", for example:

Crests or "totems" are emblems, usually representing animal forms, which were owned and displayed by the kinship groups of all the coast tribes from the Tlingit to the Kwakiutl.

They were the visual symbols that set the various kin groups apart, and were exhibited on all manner of belongings: costumes, feast dishes, house fronts, and most prominently of all, on totem poles (Duff 1964a: 83).

Their context of use is the identification of human social groups. According to Levi-Strauss, the basic principle of totemism is that otherwise undifferentiated human groups are distinguished between on the basis of observed differences between animal species (Levi-Strauss 1964). That is, given that human social group A must be distinguished from human social group B for purposes of marriage and economic reciprocal relations, one way to distinguish between them is to identify each with a different animal species. Crests, then, are used to distinguish between groups at the visual level; the bewildering variety of representations being accountable for on that basis; and the failure of Boas et al. to ask questions beyond say, how to tell a representation of "bear" from one of "wolf" can be understood. The iconography of "monsters" in crest art can be said to derive from the historical amalgamation of two different social groups. For example, "sea grizzly bear" which is a combination bear-and killerwhale-monster, could derive from the historical union of a coast group with an interior group (M. Halpin, personal communication). Furthermore, it can be argued (see Gould 1972) that crests served a "mnemonic" function in linking the groups that owned them and validated that ownership with rights to particular economic resources. But this association is expressed not so much at the level of iconography but in the myths that of necessity had to be told every time a crest was displayed (ibid.). Elsewhere I have suggested that if crests link up with rights to economic resources, they might also be metaphors for

man as an economic creature. This metaphorical link is also suggested by the following Kwakiutl prayer to a Beaver that had been killed:

Welcome friend, Throwing-down-in-One-Day, you Tree-Feller, for you have agreed to come to me. The reason which I wished to catch you is that you may give me your ability to work that I may be like you; for nothing is impossible for you to work at, friend, you, Throwing-down-in-One-Day, you Tree-feller, you, Owner-of-the Weather. Also that nothing evil may befall me in what I am doing, friend. . . . (Boas 1930: Vol. II, p. 196-7).

Other Kwakiutl prayers link up killerwhales with the ability to catch fish and "all kinds of game" (*ibid.*, p. 184) and grizzly bears with the ability to catch salmon and of strength in fighting (*ibid.*, p. 195). The parallels that are drawn here between what a beaver does well and what a human would like to do well suggests that some animals represented as crests were seen to be metaphors for people engaged in the ordinary economic activity of daily living. To the extent that a variety of skills and abilities were required in the Northwest Coast food quest and in maintaining the habitations of the social realm there are a variety of animals appropriate as crests. Thus the metaphorical significance of crest animals from this perspective could relate not to differences qualitative or otherwise between groups but to the interface between these groups and nature. The context of this interface is man's economic endeavours and the animals appropriate to this context are those represented as crests.

This is just to suggest an hypothesis. One which is, however, supported by general Northwest Coast conceptions that, in their respective realms, animals assumed human form and had a social organization that paralleled that of humans, including chief with slaves, and who gave

potlatches and performed other ceremonials. Indeed the guardian spirit quest was predicated in part on the belief that access to different kinds of wealth and powers of use in the human social realm could be gained through encountering these species. There is, however, a bewildering variety of crests on the Coast and they defy easy placement within any but the most general philosophical or cosmological system. It could be that of all the functions crests perform -- as identifiers of human social groups, as mnemonic devices for keeping track of rights to economic resources, and as metaphors for various kinds of human economic activity -- the last function is of less than central importance.

For this reason, the study of the iconography of the raven rattle is particularly interesting because although the figures represented on the rattle (as we shall see) are crest animals in other contexts, on the raven rattle they are not crests, by all indications. They cannot simply be accounted for, then, as representing different social groups. Clearly they must link up with other associations in Northwest Coast culture. Because the raven rattle also is a complex of figures, it leads to questions as to the conceptual interrelationship between different kinds of animals and motifs in Northwest Coast art.

CHAPTER III

THE RAVEN RATTLE

Dimensions of the Problem

The raven rattle is one of several different kinds of carved, hollowed-out wooden rattles found among the ritual paraphernalia of at least five of the major native ethnic groups of the Northwest Coast. Raven rattles have been collected from the Tlingit, the Haida, the Tsimshian, the Bella Coola, and the Northern and Southern Kwakiutl. Few if any have been found in use among the Nootka, who had their own distinctive kind of bird-shaped rattle, of much simpler design than the raven rattle.

Other kinds of carved wooden rattles found on the Coast include the elaborately carved Tlingit "oyster catcher" or shamans' rattles, and among all groups globular oval-shaped rattles with faces or other figures carved or painted on them. In addition to these carved rattles there were plain globular rattles and a variety of other kinds of rattles made of pecten shells or puffin beaks strung together.

The iconography of the various kinds of carved rattles would be an interesting subject for analysis and interpretation. But the raven rattle is particularly intriguing for a number of reasons. One reason is its wide distribution on the Coast. In this, it is unlike the Nootka and Tlingit bird rattles whose use was restricted to their respective areas. Another reason is that except for minor regional variations in style and interpretation, the general format of the raven

rattle remains essentially the same throughout its range of distribution. In this sense, it is unlike all other kinds of carved rattles. It is also unlike any other carved objects of comparable complexity (e.g., totem poles, shaman's charms, panel pipes). In short, the raven rattle appears to have been a particularly popular image on the Coast.

A third, and particularly intriguing reason for studying raven rattles is that their popularity among Northwest Coast groups coincides with a period of profound culture change. Because raven rattles were predominantly "chiefs' rattles", their study in this context raises questions about the position of chiefs in Northwest Coast societies during this time. Because the contexts in which chiefs used these rattles were frequently ceremonies in which they acted in the capacity of shamans (i.e., in summoning, controlling, and "throwing" supernatural power), the study of raven rattles raises questions about the interrelationship between chiefs and shamans on the Coast.

The time during which raven rattles seem to have been produced in greatest number and distributed over the widest area on the Coast, is the 19th century. This was a time of major social and economic adjustments to white contact. There were two aspects to these adjustments. One is that Northwest Coast cultures "peaked", that is, reached their greatest development and expression in the post-contact period. It has been frequently pointed out that the new wealth brought to the Coast by the whiteman "strengthened the existing social and economic systems rather than weakening them" (Duff 1964b: 57). The increase in trade goods and opportunities for amassing wealth, the increase in competition for ritual

and social positions as a consequence of rapid population decline (which left many positions vacant), and the imposition of British law which discouraged warfare, all led to an increase in potlatching and to the development of related ceremonies. There was also a parallel increase in the demand for artistic production of ritual paraphernalia as well as of 'curios' for trade with whites (ibid.: 57-9). Perhaps most relevant to the phenomenon of the raven rattle as a popular item in chiefs' paraphernalia, there was also an increase in the power, wealth, and position of chiefs by virtue of their position in the traditional economic system (as focal points for economic redistribution as potlatch-givers) combined with their new position as middlemen in trade with whites (ibid., pp. 57-8).

Other aspects of culture contact seem to have been more in the nature of a challenge to traditional Northwest Coast culture. Although considerations of the consequences of the rapid decline in population on the Coast following the introduction of the whiteman's diseases tend to focus on the phenomenon of people excitedly competing for vacated ritual and social positions, for the peoples of the Coast it must have been a blow to their pride and a shock to their sense of order for so many to die within such a short period. Furthermore, the coming of Christian missionaries, outside entrepreneurs such as the Hudson's Bay Company, and, later on in the century, Indian Administrators certainly must have represented a challenge to traditional authority and beliefs. All this may have presented a conceptual challenge both more profound and less immediately visible than the corporeal ravages of epidemics.

Perhaps the florescence of art and ceremonialism on the Coast is a response to such a challenge. An interesting feature of the raven rattle, as I will argue below, is that its symbolism is generalized. That is, unlike crest art, raven rattles make few if any references to specific individuals or social groups. Rather imagery on the rattle seems to relate in a general way to chiefly prerogatives, shamans and shamanistic activities, and to assumptions underlying the guardian spirit quest in general. I will argue below that the logic underlying the format of the rattles is that they make a general statement, or assertion, of the interrelationship between the three cultural spheres just listed, particularly as these relate to the position of chiefs in Northwest Coast societies. In this respect it might be said that the raven rattle gave concrete form to certain assumptions basic to Northwest Coast culture. Placed in historical perspective, this argument raises the question of whether the popularity of the raven rattle might not in some way be part of a self-assertive response to contact with the powerful, frequently proselytizing, outside groups whose words and deeds must have challenged some of these assumptions.

I will not seek to answer all these questions in this thesis, although in the course of exploring broader cultural contexts of raven rattle use, I will introduce data relevant to these concerns. Mainly I will be concerned with the functions of chiefs as they are revealed in a contextual analysis of the raven rattle and with uncovering the general assumptions underlying the particular combination of imagery on the rattle relating to its use by chiefs. All this indicates that

the raven rattle is by no means an insignificant bit of ritual paraphernalia. Furthermore, an iconographical study of the rattle is more than just an exercise in analysis. The raven rattle, as a single object can be shown to have a comparatively broader-reaching significance than many other objects of comparable visual complexity (for example, totem poles). Because one of the main problems of an iconographic analysis of raven rattles involves inferring meanings from contextual evidence and because the rattle links into several different contexts, it becomes a window on broader questions of conceptual interrelationships in Northwest Coast culture.

Finally, although raven rattles have also been collected from the Bella Coola and the Northern and Southern Kwakiutl, we will be concerned mainly with an analysis of the rattles within the contexts of the three northern Northwest Coast groups -- the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida. All indications are that the rattle originated in the north and subsequently spread southward where it was reinterpreted within the social and ceremonial contexts of these groups.

Pre-Iconographic Description:
External Form and Observable Characteristics

The raven rattle is unusually complex in form. Using Panofsky's distinctions between object and event as the components of a motif, the following motifs can be distinguished:

1. The over-all shape of the rattle is that of a bird, wings partially spread. In the bill of the bird's head of the rattle is a

small object. The bird shape and head can be defined as "object" and the carrying and partially spreading of the wings as "event". Combined these constitute a motif.

2. Carved on the belly of the bird and on the tail of the bird are faces. These may also be defined as "objects" and are part of the motif identified above. Creatures with faces on their bellies and tails are fairly common in Northwest Coast representations, particularly when depicted on two dimensional surfaces. The significance of faces on bellies and tails is thus a more general problem in the iconography of Northwest Coast art, and one that has not yet been worked out. For purposes of analyzing the raven rattle, therefore; the faces on the belly and the tail of the rattle will be considered as having an identity apart from the rest of the bird, at least initially.

3. The face on the belly of the rattle can be considered as a motif in itself. It has the following distinctive characteristics: a protruding beak or nose that curves around and touches the mouth of the face. This is a fairly common, though enigmatic, motif in Northwest Coast art. Below the mouth and towards the handle of the rattle there is the suggestion of another set of "eyes".

4. On the tail of the rattle is the head of another bird. Sometimes it faces the handle of the rattle, sometimes it faces the head. This also can be considered as an "object", although like the face on the belly of the rattle, faces on the tails of creatures are also a

frequent occurrence in Northwest Coast representations. But like the face on the belly of the rattle it also seems to have an identity quite apart from merely being a part of the body of the rattle.

5. Also on the back of the rattle is a reclining human-like figure, head usually resting on the neck of the rattle, knees flexed, and hands resting on its knees. Facing the figure, either sitting on the belly of the creature or held in some cases in the mouth of a long-billed bird that is the tail of the rattle, is a frog-like creature. Extending between the mouths of the reclining figure and the "frog" is a tongue. On some rattles the frog is absent and the tongue extends between the mouth of the human-like figure and the long-billed bird facing it. Reclining figure, "frog", and bird's head are all "objects" and the protruding tongue joining them, an "event". Joined by this "event", the whole group can be considered as a motif.

6. Another feature of all rattles is noteworthy although it is difficult to classify, and that is the space carved through the neck of the rattle. This is readily apparent when the rattle is viewed from its dorsal or ventral side (Figs. 4 and 5). Since there seems to be no structural necessity for it, it might have an iconographic significance.

The consistency in the format of all raven rattles is this: the over-all shape of the rattle is that of a bird in whose beak a small object is carried and whose wings are partially spread (Motif #1). On the back of the rattle is a reclining figure sharing a tongue with some other creature (it is difficult to tell whether the tongue extends

from the mouth of the figure or into it). This is Motif #2. On the belly of the rattle is always a face with a protruding recurved beak or nose, and a mouth (Motif #3). These are the constants.

The variations occurring within this format are minor and three in number, and occur in the reclining-figure, joined-tongue motif: the creature at the other end of the tongue from the reclining figure is either 1) a "frog", and in this case the head on the tail of the rattle is facing away toward the handle; or 2) a "frog" in the bill of the bird's head facing the reclining figure; or 3) the "frog" is omitted and the reclining figure is joining tongues with a long-billed bird's head.

1

Examples of all three variations of raven rattle have been collected from all Northwest Coast cultures where raven rattles are found, so these variations in format do not seem to "sort out" according to region.

Iconographic Identifications:
Interpretation of Specialists and Laymen

Most of the raven rattles now in museum collections were collected during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter

1. In addition to these three general types there are numerous other interpretations and variations on the raven rattle format. But for these there is little documentation so they will not be part of the problem of this thesis. Once the iconography of the dominant raven rattle types is established it would be interesting to see if these other individual derivations could be interpreted as variations on the same themes pertaining to the general raven rattle.

of this century. A number were collected before then, the earliest one from among the Tlingit in 1804 and a few more between 1830 and 1880. The best documented rattles are those collected late in the 1880's. The Appendix contains an illustrated list of a number of Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian raven rattles, mainly ones for which I could find some documentation. Most of this documentation would seem to be in the nature of interpretations made by ethnographers and collectors and it is difficult to be sure, except in cases where native terms are included, whether or not these identifications were based on an informant's statement or on the more or less informed guess of the collector. By far the best single source of information concerning the history, distribution, and traditional myths about the rattles is Barbeau's unpublished manuscript, "Niskae Carvers of Emblems", based on the statements of Niska (Tsimshian) informants interviewed in 1927.² This manuscript is the best source of data in Turner's second class: "Interpretations offered by specialists and laymen." Barbeau's informants were chiefs, so they qualify as "specialists". Museum documents and interpretations made by ethnographers also fall into this category of data.

Briefly, these interpretations can be summarized as follows: the main bird of the rattle is generally identified as "raven"; and the face on the belly as "hawk". The reclining figure on the back of the rattle is variously referred to as "human figure", "dead man",

2. I am indebted to Wilson Duff for making this manuscript available to me and to M. Halpin for lending me additional data from her notes on Barbeau's NMC and ROM museum notes.

"shaman", "supernatural being", and sometimes more specifically as a "whistling demon" named "Kakahete" (see Haida, below). The little animal joining tongues with the reclining figure is repeatedly identified as "frog" and sometimes as "land otter". The long-billed bird facing the reclining figure and sometimes holding the "frog" in its bill is generally referred to as "kingfisher". The joined, or protruding tongue is variously interpreted as referring to the tradition that frogs possess a poison in their heads which when sucked out can be used by a "medicine man", for working "bad spells", or that the tearing out of the tongue of a frog enables a person to "obtain the arts of the medicine man", or merely that it indicates "getting power".

The problems in verification arising from this kind (and level) of information are due partly to the variable reliability of the sources and to apparent contradictions between different identifications of the same parts of the rattle. Identifications of the reclining figure, for example, are apparently contradictory although they may turn out that they have a common conceptual denominator. Haida and Tsimshian sources somewhat confusingly identify "raven" as "raven living in the sea" (see Chapter V below). Tsimshian sources also make this marine association: "the carving does not represent the crest of any given family but a monster bird of the sea" (Barbeau 1927) or "saso is the name of the bird represented. It was a spirit of the sea" (ibid.).

The difficulty with the quality of these sources is that they frequently do not specify whether identifications are based on an in-

formant's testimony or merely upon the assumptions of the collector (see above). In general I have counted informants' statements as the most reliable and also any collectors' notes that include native words for identifications.

Another problem centers on the exact significance of the "hawk" identification of the motif on the belly of the rattle. Does it refer to a particular mythological bird? Or does it refer to a general stylistic device? According to Boas, the general characteristics of "hawk" are a "sharply recurved beak, the tip of which touches the chin. Frequently the face is of human form and the beak touches the teeth or lower lip" (in Holm 1967). But this distinctive combination of recurved beak and mouth also occurs in representations identified as "sun", or "moon", or "killerwhale", or "thunderbird". As both form and icon, "hawk" is ambiguous.

Another kind of ambiguity is introduced by two of Barbeau's Niska informants, both of whom describe variations that local carvers supposedly made with parts of the rattles. According to one of them:

When a rattle was ordered, it was executed just as the purchaser required it. But the little man must always be included. The raven part may be changed; an eagle for the Thunderbird clan, may be substituted or a grouse (Pistae'i) for the Gispewudwade (phratry), or the Crane (Gasgaws) for the Wolf (Barbeau 1927, parentheses his).

Since I could find no examples in museum collections of "grouse" or "crane" rattles, I assume that the part of the rattle most likely being referred to here is not the "raven" head of the rattle, but the bird-face on the tail of the rattle.

These, then, are some of the identifications that have been made of the various motifs on the rattle. In the following chapters iconographic identifications for rattles collected from the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida will be presented in detail and examined within their relevant cultural contexts. The problem will be to identify thematic associations of each motif and their interrelationship.

Iconographic Analysis:
A Contextual Approach to the Study of the Raven Rattle

As outlined above, the main problem with adapting Panofsky's model for iconographical analysis to Northwest Coast materials lies in determining relevant "equipment for interpretation". The main difference between an iconographic problem in Renaissance or medieval European art and one in Northwest Coast art is the relative scarcity of recorded interpretive statements available for the latter analysis. Meanings and significances, themes and concepts have to be inferred also from other relevant data in order to analyse motifs in Northwest Coast art.

Following Turner's (op. cit.) identification of three classes of data relevant to the interpretation of a ritual symbol, we have already considered "external form and observable characteristics" and "interpretations offered by specialists and by laymen". The first of these two classes coincides with Panofsky's pre-iconographic analysis and the second with the museum documents, recorded statements of informants and the interpretative statements of ethnographers summarised

above. As I pointed out, data in this second class is useful for identifying the various motifs represented on the raven rattle, but in order to identify the thematic and conceptual associations these motifs might carry and their interrelationship, one must rely heavily on Turner's third class of data, "significant contexts . . . worked out by the anthropologist."

Forge (op. cit.) has demonstrated that meanings can be inferred by examining visual symbols within the contexts in which they are actually used. The raven rattle, then, is used in the following contexts: 1) by chiefs, 2) in display dances or initiation ceremonies, and 3) as part of the distinctive chiefs' ceremonial costume worn by Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida chiefs on special occasions. Furthermore, it seems to have been a particularly popular item of chiefly regalia in the 19th century. These are the general social, ceremonial, and historical contexts of raven rattle use on the Coast. A knowledge of these are valuable as a "controlling principle of interpretation" in analyzing and interrelating the many associations that can be brought to the individual figures on the rattle by virtue of their mention in other contexts -- namely myths and ethnographies.

In the chapters that follow in which I will interpret the iconography of the raven rattle within three separate although similar cultural traditions, I will arrange the presentation of data in the following sequence:

1. A general introduction to the culture group, including a brief description of social and spatial organization. Since raven

rattles are used by chiefs in a way that seems to relate more to their office than to their membership in a particular lineage (i.e., as crest art does in this latter case), I have included notes on the position and functions of chiefs in these societies. Since, as it will be seen, chiefs act to a certain extent in the capacity of shamans when they are using the rattle, and since there are identified referents to shamans and shamanism on the rattle I have also included information pertaining to the relative position of chiefs and shamans.

2. A description and discussion of historical and ceremonial contexts.

3. Iconographic identifications made by informants and collectors.

4. Relevant associations gathered from ethnographies and myths. I have used myths in three ways: as a source of ethnographic data (in the tradition of Boas); as a source of insight into the raven rattle itself (as provided by the few myths about the origin of the rattle); and as a means of understanding themes and concepts associated with the particular event of the origin of daylight, which I shall argue is the referent of the image of Raven on the rattle.

5. Finally, from an examination of these different kinds of data within the contexts in which raven rattles were used, I will suggest conceptual interrelationships between the various motifs brought together on the rattle. It will be seen that the raven rattle is a particularly complex symbol which represents many things at the same time and on several different levels. An analysis of these interre-

relationships along the lines pursued by Turner in his analysis of ritual symbols is suggested, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Here I am concerned primarily with identifying relevant themes and their possible conceptual interrelationships within the format of the rattle. To the extent that I have had to rely on inferring meanings from contexts of use, however, I have been led to certain conclusions about the possible conceptual functions of the raven rattle within these contexts.

In the task of trying to infer dominant themes from relevant contexts I have found the perspective adopted by Mary Douglas on the conceptual function of "marginal rites" and the significance of anomalous or interstitial creatures useful. Significantly, the raven rattle is used in marginal rites specifically in initiation ceremonies, and these are relevant contexts from which to infer possible themes and concepts associated with motifs on the rattle. The prestige and rank functions of these ceremonies have frequently been noted in ethnographies and analyses of the potlatch. The number of times a person is initiated, say, in a secret society, the greater becomes his rank or prestige. From Douglas' point of view these ceremonies can also be expected to be concerned with identifying powers and dangers in the universe and in maintaining conceptual as well as social order. Briefly, a marginal rite (or a "rite of passage") "recognizes the potency of disorder" (1966: 114).

Van Gennep . . . saw society as a house with rooms and corridors in which passage from one to another is dangerous. Danger lies in transitional states; simply because transition is

neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable. The person who must pass from one to another is himself in danger and emanates danger to others. The danger is controlled by ritual which precisely separates him from his old status, segregates him for a time and then publicly declares his entry to his new status (1966: 116).

To have been in the margins is to have been in contact with danger, to have been at a source of power (1966: 116).

As marginal rites, Northwest Coast initiation ceremonies can be interpreted as dramatizing the powers and dangers inherent in going on a guardian spirit quest: "The man who comes back from . . . inaccessible regions brings with him a power not available to those who have stayed within the control of themselves and of society" (*ibid.*, p. 115). The emphasis of the ceremony is on the control of the dangers of being "in-between" (i.e., between the ordinary social realm and the extraordinary supernatural realm and between social statuses). By dwelling on the dangers of being "out-of-order" the ceremony reconfirms the order of things.

One order that these ceremonies reconfirm, Douglas suggests, is the social order:

It seems that individuals are aware in appropriate contexts of all these structures and aware of their relative importance. They do not have the same idea of what particular level of structure is relevant at a given moment; they know there is a problem of communication to be overcome if there can be society at all. By ceremony, speech and gesture they make a constant effort to express and to agree on a view of what the relevant social structure is like. And all the attribution of dangers and powers is part of this effort to communicate and thus to create social forms (1966: 122).

Furthermore, she suggests that "in the delicate balance between humans, animals, and spirits, certain humans and certain animals occupy key positions of influence" (1967: 239). In terms of social structure for example:

. . . where the social system explicitly recognizes positions of authority, those holding such positions are endowed with explicit spiritual power, controlled, conscious, external and approved -- powers to bless or curse (1966: 120).

This fairly aptly describes the position of chiefs and shamans in Northwest Coast societies. Both of these presided over rituals in which a person was in a marginal state -- either between social statuses or between life and death (i.e., sick).

Otherwise:

Where the social system required people to hold dangerously ambiguous roles, these persons are credited with uncontrolled unconscious, dangerous, disapproved powers -- such as witchcraft and evil eye (1966: 120).

This is a useful perspective to take in analyzing witchcraft beliefs on the Coast.

Humans, then, who occupy key positions of influence are those who preside at boundary lines. We have already noted that people on the Northwest Coast conceptualized animals as assuming human form in their own natural realm -- where they lived within a ceremonial and social structure that paralleled that of humans. These animals were transformers. They could participate in two realms. To this extent all animals could be guardian spirit helpers, because they could preside at the boundary lines between human and animal or the natural and the supernatural. We will see below that animals and spirits were categorized according to their natural realms. Certain animals were anomalous in that they straddled these categories. For the Israelite pastoralists, such animals would have been regarded as abominations and polluting (see Mary Douglas on the "Abominations of Leviticus" in

1966). On the Northwest Coast, anomalous creatures (such as frogs and land otters) were regarded as potential sources of both power and danger. Monsters (that is creatures amalgamated out of several others) were seen both as dangerous and as potential sources of luck or wealth: such monsters would be either amalgamations of sea and land creatures (e.g., sea-grizzly-bear, a being that was part killerwhale and part grizzly bear) or of human and animal characteristics.

The fact that these creatures were not regarded as abominations indicates an "essential tendency" of the Northwest Coast mood. People on the Coast sought power by crossing boundary lines. This is the essence of both the food quest (people left the narrow band of shore they inhabited to fish in the sea or hunt in the dense rainforests) and the guardian spirit quest (people left the human social realm to attain power in the supernatural realm). Any creature then who would be an appropriate metaphor for a human hunter/fisherman or shaman, or chief could be expected to be a creature that was interstitial or anomalous. These would be particularly powerful spirit helpers.

This, then, is the framework of expected significances within which I shall try 1) to identify concepts associated with particular images on the raven rattle, and 2) to interpret their relationships both to each other and within the context in which the rattle was used.

Ethnographic Sources

For the Tlingit: Krause's The Tlingit Indians (1956), first published in 1885, based on observations among the Tlingit in 1878-79.

This also includes a history of foreign contacts with the Tlingit, the first major one being in 1741, and extensive summaries of the accounts of the various explorers and administrators who wrote down their observations of Tlingit culture. Swanton's Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relations of the Tlingit Indians (1908a) and Tlingit Myths and Texts (1909), both based on field work at Wrangell and Sitka during the first four months of 1904. The field notes of Emmons and Shotridge who collected artifacts from the Tlingit during the first two decades of this century. Oberg's "Crime and Punishment in Tlingit Society", published in 1934 and his soon to be published Ph.D. Thesis, "The Social Economy of the Tlingit Indians" (1937) based on field work mostly in Klukwan. The publications of McClellan (1954, 1963) and DeLaguna (1952, 1953, 1954, 1972) based on fieldwork conducted among the Tlingit during the years 1948-1952.

For the Tsimshian: Boas' 1902 and 1916 collections of Tsimshian mythology, the latter having been recorded between 1902 and 1914 in the native language. It also includes descriptions of Tsimshian culture in general. Viola Garfield's Tsimshian Clan and Society (1939) based on fieldwork conducted during the summers of 1932, 1935, and 1937, and "The Tsimshian and Their Neighbors" (1966) both of which works are uncomfortable, self-contradictory at times. By far the best single source of information about raven rattles is Barbeau's unpublished manuscript, "Niska Carvers of Emblems" and accession notes accompanying individual rattles he acquired for the Royal Ontario Museum and the National Museum of Canada. In addition to these primary sources are Drucker's chapter

on the Tsimshian in Cultures of the North Pacific Coast (1965) and Rosman and Rubel's discussion of the Tsimshian potlatch system in Feasting with Mine Enemy (1971). M. Halpin's personal communications based on her extensive research into the Tsimshian crest systems using many unpublished sources have been very helpful.

For the Haida: the main sources have been Swanton's Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida (1905a) and Haida Texts and Myths (1905b).

3. The writer is aware of the recently completed Ph.D. Thesis on the Tsimshian. Since this study of the raven rattle was conceptualized before the completion of M. Halpin's thesis, certain perspectives and conclusions contained therein have not been taken into consideration.

CHAPTER IV
THE TLINGIT CONTEXT

Introduction

Territorially, the Tlingit are divided into thirteen or fourteen local groups ("tribes" or "villages") referred to in the native language as qwan or kon. The southernmost of these are the Tongas, north of the Tsimshian and diagonally across from the northernmost tip of the Queen Charlottes. (The Tlingit are said to have once occupied the Coast as far south as the Skeena, but were driven north by ancestors of the Coast Tsimshian (Drucker 1965: 105-6).) The northernmost group are the Yakutat and the Chilkat. Inland from the Chilkat are an interior group, called the Tagish, who became "Tlingitized" relatively recently.

Socially, the entire Tlingit population is divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties: Raven and Wolf (or Eagle). These are subdivided into clans, or "sibs", made up of one or more matrilineal lineages. The sibs and the smaller subsidiary house groups within them are the property- and prerogative-owning units of the Tlingit. All members of a house group were ranked and this was reflected in the prerogatives they owned. Chiefs were the highest-ranking members of a house, and may be described as the "trustees" of lineage "estates":

The sib and its constituent houses are named, and are the units possessing totemic crests, songs, stories, a graded series of personal names and titles, and other ceremonial and social prerogatives. These rights are the most precious possessions of the Tlingit, and material wealth is sacrificed at potlatches to validate and enhance them.

These rights are exercised by individuals, primarily by the house chiefs, who act as trustees of the entailed lineage estates, and among them, the chief of the most prominent house is the ranking chief of the sib. But other individuals enjoy lesser rights. A person's name not only implies such rights but places him within the whole social framework, and this in turn serves to orient him with respect to the natural and supernatural world. The grading of social and ceremonial prerogatives belonging to house and sib, and exercised by the prominent members for their groups, constitutes the class rankings of Tlingit society (DeLaguna 1952: 4).

The position of chiefs in Tlingit society, from the perspective of the 1930's, is summarised by DeLaguna as follows:

. . . the chiefs of the most important houses of the most respected sibs are the recognized social and ceremonial leaders, whereas other house heads hold titles of lesser esteem and their lineages are socially inferior. Often there may be one sib in the community outstanding in size, wealth, and the rank of its leading chief. The most important shaman is usually his closest relative, and this sib would be the most influential political faction in the community, even though the power of chief was not as fully developed among the northern Tlingit as it seems to have been further south (DeLaguna 1952: 6).

The funeral potlatch for a dead chief, was observed both by Veniaminof in the 1830's and by McClellan for the turn of the century to be the main Tlingit ceremonial (see Krause 1885/1970: 163, and McClellan 1954: 77). DeLaguna summarizes some of its salient features, indicating the many layers of social functions that were served in this one ceremonial that centered on the succession of a new chief and the mourning of the passing of the old:

Within the village, the moieties function as units on the great ceremonial occasions constituting the potlatch cycle which center primarily around the theme of death and bereavement. The same occasions are also utilized by the sibs and houses to validate titles and honorable names, to introduce children as participating members of society, to display their

crests, songs, dances, and to affirm, reaffirm, and enhance the social standing of the acting individuals and groups. On these occasions, however, all members of the moiety of the deceased act as the bereaved hosts; all members of the opposite moiety (that of the widowed) are guests to be honored and paid for their services in disposing of the corpse and in consoling the bereaved. The cycle ends with a reversal of roles in which the former guests entertain and give presents to their previous hosts. Although the ceremonies are predominantly community affairs . . . yet visitors from other tribes are customarily invited to the more important potlatches, by virtue of real or fictitious kinship with the participants. The various roles played by individuals depend upon their rank and upon their relationship to the deceased.

The primary aim of the potlatch cycle is to reunite the community after the tragedy of death, by reaffirming the kinship bonds between members, by symbolizing the participation of the ancestral dead, by replacing the deceased (if a chief) by his successor, by bringing forward the children in whom other honored names live again, by dedicating anew the totemic crests and symbolically offering them as emblems of comfort to the bereaved, and finally by physically rebuilding the village through renovation of the deceased chief's house or erection of a new house for his successor. Yet the same potlatch cycle provides occasions for creating and airing of ill-feeling, since the etiquette of rank may be used to shame an enemy, or an inadvertent slight be interpreted as an intentional insult. The meeting provides the arena where potential heirs compete for coveted honors and where the victor triumphs over his rivals (DeLaguna 1952: 5-6).

Apparently, within Tlingit society the ranking system was quite flexible and the succession to the position of chief was open to challenge and competition. There were two aspects to this competition. One was, as Krause and Swanton have observed, that when there were several claimants to the position, wealth was considered to be the deciding factor in the competition. Krause indicates this indirectly:

Within the clan again individual families are ranked; they form a sort of aristocracy which bases its position not so much on birth as on the possession of wealth. Even the rank of chief is tied up with the possession of wealth, largely the ownership of slaves (Krause 1885/1970: 77).

DeLaguna notes that the potlatch is the "arena where potential heirs compete for coveted honors and where the victor triumphs over his rivals" (DeLaguna 1952: 6; see also discussion in Kosman and Rubel 1971: 36).

Evidence from other ethnographers suggests that this competition took place in another arena as well: sorcery accusations. The fact noted by Oberg that sorcery accusations were most frequently made by people of higher rank against people of lower rank, led him to conclude that this was a means by which high-ranking people could commit crimes with impunity, including stealing and murdering rivals. Mainly they would accomplish this by accusing someone of bewitching them, or in the case of unsolved murders, would accuse a rival of having been the sorcerer who caused the death. In this, shamans were their agents.

The employment of shamans in the discovery of crimes such as murder and stealing lent itself to abuse among the Tlingit. Men would steal and later claim that they had been bewitched by a slave and thus escape the penalty. Rivals were often exterminated by paying the shaman to name them as sorcerers in cases of murder where the murderer escaped detection and in cases of illness (Oberg 1934 in McFeat 1966: 221).

Oberg tends to cast this within the light of his own moral principles. Another perspective could be taken on the phenomenon of sorcery and witchcraft accusations in societies: namely that they are a function of structural ambiguities and weaknesses in the social order. This is a position taken by many current anthropologists (see Gluckman 1965; Douglas 1966; etc.). In sum, witchcraft and sorcery accusations are usually

made against people who are seen as sources of social disorder. The distinction usually made is that sorcerers are witting and conscious agents, while witches are unconscious and inadvertent agents. In this light, the high incidence of witchcraft and sorcery accusations can be linked up with the ambiguity of the flexible and highly competitive Tlingit ranking system as the means by which a continually and potentially disruptive state of affairs was kept in check.

This perspective would also account for the observed close alliance between shamans and chiefs in the sphere of politics, i.e., in the maintenance of order. For example:

Often there may be one sib in the community outstanding in size wealth, and the rank of its leading chief. The most important shaman is usually his close relative, and this sib would be the most influential political factor in the community (DeLaguna 1952: 6, emphasis mine).

. . . in alliance with a sib chief he [the shaman] may regulate much social policy within the sib (McClellan 1954: 95).

Sorcery accusations are one means of resolving the ambiguity of competition for office (of chief), and the alliance of chiefs and shamans apparently functioned to maintain social order. Also, presumably through his shaman, a chief had access to the controlled use of supernatural power.

Historical and Ceremonial Contexts of Tlingit Raven Rattles

The earliest dated raven rattle anywhere was one collected by Baranoff in 1804, from the "Colushes" (Russian-nomer for the Tlingit). It is generally held, however, that raven rattles came to the Tlingit

from the south. Raven rattles were used by the Tlingit throughout the 19th century and into the 20th.

There is little specific information about in which contexts the Tlingit used raven rattles. It is possible that they were first associated with shamans. Swanton includes them among his list of shamans' paraphernalia:

Besides the oval rattles, such as Haida shamans always employed, they sometimes used the large chief's rattles, with figures of a raven and other animals upon them. This may have been because Tlingit shamans were generally of higher social rank than those among the Haida. The chief's rattle came to them originally from the south (Swanton 1908a:464).

Appendix : 9 is an example of a raven rattle collected from a shaman's grave by Emmons before 1888 (DeLaguna 1972: 699). Figure 13 is a photograph identified as "Tlingit spirit doctor and sick person" (Andrews 1960: 97) in which the shaman is holding a raven rattle.

On the basis of her interpretation of the figures on the rattle representing the "acquisition of shamanistic powers", DeLaguna concludes that "because of the type of decoration one would assume that these bird rattles had originally been associated with shamans, not chiefs" (DeLaguna 1972: 698). Without other evidence, however, it does not necessarily follow from the fact that there are references to shamanism on the raven rattle that they were first used primarily by shamans, although such use would certainly be appropriate in a general sense. In his discussion of shaman's paraphernalia, cited above, Swanton goes on to explain that "besides the mask spirits there were also special spirits to strengthen the rattle" (op. cit.). Krause noted with reference to shamans' calling

spirit helpers: "All spirits like cleanliness and the sound of the drum and rattle." In order to determine just how appropriate the use of a raven rattle would be to shamans, the iconography must be examined more closely. Furthermore, Swanton (op. cit.) implies that the use of raven rattles by Tlingit shamans was related to their high rank. Rank, therefore, rather than the other functions of Tlingit shamans, might be the significant context within which to interpret the iconography of the raven rattle as a shaman's rattle.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the Tlingit developed a very distinctive genre of bird rattle used exclusively by shamans. These rattles are generally referred to as oyster catcher rattles and are similar in complexity to the raven rattle although there is much more variety in figures and actions represented. There are many examples of these (see Figure 15 and Figure 14- a photograph of a "Tlingit healer at Dyea, Alaska" using one, Andrews 1960: 104-5). The iconography on these beautiful rattles clearly refers to various aspects of the practice of shamans (for example, the torturing of witches and spirit encounters) as well as to a variety of spirit animals specifically related associated with shamans (for example, land otters, octopus, mountain sheep, etc.). Presumably the events indicated on these rattles can be identified with individual experiences of individual shamans.

Every shaman has his own spirits for whom there are special names and songs. He seldom inherits the spirits of ancestors, but they do occasionally appear to him He also has the power, according to the beliefs of the Tlingit, to throw his spirits into anyone who does not believe in him and these people then get cramps or fall into a faint (Krause 1885/1970: 196).

Emmons notes that these rattles were "carried when practicing about the sick and bewitched" (unpublished notes in the Thomas Burke Memorial Museum, Seattle).

Since this type of rattle seems to have been contemporary with the raven rattle (the earliest "oyster catcher" rattle among those published is one shown in Seibert and Forman 1967: Fig. 56, collected between 1839 and 1845 by Voznesensky), it raises questions about the possible historical relationship between these two types of rattle. Possibly the influx of raven rattles -- from the south as is generally accepted -- stimulated the development of the "oyster catcher" type of rattle. It could have been precisely because, although the raven rattles were very distinctive, their references to shamanism were only at the most general level that the "oyster catcher" rattles were developed for the use of shamans alone. These were equally distinctive and complex, but their iconography was more specific to the shaman's vocation in particular.

Whoever had them first, however, by the end of the 19th century raven rattles were primarily associated with chiefs. According to DeLaguna, Emmons, who collected many "oyster catcher" and raven rattles from the Tlingit near the turn of the century, ". . . commented that this type of rattle is usually owned by a chief, and that only two or three have been found in shamans' graves" (DeLaguna 1972: 699).

Emmons usually identifies the raven rattles he collected as a "chief's wooden dance rattle," "general dance rattle," or "general dance rattle . . . used upon general occasions" (see Appendix : 4-9). Exactly what the "general occasion" might have been he does not say.

Photographic evidence associates the raven rattle with the chief's ceremonial costume of the general type shown in Fig. 7. A photograph published in Emmons 1916: Fig. 1, shows Chief Yehlh-gouhu, of the Con-nuh-ta-di (a Raven group) wearing dance leggings and a Chilkat ceremonial shirt holding a raven rattle (see Fig. 8). A second photograph, taken in 1886 (see Fig. 9) shows Chief Miniman, or "Yen-aht-setl," a leading Teqwedi (Wolf group) chief. He is wearing the chief's ceremonial headdress and holding a raven rattle. A third photograph, shows the members of the Nanyaayi family (Wolf), Stikine, "in ceremonial dress." One figure (center right) is dressed in the full chief's regalia and is holding a raven rattle (Fig. 10).

These photographs indicate that raven rattles were not necessarily prerogatives in any one moiety, since in one the chief is Raven and in the other, a Wolf. They also suggest that the rattles were carried whenever a chief had occasion to wear his ceremonial regalia. From the first two, one such occasion, clearly, was having one's picture taken. It would be interesting to know how these photographs were initiated. Possibly the photographer wished to photograph these men because they were chiefs, and they in turn responded by putting on this visual indication of their rank and office.

Another photograph (Fig. 11) published in Krieger (1927: pl. 2), shows people dressed in the chief's ceremonial regalia of Chilkat blankets, leggings, and carved headdresses, one of whom is carrying a raven rattle. Another person on the far left, dressed in a simpler costume, also holds a raven rattle. The photograph is identified as "Chilkat

men dressed in ceremonial potlatch helmets and blankets" (*ibid.*). This links the wearing of the chief's ceremonial costume and the carrying of the raven rattle with the potlatch.

Two other references that I could find link up the raven rattle with the chief's ceremonial costume and suggest the nature of the ceremony these were used in. One is a description in a myth recorded by Swanton at Wrangell of a "chief's dance". In the myth the "chief's dance" is compared with another kind, the "Haida dance". According to his informant, "the Haida dance was done away with years ago, while the chief's dance has been given up only in very recent times" (Swanton 1909: 141). It is noted that both kinds of dances benefited "poorer people" because property was given away. Hence one could assume that they were both connected with the potlatch somehow.

. . . it is because the chief said, "Let it be among the poorer people so that their names may be known," that there are so many composers and dancers among us. For no chief composes or dances without giving away a great deal of property.

Thus it happens that there are two kinds of dances, a dance for the chief and his sons and this common or Haida dance (Dekī'na Alē'x). In the latter, women always accompany it with songs, and, if the composer sings about some good family, members of the latter give him presents. When a chief is going to dance, he has to be very careful not to say anything out of the way. He dances wearing a head dress with weasel skins, a Chilkat blanket, and leggings and carrying a raven rattle. He is the only one whose voice is heard, and he speaks very quietly The Haida dance, however, is always for pleasure, while the chief's dance is more of a ceremony. Although most of the people who witness it are high-caste, anyone is welcome. All watch the chief's actions and listen to his words very closely. If he makes the least mistake, showing that he has not studied his words beforehand very well, they have too much respect for him to say anything to him at that time. Next day, however, after he has found it out, if he does not take his words back, the people that had heard will disgrace him by giving away a great deal of property (Swanton 1909: 141).

This account raises many intriguing ethnographic questions, but what is apparent from it is that when a chief performed a "chief's dance" he gave away property, he wore his ceremonial costume, and what he said was of a very serious nature and had to be stated perfectly. Unfortunately, the account does not include what the speech was about.

The second reference associating the raven rattle with the chief's ceremonial costume, is the Tlingit myth about the origin of the chief's paraphernalia. Below, I will cite this myth again as providing clues to the interpretation of the iconography of the rattle. The myth was collected by Swanton at Wrangell in 1904. It acknowledges that the Tsimshian had the ceremonial paraphernalia "first" and this corroborates other indications that the raven rattle came to the Tlingit from the south. The myth (briefly): A Tsimshian "head chief" living at the head of the Nass comes down to the ocean with his nephews. There the Gonakade't (a sea-monster associated with great wealth) swallows the nephews. In hopes of getting them back, the chief from the head of the Nass invites the Gonakade't people to a feast. The Gonakade't comes but the chief does not see his "sister's children." Then, after this thought passes his mind:

. . . the GonakAdē't called loudly to one of his men, "Bring me my box from over yonder." The box was beautifully carved and painted, and it was from it that the Tsimshian came to know how to carve and paint boxes. Then he took out a chief's dancing hat with sea lion bristles and a rattle, and just as soon as he had done so the chief's eldest nephew stood beside him. He put the headdress upon him and gave him the rattle, and the GonakAdē't people sang songs for him. They sang four songs, and the GonakAdē't said, "This hat, this rattle, and these songs are yours" (Swanton 1909: 173).

(The beautifully carved and painted boxes, referred to here, it should be noted, are the carved wooden chests that were highly prized objects also associated with chiefs).

Summary

The use of raven rattles among the Tlingit has continued into the 20th century (see Fig. 12; published in Wherry 1964: 123). Due to the hiatus in Tlingit ceremonialism brought about by Christian missionizing, the U.S. potlatch law of 1895, and the negative attitude of the Native Brotherhood founded in 1912, and due to culture change in general, one could assume that whatever contexts the raven rattle and chief's regalia might have been used in, they would not have carried the same significances as they did before.

Our concern, then, is with the 19th century context of the Tlingit raven rattle. Available evidence suggests that by the end of the 19th century, the raven rattle was: 1) used by chiefs, 2) part of the chief's ceremonial costume and together with this costume clearly was associated with the rank and office of chief rather than with one particular clan or moiety affiliations of chiefs, and 3) along with the ceremonial costume, worn when a chief danced and gave away property. The account of the "chief's dance", cited above, indicates that this was a very serious occasion, and the chief could not say anything out of order ("out of the way"). The general context of these activities would seem to be the potlatch, the giving away of property. From these, the significant contexts of Tlingit raven rattle use are the potlatch and

the position of chief in Tlingit society as demonstrated in the potlatch. Since, as we shall see, there are many references to shamanism in the imagery of the raven rattle, I have included a brief discussion of the nature of the relationship between chief and shaman in Tlingit society. (With regards to the latter, the historical relationships between chief and shaman in the evolution of Tlingit culture from the point of view of the division of ceremonial labour between the two, would be an interesting subject for study. This, as I have suggested, might be the relevant context for analyzing the parallel phenomenon of chiefs' raven rattles and shamans' "oyster catcher" rattles, as well, being of general theoretical interest.)

Iconographic Identifications

The following table summarizes the iconographic identifications of the various figures on Tlingit raven rattles for which there was specific documentation, however reliable.

Rattles collected by Emmons (see also Appendix : 4-9):

<u>WSM951</u> (Sitka)	<u>WSM952</u> (Wrangell)	<u>WSM954</u> (Wrangell)	<u>AMNH 19-803</u> (Sitka)
"Raven"	"Raven"	"Raven"	"Crow"
"dead man"	"human figure"	"human figure" (land otter tongue)	"dead man"
	"frog"	"frog"	
		"kingfisher"	"kingfisher"
	"Hawk"	"Hawk's head"	"owl" (with 'frog getting secrets from it')

Chief Yen-aht-setl's rattle:

. . . the straight beak of the rattle suggests a raven . . . on the back of the bird is a recumbent human figure that holds a small animal on his chest. Such a scene is often carved on these rattles, and represents the land otter stretching its long tongue into the mouth of the prostrate shaman, thereby endowing him with power (DeLaguna 1972: 698).

Dall's summary of Tlingit raven rattles, in general:

The carvings on the rattles of the Tlinkit, especially those of the southern part of the Archipelago, are matters belonging particularly to the shaman or medicine man, and characteristic of his profession. . . very generally, if not invariably, the rattle is composed of the figure of a bird, from which, near the head of the bird, or carved upon the back of the bird's head is represented a human face with the tongue protruding.

The tongue is bent downwards and usually meets the mouth of a frog or an otter, the tongue of either appearing continuous with that of the human face. In case it is a frog, it usually appears impaled upon the tongue of a kingfisher, whose head and variegated plumage are represented near the handle in a conventional way. It is asserted that this represents the medicine man absorbing from the frog, which has been brought to him by the kingfisher, either poison or the power of producing evil effects on other people

In case it is an otter, the tongue of the otter touches the tongue of the medicine man, as represented on the carving. The hands of the figure usually take hold of the otter's body by the middle, sometimes by the forelegs. The hind-legs of the otter rest either upon the knees of the figure representing the medicine man, or upon a second conventionalized head [?], which is in front of and below the knees. The tail of the otter hangs down between his hindlegs (Dall 1881-2: 111).

Bearing in mind that our ultimate concern is the symbolic interrelationship of all the parts of the rattle, we will consider the possible iconographic significance of each part in turn. We will begin with the reclining-figures-joined tongue-frog, -land otter, or -king-

fisher motif. This seems to have been the one which most caught the eye of outside observers.

Iconographic Analysis: Associations

"Reclining Figure"

Emmons records no interpretations, but both DeLaguna and Dall interpret the motif as representing shamans receiving power from either a land otter or a frog. Dall further specifies that the medicine man receives either poison from a frog or the "power of producing evil effects on other people" (op. cit.). For the land otter, he points out that obtaining the tongue of a land otter enables a shaman to "understand the language of all inanimate objects, of birds, animals, and other living things" and that "the otter presenting his tongue is the most universal type [sic] of the profession as such, and is sure to be found somewhere in the paraphernalia of every individual of that profession" (Dall 1881-2: 112).

It is mainly on the basis of a knowledge of the Tlingit association of frogs and land otters with shamanistic powers in particular that the reclining figure has been interpreted as "shaman" or "medicine man" and the event as that of a shaman receiving power. It is noteworthy, however, that there is nothing in the appearance of the figure itself that suggests that it is a shaman or a dead man or anyone in particular. In other contexts, such as masks or different kinds of rattles, a dead man is indicated by closed or half-closed eyes. A shaman is indicated by

long hair (see Fig. 15, NA 4972 from the University Museum, Pa.), or a distinctive kind of headdress (see Fig. 14, op. cit., Andrews 1960: 104-5). There are no indicators of the sex of the figure (unless the absence of a lip labret indicates that the figure is not a female, but this could be irrelevant to the significance of the figure anyway). And there are no indicators such as facial paintings or other crest references that would indicate that kind of social identity. A possible exception occurs in some rattles on which the head of the figure is that of an animal. This could be a reference to a crest animal/ancestor of a particular lineage.

Furthermore, frogs, and, to a lesser degree, land otters are associated with other contexts in Tlingit thought than shamanism. The possible relevance of these to an interpretation of the rattle will be considered below. Briefly, frogs, land otters, or kingfishers are general symbols (rather than specific crests) for particular kinds of power that are relevant, not only to shamans, but also to chiefs, potlatch-givers, and sick people.

Before arguing this point further, we will examine Tlingit ideas associated with tongues and protruding tongues, and frogs, land otters, and kingfishers.

"Tongues"

First, as in most cultures, the tongue is associated with speech. A Tlingit myth, also common throughout the coast, tells how Raven prevented Cormorant from telling anyone that Raven had eaten all the halibut by tearing out the Cormorant's tongue.

Second, tongues are associated with the acquisition of spirit helpers and their powers. This was true particularly in the case of shamans, but apparently applied to seekers of other kinds of power as well.

Among the Tlinkit, in order to achieve power of any sort (gambling, etc.) and shamanistic power in particular, it is necessary to acquire the tongue of an animal not used for food (Kanpp and Childe 1896: 141 cited in Badner 1966: 17).

. . . the shaman's spirit helper, yek . . . is obtained from some animal, bird, or fish, which the shaman encounters during his novitiate, and from which he usually cuts the tongue. . . . Whereas the full shaman ideally cuts eight tongues and thus obtains eight helpers, other men, we believe, may obtain lesser power from a single tongue (DeLaguna 1954: 180).

DeLaguna also notes that "the strongest yek are derived from certain species, predominantly the land otter" (*ibid.*). The reasons for this will be discussed below.

Third, according to Dall on the basis of his examination of Tlingit myths, "the touch of the tongue, as in the case of the otter, frog, and kingfisher, symbolized to them the transmission of spiritual qualities or powers" (Dall 1881-2: 113).

Fourth, the touch of the tongue is also associated with the transmission of power in the context of sexual intercourse:

I learned from an old Aleut, who had been well-educated and held in positions of trust under the Russian regions in Alaska, that, formerly, among his people, the wife desiring sons of especial vigor took her husband's tongue between her lips during the generative act, and men who had no progeny were reproached as "short tongued" (Dall 1881-2: 113).

Thus a protruding tongue can be a metaphor for intercourse, which in turn is a metaphor for the transmission of power. To take this analysis

one step further, the fruits of the transmission of sexual power are healthy children. And children in a sense are a metaphor for wealth at least in the Tlingit order because they inherit wealth and keep it in the family; they marry and thereby are the means for profitable alliances with other lineages; they are producers of wealth in food and goods for potlatching as hunters and gatherers on family lands, etc. Thus the iconography of the reclining figure motif could be sexual intercourse, expressed metaphorically by the tongue of one partner protruding into the mouth of the other. It is difficult on most rattles to tell whether the tongue is that of the reclining figure or of the animal at the other end. In Fig. 16 (AMNH 19-803) it clearly looks as if the tongue of the reclining figure is being held in the beak of the "kingfisher". On others it looks as if the tongue goes in the opposite direction. On still others the tongue does not look as if it belonged to either partner, which is no doubt what leads some observers to refer to the protruding tongue as a "shared object". It is difficult to know whether or not the distinction might be important. As in the case of the absence of clear indications of the sex of the reclining figure, the ambiguity as to whose tongue is protruding could be intentional or irrelevant.

Another suggestion of sexual intercourse is the distinctive posture of the reclining figure. On practically all rattles, the figure is in a prone position. The legs are spread apart. The hands rest on the knees, rather than passively alongside the figure, almost as if the knees were being held apart. Frequently the whole or lower part of the

torso is elevated. Furthermore, on many of the rattles with frogs or land otters, the animal is sitting directly on the lower abdomen or right between the legs of the reclining figure. This is also highly suggestive of intercourse.

At the most general level, the tongue extending between the reclining figure and the animal creature can be interpreted as indicating union and the transmission of powers. The implied medium is at once verbal and sexual. For the Tlingit the significance of obtaining a creature's tongue is that one then knows the creature's language and can call it and summon its aid. The other means of obtaining the help of supernaturals, as chronicled extensively in lineage myths, is marriage. The metonymy for marriage is sexual intercourse.

I would argue furthermore that the kind of power being transmitted (i.e., the result of the union) is signified by the animal creature the reclining figure is united with. (Frogs, kingfishers, and land otters can be expected to either indicate different kinds of power or perhaps variations on the same theme.) The question is, what is special about land otters, frogs, and kingfishers? How are they different from all the other animals that according to myths have imparted powers to humans?

"Land Otter"

More than any other animal, the land otter is associated with powers of particular use to shamans. The land otter tongue is the Tlingit equivalent to King Solomon's ring, enabling the possessor to

understand the language of all things and to call spirit helpers from all realms. This kind of power would be of particular use to shamans in locating the lost souls of the sick and in discovering witches. Presumably the tongue would also be useful to others who might seek spirit helpers to assist them in gambling or hunting or fighting or obtaining wealth. Land otters themselves, for example, were considered to be good fishermen (Swanton 1909: 86). A myth of the Chilkat tells of how a man rescued his village from famine with supplies he brought home from a visit to the Land Otter people who had rescued him from starvation (Krause 1895/1970: 186-8). The land otter was also held as a crest animal of a Raven clan because one of their ancestors, a shaman, had "visited a land otter town and obtained powers from it" (Swanton 1908: 417).

In general, land otters were also held to be highly dangerous and ambiguous creatures. People lost in the water or the woods were considered to have been stolen by land otter people (DeLaguna 1954: 188). While land otter people were credited with rescuing people from drowning, people so rescued ran the risk of becoming land otter people themselves. Land otter people (kucda-q'a, from kucta, land otters) were creatures who looked like people but were really land otters. Only shamans and dogs could readily tell the difference. They were dangerous because they could drive an unsuspecting person mad or lure them away (DeLaguna 1954: 187).

People so lost would be rescued either through the kindness of the creatures or with the help of a shaman whose spirits "may find and protect lost people and guide the search party to their rescue" (DeLaguna 1954: 188). A person who had been gone for any length of time had to be "tamed" or decontaminated in order to become fully human again (ibid.). Shamans would also assist in this process.

Shamans were experts both in obtaining powers from land otters (a land otter tongue was an indispensable part of their paraphernalia, Dall, op. cit.), and in locating and "taming" people who had been lost or stolen by land otters.

"Land otter" was also the Tlingit term of reference for spirit intrusions which were particularly associated with coming too close to a shaman's grave or box of paraphernalia. This kind of contamination could result in sickness and even death (DeLaguna 1954: 181).

Carvings of land otters, however, also seem to have been regarded as auspicious. People carved fish hooks in the form of animals. A land otter hook was considered to be particularly successful because a land otter "takes people away and sees things under the ocean" (Swanton 1908: 458). Also:

To obtain good luck people used sometimes to carve round sticks into the shape of land otters and place them in a cave where a shaman's body had been laid, saying to them, "Keep me in good health. Help me wherever I go" (Swanton 1908a: 457).

"Frogs"

Like land otters, frogs were also associated with watery realms, and shamanism. To a greater extent than land otters, they were also associated with wealth, particularly wealth from water.

In Tlingit thought, frogs were also highly ambiguous creatures. Ordinarily they were regarded with aversion and people avoided contact with them. The slime exuded by frogs was supposed to be poisonous to other creatures and it could be used to bewitch a person so that his eyes would bulge out (like a frog's) (Swanton 1908: 470). At the same time they were considered to be shamans of the animal world and people were careful to treat them with respect as they would any shaman (McClellan 1963: 127). For this reason also, people would seek the assistance of frogs in healing.

Sometimes sick people pay a frog to help them as they would pay any shaman. A few persons even try to gain healing power for themselves by deliberately picking up a frog and then returning it to water with gifts of beads and swans down (McClellan 1963: 127).

The frog was also a highly honored crest of Raven groups. In myths about ancestral encounters with frogs, they are most frequently associated with wealth. The general plot is that a person (usually female) unwittingly marries a frog in human form, goes to live with frog people, bears monster children. But this marriage also brings the woman's family wealth. As a crest animal in both myth and crest representations, the following features of frogs are emphasized: they crawl on land, they multiply in great numbers, they live in houses under the

water and their social organization parallels that of human society (this is a feature of all animals -- in the heart of their respective realms they assume human form, live in houses, have chiefs, etc.). Lineage names with frog references are the next most abundant to Raven names among Raven clans (Swanton 1908a:421). One name associates the green color of frogs with copper. House names also refer to frogs (Swanton 1908a:402, 405).

The association of frogs with wealth in Tlingit thought is clearly illustrated by the story of Skookum Jim recorded by McClellan. Skookum Jim was a Tagish person whose discovery of gold in Bonanza Creek led to the Klondike Gold Rush of 1898. Skookum Jim's good fortune was attributed to the assistance of Wealth Woman and a frog helper. The story about Jim's encounter with the frog according to McClellan's informants is as follows:

. . . when Jim was down on the coast he felt sorry for a frog caught in a dry hole. Jim was ill, but that evening the grateful frog appeared and cured him at once. It also took Jim to visit its home, conducting him through a series of golden rooms, but stopping short of the last one where its father stayed. One person said that the frog looked like a man, but the others described a fair haired woman with eyes that glittered like gold nuggets in clear running water (McClellan 1963: 123).

The interesting feature of this story is that Skookum Jim was a Wolf, not a Raven, and the frog is a Raven crest. McClellan's interpretation of this oddity is that "the frog was eminently suitable for Jim because of its close association with water where gold is found, and also because Jim was at least 'strong enough' to receive some of its power" (McClellan 1963: 126). This story underscores the Tlingit association of frogs

with "wealth", in that frogs usually associated with copper became the appropriate spirit helper in the discovery of gold (the white-man's copper).

Frogs, then, bring wealth, health, and the power to bewitch.

"Kingfisher"

Kingfishers are a bit harder to classify, because there is little specific mention of them in the literature. The identification of the long billed creature either holding a frog or protruding tongue as "kingfisher" seems to be based more on its appearance than on any established iconography. It looks like a kingfisher because of the long head feathers and long bill. The long head feathers could also be interpreted as the rest of the Raven's tail. Rattles with the hawk-like head facing the handle of the rattle also have long head feathers which could be interpreted in the same way. In Northwest Coast art, heads of creatures are frequently shown on the tails of representations of animals (including fishes and sea mammals).

Assuming that the long-billed bird's head is that of a kingfisher -- mainly on the basis that it looks like a kingfisher and is invariably identified as one in raven rattle documents -- it is difficult to know what its significance might be. Kingfishers are not used as food, so they would fall into the category of animals "not used for food" the possession of whose tongues was useful to those seeking "power of any sort" (Knapp and Childe in Badner, op. cit.). Furthermore they are associated with water and with being good fishermen. This

is arguing from a knowledge of natural history. (Possibly, they also eat frogs.) In any case, they have access to the fruits of the watery realms and would be an appropriate metaphor for a person with particular skill as a fisherman. And yet among both the Tlingit and Haida it is the flicker that is particularly associated with luck in fishing. One of DeLaguna's informants described a kingfisher (tɬAxAnEs) as "a bird that digs a hole in the bluffs with its long bill". This parallels the behaviour of flickers, who dig holes in trees with their long bills. The parallels are intriguing. Flicker feathers are also incorporated into the traditional chief's headdress with the sea lion bristles, ermine tails, etc.

Without further information, it is difficult to know exactly what significance may have been attached to "kingfishers" or to know if the long-billed creature is meant to be a kingfisher at all. Assuming it is, however, I would hypothesize that the bird would belong in the same category as frog and land otter. A kingfisher would have particular powers that relate to its association with water and its access to other realms, namely land and sky. It is not used as food. This makes it a several-powered spirit helper. Also, the following description of a kingfisher's natural attributes, if the same things were observed by the Tlingit, suggests a further relevance of kingfishers to rattles: i.e., they rattle. This is a description of the Belted Kingfisher:

Except for terns, kingfishers are the only small birds that dive headlong from air into water. Recognized in flight by . . . its big-headed appearance, and its loud rattling call (Robbins, Brun, and Zimm 1966: 178, emphasis mine).

Interpretation of the "Reclining Figure Motif"

1. The reclining figure motif can be interpreted on several levels. At one level, it functions coherently as a general symbol. The reclining figure can be interpreted as "initiate". We have already noted the absence of any visual indicators of specific sexual or social identity. The event is that point in the guardian spirit quest at which the supernatural (represented by the animal figure at the other end of the tongue) is encountered, union achieved, and power transmitted or received. The transmission of power is indicated by the protruding tongue joining the two figures. The tongue is a double metaphor for union, the shared tongue indicating either speaking the same language, imparting knowledge, etc., or sexual intercourse. In this latter sense it could also indicate marriage, as, say, the marriage between an ancestor and a supernatural.

2. At a second level of interpretation, the power being transmitted is land otter, frog, or "kingfisher" power. Specific powers associated with kingfishers can only be guessed at, but frogs and land otters are associated with a broad range of specific powers. They stand out in Tlingit cosmology for this reason. Both are all-purpose sources of power -- land otters because they know the language of all creatures (and this is why their tongue is sought by shamans), and frogs because as shamans of the animal world they have specific powers to heal or cause illness. Frogs also are wealth-bringers, specifically wealth from water. As spirit helpers land otters provide access to all other sources of spirit power. Frogs bring power to two main spheres of

Tlingit activity: shamanism, or dealing with matters of sickness and health and manipulating the supernatural; and potlatching, whereby food becomes wealth and wealth is translated into prestige.

Translated into the realm of human activity, frogs and land otters give power to cure, to cause sickness, and to potlatch.

Another line of reasoning would explain why frogs and land otters could stand as all-purpose sources of power, why land otters would know the language of all creatures, why frogs might be considered as shamans of the animal world, and why both frogs and land otters were regarded as dangerous. Simply stated, frogs and land otters are anomalous creatures. For the same reason they are also intermediaries between natural and supernatural realms. Tlingit distinguish between three kinds of spirits according to the three main natural realms. There are kijek, "upper spirits"; takijek, "land spirits"; and tekijek, "water spirits" (Krause 1885/1970: 199). Frogs and land otters are anomalous because they do not properly belong to any one of these realms. They are also intermediaries because they can pass easily between two realms, namely land and water. Land otters are particularly anomalous and dangerous because they are animals that assume human form and enter the human sphere of activity. In a sense, then, land otters and frogs can stand for creatures of both of the realms they inhabit. They are both dangerous and powerful because as anomalous creatures they challenge the conceptual order of the world.

I have hypothesized that kingfisher power would be related to fishing ability and the ability to get wealth from water. I also noted

that flickers were especially associated with good luck in fishing. The difference between the two is that kingfishers fit into the same category as frogs and land otters whereas flickers do not. Flickers are air and entirely land creatures, while kingfishers are air, land, and water creatures. Like frogs and land otters they cross boundary lines.

Furthermore, all three, as spirit helpers and because of their access to watery realms, link man who inhabits the land with the realm from which he derives the major part of his sustenance -- water. They also link man to powers to cure or be cured, to cause sickness, and to acquire wealth. Hence the "initiate" reclining figure could be a novitiate shaman, an heir to ancestral spirit powers in an initiation ceremony, a sick person being cured, and any seeker of contact with the supernatural world in order to augment personal power.

3. At a third level, the reclining figure could be identified as a novitiate shaman receiving powers specific to the practice of shamanism. The entire motif could be interpreted as a symbol of shamanism. This is frequently the interpretation that has been given by others, but they have implied that the referent is a particular shaman or a particular shamanistic act. I would argue that the significance of a shaman in this context is that he is a man of power. One aspect of his power is relevant to everyone in the society: he is an expert in dealing with the supernatural. He is strong enough and knowledgeable enough to be able to avoid or overcome the contagion of contact with the supernatural and turn it to his benefit. It is noteworthy in this respect that the sequence of events in a shaman's curing ceremony or power demonstration is

paralleled in the sequence of events in an initiation ceremony. Both involve summoning spirit helpers (a shaman's would be personal, an heir's ancestral), performance of songs and dances given by spirits, some kind of possession, and the "curing" of either the initiate or the sick person (resocializing or decontaminating).

4. At a fourth level, it could be the image of a shaman receiving power to harm, or bewitch, or cause sickness. Although this is an interpretation suggested by such "experts" as DeLaguna and Emmons (above), it seems a rather anti-social thing to give form to. Although there is evidence, cited above (p. 40) that chiefs made use of sorcery accusations to succeed to and maintain their position in the face of rivals, my assumption is that this would not be considered by the Tlingit as a legitimate function of chiefs. (Sorcery is usually held to be an illegitimate use of power.) Rather, it might be an image equating both frogs or land otters and shamans as potentially dangerous and hence powerful. One needs to know more about activities of shamans and their relevance to Tlingit culture in the broader sense, if one is to do any more than speculate.

Summary

The "reclining figure motif" is capable of a variety of interpretations. These vary somewhat in their order of generality, but none are necessarily contradictory. At this point without checking the consistency of these interpretations with interpretations of the significance of other parts of the rattle, it could be argued that the "reclining figure

motif" stands for all guardian spirit quests. The remarkable feature of this image is that it can be argued to encapsulate the basic assumptions of the Tlingit about supernatural power, as far as the assumptions can be inferred from available data.

"Hawk Tail Face"

The iconography of the face on the tail of the rattle that looks away from the reclining figure and towards the hand that holds the rattle is uncertain. Its distinctive feature is that it has a long beak-nose but also a mouth. Of three of the Tlingit rattles of this type shown in Appendix : 2, 4, 7, two definitely have beaks -- one straight and one recurved like a "hawk's", and the other one (Appendix :7) has a beak that looks like a nose. It is sharp and pointed but the bridges over the nostrils are emphasized. Because it is an amalgamation of bird and human characteristics in having both beak and mouth it can be classified generally as a monster.

The significance of monsters (i.e., creatures that are amalgamations of natural species) in Northwest Coast art and thought would be a major study in itself. At this point, however, I would venture that in general the significance of monsters is that they are supernaturals. On the tail of the raven rattle, the type of face we are discussing could be interpreted as representing the supernatural in general. Because it is both bird and human, it could be further identified as representing the union of human with animal. As such it "says" the same thing as the "reclining figure" image, but at a different level of abstrac-

tion. In the image of the "reclining figure", union is indicated by the tongue that joins the two otherwise discrete entities. In the "tail face", union is indicated by an amalgamation of features of two otherwise "naturally" and conceptually distinct entities.

Another point of comparison with the reclining figure motif is that while frogs, land otters, and kingfishers can be classified as naturally occurring intermediaries -- i.e., creatures that bridge two or more natural realms, a monster is a man-made intermediary created out of assumptions concerning the order of things, a creature that bridges conceptual categories.

"Raven"

The head of the rattle is most likely Raven. This is indicated by the shape of the beak and by the object in the bird's beak. The object is most likely the box containing the sun or "daylight" and this further identifies the Raven of the rattle with a particular event in myth time: Raven's liberation of daylight. According to myth, the world was once in darkness because a particular chief was hoarding the sun in a box. Raven transformed himself into human form long enough to steal the box. Then he changed back and flew off and let the sun or "daylight" out of the box, and from that point on, the world had daylight.

The significance of this event is that it marks a turning point in the history of the order of the universe as conceived by the Tlingit. It will be my contention that it is this event that the Raven of the rattle "stands for".

Raven stands for many things in Tlingit culture. Raven was a major "culture hero" who, according to Tlingit informants, "made the world" and made people the way they are ("As Raven lived and acted, so we must also behave", Krause 1885/1970: 174). He is credited with originating many cultural patterns including the "original division of people into Ravens and Wolves" (McClellan 1952: 85), "many patterns of present-day potlatching" (McClellan 1954: 96). Witches ". . . are supposed to have learned their skills from Raven while he lived on earth" (Krause 1885/1970: 200). "Raven showed all the Tlingit what to do for a living . . . and he taught the people much foolishness" (Swanton 1909: 83).

Raven also "told the people that some wild animals were to be their friends (i.e., their crest animals) to which they were to talk" (Swanton 1909: 83). For example, at one point in the Raven myth cycle, ". . . he went under the ocean, and when he came back, taught them [the people] that the sea animals are not what we think they are, but are like human beings" (Swanton 1909: 84).

The events in this process of making the world and people the way they are are chronicled in an extensive cycle of Raven myths, of which the story about the origin of daylight is but one incident. After liberating daylight, Raven travels on to liberate the moon and stars, fire, fresh water, the tides and many different kinds of foods that humans came to eat. All these things were being hoarded by various creatures. Raven's main motivation in doing all these things is generally presented as being his own greed and insatiable hunger. (This latter aspect of

Raven's nature is possibly what is indicated by the great face that is frequently seen in representations of Raven where his belly is -- see Fig. 31.

The origin of daylight is usually presented as the first in these series of events, but there was also a world before daylight and the difference between the state of things before and after the event of liberating daylight indicates the significance of the event:

1. One feature of the earliest time, when the world was in darkness, was that boundary lines between animal and human species were vague, people became animals merely by putting on animal skins, and human by taking them off again.

In the earliest time, as conceived by the Tlingit, transformations were common, and there was apparently no real line between animal and human (DeLaguna 1954: 187).

After the liberation of daylight, distinctions became fixed. According to a Wrangell version of the Raven myth collected by Swanton, at one time all the people of the world lived along the banks of the Nass where they fished for eulachon in the darkness. They made a great deal of noise and Raven threatened them with daylight if they did not stop. But they did not, so Raven opened the box and there was daylight everywhere. The myth continues:

When this daylight burst upon the people they were very much frightened, and some ran into the woods. Those that had hair-seal or fur-seal skins for clothing ran into the water and became hair seals and fur seals. Hair seal and fur seal were formerly only the names of the clothing they had. Those who had skins called marten skins, black-bear skins, grizzly-bear skins, etc., ran into the woods and turned into such animals (Swanton 1909: 82).

Another version of the myth, collected at Sitka, has the same plot:

People who lived in a large town were out catching eulachon in the darkness. This time Raven asked them to take him across the creek to where they were. They would not, so he threatened to "break" daylight on them. They quarreled with him "so much" that he got angry and opened the box, and the sun "flew up into the sky":

Then those people who had sea-otter or fur-seal skins, or the skins of any other sea animals, went into the ocean, while those who had land-otter, bear, or marten skins, or the skins of any other land animals, went into the woods (becoming the animals whose skins they wore) (Swanton 1909: 5).

In an earlier version of the myth, collected by Veniaminof in the second quarter of the 19th century, the same sequence of events is emphasized: Raven hears people talking but cannot see them. He asks them if they want light, but they don't believe him, so he opens the sun box.

. . . at once the sun shone with all its radiance in the heavens. The people on whom it shone ran away in all directions, some to the mountains, others in the forest, some to the water and from them originated the animals, the birds and the fish (in Krause 1885/1970: 180).

The significant difference between the pre-daylight and post-daylight worlds emphasized in these accounts is that originally, when the world was in darkness, all animals were humans and they could freely transform back and forth. With daylight came boundary lines -- animals became fixed as animals and relegated to their respective realms, and they became distinct from humans. In terms of the guardian spirit quest, the breaking of daylight upon the world marks a kind of fall-from-grace that made guardian spirit questing necessary. As we have already noted, Raven had to tell people "that some wild animals were to be their friends

(i.e., their crest animals) to which they were to talk" (Swanton 1909: 83, cited above, p. 68).

In terms of the raven rattle, this interpretation of the significance of the Raven-event is nicely consistent with the interpretation of the "reclining figure" motif as being an image of guardian spirit quests in general. The image emphasizes the union between human and animal who had become separated "after daylight", and the animal -- frog, raven, or kingfisher -- is also an intermediary between the realms that all animals were separated into. The Raven-liberating-daylight image signifies the opening of the gap; the guardian-spirit-quest image, its breaching.

2. In other respects the event of liberating daylight marks the end of chaos, formlessness, and lack of reciprocity. In the above accounts, formlessness is indicated by darkness, by animals that change back and forth into human beings, and by animals (people) that can be heard but not seen. Chaos is indicated by the noise and quarreling that angers Raven as well as by formlessness. Lack of reciprocity is indicated by the chief who hoards the sun, and the animal people who both refuse Raven's gift and refuse to help him. In these senses, the origin of daylight marks the beginning of order and in particular, social order.

The lack of reciprocity is an outstanding feature of the world before Raven began transforming things. It is easy to see why, by extension, Raven would be credited with originating patterns of potlatching, mentioned above (p. 68). Since the context in which raven rattles are used is most likely the potlatch, this is significant.

In a myth collected by Krause about the origin of Raven, hoarding is the dominant feature of the world before Raven started changing things. "At the beginning", so the account goes, there was a "mighty chief" who had a wife whom he kept locked in a box and a sister whose sons he was always killing "so that they would not inherit his widow after his death". An old man tells the sister to swallow a pebble from "the beach at low tide". She does, and Raven is born. Raven then goes in search of his uncle's family and both escapes being killed by his uncle and sleeps with his uncle's wife (Krause 1885/1970: 175-6).

Other versions of the myth cited by Krause (ibid., p. 177) and Golder (1907: 290-93) give the same accounts of this primordial chief. In one version he is married to his sister and kills her sons (his sons and nephews at the same time).

Another example of hoarding is the detail that both of Raven's mothers, the mother at the time he was first born and his mother when he assumed human form and stole the sun, had been kept childless. In the first instance the mother's children were killed as soon as they were born. In the second instance, his mother was the carefully guarded virgin daughter of the chief who also hoarded the sun.

In the context of non-reciprocity/reciprocity, the event of Raven's stealing daylight is just one of a series of incidents in which Raven "compels a person to give up the exclusive control of a privilege", as Boas put it (Boas 1916: 618). Of all these other events, however, the liberating of daylight does stand out as the most dramatic visually.

3. Swanton records a very revealing reference to the myth of Raven and daylight in a speech delivered at a funeral potlatch. The speech is delivered by a chief, a member of a Wolf clan, to the Raven groups he has invited. The context in which these two groups are brought together -- the raising of a funeral pole for a dead member of the chief's family -- is compared with the situation before and after the liberation of daylight. In the speech, the fact that Raven-at-head-of-Nass who had the sun, gave it to his grandson because he was crying is emphasized.

"My father's brothers, my grandfathers, people that I came from, my ancestors, my mother's grandfathers, years ago they say that this world was without daylight. Then one person knew that there was daylight with Raven-at-head-of-Nass, and went quickly to his daughter. When he was born he cried for the daylight his grandfather had. Then his grandfather gave it to him. At that time, his grandchild brought daylight out upon the poor people he had made in the world. He pitied them. This is the way with me. Darkness is upon me. My mind is sick. Therefore I am now begging daylight from you, my grandfathers, my father's brothers, [etc.]. . . . Can it be that you will give the daylight to me as Raven-at-head-of-Nass gave it to his grandchild, so that day will dawn upon me?" (Swanton 1909: 374).

Swanton continues: "This speech means that the chief wants the people of those five families -- men, women and children -- [i.e., of the five Raven families being addressed in the speech] to come and raise the pole. By "being in the dark" he means that the pole is not raised, and he tells them that they will give him daylight by raising it" (*ibid.*, p. 375).

This speech is a particularly moving example of the Tlingit use of myth to mirror the human situation. Here, whatever equivalences might be inferred from other contexts are made explicit.

4. Another reflection of the raven and daylight myth is found in the Tlingit belief "that supernatural beings went hunting or on expeditions at night and had to get ashore before the raven called; if not they would die instantly" (Swanton 1908a:461). Also people who escaped from ghosts or land-otter-people or animal spirits would be cautioned to "get home before the raven (synonymous with mythical Raven) called at dawn" (DeLaguna 1954: 190).

These beliefs show that myth time also informs the present in Tlingit thought. Supernaturals and people in marginal states are still associated with darkness, and the coming of daylight (dawn) marks the reversal of the order of things. Getting caught out of order (i.e., between the spirit land and home, in a marginal state or out of context) is extremely dangerous.

Interpretation of the "Raven" Image

The raven of the rattle is Raven-liberating-daylight. It is an image of an event which along with Raven's other exploits in this myth time marks the beginning of culture and the social order. It marks the beginning of reciprocity, of giving wealth to the poor and comfort to the bereaved. It marks the separation between realms: natural and supernatural, animal and human, night and day, chaos and formlessness on the one hand and the social order on the other. And it marks the beginning of the guardian spirit quest.

In all these senses it marks the beginning of potlatches (reciprocity) and initiation ceremonies (guardian spirit quests) and chiefs as potlatch givers (not all creatures who hoarded things were chiefs, but the first person Raven encountered was a chief, and the grandfather who gave him the box with daylight was a chief). The event can be seen both as a fall-from-grace after which people had to go on guardian spirit quests to reconnect with the spirit world, or as a blessed event which brought order and light to a dark, chaotic, and dangerous world.

As a visual symbol, the motif of Raven-liberating-daylight is an image whose point of reference is assumptions basic to the contexts in which it is displayed -- namely as a ritual paraphernalia used by chiefs in potlatches, which also include initiation ceremonies. It is also a good general symbol because Raven, although a crest, also existed before crests, that is before people learned to talk to animals and be their friends.

"Hawk's face' on the Belly of the Rattle"

The iconography of the so-called "hawk" motif in Northwest Coast art is a perplexing problem. According to Boas "hawk" is "characterized by an enormous hooked beak, curved backwards so that its slender point touches the chin. In many cases the face of the bird is that of a human being" (Boas 1927/1955: 190). This certainly describes the face on the belly of the rattle. "Hawk", however, clearly does not refer to the natural species. The combination of bird and human features marks it as an extraordinary, or monster, creature. The problem is that because

of this, and because there is no recorded specific explanation of the significance or derivation of the motif, it is difficult to determine what it stands for in Tlingit thought.

Other visual contexts: a "Hawk's" head is frequently found carved on dishes, whose general shape reminds one of a canoe (Fig. 17). Boas suggests that the motif might be derived from the bow of a canoe (Boas 1927/1955: 235). A Tlingit headdress collected by Louis Shotridge in 1926 (Fig. 18) is identified as "the Lord of Hawks, who decided the fate of captured slaves" (Wardwell 1964: Fig. 69). This figure has copper eyebrows and beak, human ears, and what looks like a flipper rising out of his head.

Another Tlingit helmet (Fig. 19), also collected by Shotridge, called the "Barbecuing Raven Helmet" (a potlatch helmet is meant) is remarkably similar in format to the raven rattle. The raven is carrying the daylight box in his bill and on his front is a curved-beak face. There is also a long figured tail and flippers that look like wings on the sides. This hat is supposed to refer to one of the Raven-travelling episodes in which Raven killed a King Salmon but the crowd was too large to feed, so he tricked them and ate it all himself (Shotridge 1919b:Pl. I). Possibly the hooked-beak creature is supposed to indicate the King Salmon in some way.

All three of these examples suggest that "hawk" might somehow be associated with water: Boas' suggestion that the hawk-beak motif on the feast dish might be derived from the bow of a canoe, the "Lord of Hawks" with a flipper forehead, and the King Salmon with a hooked-beak

nose. Also this motif might be associated with a creature of high rank, as in "Lord of Hawks".

The contexts in which representations of hawk-faced creatures occur also suggest an association with nobility. For example, the hooked-beak nose frequently occurs on the elaborate carved boxes possessed by chiefs. On these it has been suggested (Emmons' Tlingit informants) that the hawk's face represents, or derived from, the mythical Gonakade't. This creature is a sea monster associated with wealth and good luck. It has also been suggested that the ambiguous figure represented on Chilkat blankets and shirts (see Fig. 9, Chief Yehlh-gouhu) also represents the Gonakade't. According to a number of myths, the Gonakade't is the source of five major items that generally indicate rank rather than specific kinship affiliation (i.e., crest reference is ambiguous): the many-crowned type of potlatch hat, the Chilkat blanket and shirt, the raven rattle, the carved ceremonial headdress, and the carved box. The latter three are linked to the Gonakade't in the myth about the chief from the head of the Nass who lost his nephews. Another myth, one of the Raven-travelling type collected by Swanton, tells how Raven gave a feast to the "chiefs of all the tribes in the world" so he could invite the Gonakade't and see his Chilkat blanket and his "hat with many crowns" (Swanton 1909: 16).

Another item of nobility with which the Gonakade't is associated is the ceremonial copper. According to Waterman's Tlingit informants, the copper is derived from the Gonakade't's forehead (Waterman 1923: 450).

From these associations, it might be assumed that some of the motifs in these items, particularly the representations of generalized or ambiguous creatures refer in some way to the Gonakade't. Specifically, I would suggest that the hawk-face which occurs on the raven rattle and the carved boxes indicates the Gonakade't.

Assuming for the moment that it is the Gonakade't, the Gonakade't has the following associations in Tlingit culture: it is a crest of the Wolf group, but it also has more general significance. People believed that the sight of the Gonakade't or his wife or his children "The Daughters of the Creek" who were believed to live at the head of every stream (Swanton 1909: 166), brought good luck to the beholder. The myths cited above attribute the Gonakade't with the origin of ceremonial prerogatives that were expressions of rank rather than of clan identity. Furthermore, along with Raven, the Gonakade't is "credited with originating many patterns of present-day potlatching" (McClellan 1954: 96). The Raven-travelling myth in which Raven invites the chiefs of all the tribes in the world concludes that "It is from this feast of Raven's that people now like to attend feasts" (Swanton 1909: 16). According to Swanton, hosts of a feast sometimes referred to their guests as "Gonakade't" ". . . because they know that that party will give a feast and invite them in return" (Swanton 1909: 119 fn.). It is significant that in the two myths in which the Gonakade't reveals or gives a ceremonial prerogative, he is the guest and not the host. In the myth about the chief who lost his nephews, the chief invites the Gonakade't to a feast in hopes of getting them back.

The Gonakade't then, is associated with wealth and water; he is a chief in his own realm; he is an acknowledged source of chiefs' paraphernalia; and he is associated with the origin of the context in which these paraphernalia were displayed: the potlatch feast. In short, the Gonakade't is central to the context in which the raven rattle is used.

On the basis of this I would argue that the face on the belly of the rattle in some way indicates the Gonakade't. I say "in some way" because verbal descriptions of the Gonakade't make no mention of his having a curved beak, although Swanton reports that the Gonakade't "lived in the sea and could assume any shape" (1908a:460). He is described as having great ears that rise above his head and as wearing a living creature for a headdress (Waterman 1923: 450); as a lake monster having "sharp, strong teeth", claws that look like copper, two fins on its back, long ears, and a "very long tail" (Swanton 1909: 166, 168); as being head chief of the killerwhales (Swanton 1909: 84); and as combining the features of a killer whale and a grizzly bear. Sometimes the Gonakade't appears as a house rising out of the water (Emmons 1907: 330).

The main similarity between the face on the belly of the raven rattle and these features is that the extra set of eyes at the base of the rattle near the handle, suggest that the belly represents a monster, i.e., an amalgamated creature, like the Gonakade't.

The derivation of the hawk-face motif has yet to be established. But because of the indications listed above, that the motif is

associated with canoes or sea creatures, it could very well represent a manifestation of the Gonakade't.

At this point I would like to suggest an interpretation of the recurved beak motif, purely on the basis of a pre-iconographic description, as indicating androgyny. Two aspects of this motif lead to this conclusion. One is that the recurved beak does not occur in nature, suggesting that it represents more an attribute of the creature than its physical description. The beak-nose curves around and touches the mouth, between the lips or on the tongue (see Fig. 4). This suggests a variation on the motif of the protruding tongue. If one wanted to indicate an androgynous creature with just the features of the face, the mouth could stand for the vagina and the tongue for the male organ. But it would be very hard to show a tongue protruding into itself, so the nose is elongated and made to look like a curved beak, and this protrudes to touch back on the mouth.

At the comparative iconographic level, this interpretation of the recurved nose of the "hawk" face as synonymous with a protruding tongue is also suggested by the rather unusual rattle collected by Emmons (AMNH 19-803, see Fig. 16b). The face on the belly of this rattle has a frog holding the "beak" of the monster in its mouth (Emmons describes this image as depicting an "owl" (?) with a "frog getting secrets from it", ibid.).

Interpreting the recurved beak of the face of the creature as indicating androgyny, the face on the belly of the raven rattle could stand for the union of male and female -- as, for example, the Gonakade't

and his wife, the sight of whom also was reputed to bring good luck, As the union of male and female, it could also stand for marriage. The significance of marriage, like seeing the Gonakade't or referring to guests invited to a potlatch as Gonakade't because they will invite in return, is that it is a source of wealth, mainly because it establishes relationships of reciprocity. It could also stand for the potlatch, since it takes more than one to potlatch. These interpretations that the face on the belly of the rattle might be intended to be an androgynous manifestation of the Gonakade't and that the significance of this can be interpreted in the context of marriage and potlatching, are consistent with the other associations Gonakade't holds in Tlingit culture.

Gonakade't and Raven

Another argument that the face on the belly of the rattle indicates the Gonakade't is that from the evidence of myths and ethnographic accounts of general Tlingit beliefs, the Gonakade't and Raven stand in relationship to each other of complementary opposition.

At the pre-iconographic level of analyzing formal interrelationships, this is indicated by the hawk-face being both the body of the Raven and yet a discrete entity in itself. The discreteness is indicated not only by the self-containment of the design on the belly of the rattle, but also by the peculiar feature found on all raven rattles -- the space carved through the neck of the rattle. Viewed from the ventral or dorsal side of the rattle (see Figs., 4, 5) this brings to mind the image of the split tree or stick frequently mentioned in Tlingit myths.

1. Raven and the mythical Gonakade't are credited with originating many patterns of present-day potlatching (McClellan 1954: 96).

We have already cited the myth about Raven's inviting the Gonakade't and all the other chiefs of all the other tribes in the world so that he could see the Gonakade't's Chilkat blanket and many-crowned potlatch hat. It is stated that from this feast of Raven's "people now like to attend feasts" (Swanton 1909: 16). Presumably from this they also display the Chilkat blanket and the many-crowned hat at feasts also.

In a broader sense, this fits into the context of other episodes in Raven's travels as indicating that one cannot be self-sufficient or autonomous. One has to rely on others for certain things. Neither can one copy the prerogatives of others; they have to be given by the person who owns them, and in the proper context -- namely at a feast. The Raven-Gonakade't combination on the rattle suggests this basic assumption of Tlingit culture.

There are a series of Raven myths that "teach" the lesson that a person cannot be self-sufficient. For example in one a bear provides his guest, the Raven, with food by cutting his own leg which then re-heals. Raven tries the same thing when he invites the bear in return, but succeeds only in mutilating himself.

2. The combination Raven, a bird, and the Gonakade't, a sea mammal monster, also suggests the opposition air vs. water. This is a complementary opposition in the context of the circumstances of Raven's first birth. In the myth about the hoarding chief who continually killed his heirs (Krause 1885/1970: 175, cited above p. 72), Raven's mother is

called "kitchu ginsi", which according to Veniaminof, means the daughter of a sea mammal (ibid., p. 281, fn. 5). Also she is impregnated with Raven by swallowing a small stone gathered from the beach "at low tide" or from the ocean floor itself. Thus Raven's first inception and birth are from the sea.

3. In another sense the relationship between Raven, a creature of the air, and Gonakade't, a creature of the water, stands in the opposition order vs. chaos. The context is the great flood which occurred at the beginning of Raven's adventures which Raven escapes by flying above the waters until his beak gets stuck in heaven. The characteristics of a flood is that it erases everything, reducing the world to formless fluidity. Raven rises above this.

At another level, the Gonakade't is associated with turbulent water and the Raven with calm water, another opposition of chaos vs. order. In many of the myths about Gonakade't his presence is indicated by a disturbance in the water. In the myth about the chief from the head of the Nass who lost his nephews, they are swallowed down into the Gonakade't's home in a whirlpool (Swanton 1909: 172, cited above). The association of Raven with rising above the turbulent flood waters could be the concept underlying the following otherwise puzzling practice:

When a big ocean swell came along, one put some black stuff called 'black raven' (ye'tu'tc!i) upon it saying, "I have put this on you. Please cease." (Swanton 1908a:253).

4. The combination could also suggest the opposition light vs. darkness, day vs. night. We have already referred to the Tlingit belief that supernatural beings who were abroad at night had to return before daylight,

when the raven called, or they would die (Swanton 1908a:161, cited above, p. 74). This idea is reiterated in several myths about the Gonakade't. In the one about the chief who lost his nephews and invited the Gonakade't to a feast in order to get them back, it is stated that:

. . . very early in the morning the GonaqAde't got up and told the people that they must sit up in bed and sing before the raven called. This they had to be very particular about (Swanton 1909: 172).

This is no doubt an allusion to the belief that supernaturals perform at night.

A more explicit reference is a myth about a man who captures a Gonakade't and transforms himself into one by putting on the dried skin of the creature. This enables him to swim out into the ocean and bring food back to his mother-in-law. This he does at night, and is careful to instruct his wife:

"I am going away. I will be here every morning just before the ravens are awake. If you hear a raven before I get back don't look for me any more" (Swanton 1909: 166).

It gets harder and harder for him to get the skin off and finally he stays out too long and washes ashore dead the next morning.

The opposition of light vs. darkness in these contexts is also equivalent to fixed vs. transformed or natural vs. supernatural. This also suggests the opposition of the profane ordinary state of things vs. the sacred or supernatural transformed state. This last sense also encapsulates the duality of initiation ceremonies which both re-enact a guardian spirit encounter complete with transformations and emphasizes on the dangers of being in a marginal state and serve to establish a person's position in the social order.

Raven Rattle in the Context of the Chief's Costume

We have already suggested that the representations on the Chilkat blankets and shirts derive from the mythical Gonakade't. We have also noted that the Gonakade't is sometimes envisioned as having for a headdress, a living creature. This latter feature is reminiscent of the carved chief's headdress with the sea lion whiskers. All this suggests an equation of the chief wearing this ceremonial regalia with the Gonakade't, both as the owner of these prerogatives and as a source of wealth. One of the chief's main functions at a potlatch is to distribute wealth. Possibly the only clear reference to the chief's individual crests or prerogatives is the animal represented by the carving on the headdress.

The significance of the eagle down, caged in the sea lion whiskers, that the chief would shake onto the guests is probably this: eagle down is generally equated with supernatural power and is a general sign of peace and of restoring life.

Eagle down and red paint were much used by shamans and are spoken of in the stories as principal media in restoring life (Swanton 1908a:455).

The throwing of bird down as a gesture of peace intentions is an old Tlingit custom. Krause summarizes the "ceremonies and songs which are used as greeting on meeting strangers to assure friendly relations":

. . . when one tribe visits another in order to trade or for some other purpose, the formalities, which almost all the early travelers, such as Dixon, Malaspina, Vancouver and so on, describe, are carefully carried out. They stop before a landing is made and the chiefs put on their ceremonial regalia. Then standing up in a canoe and holding a rattle [? possibly a

raven rattle], they start to sing a song of peace which a chorus accompanies. . . [etc.]. At the close of the ceremony, usually bird down is blown into the air (Krause 1885/1970: 168-9).

Vancouver's account of the ceremony at the time of his travels (1793) is noteworthy in one detail: during his speech, an "elderly person without any weapons, or his war garment":

. . . held in one hand the skin of a bird and with the other plucked out the young feathers and down, which at the conclusion of certain sentences in his speech, he blew in the air. These actions being construed by M. Whidbey and his party as overtures of peace (Vancouver 1798: Vol. II, 388-9).

Within the context of a potlatch, the throwing of eagle down stands in opposition to the hostility and rivalry that was also part of action at a potlatch. McClellan notes the war symbolism that was woven into clan traditions about crests (McClellan 1954: 89). Eagle down and the raven rattle in a much broader sense emphasize unity, peace, and reciprocity. In Swanton's explanation of the custom of referring to invited guests as "Gonakade't" (op. cit., above, p. 78), the guests are called so in contradistinction to referring to them as enemies.

When a man has invited people and they are coming in toward the town he himself remains in the house. Then some of his relations come and pound on the door and say to him, "Why are you staying in the house? You are acting like a coward. Your enemies are coming." So the host comes out with his bow and arrows, or nowadays his gun, and says, "Where are those enemies you were telling me about?" "There they are out there in that canoe" The people that are going to give the feast study what they are to say before they have it, and they never let outsiders know what it is. As the visitors' canoe approached shore they might say, "What is that I see out there?" Then one would look and reply, "That is a GonaqAde't." They call it a GonaqAde't because they know that that party will give a feast and invite them in return (Swanton 1909: fn. 119).

Interrelationships

1. The head of the rattle is an image of Raven stealing and liberating daylight. The image signifies both the particular event in time of the liberating of daylight in the dark primordial world and the myth time in general when Raven traveled on the earth. (That the image of Raven with the sun box in his bill indicates both the event and the surrounding period of time is suggested by the "Barbecuing Raven Helmet" (cited above, p. 76) which specifically refers to an episode involving Raven and King Salmon not to Raven liberating daylight, although the Raven on the helmet is shown with the sun box in his bill.)
2. The combined image of Raven and the reclining figure group, which at the most general level can be said to be an image of any guardian spirit encounter, signifies the particular event in the mythical past when the distinction between man and animal was first illuminated and the on-going reenactment in reverse of the bridging of the distinction. A further significance of Raven is that he is both transformer, par excellence, and the one who instructed man in knowing that animals were like humans in their respective realms and were also to be considered "friends" of man. The image of the reclining figure being carried on the back of the Raven represents in visual form the assumptions underlying the enactment of the guardian spirit quest in initiation ceremonies that the initiate is carried away and brought back by a spirit helper. In this latter sense, the reclining figure can also be seen as being carried on the back of the sea monster of the belly of the rattle.

3. Together with the Gonakade't image on the belly of the rattle, the context of the guardian spirit encounter on the back of the rattle is both wealth and the beginning of social order. There are three aspects to this social order: the identification of human groups with crest animals, reciprocal relations through potlatching, and the functions of chief as wealth-distributors and peace-makers.

4. All the animals depicted on the rattle are crests in other contexts, but the image of Raven and daylight identifies the temporal context of the images on the rattle as pre-crest or non-crest. Hence the rattle is intended to have no clan specificity, and we know that raven rattles are used by chiefs of both Raven and Wolf moieties.

The over-all significance of the raven rattle can be considered in two contexts: as a religious symbol and as an emblem of the office of chief. As a religious symbol it identifies assumptions underlying the guardian spirit quest. Burridge has characterized "religion" as the concern with "the systematic ordering of different kinds of power, particularly those seen as significantly beneficial or dangerous" (Burridge 1969: 5). The Northwest Coast guardian spirit quest can be described in just such terms. Coast power is seen to lie in transformations between the human and the animal state and the natural and the supernatural. Different kinds of power are associated with different species of animals as spirit helpers. Elsewhere I have suggested (see above, p. 15) that many of the (crest) animals by means of which human social groups identified themselves are associated with powers directly related to the food quest, to the ability to "get things done". As we

have seen from the above examination of Tlingit associations for land otter and frog, these are associated with powers of particular use to shamans in summoning spirit helpers and in curing or causing illness, with powers both beneficial and dangerous.

Tlingit notions (as well as those of the other groups we are considering) concerning truths about power can be summed up in terms of distinctions between form and formlessness. Mary Douglas' discussion of these terms is particularly applicable to the religion of the Tlingit (and others) in general, and the significance of the raven rattle in general. We have already seen the extent to which the distinction between form and formlessness, order and chaos are emphasized in the Raven myth cycle. Mary Douglas puts these distinctions in a general theoretical framework:

To plot a map of the powers and dangers in a primitive universe, we need to underline the interplay of ideas of form and formlessness. So many ideas about power are based on an idea of society as a series of forms contrasted with surrounding non-form. There is power in the forms and other power in the inarticulate area, margins, confused lines, and beyond the external boundaries (Douglas 1966: 118).

In a sense, the raven rattle is such a map of powers and dangers. Powers that lie in inarticulate areas and marginal states are indicated by the reclining figure-initiate who is in a decidedly marginal state, and by the land otter, frog, and kingfisher who are alike to being marginal species because they cross natural boundary lines. Because they preside at boundary lines they are like shamans and can "stand for" all spirit helpers and their respective specific powers residing in the realms to which they have access. These three

may also be considered as wealth-bringers because of their association with water. The sea monster that is an amalgamation of parts, and the Raven that is part sea monster (on the formal level) and the myths to which images of Raven and Gonakade't refer -- all these are images of marginal states and transformations.

Power in the forms is expressed by the format and style of the raven rattle. The "stylized" representation on the rattle, particularly of the belly, can be interpreted as the means by which the "power of Pygmalion" inherent in any too-realistic representation of a supernatural, animal, say, can be held in check. On the raven rattle, the relationship between subject matter (marginal states and transformed animals) and style expresses an interplay between ideas of form and formlessness.

In another sense, the power that resides in forms is expressed by the use of the raven rattle as an emblem of office.

The raven rattle in many ways makes a statement about the bases of a chief's authority. At the most general level of interpretation, it is both a diachronic and synchronic symbol of order in the universe. Diachronic because the symbols are derived from a specific event in myth time -- the liberating of daylight, and synchronic because through the various oppositions and mediations symbolized on the rattle it stands for the ongoing dynamic order of the universe continually reaffirmed in rites of passage (guardian spirit quest initiations) and reciprocity. The image of Raven whose body is the Gonakade't caught in the split trap of Raven's neck is the image of chaos,

darkness, watery realms controlled. The fruits of trapping a sea monster are great wealth, and access to wealth and its distribution is the basis of a chief's authority.

Another basis of a chief's authority, his access to supernatural power, is expressed in his use of the rattle in a ceremony in which he throws power into initiates. Interpreting the encountering figures on the back of the rattle as referring to shamans would also express or indicate the basis of a chief's authority in his use of shamans and shamanism to maintain his power and sometimes even to achieve his position in the first place in competition with several rightful claimants.

CHAPTER V.

THE TSIMSHIAN CONTEXT

Introduction

There are three main Tsimshian groups or dialects: the Niska on the Nass River, the Coast Tsimshian on the outer coasts from the mouth of the Nass to the mouth of the Skeena and Douglas Channel, and the Gitksan along the upper reaches of the Skeena.

Like their neighbours the Tlingit and the Haida, they were matrilineal but they were organized into four exogamous phratries instead of moieties. Phratries of the Coast Tsimshian and Niska were commonly termed Eagles (Laxsgik), Wolves (Laxgebu), the Blackfish, Killerwhale, or Grizzly Bear group (Gispewudwade), and the Raven group (Qanhada). The corresponding Gitksan phratries were the Eagles, Frog-Raven, Wolves, and Fireweed. Laxsgik and Laxgebu translate as 'eagle people' and 'wolf people' but Gispewudwade and Qanhada are untranslatable, the former meaning 'people of (?)' and the latter most likely deriving from Ganax, a Tlingit place name (Drucker 1965: 122). In the case of these groups, "Killer-whale" or "Grizzly Bear" and "raven" refer to the main phratric crest of the group.

Phratries were important mainly in marriage regulation. The smallest corporate unit of the Tsimshian was the "house" or lineage, under the direction of a house chief, which owned certain rights, property, and prerogatives (including ceremonies, ceremonial paraphernalia, myths, crest objects, names, etc., and economic resources).

All these property rights were under the supervision and administration of the male head of the lineage. The dwelling was known by the hereditary name of the house head, and each succeeding candidate for the position assumed the name, the properties, duties and privileges that went with the name (Garfield 1966: 23).

Among the Tsimshian, as among the other Northwest Coast groups we have been considering, the inheritance of any prerogative or privilege had to be validated by the ceremonial distribution of property. This accompanied, of necessity, any advancement in the social standing of an individual. Boas noted: "the higher the honor claimed, the wider must be the circle of witnesses or the degree of publicity" (Boas 1916: 537). Accordingly, early life crises such as the first naming of a child were usually small family affairs, and only the larger occasions to which outsiders were invited were properly termed potlatches (yaok) (ibid.).

Drucker notes that the greatest potlatches were usually memorials for a deceased chief. These also validated the assumed titles and statuses of his heirs (1956: 124), and usually took several years of preparation in the amassing of property to be distributed. Succession generally went to the deceased chief's brother or his sister's children. If there were several claimants to the vacated position, whoever could potlatch first became the successor.

When there was a dispute the man who could get his wealth together first and take charge of his predecessor's funeral was most apt to be recognized. In order to do this he had to have the support of most of his relatives, since few men had sufficient means to assume such responsibilities single handed (Garfield 1939: 181).

Potlatches were also occasions for the dramatization of encounters with the supernatural.

When a young man advanced in social standing, the time would come for him to acquire supernatural helpers. These were also hereditary in the various exogamic groups, and belonged to certain families, not to the group as a whole (Boas 1916: 513).

Clans were houses that were felt to be closely related through the sharing of the same crests and traditions.

Cross-cutting kinship units were the tribes or villages, named after geographical features (e.g., Kitkatla, kit - 'people', katla - 'of the sea'). These were generally presided over by a tribal chief who would be the head of the dominant clan of the village or tribe. It was mainly the Niska and Coast Tsimshian who had tribal chiefs. The Gitksan had none, according to Garfield (1966: 34-5).

Garfield notes that the Tsimshian of the lower Skeena and Nass Rivers were "unique" in that they "developed lineage political leadership into village chieftainship, probably early in the eighteenth century" and by the beginning of the nineteenth century developed this further into tribal chieftainship (*ibid.*, p. 33).

The tribal chieftainships of the Coast Tsimshian and Nisqa were superimposed upon earlier lineage headships. Obligations which previously existed between lineage heads and kin were duplicated between tribal chiefs and followers, and property concepts formerly applied to lineages were extended to tribal chiefs. Lineages owned property; tribes also owned resource areas, homes, house furnishings and treasure valuable for their chiefs, who, within limits, administered tribal property for the glory of themselves and their subjects Tribes provided their chiefs with slaves and luxuries such as copper shields, Chilkat blankets, copper ornaments and richly ornamented chests, dishes and spoons. A part of everything acquired or made was presented to him, whether a catch of seals or fish, a choice cut of bear meat, or trade goods. He also collected tribute of trade goods from his tribesmen. In the middle nineteenth century, one chief at Port Simpson claimed exclusive monopoly of trade between upper Skeena River and the Fort and he levied a tax on all

barter goods transported along the river. Trading trips up the river were conducted under his supervision or that of one of his own clansmen (ibid., p. 35).

Garfield notes that there were "approximately thirty tribal chiefs in the Nisqa, Gitksan and Coast Tsimshian" (ibid., p. 26), although she contradicts herself elsewhere by saying the Gitksan had no tribal chiefs (op. cit.). A tribal chief was seen not only as a manager of tribal resources who decided when the tribe should move for seasonal fishing (ibid., p. 36), but was also a model of propriety and a bountiful benefactor of his people:

A popular folkloristic motif treats of the man who acquired great wealth through supernatural aid, fed his tribe and became a great chief, and was loved by all his people (ibid., p. 27).

A chief was also a spiritual leader who "officially opened the winter ceremonial season" and whose "throwing dance" had to be performed before a child could be initiated into a secret society or presented at a potlatch (ibid., p. 37). This dual function of a chief, as resource manager and potlatch giver on the one hand and as initiator on the other, was reflected in the two Tsimshian terms of reference for chiefs: semoyget ('real chief' or 'real person') and wi-halait ('great dancer').

In addition to chiefs, or 'real people', there were lekagiget, or councillors, who ranked below chiefs, and then people who were called, interestingly enough, "never healed" and who apparently never owned crests of their own (M. Halpin, personal communication).

The Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian emphasized transmission of lineage and house group prerogatives in potlatches; among these prerogatives was the right to receive powers from the supernatural guardians of ancestors (Garfield 1966: 38).

At all Tsimshian potlatches which validated a change of status or taking of hereditary rights, names and material from myths were presented in dramatic form. Participants increased their prestige, demonstrated their ability to accumulate wealth, and cited their success as hunters and fishermen. Their ability to give a potlatch demonstrated that the beings of the spiritual world, the guardians of wealth, had assisted them in their worldly efforts (ibid., p. 45).

Most rights and prerogatives including crests were held to derive ultimately from the encounter of an ancestor with a supernatural. The dramatizations of these encounters were similar in form to demonstrations of shamans' powers which involved spirit "possession" and the subsequent "curing" of a person so possessed. It could be in this sense that people who didn't own crests were referred to as "never healed", i.e., they never went through such a dramatization as accompanied the assumption of a crest prerogative.

Fitted into the pattern of hereditary prerogatives were the secret society dances and prerogatives, which the Tsimshian acquired more recently from the northern Kwakiutl. In addition to assuming the usual lineage prerogatives of names and crest objects a person could also be initiated into a secret society and thereby increase his prestige.

Only persons who had wealth could advance in the ranks of the secret societies. In addition, other secret society dances were acquired from the Kwakiutl as strictly private property so that only one individual in a lineage could come under the influence of a certain supernatural (Garfield, ibid., p. 46).

Interestingly enough, Boas notes that a person who has gone through a secret society initiation is referred to as Laamg.a't, "a perfect man" (1897: 657).

In addition to these institutionalized and dramatized encounters a person could seek contact with the supernatural on his own to acquire power for practical everyday concerns such as hunting and fishing, lovemaking, war, and healing sickness (as in the case of shamans).

Historical and Ceremonial Contexts

The Tsimshian, particularly the Nass River Tsimshian, are generally credited with having originated the raven rattle. Tlingit and Haida accounts acknowledge that it was a Tsimshian chief who came by the rattle first, usually as the consequence of an encounter with an undersea chief/monster (see below). The southern Kwakiutl say that they obtained the raven rattle, along with the associated Lao'laxa ceremonial, from the Heiltsuk (northern Kwakiutl). Boas suggests that "these rattles are undoubtedly copies of similar ones that are used by the Haida and Tsimshian" (Boas 1897: 269-270).

Evidence From Barbeau's Manuscript

The following is a Tsimshian account, recorded by Barbeau, of the history of raven rattle use:

The bird rattles (hasaerh) were used mostly by the Nass people. The Tlingit and the Haida did not use them in the old days. They had a different kind of (ceremonial) dancing, a different style.

They did not know how to use these rattles at first. They don't even get right into it now. I have seen them try, but they don't do it very well.

The Tsimshian style of dancing is not exactly like that of the Nass either. But they use the rattles now. I don't think

they had them in the old days. They may. It is before my time that they began to dance with the rattles. The Skeena River people now possess them. But not formerly (according to Charles Barton, b. ca. 1862, head-chief of a Kincolith Wolf clan, to Barbeau, 1927).

Adyaigwerh introduced dancing with the narhnorh (spirit), where these rattles were used. He was a Kanhada (Raven) of the Gitrhateen (tribe). When he gave a narhnorh to the chiefs he gave them a rattle, and it is then that the rattles were used, not otherwise. The Larhkibu (Wolves) of Gitrhateen tried to make a narhnorh themselves, without the permission of the Kanhade, and (one of them in consequence) was killed. This was Adinaw, who was the first one (of them) to try. Adiyaigwerh introduced this (kind of) dancing long before the arrival of the white man. Old Mathew Nass (was among those) who saw the white people come. His brother was Hlederh, who saw the whiteman arrive, at the time when the Hudson's Bay Company was established at Graveyard Point (in 1831). (ibid.)

The strangers who used the Hasaerh, bird rattles, must have got them from Sqateen, on the Nass. A little before my time, and when I was a boy, there was quite a number of Gitksan (of the upper Skeena River) who lived among the Nass people, about 30 or 40 years ago. They learned the fashion (of using rattles) here. Angyedae and Gitwinksihl (village) were full of them (ibid.).

This account suggests a number of points about the history of the raven rattle:

1. One is that the dancing with the raven rattle was originally the exclusive privilege of a Nass River Raven chief, who apparently bestowed the right on other chiefs in his naxnox (narhnorh) or supernatural power performance. To make a rattle one had to get permission from the Qanhade. It would be interesting to speculate on the parallels between this and the Tlingit myth about a head chief living "at the head of the Nass" who got the rattle and other emblems of nobility from the marvelous Gonakade't (" . . . it was from it that the Tsimshian came

to know how to carve and paint boxes . . . the chief's headdress with sea lion bristles also came from the GonakAdē't, and so it happened that the Nass people wore it first", Swanton 1909: 173).

According to another of Barbeau's Tsimshian informants, Frank Bolton or Tralahait, head-chief of "a leading Thunderbird [Eagle] clan of Gitiks on the lower Nass, a grandfather of the Gispewudwade (Killer-whale or Grizzly Bear) phratry carved the rattle after he was taken underwater by a sea monster:

The grandfather of the Gispewudwade (phratry), Neesyooost was taken down to the bottom of the sea by the hagweloq, the monster of the deep. It was there that he saw this being (of the rattle). As soon as he got back, he began to carve a rattle, just the kind he had seen (Barbeau 1927).

2. Chief Barton states that Adyaigwerh introduced dancing with the raven rattle "long before the arrival of the white man" (op. cit.). Exactly how long ago this might have been is difficult to determine. The whiteman contacted the Tsimshian fairly late compared with the rest of the coast. This was not until the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Post at Graveyard Point (at the mouth of the Nass) in 1931 (moved in 1934 to Fort Simpson on the Tsimshian peninsula). We know that Baranoff collected a raven rattle from the Tlingit in 1804, but this is the earliest established date of any rattle. Although this particular rattle is well-carved and proportioned, suggesting that raven rattles were a well-established art form, no crudely carved prototypes have been found to suggest any earlier predecessors to the rattle.

Taking another approach: Chief Barton states that it was the dancing with the raven rattle that Adyaigwerh introduced. Both Boas and

Garfield reporting at the end of the 19th century found the raven rattle carried along with the ceremonial chief's costume in chiefs' "throwing dances" (see below, p.103). Could Barton's statement about the chief's naxnox dancing refer to an early form of the "throwing dance"? Furthermore, did the origin of the "throwing dance" which as a prerogative of chiefs came to occupy a pre-eminent position in Tsimshian ceremonialism (see below), possibly coincide with the development of tribal chieftainships in the 18th century (see Garfield, op. cit., p. 94, above)?

Clearly the chief's prerogative of performing a "throwing dance" in the 19th century as a preliminary to any subsequent initiation of a novice, in no small way emphasized the spiritual basis of a chief's authority.

These are questions worth pursuing if any more data can be found. Otherwise our concern is with 19th century contexts of raven rattle use.

3. Apparently the Tsimshian, and particularly the Niska, did a sizeable business in carving raven rattles for trade. Concerning "the numerous and beautiful chief's rattles which have been collected among most of the Northwest Coast nations for museums in the past fifty years," Barbeau states:

The evidence indicates that most of these rattles were made on the Nass River by from fifteen to twenty carvers at least [whose names Barbeau compiled]. They were then sold most at Fishery Bay during the ulachen fishing season and exported elsewhere for the use of foreign chiefs. They were as fashionable as an object indicating chieftainship as were the Chilkats and the amhalaits (headdress) (Barbeau 1927, notes to ROM HN-747 (120)).

According to Chief Bolton, "the price of one, in the early days, was ten blankets, 2 1/2 points Hudson Bay" (Barbeau 1927). (Carving the rattles according to informants, was not the monopoly of any clan or tribe).

Old Saqteen was very good in making masks and rattles, the hasaerh (rattles) with a bird. It takes a good man to make one of them. He carved many of them. I have seen him making them, when he was living at Kincolith (at the mouth of the Nass). He made them to sell This was about 25 or 30 years ago [i.e., around 1900] He sold his rattles to the white people (Chief Barton to Barbeau, 1927).

According to Garfield, "as many as two thousand congregated at the Nass olachen fishing grounds or at the larger trading centers for periods of several weeks" (Garfield 1966: 10), and that "all the Tsimshian looked forward to olachen fishing at the mouth of the Nass where they were joined by Haida and Tlingit fishermen and traders" (ibid., p. 13). Drucker, also, noted that "the olachen camps at Red Bluff represented one of the peaks in activity and excitement in the yearly round" (Drucker 1965: 117). M. Halpin has suggested that the situation might best be described as a huge "trade fair" (personal communication). ("Nass", itself, means 'the stomach, or food depot', Canada Geographical Board, sess. papers 21: 351; Hodge 1913).

From available evidence, it seems that the 19th century was the heyday of Niska carving of raven rattles and that this tapered off by the end of the first decade of the 1900's. According to "Old Saqteen's" nephew in 1927, Saqteen stopped carving the chief's rattles when he converted to Christianity and moved down to Kincolith around 1900 (notes to NMC VII-C-1425) (although according to Chief Barton, op. cit., he was making them when he was living at Kincolith). At any

rate, Sqateen's nephew, Brian Peel, a Niska born in 1875, told Garfield that "chief's rattles had not been used in ceremonial dances since about 1910" (Garfield 1955: 156). Perhaps this was partly the result of pot-latch laws as well as conversion to Christianity and the subsequent abandoning of old ways.

4. Barbeau's understanding of the reason for the popularity of raven rattles was because they were in fashion as "objects indicating chieftainship" and grouped them together with the Chilkat blankets and the carved amhallait headdresses (see Fig. 7). Thus the rattle was viewed as an emblem of office.

Photographic Evidence

Niblack 1890: pl. IX, identified as "General Type of Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit Chief's Costume" (see Fig. 7); Shotridge 1919: Fig. 21 of a "Nass chief in ceremonial dress" (see Fig. 21), both show a chief wearing the traditional chief's ceremonial costume with the Chilkat blanket, carved amhallait headdress, and carrying a raven rattle. Duff 1959: plate 7 (see Fig. 22), a photograph taken in 1910, shows Chief Wee-lezqu, of the Kitwancool, wearing the carved headdress and carrying a raven rattle. The following is an informant's statement concerning this, recorded in 1958:

This is very important. Whenever there is trouble, the chief puts on his head-dress called am-a-lite. It has a carved wooden crest on the front, it is trimmed with ermine-skins, and its crown is filled with eagle-down (mek-gaik). He bows his head over the people so that the eagle-down falls on them, and this means friendship and peace. Whenever mek-gaik falls on you, you must be a peaceful person. When people of another village are invited to attend a feast, the

chief dons his head-dress filled with eagle-down and dances a dance of welcome, spreading it over his visitors (Duff 1959: 38).

A fourth photograph (in Barbeau 1958: Fig. 46, see also 47) shows a person dressed in the manner of a shaman carrying a raven rattle (see Fig. 23). Barbeau identified the person as "Gitiks or Tralarhaet, a Niskae chief of the Eagle clan on the lower Nass River, assisted by fellow tribesmen, performing a medicine ritual for the benefit of the camera, in 1927" (*ibid.*, p. 56).

These photographs demonstrate that among the Tsimshian, raven rattles were part of a chief's ceremonial regalia. The last photograph, of "Gitiks" is difficult to interpret. Was the raven rattle conventionally used in a "medicine ritual" or was it carried here for the "benefit of the camera" alone?

Evidence from Ethnographies

In most Tsimshian ethnographies, the raven rattle is referred to as the "chief's rattle" or the "welcome rattle" and is usually identified with the "throwing dance". This kind of dance was the prerogative of chiefs, and as we have already pointed out, was a prerequisite (for the Coast Tsimshian at least, see Garfield 1966: 37) to a child's being presented at a potlatch or initiated into a secret society.

In this dance, chiefs performed the service of "throwing power" into the initiate, after which the initiate went on to be inspired by the power of the hereditary spirits of his own ancestors. Apparently a chief performed this service not for his heirs (which in a matrilineal

society would be nieces and nephews) but for sons and daughters, "or even young people that do not belong to his own family" (Boas 1916: 514). By several accounts, these chiefs were well paid in return (see Boas 1916: 515, Garfield and W 1966: 37, Garfield 1939: 182).

Boas' main Tsimshian informant, Mr. Tate, recorded several accounts of "throwing dances". Two, which cover the essential details of the ceremony, include specific mention of the use of a raven rattle as part of a chief's ceremonial costume of the general type shown in Fig. 7.

On the fourth night of the potlatch all the different chiefs are assembled in the house of the head chief to perform what is called the throwing-dance. Then each chief of each tribe dances by himself with his own mask.

The first chief, after the dance of his own mask, will dance with his dancing-garment and his carved headdress inlaid with abalone, wearing his dancing-apron with the bills of the beautiful puffins, leggings of the same kind, and carrying the welcome rattle.

Then, while the chief's own people are singing, and while he is dancing, he catches his supernatural power between the palms of his hands, and throws it into the chief's child or into his niece or nephew.

Then all the chiefs who are guests have each one night for their own throwing-dance. Each has the name of a supernatural power, besides his own chief's name. So when they call one of these chiefs to dance, they call him by his sacred name.

The dances end when it is nearly daylight, and then all the princes and princesses have supernatural powers and have become dancers.

Therefore after four days have passed and all the children have dances, their father kills some slave or gives away much property or breaks a costly copper.

The head chief pays each chief who performed the throwing-dance with three or four elk skins. If there are seven or ten children in a chief's family, then each of the visiting chiefs performs his dance seven or ten times, once for each of the children (Tate, in Boas 1916: 515).

Another account includes names of specific chiefs and their supernatural helpers (Chief Dzeba'sa of the Gispewudwade phratry of Kitkatla;

Lege'ox, Eagle, of Gispakloats; and Saoks, Gispewudwade, of Ginakangeek):

D̄ilogil 'Boiling Words' was the chief supernatural helper of Dzeba'sa. When any chief made a great potlatch, and the people were assembled in his house on the evening preceding a great distribution of property, this helper of Dzeba'sa was called to initiate a candidate. The mask would appear, and the people would sing its song. At the end of this song it would disappear again, and Dzeba'sa, dressed with his head-mask, the puffin-beak apron, puffin-beak leggings, and with a ceremonial blanket, came forth. The song-leader started the dancing-song, and the chief danced, jerking his head with the beat of the wooden drum, so that the eagle down would fly out of the hollow receptacle formed by the top of the headdress. He accompanied his dance with the rattle. Before the end of the dancing-song, the chief caught his supernatural power above his head and closed his hands over it. Then the people clapped their hands, beat the drum and shouted. When they stopped, Dzeba'sa shouted, "Ohi!" to which the people replied, "Houstst!" This was repeated four times. Then Dzeba'sa walked up to one side of the door, where the children of the chief's family (that is, the nephews and nieces of the host) were sitting, and threw his supernatural power on one of the children. At once the whistle of D̄ilogil was heard among the children. Then the chief's nephews (Boas footnotes, "I believe the host's nephews are meant.") paid Dzeba'sa for his dance, saying, "Your supernatural power walked over these costly things, sir." This speech was repeated four times.

Then the people would call for Txa-g'a'kaEm lax-ha' 'Heavenly Body', the supernatural helper of LEg'e'ox, to initiate several of the young people. This helper was used only for youths of high rank.

When LEg'e'ox gave a great potlatch among the Tsimshian, his people would call for the supernatural power of Man-ks-ga'gum lax-ha' 'Who Was The First To Go Up To Heaven', who belonged to Chief Saoks, to initiate the young people (Tate, in Boas 1916: 514).

These accounts indicate that when they used the raven rattles, chiefs were acting in a special capacity. They wore a special ceremonial regalia; they were called not by their ordinary lineage names, but rather by the name of a supernatural; and by all indications were exercising a prerogative specific to chiefs, not of any one lineage or phratry, but in general.

In the chief's "throwing dance" described by Tate, the chief wore two costumes. The first included the mask of a chief's particular hereditary supernatural helper. The second was the combination head-dress, Chilkat blanket, dancing apron and leggings, and the raven rattle. This costume was also worn when chiefs performed a "welcome dance" in which they "threw" supernatural power into their guests (see Boas 1916: 539; cf. Duff 1959: 38, above).

The position of the "throwing dance" in Tsimshian ceremonialism, as summarized by Spradley (1963: 95), was that it was part of one or two "preparation ceremonies" that people went through at the time of a big potlatch in which they were to assume hereditary rights and prerogatives.

These are the two ceremonies which Garfield identifies as the t'si'k (untranslatable term although possibly related to the Nootka t'sa'ye'q; or the Kwakiutl t'sa'eqa, the term of reference for their Winter Ceremonial) and sem-hala'it (from sem, 'real'; and hala'it, 'dance') (Garfield 1939: 298).

The t'si'k ceremony was the first and essential one through which all children were put; the latter was also given if the family could afford it. Many of the older people in Port Simpson [Garfield's field work was conducted in the early 1930's] had been through the first ceremony which was dis-

countenanced by the missionaries and finally given up by the natives during the last decade of the nineteenth century. A few have also been through the 'real dance' and fewer still have gone through the initiation into one of the two secret societies (Garfield 1939: 298).

Garfield's description of the two ceremonies, coincides quite closely with those of "throwing dances" recorded earlier by Mr. Tate, cited above.

In the t'si'k ceremony very young children, often babes in arms, received the power from the chief before the assembled members of their tribe and often of their father's tribe as well. The chief was addressed by his supernatural (naxnox) name throughout the ceremony and was spoken of as 'great dancer' (wi-hala'it) and not as 'chief' (sem-o'iget). He danced, dramatizing his name, and the songs belonging to it were sung. He enticed his spirit power to him and finally threw it into the children who were hidden under a mat in the corner of the house with their mothers. As he threw the power a whistle was blown which was the voice of the 'spirit' (naxnox) taking possession of the children.

The second conveying of power into children was done when they were somewhat older The chief again threw his power into the children who then disappeared. The people were informed that they had been taken by the spirits but would return. The next day they were brought out dressed in garments decorated to represent the supernatural powers and crests belonging to their lineage A power name was often given each child also, who dramatized it while the history of it was being explained to the guests (Garfield 1939: 299).

Boas noted that among the Niska, the semhalait was a necessary preparatory ceremony for anyone who wished to enter one of the five other secret societies, and that a person could go through the ceremony more than once, his rank becoming higher the more frequently he went through. For the other societies, he noted that only chiefs could belong to more than one (Boas 1897: 660). He gives the following explanation of the semhalait and the origin of the secret society ceremonies, and indicates the importance of the chiefs in these undertakings.

The sEmhalai't . . . is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella [Heiltsuk], and it is added that the G'itxā'La [Kitkatla], after having acquired the ceremonial from the He'iltsuq, transmitted it to the Nisqa' (Boas 1897: 651-2).

There are a limited number of places in the societies, and a new member can be admitted only when he inherits the place of a deceased member, or when a member transfers his place to him. If such a transfer is to take place, the consent of the chiefs of the clan must first be obtained. Then one evening the chiefs, during a feast, surround the youth and act as though they had caught the spirit of the society in their hands and throw it upon the novice (Boas 1897: 654).

(Boas also states that ts'e'ik -- compare with Garfield's t'si'k, above -- refers to someone who has passed twice through the sEmhalai't ceremonies, (1897: 660), which contradicts Garfield's accounting.)

Garfield gives the following interpretation of the significance of the throwing of power in the semhalait and related ceremonies, and the particular significance of the chiefs' throwing power:

These powers closely resemble crests in that they are possessions of particular lineages within which they are inheritable. They may be represented on garments, houses and totem poles and the names belonging to them were dramatized. The children participated for the first time in the knowledge of the sacred possessions of their lineage at these ceremonies. These powers may be compared to the guardian spirits in that the power which the chief prepared the children to receive is that of their own lineage, belonging to their ancestors, and they, for the first time came in direct contact with the spirits. After these two ceremonies each child was qualified to become an initiate into a secret society, or seek supernatural aides for himself (Garfield 1939: 299).

The supernatural power received by the children was that of the chief who conveyed it. He, being strong, could cope with a spirit that would have destroyed the weaker child, hence he regulated and controlled the influence through him. This first ceremony prepared the child for seeking a supernatural power through his own efforts and gave him the necessary strength for coping with it when he did receive one by himself (ibid., 298-9).

It is clear from the above discussion that chiefs occupied key positions in the Tsimshian ceremonial order. One of the two terms of reference for chiefs, wi-halait or 'great dancer', cited by Garfield above, indicates this. In other contexts, the chief is referred to as semoyget, or 'chief' (literally, 'real person'). Jorgensen cites Duff that chiefs were also called naxnagam hālait (from naxnox, 'supernatural being' or 'spirit', and also referring to an hereditary spirit name, such as initiates received in ceremonies, presided over by chiefs as described above) in contradistinction to shamans who were swensk halait ('swensk' being a reference to ?healing or ?curing) (Jorgensen 1970: 109).

Halait has several meanings. The part of the initiation ceremony which dramatized a supernatural encounter, as well as any other public demonstration or dramatization of supernaturally acquired power is a halait. According to Garfield also:

All secret society dramatizations are spoken of as hala'it. In a hala'it supernatural powers are conveyed into uninitiated persons or new ones acquired by older persons. The shaman's performance is spoken of as hala'it, whether a dramatization of his powers or a demonstration of his curing ability A person who has acquired a power is spoken of as a hala'it (Garfield 1939: 192).

The appellation wi-halait, therefore, indicated that a chief was in a position of pre-eminence over all other halaits. Not only was this expressed in the "throwing dances" in which chiefs exercised their prerogative to be the first to convey power into the initiate, but also ethnographers report that it was the chiefs and their councilors who decided when the initiation season should begin:

They decided when the winter ceremonial season should start, who should give initiations and when they should be given. They could force initiations or prevent them as they saw fit. When the chief wanted to give a potlatch or a power demonstration no other tribesman could interfere with his A chief decided when the winter ceremonials should end and it was he who removed the influence of the spirits from the dwellings and the people at large. Often the chief was called in to remove the tabus from initiates also, though that was not necessary (Garfield 1939: 182).

As potlatch-giver, then, a chief was semoyget. As initiator to his tribe, he was wi-halait. If the ability to amass wealth and redistribute it was an indication that "the beings of the spiritual world, the guardians of wealth, had assisted [chiefs] in their worldly efforts" (Garfield 1966: 38 op. cit.), then the "throwing dance" was a dramatization of this access to supernatural power. As wi-halait, a chief acted in the capacity of a very powerful shaman, performing for the benefit of his people. In this sense, a Tsimshian chief was also a priest. It was in his capacity as wi-halait that a chief used his rattle. It can be assumed that the symbolism of the rattle relates in a general sense to assumptions basic to this position of chief in Tsimshian society.

Iconographic Identifications

1. Summarized below are museum descriptions of rattles for which there is no other interpretive documentation (see also Appendix):

Tsimshian Rattles (place of collection not specifically known):

VII-C-12: 'raven with the sun in its mouth' . . . 'figure lying on its back facing a thunderbird (?)' . . . 'Underside hawk carved'. (Collected 1879).

VII-C-15: 'raven with sun in his mouth' . . . 'figure with animal head . . . facing a thunderbird (?)' . . . 'on underside carved hawk with a frog coming out of his mouth.' (Collected 1879).

VII-C-1788: 'man on raven's back. A gross frog is standing on his chest. Raven's beak from a face at the tail holds back end of frog. Hawk's face on underside.' (Collected ca. 1900).

VII-C-1797: 'raven' . . . 'hawk head underneath' . . . 'man lying on back.' (Collected ca. 1900).

Coast Tsimshian Rattles:

VII-C-1799: 'frog is suspended in air between man's tongue and raven's beak. Vestigial hawk beak on underside.' (Collected ca. 1900).

WSM 1434: 'The body of the rattle is carved to represent an eagle, on the breast is a hawk, on the back is a human figure reclining with the tongue in the mouth of the frog.' (Collected by Emmons, 1909-39).

Niska Rattles:

VII-C-1749: 'raven' . . . 'the turned up tail and breast show hawk's heads. On the back is a reclining figure with the tongue in the mouth of a frog.' (Collected ca. 1900).

VII-C-1786: 'raven with sun in his mouth, man lying on bird's back, sharing a tongue with frog . . . Hawk face carved onto back of tail . . . Hawk face on underside of rattle.' (Collected ca. 1900).

VII-C-157: 'raven, with a figure lying on its back, sharing a tongue with a frog, small face with a large nose, . . . faces toward the handle. Underside a hawk.' (Collected 1905).

PAM 48.3.720: 'raven with a hawk on its breast and a shaman and a frog on its back. The shaman is shown with his tongue stretching out to reach the frog from which he is supposed to be getting poison'(Gunther 1966: Fig. 275). (Obtained in 1933).

Gitksan Rattles:

There are no notes for the two rattles attributed to the Gitksan (see Appendix: 25,26)but in passing it should be noted that both show rather distinctive variations from the usual format of other Tsimshian rattles. On ROM HN-641 it appears as though the frog is swallowing the

reclining figure. Only the figure's head protrudes out of the frog's mouth. The "tail face" shows no beak. On ROM HN-642, the "tail face" is likewise vestigial, and the position of the frog lying against the torso of the reclining figure rather explicitly suggests intercourse. Both these rattles were purchased for the Royal Ontario Museum in 1924.

Summary

Cataloguers' and collectors' descriptions consistently identify the main figure of the rattle as 'raven', with one exception -- WSM 1434, identified as 'eagle'. (Like the other rattles the bird of this rattle is carrying something in its beak, but the beak is quite curved as is the convention in representations of eagle in other contexts. This similarity is probably the basis for Emmons' identification.) The face on the underside of the rattle is 'hawk', and the reclining figure is 'reclining figure', 'man', 'figure with animal head', and in one case, 'shaman'. The little animal figure is always 'frog', and the "tail face" is variously identified as 'hawk', 'thunderbird (?) [sic]', and even 'raven'. (On the basis of conventional iconography, the identification of the "tail face" facing the reclining figure as either 'raven' or 'thunderbird' is questionable. A distinctive feature of representations of raven is that the bill is continuous with the top of the head. On the rattles in question (VII-C-1788 and -1799) there is a marked brow ridge. The straight beak of the other rattles (VII-C-13 and -15) disqualifies the "tail face" as a 'thunderbird' for conventionally, thunderbird beaks are recurved like those of 'hawks').

2. The above identifications are for the most part testimony of outside 'experts'. By contrast, the testimony of Barbeau's Niska informants while not necessarily contradicting the above cited interpretations emphasizes additional associations. Primarily, the bird of the rattle and the origin of the rattle are associated with beings of the sea.

ROM HN-748: belonging to the head chief of the Eagle phratry (at Gitladkamiks) is supposed to represent "a monster bird of the sea that was seen long ago" (Barbeau 1927).

ROM HN-747: from the head chief of the Wolf phratry (at Gitlakdamiks): "Saso is the name of the bird represented. It was a spirit of the sea which they first heard and then saw emerge out of the sea, long ago. It appeared in exactly this shape in which it is represented" (Barbeau 1927).

NMC-VII-1425: carved by the same carver as above: "Saso is the name of the bird. It was seen long ago with the little man on its back" (Barbeau 1927).

The accounts state that the carving on the rattles "does not represent the crest of any given family" (notes to ROM HN-748) and that carving rattles for trade was not the prerogative of any particular group, although some carvings on the rattle might be varied according to the phratric affiliation of the person purchasing the rattle.

. . . it [i.e. carving rattles] was not the monopoly of a clan or tribe. The bird's head on the rattle is like a Raven's (Qaq). When a rattle was ordered, it was executed just as the purchaser required it. But the little man must always be included. The raven part may be changed; an eagle, for the Thunderbird clan, may be substituted or a grouse (Pistae'i) for the Gispewudwade, or the Crane (Gasgaws) for the Wolf. The body of the rattle is not really a bird's body. It is meant for the monster of the sea, the hagwelorh. It was able to swallow down a canoe man and all. The Lilebelks or Whirlpool is this very bird or the monster's power (Barbeau 1927).

Possibly the interchangeable part that is referred to here (i.e., Grouse, Raven, Crane, etc.) refers to the "tail face".

The most interesting feature of these accounts is the linking of the rattle with a spirit or monster of the sea. The statement, "the body of the rattle is not really a bird's body" but a "monster of the sea", suggests that the face on the belly of the rattle is that of a sea monster.

Origin Myths

Two accounts of the origin of raven rattles elaborate on the association between bird, rattle, and sea monster. These are according to Frank Bolton (or Tralahait), head chief of a "leading Thunderbird clan" at Gitiks on the lower Nass. The rattle is referred to as "chief's rattle (hasaim semhalaaait) for a chief's ceremonial dance" (ibid.).

There was once a hunter on a lake, in a canoe. Many hunters wanted to hunt on this lake. But a whirlpool (antkwililebeks) [cf. Lilebelks, above] there would draw the canoes down to the bottom. This hunter was always watchful about it. At times it was bad, but at other times, mild. He would go out for the hunt only when it was not dangerous.

While he was out, one day, the little bird as it is represented on the body of the rattle came up. Its bill was exactly like the rattle. The carving of a man was found on top of the bird, and a frog on the tail of the bird, biting the tongue of the man, the tongue sticking out. The bird is called allaeo, a narhnoq or spirit.

All at once this little bird stood up on the water and shook itself. Its shaking produced a noise like a chief's rattle. It was then that the hunter knew what the bird was. After he had gone back home he began to make a rattle just like it, exactly as he had seen it. This is how it all began. The bird has also another name; but it is now forgotten (ibid.)

In another version, the recipient is taken down to the bottom of the sea by a sea monster. This also is recounted by Chief Tralahait.

The grandfather of the Gispewudwade . . . Neesyoost was taken down to the bottom of the sea by the hagweloq, the monster of the deep. It was there that he saw this being [of the rattle]. As soon as he got back, he began to carve a rattle, just the kind he had seen; it was the sagamsee'gysk of the Gispewudwade And he went on afterwards making more rattles. Later, rattles were carved by some of the Gitrhateen and the Gitan-wilks tribesmen [of the Nass]. (ibid.).

Summary and Discussion

The above accounts identify the body of the rattle with either a spirit bird that rose out of the sea or with a sea monster, implying that bird and sea monster might be one and the same thing. The rattle is identified not as "raven rattle" but as "rattle" (hasaerh or hase'x) or as "chief's rattle" (hasaim semhalaait). The bird's head of the rattle is that of Raven (Qaq). The name of the monster bird that rose out of the sea that the rattle is supposed to represent is Saso. It is difficult to figure out whether Saso refers to the total configuration of sea monster body of the rattle plus the Raven's head of the rattle or just to the 'hawk' face on the belly of the rattle. It clearly does not refer to the 'tail face' because it is stated that the Saso was seen with the little man "on its back" (see notes to NMC-VII-1425), but the back of the rattle is both the back of the raven (the figure rests its head on raven's 'ears') and of the creature with the 'hawk' face which is the belly of the rattle. Likewise the wings of the rattle can be "read" either as belonging to the raven or, viewed from the ven-

tral side, as those of the creature represented on the belly. That the Tsimshian also referred to the rattle as a whole as Seso according to Haida informants does not necessarily remove the confusion because it could be a metonymical term or a general term (of as yet undecided origin) of reference which avoids the problem of referring to a non-crest specific object by a term such as Raven (Qaq) which is also crest-specific to a particular Tsimshian phratry.

Another ambiguity in Tsimshian interpretations of the rattle can be seen in one of Barbeau's informant's statements that "the body of the rattle is not really a bird's body. It is meant for the monster of the sea, the hagwelorh" and that "the Lilebelks or Whirlpool is this very bird or monster's power" (emphasis mine). This suggests that bird and sea monster are one and the same. In terms of Tlingit conceptions, one could be a transformation of the other and hence the ambiguity intentional. We will consider this at greater length below in a discussion of the possible iconography on the belly of the rattle -- the significance of the 'hawk' face.

Barbeau's same informant also states that the "raven part [of the rattle] may be changed" and an eagle, grouse, or crane substituted to correspond with the appropriate phratry. Although from the context this statement seems to apply to the raven's head of the rattle, there is little evidence from extant rattles that supports this interpretation. The one rattle cited above, identified by Emmons as representing an eagle (WSM 1484), which does show a curved beak conventionally associated with eagle representations is exceptional. Most rattles clearly

represent a raven's head more than they do a crane's or a grouse's at all. Furthermore, the motif of a bird with an object in its beak is almost exclusively associated with raven. Rather, the informant's statement most likely refers to the "tail face", 1) because this is the one part of the rattle that varies other than the presence or absence of the frog. Although as we have noted, the shape of the "tail face" head when it faces the reclining figure does not coincide with conventional representations of raven, it might pass for crane. The "tail face" when it faces towards the handle of the rattle and has a recurved beak, might pass for "thunderbird". In some cases, the nose is quite short suggesting the short bill of the grouse.

Iconographic Analysis: Associations

1. "Hawk" (Belly)

Regarding the belly of the rattle as 'hawk' does not lead very far in establishing any clear-cut associations that the Tsimshian might have held to the representation on the belly of the rattle. The combination of features that are usually referred to as 'hawk' are ambiguous. The non-naturally recurved beak and additional mouth mark it as a monster (amalgamated creature) or at least a spirit creature (part animal-part human). Elsewhere on the coast the recurved beak plus mouth motif also stands for thunderbird, moon, sun, etc. There is little published documentation of what 'hawk' stood for as a Tsimshian crest, which it also was.

It is therefore more fruitful to proceed from Barbeau's informants' statements that the belly of the rattle is, or is "meant for", the hagwelorh, a sea monster. Hagwelorh is a general term meaning something like under-the-water-monster referring to a number of different kinds of sea monsters. It is also the name of a crest of the Fireweed phratry.

The whale-like sea monster Hagwelawrh, is the familiar emblem of several families of the lower Skeena belonging to the same phratry . . . it is said at times to appear at the estuary of the river; and its dangerous, snag-like fin . . . is supposed to wreck native crafts. This sea-coast myth is here transposed to suit inland requirements. When the people of this family long ago lived at Temlaham, they used to dry fish at Anstegyawren lake (now Sealy lake, near South Hazelton). The level of the lake once rose and dropped in turn [? like tides]. A spirit, they discovered, dwelt under the water When it rose to the surface, a long fin first appeared; then a Grizzly-bear-like monster, the Hagwelawrh (Barbeau 1929: 93).

This creature seems to be equivalent to the Gonakade't or sea grizzly bear, of the Tlingit. Not only does the description of the "Hagwelawrh" as a sea grizzly bear correspond to descriptions of the Gonakade't, but the association of the "hagweloq", in Tsimshian accounts of the origin of the raven rattle, with whirlpools that swallow canoes also corresponds with manifestations of the Gonakade't in the Tlingit myth about the Chief whose nephews were swallowed down in a whirlpool to the Gonakade't's house under the water (Swanton 1909, cited above p.). From Tlingit and Haida accounts of the origin of the raven rattle from a monster creature of the sea, I previously argued that the belly of the rattle "stood for" this very sea monster in some way. Tsimshian accounts explicitly state this association.

This leaves the problem of accounting for the representation of a sea monster by means of a 'hawk' face. On the basis of admittedly slight evidence, I would argue that the crooked-beaked creature on the belly of the rattle might be 'thunderbird' rather than 'hawk'. The evidence is this: in Tsimshian crest art, Thunderbird is represented by means of the recurved beak motif. The Tsimshian word for Thunderbird is hagwelawrem-rhskyoek (sea-monster eagle), or narhnarem-rhskyoek (spirit-eagle), or rhskyaim-sem, or just skiamsem (Barbeau 1964, vol. I: 44, 143-144). Although the translation is given as 'hawk', the word by which the Haida chief Edensaw refers to the face on the belly of the rattle (see citation below, p. 145), is Skiamsem, which like the word for the rattle itself, sī-sa (seso), is most likely a Tsimshian borrowing.

How could 'thunderbird' stand for a sea monster? One of the terms for 'Thunderbird' just cited, hagwelawrem-rhskyoek (sea monster-eagle), suggests an equivalence. Thunderbird is also known as Sea Eagle. General attributes of the Thunderbird are well known. Thunderbirds are similar in appearance to 'eagles', but with the "beak bent farther back than the eagle's" (Barbeau 1964: 143). They are giant birds whose wings make the sound of thunder and from whose mouth or eyes, etc., flashes lightning. Most significantly, they are noted for catching whales and assorted sea monsters. The equivalence between Thunderbird and sea monster could be on the basis that as successful sea monster hunters, Thunderbirds have dominion over these monsters. To the extent that in all cultures "you are what you eat", Thunderbirds are the sea monsters that they catch. They have sea monster power.

It is possible that the design on the belly of the rattle represents both the Thunderbird and a whale or sea monster. On practically all rattles there is an extra set of eyes right near the handle and beneath the face of the crooked beak creature. On some there are just the eyes, on others, a rather explicit suggestion of a mouth (see VII-C-1749). On several there is even the suggestion of flippers or wings on either side of the eyes.

I would argue that this design element can be "read" as a "punned face" that stands for the lower part of the "Thunderbird's" body, but that it is derived from the image of Thunderbird carrying a sea monster in its talons. The entire belly, then, can be "read" as a monster that is part bird and part water creature. As such it doesn't necessarily represent the hagweloq as it might be described as a crest (i.e., as a sea grizzly bear that is part grizzly bear and part killer whale) or as any sea monster, but it could be argued to "stand for" such a creature, just as among the Tlingit and Haida there is evidence that the same design "stands for" the sea monsters Gonakade't, Gitnagunaks, or the Wasgo, for example.

All these sea monsters have several features in common but with variations in emphasis from culture to culture. Among the Tlingit the sea monster directly linked to the origin of the raven rattle, the Gonakade't, is a supernatural being associated with the sea, with turbulence (whirlpools), and with wealth and good luck. Among the Tsimshian, hagweloq's are also associated with turbulence (the whirlpool is its power), with lakes or the sea, and are likewise a supernatural creature.

But the nature of the power of these supernaturals in Tsimshian accounts is emphasized as being dangerous rather than beneficial. The rattle originates not explicitly as a gift from the sea monster but is rather a copy of what the person saw under the water or swimming on top of the whirlpool. In a general sense the obtaining of a rattle is an outcome of having successfully overcome or avoided the dangerous power of the sea monster creature. It is a token of this success.

A further outcome of the encounter that is usually indicated in these accounts is that the menace (turbulent lake waters that go up and down or whirlpools that swallow canoe-loads of people) is removed or rendered harmless, thereby making the area safe for other hunters or fishermen. In the Tsimshian Raven cycle of myths, the theme of an extraordinary menace being removed so that people are safe to go about their normal activities gathering food, etc., is frequent. This suggests an interrelationship between the Raven head of the rattle and the sea monster body of the rattle that is one of complementary opposition, similar to the one argued for the raven rattle in the Tlingit context. This will be explained and discussed below.

There is also the notion in Tsimshian mythology that if a person captures, skins, and puts on the skin of a sea monster not only is the danger removed but it is turned to positive good. We have already illustrated this concept in Tlingit culture with reference to the myth about the origin of the Gonakade't (see above, p.). Briefly, in the Tlingit myth a person is menaced by a lake monster, captures it, skins it, puts on the skin and is thereby enabled to swim under the lake and

out in to the ocean from whence he brings back all manner of sea goods to his famished people. The Niska have a very similar myth about a giant frog who was in charge of a lake and menaced people who came near. The parallels between these two accounts from different cultures are intriguing because 1) they suggest an equivalence between the giant frog (an under-the-water-monster) and the Gonakade't, and 2) because the details of the Tsimshian (and the Tlingit) myth throw a little more light on two aspects of the raven rattle: 1) the interpretation of the belly as a thunderbird - sea monster, and 2) the curious formal feature of the rattle which is the way the neck is carved resembling something that is split and held apart (see Fig. 5).

First, the parallels between the Tlingit and Niska myths: both the giant frog and the Gonakade't start off as lake monsters. The frog is described as having copper claws, eyes, eyebrows, and mouth (Boas 1902: 146-7). The Gonakade't in a general sense is associated with the origin of the copper and in the particular myth its claws are said to look like copper. In both cases the lake monster menaces and tries to catch the boy, but the boy instead captures the lake monster in a trap made out of a split log (a log is split in half down part of the middle and held apart by wedges; the monster swims head-first into this space, the wedges are knocked out and the creature is caught). The person then dries and puts on the monster's skin and swims out into the ocean bringing back fish and sea mammals to his people. Eventually he can no longer take the skin off and dies or is permanently transformed into the sea monster, etc.

The manner in which sea monsters are caught in both these cases, by means of a split-log trap, is also suggested by the way the neck of the raven rattle is carved. Thus the ventral side of the rattle could be the image of a sea monster caught in a trap.

The significance of this image in terms of Tsimshian conceptions, as revealed in myth, could be two-fold: the image of a trapped sea monster is that of chaos ("the Whirlpool is this very bird or monster's power", Barbeau 1927, cited above) controlled, as well as the image of the first step in a sequence of events by which a person obtains the sea monster's power -- access to wealth that lies under the water.

"Raven"

The iconography of the head of the rattle seems clear. The image is that of Raven carrying the sun box in his mouth -- a reference to the mythical event of Raven liberating daylight. As I argued for the Tlingit, in the Tsimshian context the image is both a reference to specific event in time and to the myth time in general when Raven was travelling around the earth. The significance of the specific event is that it marks a turning point in the order of things. The significance of an image that also stands for myth time in general is important because it signals that the representations on the rattle are meant to be general, i.e., pre-crest.

Barbeau's informants' accounts do not spell this out. All they say is that the images carved on the rattle were seen "long ago". The accounts emphasize that the rattle does not represent any crest --

it can be used by any chief, and the part of the rattle that is explicated at length is the most ambiguous and least obvious part -- the belly of the rattle. To the Tsimshian, the events surrounding Raven's liberating daylight, as well as the image of Raven with the sun box in his beak, would be well known and for that reason least requiring of explanation.

Raven occupies a position of pre-eminence in Tsimshian mythology similar to that of the Tlingit. He is culture hero, trickster, and transformer responsible for much of the way the world is now -- in both the natural order and the social order. The Tsimshian cycle of myths about Raven's exploits and travels is similar to the Tlingit Raven cycle, but with some variations in emphasis that relate to interpretations of the raven rattle in the Tsimshian context.

Of direct relevance to the interpretation of the inter-relationship of images on the raven rattle are the immediate consequences of opening the sun box and letting daylight out into the world. As we observed, Tlingit versions of this event account for the origin of species and the differentiation between animal and human. Compare this with Tsimshian accounts of this event.

1

1. In two accounts collected at Kincolith in 1894, Giant goes to the mouth of the Nass River where ghosts are fishing for olachen in the dark. He asks for some olachen from them or he will open the sun box,

1. In the Tsimshian cycle, Raven in one form is a being called Txamsem or Giant. He obtains the sun by being born as the grandson of the chief who keeps the sun (and moon and stars) shut up in the box. When he finally gets hold of the box, he turns into a raven and flies away.

but they refuse and taunt him for claiming to have something he does not. Then he opens the sun box:

. . . Txa'msem was angry. He opened the sun-box (max) a little and it became light. Behold, large boxes (qaxpe'ist - blanket boxes) floated on the water and capsized. They were the canoes of the ghosts. Then he shut the box again, and the ghosts continued to catch olachen (Boas 1902: 23-4).

. . . The Giant repeated his request four times, but those on the water refused what he asked for. Therefore the Giant broke the max. The ghosts had been fishing in the dark. Then the Giant knew it. He did not see where they went (Boas 1902: 16).

2. In another version collected in Port Simpson sometime during the period 1902-1914, the creatures at the mouth of the river are frogs.

. . . Giant had repeated his request four times, but those on the water refused what he had asked for. Therefore Giant broke the ma. It broke, and it was daylight. The north wind began to blow hard; and all the fishermen, the Frogs, were driven away by the north wind. All the Frogs who had made fun of Giant were driven away down the river until they arrived at one of the large mountainous islands. Here the Frogs tried to climb up the rock; but they stuck to the rock, being frozen by the north wind, and became stone. They are still on the rock. The fishing Frogs named him Txa'msem, and all the world had the daylight (Boas 1916: 62).

3. In a later version recorded in Kitkatla, the people Raven encounters fishing for olachen down the Nass in the darkness are ghost people. The implied explanation is that no other people could get about in the darkness. They refuse to give Raven any olachen when he asks for it:

. . . Now these were ghost people; no other in darkness could go about to gather oolaken. The Raven was now angry. He took the daylight ball and said, "Be careful! I shall break it, and your people will all perish!" They laughed and said, "Come, Raven, break the ball, that we may better see what we gather." So the Raven took the daylight ball and pecked a hole in it, thus bringing daylight to the world, at the headwaters of the Nass River.

The ghost people all perished; other folk came from all directions to gather oolaken. That is how Raven brought daylight to the world (Barbeau 1950/64, Vol. I: 335-6).

In Tlingit versions of this event, the creatures fishing for oolachen in the darkness are a variety of animals who also assume human form. With the breaking of daylight, they do not disappear or turn into stone, but merely become fixed in one form and go to their respective natural realms. In the Tsimshian versions, the creatures fishing in the darkness are likewise ambiguous creatures but at a different level.² These are banished altogether or transformed into a harmless state. Frogs are turned into stone. Ghosts disappear.

A similar thing happens in relation to Raven's dealings with sea monsters. It will be recalled that in the Tlingit Raven cycle, Raven invites the Gonakade't to a feast in order to see his ceremonial prerogatives and so that chiefs invited from all over the world can also see them. In the Tsimshian cycle, Raven (Txa'msem) invites sea monsters to a feast in order to turn them into stone, thereby rendering them harmless to people:

This was the first potlatch to which he invited all kinds of monsters; and when they came into the bay, Txamsem stood in front of his house and began to address his guests, "O chiefs! I am glad to see that you have come to my potlatch. I have been away from this country for a long time, therefore I am glad to see you again. I want to say something else. I wish you would stay there and become rocks." Then all the monsters became rocks (Boas 1916: 100).

2. The Tlingit creatures are ambiguous because they are transformers. Frogs and ghosts are ambiguous because they are interstitial creatures. Frogs are neither entirely land creatures nor water creatures and ghosts are inverted human beings -- like humans but not at all like them because they are dead.

An implication of many Tsimshian accounts of the origin of daylight is that before daylight people were under great hardship, 1) because they could not see to catch fish and, 2) because the ghosts were catching them all. Raven breaks daylight open because these creatures would not share.

"Frog"

Tsimshian associations of possible relevance to the frog represented on the back of the rattle joining tongue with the reclining figure: In Version #2, above, of Tsimshian accounts of the origin of daylight, frogs are fishermen and creatures of darkness and the supernatural myth time. Boas also recorded that among the Tsimshian, "frogs are not eaten, for they were people before the daylight was liberated" (Boas 1916: 501).

There is the notion that "frogs and toads come with the rain" (Niblack 1890: notes to Plate LVII, Fig. 306).

The myth about the monster frog, cited above, links frogs with wealth (the frog has copper claws and eyebrows) and access to watery realms (putting on the skin enabled the person to catch fish and sea mammals).

A copper covered frog figures prominently in a myth about the origin of the Salmon-Eater, or Gitrhawn, families. In this myth a frog is thrown into the fire after jumping on the food of some travellers. In consequence Volcano Woman destroys their village (Barbeau 1950/64, Vol. I: 17-18).

A common denominator of these different contextual references to frogs is that frogs are associated with access to water and wealth. The association with wealth is made at two different levels of abstraction -- one, as copper, and two, as successful fishermen.

"Protruding Tongue"

References to tongues in Tsimshian ethnographies are not as forthcoming as they are in Tlingit sources, although I would argue that the protruding tongue on the raven rattle means much the same thing as it does on Tlingit or Haida rattles, at a general level. Generally, the tongue can be interpreted as indicating either sexual union or verbal communication. One could be a metaphor for the other.

"Reclining Figure Motif"

From this I would argue for the Tsimshian, as for the Tlingit and Haida, that the reclining figure, protruding tongue, and frog or bird motif represents guardian spirit questing. The reclining figure is the initiate and the creature at the other end of the tongue is the supernatural initiator.

"Tail Face"

The statement of Barbeau's informant that the "raven part" of the rattle could be changed and grouse substituted for the Gispewudwade phratry, or eagle for the Thunderbird, or crane for the Wolf phratry, must refer to the face on the tail of the rattle, for although the head

of the rattle could be taken for that of an eagle, it does not suggest grouse at all, whereas there is considerable variation in the tail of the rattle. I would suggest that the tail face is the only phratric-specific reference on the rattle, the only feature that identifies the rattle with the social identity of the holder of the rattle. Unfortunately, in very few instances did collectors of rattles note who they belonged to, so it would be difficult to check this hypothesis.

There are a number of reasons for identifying the long-billed bird face facing the reclining figure as a crane. According to the above account, crane would indicate the Wolf phratry. All the Tsimshian rattles considered that show the reclining figure with an animal head are of the type: reclining figure with tongue in the mouth of a bird. If the animal head is that of a Wolf, then the bird's head would represent Crane.³ Otherwise, the shorter-billed birds' heads also facing the reclining figure could represent Grouse and the animal head on the reclining figure correspondingly represent Grizzly Bear (the Gispewudwade phratry's principal crests are Grizzly Bear or Killerwhale).

There are a great many unknowns in these speculations. For one thing, the identity of any figures on the back of the rattle besides frog and the hooked-beak 'hawk' or thunderbird is unclear. Secondly, even if the identity of the bird on the tail of each rattle were clear, it would still leave the question open as to the significance of this or that species of bird as a spirit helper.

3. Incidentally, the sandbill crane which would be the species of crane found in Tsimshian country is known to eat frogs among other things and to have a voice like a "low, loud, musical rattle" (Robbins, et. al. 1966: 10).

In the face of this quandry, it is best to set these speculations aside and look at the tail face in relation to the structure of the rattle. Interestingly enough, although the whole frog is shown in some rattles, only the head of the bird on the back of the rattle is shown and it is incorporated into the tail of the rattle. Barbeau's informants claim that the bird of the rattle is really a sea monster, although it is also a bird (Saso). The tail of the rattle with the bird's face on it could be "read" either as the tail of the 'hawk'/thunderbird/sea monster creature on the belly of the rattle or as the tail of the Raven of the rattle. Or both at once. In either case the bird on the tail of the rattle could be expected to be both of the sea and of the air. This is true of cranes (and kingfishers as we noted in discussing Tlingit raven rattles). It is also true of Raven in myth times who travels into the ocean, is born of sea-mammal woman (Tlingit) or of Flood Tide Woman (Haida), etc. Frog likewise is of the water and is always shown either in the mouth of a bird, or at least in the company of a bird (the bird head facing the tail). Even for a land bird such as a grouse, the very fact that it would be shown as the face on the tail either of Raven or the sea monster of the belly of the rattle amalgamates it with a creature of the sea thereby extending its domain.

4. Throughout the coast there is the notion that birds, particularly diving birds, are the spirits or the messengers of large sea creatures or monsters. Among the whale-hunting Nootka, the origin of the plain black bird rattle can be traced to its use by whale hunters to control whales, the bird (a petrel, probably), being the messenger spirit of the whale.

The significance of the face on the tail of the rattle as spirit helper, then, is that it is an intermediary between realms, one of which is water. Frog is an intermediary in the same sense.

Interrelationships

1. The reclining figure motif is the image of a prototypical guardian spirit quest, the image of an encounter between the initiate (ancestor, "descendant", "anyone", "shaman") and a spirit helper. The rest of the rattle represents the cosmic realms, and intermediaries between these realms. Raven stands for sky, the hawk-thunderbird-seamonster on the belly for watery realms, and the frog or bird the intermediary between these realms and the realm of human activity. The reclining figure can be seen as being borne either on the back of the bird, the raven, or on the back of a sea monster. This coincides with general notions that initiates are borne away by supernatural guardian spirits and then returned after they have become inspired.

This general interpretation coincides with the general nature of the chief's "throwing ceremony" which generally precedes the more specific initiation of the novice by his own hereditary guardian spirits. Possibly the only specific reference to a particular supernatural is the face on the tail of the rattle, which suggests the carvings on the chief's amhallait headdress and which might be a reference to a particular chief's own supernatural helper.

The image of raven-and-daylight in this context could also be interpreted as indicating that the figures on the rest of the rattle are

to be interpreted as pre-crest (or non-crest) animals.

Another feature of the rattle of possible relevance to the context of initiation ceremonies and spirit encounters, is the configuration suggested by viewing the rattle from the dorsal side: namely, the head of the reclining figure is right over the split in the neck of the rattle, which from the ventral side suggests a sea monster trap. Fig. 22 shows a patient or initiate presumably being cured. In this, his head is propped up by a ring around his neck. There could be a connection between this and the image suggested by the placing of the reclining figure on the back of the rattle. Remember, people who had never been initiated were referred to as "never healed". Another intriguing parallel is suggested by a bit of information Drucker provided in his study of secret societies: namely that violators of "the laws of the dance -- an uninitiate who by accident or design witnessed some esoteric part of the ritual, or a society member who revealed the secrets -- would be murdered at the behest of the chiefs (who were of course the highest dancers and dance officials)" (Drucker 1940: 226). He goes on to say that the two ways a person would be done in were either by sorcery or by being garroted between two poles (*ibid.*, emphasis mine). Given the great variety of ways in which a person could be killed, garroting in this case must have symbolic relevance to the context of secret society dances.

Another way the image of an initiate with his head seemingly held between two things could be interpreted is that it shows someone in a highly dangerous state, both to himself and others, controlled or

otherwise held in check much as the image of the belly of the rattle could be interpreted as that of a sea monster-supernatural held in control.

2. Another theme of the rattle identified by the image of Raven-and-daylight is the point of time at which order was established. Whereas in Tlingit raven myths, this ordering is more in the nature of "sorting out" animal from humans and animals into their proper realms, in Tsimshian myths the emphasis seems to be on banishing chaos and sea monsters and ambiguous creatures like ghosts and frogs so that humans could take their place as fishermen and proceed without menace. Otherwise both Tlingit and Tsimshian raven myth cycles contain the themes of chiefs and other hoarders being persuaded to give up their exclusive rights to a resource or privilege. This is the beginning of reciprocity.

Raven's voraciousness is also a theme in Tsimshian myths as a motivating factor in Raven's persistent search for food and means of getting it. The face on the belly of the rattle, could at a general level stand both for Raven's hunger and for his role in liberating not only daylight but also oolichan. Perhaps the configuration of Raven at the head of a large-mouth face on his belly could be a literal visualization of Raven-at-the-head-of-the-Nass, Nass meaning 'the stomach, or food depot' (see above, p.101). The neighbours of the Tsimshian as well as the Tsimshian themselves benefitted from the Nass River oolichan runs.

3. The image of a trapped sea-wealth-monster on the belly of the rattle is a double image of danger controlled and turned to wealth. In

a sense, a chief as potlatch giver and source of wealth to his people is analogous to the sea-monster chiefs. A chief is someone with sea-monster power.

The chief in the throwing dance in which he uses the raven rattle, is also a supernatural initiator, hence the relevance of the reclining figure motif on the back, which could be interpreted as someone getting from a creature intermediary between man and sea.

Summary

The rattle, then, is a visual statement about the order of things within the context of 1) initiation ceremonies and 2) the assumptions underlying a chief's position of authority. A rattle is essentially a shaman's implement for summoning and controlling supernatural powers. This plus the references to supernatural encounters on the rattle underline the priestly functions of Tsimshian chiefs in society as initiators. A dominant image on the rattle is also that of a trapped wealth monster, and this underlines a chief's functions as a potlatch-giver.

CHAPTER VI
THE HAIDA CONTEXT

Introduction

The Haida (from Xa'ida, 'people') make their homes on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the southern half of the Prince of Wales archipelago, the latter group being generally referred to as the Alaskan Haida or Kaigani.

Like the Tlingit and Tsimshian they are matrilineal, and like the Tlingit they are organized into two exogamous moieties. These are the Raven and the Eagle (or Gitins). Distinctions between the two sides were quite rigid (Swanton 1966: 50). Each side possessed a distinctive set of crests and origin traditions. These distinctions were important in marriage rules -- one had to marry one's opposite, and in ceremonial relations, for example: "A man was initiated into the secret society by his opposites, and, when he died, they conducted the funeral" (ibid., p. 50).

The smallest corporate unit belonging to one or the other of the two moieties was the house group, presided over by a house chief. Households owned names and crests, and ". . . usually each household had its own camping ground on a salmon creek, where its smoke-house stood, and whither the people went in the spring to dry salmon and halibut, trap bear, gather berries, dig roots and make canoes, returning to town in the fall" (ibid., p. 55).

The next largest units were lineages or "families" (Gwai'giagan) which incorporated from one to a dozen houses and were presided

over by a lineage chief, usually the highest-ranking house chief. The names of these families usually derive from local place names, suggesting that families originated as separate groups, at these places.

The largest residential unit was the winter village or town, which in Swanton's informants' memories time was usually occupied by households of several "families". In a town, the highest-ranking chief of the dominant lineage would be called Town-Mother (Lá'na a'oga) or Town-Master (Lá'na l'e'igas) (ibid., p. 56).

According to 1840 population estimates, the Haida numbered over 8,000 people, more than 6,000 of whom inhabited the numerous camps and villages along the coasts of the Queen Charlottes. By 1880 the number on the Queen Charlottes alone had dropped to less than 2,000, and by 1902, according to Swanton (1905a: 106), the total on the islands was little more than 600, largely concentrated in two towns -- Masset on the northeast end of the islands, and Skidegate to the southeast.

In precontact and early contact times the Haida maintained frequent contact with the Tlingit and Tsimshian through trade. In particular, they went frequently to the Nass and other Tsimshian coastal areas and traded canoes, chests, boxes, dried halibut, and tobacco for dried oulachon and oulachon grease. Presumably they also traded for some of the raven rattles that were produced in great numbers (apparently) by the Nass River carvers. They also received the secret society dances from the Tsimshian.

With the northern Kwakiutl they had considerably less amicable relationships, fighting frequent wars with them in the course of traveling back and forth to newly founded Victoria.

From the whiteman they received many trade goods in the lucrative years of the maritime fur trade, which diminished greatly by the beginning of the 19th century. Thereafter they carried on a considerable trade in argillite carvings, which was a new art form they developed expressly for trade with the whiteman. Also from the whiteman they received Christianity and the epidemics of Small and Large Pox (large pox being venereal disease) that decimated their population.

Historical and Ceremonial Contexts

Indications are that the Haida acquired the raven rattle from the Tsimshian, from whom they also adopted the secret society dances. Although evidence presented below (see "Iconographic Identifications") associates the use of raven rattles by the Haida with these secret society ceremonials, the rattles themselves seem to have come into use somewhat later than the start of secret society dancing. Swanton (1905a: 156) estimates that the secret society dances came to the Haida "not much earlier than the year 1700". No raven rattles seem to have been collected anywhere on the Coast before 1804, and the majority of rattles of Haida attribution in museum collections were collected during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Although the place of acquisition of secret society dances according to Haida myths and other accounts is the area around China Hat (the domain of the Kitkatla, Coast Tsimshian) it is probable that the majority of Haida rattles of Tsimshian manufacture were acquired in the region of the Nass. The Haida frequently went there to trade for oulachon oil, and it was there, Barbeau noted, that most of the rattles carved by the Tsimshian were sold "and exported elsewhere for the use of foreign chiefs" (Barbeau 1927, notes to ROM HN-747 (120)).

The story of the origin of the ordinary chief's raven rattle, the seso of the Tsimshian, as interpreted by the Haida Chief, Charles Edensaw of Masset, is as follows:

A long time ago a Tsimshian chief named Tcamsik's, a great hunter, had a long run of bad luck. For several days he paddled in his canoe hunting in the inlets to the east of China Hat with his bow and arrows and could find no bears, seals or otters. One day on the shore he saw another chief who said his name was Gitkunak's, who took him down into the sea. After traveling for some time they came to a house of large size, containing several slaves. On the walls were hanging ltunlekult or collars of cedar bark as used in the Cannibal or Dog-eating dance. Near the door was a large canoe. The slaves taught Tcamsik's the meaning of these collars. Hanging down from the fringes of each was a porpoise and there was another porpoise near the door. Tcamsik's thought that he only stopped two nights in the house, but in reality he was there two years. If he went outside the house he was told by Gitkunak's that he would be killed by the stench. However, bye and bye he swam away and reached his own town. Soon afterwards while hunting in his canoe he saw a bird swimming in the sea, with a long beak something like a raven's, with a cry "tce, tce, tca." He chased it for a long time but could not catch it. So he made a wooden model, hollowed it and put small stones inside so that he could imitate the call of the bird, the Haida name of which in the Skidegate dialect is tcikida, or kodun in the Masset. While under the sea, Tcamsik's learned how to wear the bark collars and he was also taught by a chief named Wilalla how to eat like the hap hap, or hamatsa (C.F. Newcombe, notes to acc. 823 at Chicago Museum of Natural History, 1902).

This account of raven rattles from a Haida point of view suggests an association between the rattles and secret society ceremonials such as the Cannibal (also referred to as Wilalla, U'lala, or Hamatsa) dance, Dog-eating dance, etc. Another bit of data which also suggests this association of the rattles with secret societies is Niblack's comment (1890: 324) based on Swan's notes on the identification of the reclining figure on the back of the rattle:

The figure on the back is Oolalla, or Ka-Ka-hete, the whistling demon, who lived in the mountains He occasionally descended to the villages and stole the children, which he took into the woods and ate.

Another association of the rattle suggested by photographs (see Fig. 24 of an "Indian Sub-Chief in Full Dress", from Collison 1915: 136; and Fig. 25 of a "Haida Dancing Party", from Harrison 1925: Fig. 66), is with the chief's ceremonial regalia of the general type shown in Fig. 27. The Collison photograph is a portrait photograph, while the Harrison photograph shows the person holding the raven rattle dressed in chief's dancing regalia and wearing the cedar bark rings usually associated with secret society membership.

I could find no specific references to raven rattles in published descriptions of Haida ceremonies, but the above indirect evidence suggests that Haida raven rattles were used: 1) by chiefs, 2) in association with the chief's ceremonial regalia, and 3) in association with secret society ceremonials. In some accounts, Haida raven rattles are referred to as shamans' rattles.¹

1. See Figs. 26 and 27 : of Curtis' photograph of a raven rattle identified as "A Haida Shaman's Rattle" (1915, Vol. 11: 138), and of a carving by Edensaw of a medicine man holding a raven rattle (in Swanton 1905a: 41). About this latter Barbeau (1958: 34) comments: "The bird in his hand is a chief's not a medicine man's."

The apparent contradiction of calling a chief's rattle a shaman's could be accounted for by the context in which chiefs used the rattle, namely, secret society initiations, wherein chiefs performed functions characteristically associated with shamans. Swanton noted:

There is no priesthood among the Haida distinct from the shamans, except that town chiefs exercised the power of making those supernatural beings presiding over the secret society "come through" novices (Swanton 1905a: 38).

The position of chief, then, in Haida society and of the secret societies in Haida ceremonialism are contexts relevant to the interpretation of the raven rattle.

There were three kinds of Haida chiefs: household chiefs, lineage or family chiefs, and Town-Mothers (or Town-Masters). The position of lineage or house chiefs can best be described, as in the Tlingit case, as that of trustee of the lineage or household estates, which would include economic resources, crests, and ceremonials. Town chiefs were accorded certain preferential treatment, for example in how they were seated at potlatches. Also, they exercised special prerogatives in ceremonies such as initiating novices into the secret societies, and they ideally occupied the largest house in the middle of a town. A town chief had no special political powers, however, other than those he had by virtue of being house or lineage chief.

The position of a chief was the focal point of the two main public functions of the Haida: the Si'k!, or funerary potlatch, and the Walgal or house-building potlatch. At the Si'k! potlatch a gravepost for the dead chief would be raised and the succession of his heir validated. At the Walgal potlatch a chief's house was built and he

made good his title of "house chief". Initiations into secret societies were incorporated into both of these. Other public rituals were power demonstrations of shamans (by which they validated their claim to have access to supernatural power) and shamans' curing rituals.

Succession to a position of chief usually went to the eldest nephew (sister's son) of the dead chief, although Swanton noted that there was considerable flexibility: ". . . elder sons were sometimes passed over by younger ones or nearer relatives for those more remote" (1966: 56). The "first requisite" in this, according to Swanton, "appears to have been success in amassing property" (*ibid.*). Also, the power of influence of any one chief varied according to the amount of property he could accumulate (*ibid.*). According to Swanton, property was "partly inherited; partly amassed in trade or war"².

Presumably one main arena for demonstrating a chief's power in property would have been the greater of the two potlatches, the Walgal. This was always preceded by the amassing of property, including slaves, and would be interrupted at one point for a trip to the Nass to get oulachons and grease. During the potlatch this property would be distributed, coppers bought and sold, and people who had assisted in preparations amply repaid.

The relationship between these two potlatches and the position of chief in Haida society is concisely summarized by Rosman and Rubel: "The funeral potlatch marks the beginning of the career of a

2. "War was . . . undertaken mainly to obtain slaves. That object and revenge went hand in hand." (*ibid.*).

new chief and the housebuilding marks its apogee" (1971: 186).

As for secret society dances, they were "indispensable accompaniments" of every potlatch (Swanton 1905a: 156). Initiations into these dances were presided over by chiefs. At the funerary potlatch (Si'k!), youths of the host's lineage would be initiated by chiefs of the opposite moiety. In the Walgal, chiefs of the host's lineage would initiate their children (belonging, of course to the wife's lineage).

One aspect of these initiations was their prestige value. Certain chiefs owned dances that others did not and the number of times a person had been initiated or the number of ways a person could dance correlated with that person's rank. Certain dances tended to rank higher than others.

Many Southern Haida chiefs own the right to perform the Cannibal and Dog Eater dances, the Fire Thrower is owned solely by the Skedans chief; the Property Destroyer belongs to a Skidegate village chief The various orders are not sharply ranked, though the first two or three mentioned [i.e., the Cannibal or U'lala, Fire Thrower, and Grizzly Bear] are considered higher than the rest (Drucker 1940: 224).

A man high enough in rank could be inspired by a new spirit at each successive potlatch, provided such were not owned by a chief of the opposite clan. Among the people of the southern towns, a man who had been inspired ten times could act in any way (Swanton 1905a: 161).

With [certain] exceptions, people in the southern towns high enough in rank could act in any one of the various ways, from either clan indifferently (ibid.).

When a person had been inspired ten times, and had been tattooed, if his uncle and his father were chiefs (any kind), and his mother was a chief's daughter, they called him a "chief's son," and everybody treated him with respect (ibid., p. 170).

As "indispensable accompaniment" to potlatches, secret society dances were part of the Haida system of establishing and validating rank and prestige. In financing both the demonstration of prerogatives and their conferring onto initiates a chief also demonstrated his ability to amass and redistribute property.

Secret society initiations also demonstrated another function of town chiefs in Haida society: like shamans they had access to supernatural powers, and furthermore, they could make this power "come through" initiates.

There is no priesthood among the Haida distinct from the shamans, except that town chiefs exercised the power of making those supernatural beings presiding over the secret society "come through" novices (Swanton 1905a: 38).

Secret society initiations incorporated "shamanistic notions" (Swanton's phrase) in several ways and the experiences of initiates paralleled the individual experiences by which shamans received their powers.

Just as a shaman was supposed to be inspired by some supernatural being who "spoke", or, as they generally preferred to translate it to me, "came through", him, so the U'lala spirit, the Dog-eating spirit, the Grisly-Bear spirit, and so on, "came through" the secret-society novice (Swanton 1905a: 161).

The Haida referred to their series of secret society dances as sxaga, also the word for 'shaman' or: "those caused to be inspired" (Swanton, ibid., p. 156). Initiates were referred to collectively as sxadaga (Drucker 1940: 223) which Swanton translates as "the inspired" (ibid., p. 161).

In brief, the format of secret society initiations is as follows:

The head chief of the host's village dances, then inspires the principal novices by throwing a handful of eagle down on each one. Whistles sound simultaneously. The novice gives his cry and falls unconscious. Attendants surround him to conduct him through the village: he breaks away dashing wildly about the village After this he disappears for four or ten days. He appears on the beach where his attendants capture him with rings of cedar bark The next two nights are devoted to the dances of the novices, until they become tame, when robes and cedar-bark rings are put on them (Drucker 1940: 224).

Two events in this initiation parallel a shaman's experiences: spirit possession and the death-like trance and disappearance during which time the novice is presumably travelling to the realm of the supernatural. In addition, the taming, or curing, of the novice parallels the activity of shamans as healers. Also in Haida society, shamans had the power to throw disease into persons. The chief's throwing of supernatural power into an initiate (to the great benefit of the initiate) could be seen as an inversion of this.

In cross-cultural perspective, the chief's throwing of supernatural power on novices in the Haida secret society initiations parallels the "throwing dance" of Tsimshian chiefs. In both, chiefs threw their own supernatural power and both were exclusive prerogatives of chiefs, for the performance of which they were also well paid. Tsimshian "throwing dances" were separate ceremonies prerequisite to a person's being initiated by spirits specific to the person's own lineage. Haida secret society initiations were incorporated into major potlatches, but like Tsimshian dances had an element of exclusivity. Swanton repeatedly emphasizes that people only became "inspired" at these two major potlatches, which focused on the position and preroga-

tives of chiefs, ". . . at no other times could it take place" (Swanton 1905a: 170).

The distinction between "inspired" and uninitiated or "un-inspired" suggests another characterization that could be made of a chief in his capacity as someone who inspired others. In Haida terms, uninitiated people were said to "have a dark face", and during ceremonies they were prevented from looking into the "spirit box" containing the cedar-bark rings and other secret society paraphernalia (Swanton 1905a: 165). Furthermore: "Persons who had never been possessed were spoken of as 'those whose minds were stopped up'" (*ibid.*, p. 161). As potlatch giver and as one who was inspired and who inspired others, a chief, then, was both wealthy and enlightened.

Iconographic Identifications

Chief Chalnes Edensaw (of Masset) interpreted the raven rattle to Dr. C.F. Newcombe as follows:

The large bird forming the rattle is a raven living in the sea, tcagun hoya; on its breast is the hawk Skiamsm, merely ornamental; on the back of the raven is Wilalla [Hamatsa] with long tongue reaching to the beak of the bird, tcikida or kingfisher (1902, notes to Acc. 823, Chicago Museum of Natural History).

Niblack's summary of Judge Swan's account of Haida interpretation of the raven rattle:

According to Judge Swan, the carving on the breast of the bird represents the sparrow-hawk, the bird itself representing Hooyeh, the raven. The tail of the raven is carved to represent a bird's head, carrying in its beak a frog. The frog is supposed to possess a subtle poison in its head, which, when sucked out, enables a medicine man to work bad

spells. The figure on the back is Oolalla, or Ka-ka-hete, the whistling demon, who lived in the mountains and was once travelling in his canoe when he was capsized and nearly drowned. He swam ashore and ran into the woods for shelter. He occasionally descended to the villages and stole the children, which he took into the woods and ate. Ka-ka-hete afterwards turned into a land-otter (Niblack 1890: 324).

Other accounts also identify the figures on the back as 'shaman', 'frog', and 'kingfisher' (cf. Dall 1881-2, Fig. 50, Plate XXII; Gunther 1966: notes to Fig. 274, PAM 48.3.705), although the basis for these identifications is uncertain.

Iconographic Analysis: Associations

"Raven"

As among the Tlingit and Tsimshian, Raven in Haida conceptions was a major culture hero and transformer whose actions in primordial times led to many current features of the social and natural world: "The Raven story relates how matters came into their present condition" (Swanton 1905a: 72).

In the Tlingit and Tsimshian versions of the Raven cycle a key event is the liberation of daylight. As we have already noted, this event in Tlingit and Tsimshian accounts marked one of the first major reversals in the order of things: darkness was replaced by light and chaos with order; the supernatural was contained and ambiguous creatures transformed or banished from the human realm of action; animals were relegated to their respective realms, etc. In Haida accounts, however, the liberation of daylight is a relatively minor event. Usually it is the liberation of the moon that is detailed, but no par-

ticular cosmic reversals follow the event. In a Skidegate account of Raven's stealing the moon (Swanton 1905b: 116-118), he puts it in his armpit and flies away, has a few adventures including turning Cormorant's tongue into an oulachon and getting the chief who was hoarding oulachon to give them up. Then Raven distributes them along the mainland. The story continues:

He came to a shore opposite some people who were fishing with fish rakes in Nass. And he said: "Hallo, throw one over to me. I will give you light." But they said: "HA ha'-a-a, he who is speaking is the one who is always playing tricks." He then let a small part shine and put it away again. They forthwith emptied their canoe in front of him several times (ibid., pp. 117-8).

Eventually he throws the moon up into the air, ". . . the sun as well," and merely travels, then, "northward" (ibid., p. 118). One noteworthy parallel between this account and Tsimshian and Tlingit versions is that the creatures to whom Raven first shows light are fishing for oulachon at the Nass River.

According to the Haida cycle of raven myths, the first major cosmic reversal is the creation of land from which follows the dispersal of the supernatural creatures, who inhabited the world before man, to their respective locations. There they eventually were turned into stone and became landmarks. One version of the myth from Swanton (1905a) describes the primordial situation, the events leading to the creation of land, and the events subsequent to that creation:

3. I am indebted to Wilson Duff (1973) for an appreciation of the subtle significance of many of the details in this Haida creation story.

In earliest times . . . a boundless expanse of sky overspread a boundless expanse of sea, and in this sea lay a single reef . . . where all of the supernatural beings were heaped together. On top lay the strongest of these, and the weaker stretched out in lines from it in all directions. Raven flew about above, unable to find a foothold; and at last, looking at the neighboring sky, he became fascinated by it. Then he ran his beak into it and climbed up (ibid., pp. 72-3).

Then Raven enters the sky-country where the sky-chief's daughter has just given birth. He skins the child and enters its body. He then goes about when people are asleep and eats one of their eyes, is eventually found out, and ends up being dropped down on to the surface of the water in his cradle. A grebe appears and says: "Your powerful grandfather invites you in," and he goes down under the water. Then an old man takes from a box hanging in his house (a box with four other boxes in it) two objects (a black one and one covered with "shining points") and tells him to place them on the water in sequence, then bite a piece of each in turn and spit them out. Raven does it wrong the first time and then in the right sequence:

Now he went back to the black one, bit off part of it and spit it out again, when the pieces stuck. These were going to become trees. He put this into the water, and it stretched itself out, becoming the Haida country, to which all of the supernatural beings swam over. Of the other pebble he made Mainland (Seaward country) (ibid., pp. 73-4).

In Tlingit and Tsimshian contexts, I have argued that the image of Raven carrying the sun (or sun box) in his beak stands for the event of the origin of daylight. In Haida accounts of the origin of daylight and the liberating of the moon, etc., the event hardly has the same significance. In Haida mythology, the event of comparable signi-

ficance is the creation of land, but there is no direct evidence to suggest that in the Haida mind, the image on the rattle might have been reinterpreted to stand for, say, Raven carrying the primordial pebbles or the box they came in. One way around this conundrum is to assume, as I argued for the Tlingit and Tsimshian cases, that the image of a particular event can stand for a period of time in general during which highly significant events were occurring. One reason for picking a Raven-and-daylight image is that it can symbolize both the time and its reversal. In this connection, the Haida make the same associations between raven and daylight on the one hand and supernaturals and darkness on the other: "The supernatural beings always hunted at night, and returned before the raven cried. If they did not succeed in getting back, as soon as they heard it they fell down" (Swanton 1905a: 27). Or in a Masset version of a myth about Raven and the supernatural sea monsters, Raven invites them all to a feast and when he shouts at dawn, they all become stone (Swanton 1908b: 316).

The time:

The first cycle or age in Haida mythology extended from the production of the two islands by Raven, as above related, to the flood raised by Cape Ball. Then it was occupied by the gods or supernatural beings alone (Swanton 1905a: 74).

During this time, Raven was called Nanki'lsLas, He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed, or Nanki'lsLas-Lingai's, He-who-is-going-to-become-He-whose-Voice-is-obeyed. Presumably during this time, Raven had no form in particular and that is why he had to skin babies and enter their form or be born as one himself. According to Swanton when this first part of the story, called "The Old Man's Story", was told, ". . . chiefs would not permit

the young men to laugh, but they could when the latter part was reached" (Swanton 1905a: 28). Later, when Raven assumed the form of a raven, he was associated with "rascally tricks" (ibid.).

The other major event of this time beside the creation of land was a contest between the supernaturals to decide who was going to hold up the world. The Haida conceptualized the earth as flat with the sky country above it like an inverted bowl. Beneath this extended the sea with two islands floating in it: "Inland-country" or Haida-land, and Seaward-country, or Mainland. Haida country rested on a supernatural being called Sacred-One-Standing-and-Moving, who in turn rested on a copper box (Swanton 1905a: 12).

Before finally settling into the places they were ever after to inhabit, these supernatural beings held a contest to decide which of them should lie under and support the islands (Swanton 1905a: 74).

. . . Sacred-one-standing-and-moving finally won it by the aid of a wā'sgo-skin. Then the supernatural beings took up their various positions under the mountains, lakes, etc. . . . (ibid., p. 75).

A Skidegate account of the event explains that the supernaturals did not see Sacred-one-standing-and-moving enter in the wasgo skin. They also did not see that he came out of the wasgo skin at night, until one day, after the Raven called, they saw him enter and lie down.

By and by, when day began to break, they were looking on. Presently the Raven called. It was daylight. But then they discovered him enter and lie down under it. Then he came to have his place under it (the island) (Swanton 1905b: 195).

"Raven of the Sea"

Edensaw (op. cit.) identifies the raven of the rattle as "raven of the sea", tcagun hoya, (tcagun - "of the sea"; hoya - "raven"). This term does not seem to be one of Raven's many names, i.e., I could not locate any myths about, say, Raven-of-the-sea. Instead the identification suggests that one ask in what ways, in Haida conceptions, raven could be considered "of the sea"?

In the Raven cycle, Raven is continually travelling back and forth between sky, land, and sea. On his first such journey, he gets the wherewithall to make land from the old man under the sea.

Another general association is that Raven is the child of Flood-Tide woman (Boas 1916: 632), and also at one point in the Raven cycle, the adopted son of Qi'ngi, said to be "one of the most powerful of all the Ocean-People" (Swanton 1905a: 21). Swanton gives the following information about Qi'ngi:

He was an Eagle [i.e., of the Eagle moiety]. His real name is said to have been Thunder-Bird-Standing (ibid.).

Soon after this deluge had abated, Raven was adopted by Qi'ngi, a mountain⁴ in the Ninstints country, and, in order to receive his new father properly, he summoned four different tribes of men out of the ground, - Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl, and Tlingit. This seems to account for the various races of men (ibid., p. 74).

4. "Just as the towns of human beings were scattered along the shores above water, so . . . [the towns of ocean-people supernaturals] were scattered along the shores beneath it. These were located at or rather under, every prominent cape, hill, reef; and even hills some distance back from the coast had subterranean avenues of approach thru the ocean" (Swanton 1905a: 17).

(Also, in another account Qi'ngi is the only supernatural of the Haida who is present in the house of Gitgu'nak's at the time when some men first learned about the secret society dances -- see Swanton 1905a: 157).

A more explicit graphic association of Raven with the sea is the "snag", also called "sea raven" (called TcA'maos, or Ts'um'a'ks or Ts!Em-a'ks -- the Tsimshian word "in the water"; Swanton 1905a: 18). A Haida tattoo of a Ts'um'a'ks indicates a creature combining the features of a raven with those of a killerwhale (Fig. 29). According to one Haida account, TcA'maos is one of the transformations of Nanki'lsLas (Raven).

Nanki'lsLas made all of the world, but not the people dwelling in it. He was always playing tricks upon the people, who often tried to catch him, as he was constantly changing his form. When he had finished making things, he turned himself into tcA'maos, a water-stick, and usually lived in fresh water, though sometimes in the sea, especially haunting the Skeena River. He had ten different powers (or forms?), usually showing himself as a snag-stick, sometimes as a canoe, sometimes as a vessel like a schooner. If suitably spoken to by people, he allowed them to see the lower end of the drifting snag-stick, and this is therefore known to be in the form of a large frog covered with seaweed (Swanton 1905a: 133).

"Frog"

True frogs are not found on the Queen Charlottes although toads abound, but Duff has noted that the Haida and Tsimshian do not distinguish between the two in English (1964: 78). The Northwestern Toad (*Bufo boreas boreas*) has the following characteristics which may or may not have been part of the Haida's perceptions of frogs: they spawn in

swamps and lake margins; they have a habit of swarming and, "Since toads prefer to travel during damp weather they often appear suddenly after a shower, a habit which has probably given rise to the belief that they descend with the rain" (Carl 1966: 43); they are "nocturnal except sometimes when migrating" (ibid.); males call with a "high pitched tremulous note" (ibid.) (sounding like a bird's call?); and like many frogs and toads in general on the Coast their skins secrete a poisonous substance which tends to protect them against predators, except for some snakes and birds (ibid., pp. 14-15).

In light of this last point: Swanton explains the carving of a frog and raven on a post in front of a Haida house -- "The frog is introduced along with raven because ravens were said to eat frogs (1905a: 127). Also: "Frogs are said to have been placed upon house poles sometimes, to keep them from falling over" (ibid., p. 124).

A major part of the origin myth of the Eagle clan, about Djila'qons, the ancestress of the Eagle groups, concerns a group of travelers who throw a supernatural frog who keeps hopping onto their food into the fire. This brings death and destruction by volcano to their village. In the myth, the frog is the child of Djila'qons, Volcano-woman.

It is difficult to come to any concise conclusion about the position of "frog" in the Haida conceptual framework from these unexplained associations. Therefore they are not much use in interpreting the frog on the rattle, although they suggest that "frog" must have been a rather powerful symbol because of the seeming variety of things associated with them.

One feature that Boas discovered, however, is that frogs are associated with good luck -- in obtaining wealth, health, and success in hunting:

Professor Boas was told that "the Haida caught frogs, opened them, took out the intestines and mashed the flesh. They formed them into balls, which were boiled and eaten. This was done by chiefs who intended to obtain great wealth. Sea otter hunters did so also to sick persons who desired to recover. The bears eat frogs in order to have good luck in hunting (Swanton 1905a: 45).

"Kingfisher"

I could find little information about kingfishers in Haida ethnography. The bird itself has a distinctive large feathery head, in Robbins, et. al. (1966: 178) it is noted that "except for terns, kingfishers are the only small birds that dive headlong from air into water" and that it is recognized in part by "its loud rattling call."

The Tsimshian associate kingfishers with success in fishing, so it could perhaps be supposed that the Haida did too. In the Tsimshian cycle of myths about TxamsEm (Raven), Chief Kingfisher whom he visits at one point is described as having "large stores of all kinds of provisions":

At last he took a nice dish and stretched his foot out over it. Then he took a smooth stone, struck his ankle, and salmon eggs poured out of it and filled the dish (Boas 1916: 91).

"Wilalla (Oolalla), Ka-ka-hete, or Shamans"

Judge Swan's identification of the reclining figure on the back of the rattle is a double reference. Oolalla, or Wilalla is the

cannibal dancer of the Haida shamans' or secret society dances. The appellation "whistling demon" probably refers to the whistles that sound when the dancer is present and when the initiate is inspired. Cannibalism is a specific attribute of this dancer, and in the context of an initiation ceremony the act of cannibalism could be interpreted as the means by which the initiate is transformed, thereby passing from the uninitiated state to the "inspired" or initiated one. Carrying the child off into the woods and eating the child is another way of describing the act of transformation.

Ka-ka-hete is probably a reference to the powerful Tlingit shaman, Kaka, who like Ka-ka-hete in Swan's account was said to have drowned on a canoe trip and was saved by the land otters (see Krause 1970: 197).

The common denominator between these two identifications is that both personages are shaman-initiators, and both are placed within the context of the secret society dances, particularly the dance of the cannibal.

The figure on the rattle has also been identified as "shaman" and this subsumes both of the above identifications. Since the word for "shaman" in Haida (sxaga) is also the term of reference for the whole dance series, it is worth examining what real shamans were associated with in the Haida social order.

The details of Haida shamanism can be found in Swanton 1905a: 38-43, etc., and also have been brought together in M. Jorgensen's thesis (1970: 125-46). Briefly: shamans could travel in the supernatural

world and there are many accounts of such travels in myths. Shamans were presumably experts in techniques for manipulating the supernatural. This they did with the aid of supernatural helpers and "medicines". A shaman was a person who had power from some supernatural being who "spoke through" him (see above, p.143). From the evidence of myths: although individuals could, through observing certain purificatory rituals or use certain "medicines", contact spirits, the guardian spirit relationship, ". . . in which an individual maintains a recurrent and lasting association with a spirit" (Jorgensen 1970: 128) was uncommon. Shamans were unusual in this respect, as were secret society initiates. This, incidentally, is another way in which initiates were like shamans.

According to myths, shamans aided in economic pursuits: making the water smooth so people could fish for cod, making salmon come, or bringing in whales (Jorgensen 1970: 137-8); or they were successful individuals who had hunting power or supernatural fishing bait (*ibid.*, p. 136). In one myth to be considered in greater detail below, a man captures a wasgo (sea monster), puts on its skin, and secretly brings up fish, sea mammals, and finally whales on the beach at night. His mother-in-law mistakenly assumes that these riches come because she is a powerful shaman (see Boas 1927: 159-60 for a discussion of Edensaw's representations of this myth).

Shamans were also experts in curing sickness, and in some myths they caused or prolonged sickness to acquire more prestige and property (Swanton 1905a: 242-247).

They tended to be aligned with particular lineages and chiefs, and accompanied war parties and killed the souls of the enemy.

"Hawk, Skiamsm . . .?"

Both Edensaw and Swan identify the face on the belly of the rattle as hawk, chicken hawk, or skiamsm -- the word borrowed from Tsimshian for hawk. Edensaw, furthermore, says that the hawk is "merely ornamental" (op. cit.). These identifications are particularly problematical, 1) because references to "hawk" in ethnographies and texts are rather oblique, and 2) because the associations these references suggest do not seem to tie in with themes and concepts associated with the other parts of the rattle in any sense that is immediately apparent.

Two myths collected in the Skidegate dialect contain references to hawk, and Swanton footnotes the references in the following way:

The hawk here referred to is called skia["]msm, or skia'mskun, is described as of a bluish color, and is said to live on high mountains. Artistically, little difference is made between this bird and the thunder-bird, and the two are sometimes said to be identical (Swanton 1905b: 171).

The two myths are "A-slender-one-who-was-given-away" and "The canoe people who wear headdresses". The one reference to hawk in the former is the first sentence: "Once there was a chief's child, they say, a girl, for whom they often hung out hawk down on the end of a pole" (Swanton 1905b: 151). She is taken away (married) by a supernatural being who has a surf-bird for a hat. Out of the top of the hat a foamy

wave comes. The myth details the attempts to recover the chief's daughter, but after the first sentence, nothing further is said that would throw any light on the significance of hanging hawk's down on the pole (Swanton supposes that it might refer to "a potlatch custom", op. cit., p. 171, but this in itself is not illuminating). Like most myths this myth contains many curious details whose significance is not readily apparent to the unenlightened.

The second myth is about ten people who go hunting. They pass through fire and become supernaturals. A wren makes a "blue hole" in the heart of one and his name becomes Chief Hawk-hole. They find a hawk's feather floating in the water and they tie it in the hair of the youngest and put a feather from the neck of a mallard around the lower part of it. His name becomes chief Hawk-with-one-⁵ feather-sticking-out-of-the-water. As in the case of the other myth, above, the references to hawk are of elusive significance.

These accounts leave us with the following associations with hawk: hawk is somehow associated with both high mountains and water (sea) and with the colour blue. In the former respect, hawk is similar to thunderbird, who is also represented in carvings and paintings by a face with a "hawk-beak".

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5. The names of the other people in the canoe are likewise puzzling but intriguing, suggesting a cosmology perhaps: Supernatural-being-who-keeps-the-bow-off, Supernatural-being-on-whom-the-day-light-rests, Supernatural-being-on-the-water-on-whom-is-sunshine, Supernatural-puffin-on-the-water, chief Wearing-clouds-around-his-neck, chief Supernatural-being-with-the-big-eyes, chief Supernatural-being-lying-on-his-back-in-the-canoe, Supernatural-being-half-of-whose-words-are-raven.

Chief Edensaw is reported to have said that the hawk (skiamsm) on the belly of the rattle was "merely ornamental". There are a number of ways in which this statement could be interpreted that might shed more light on the iconography of the belly of the rattle. "Merely ornamental" could indicate 1) that the design is not to be considered as a crest (e.g., "Hawk" was a Raven crest and "Blue Hawk" was an Eagle crest), or 2) that what is meant by "hawk" is merely the particular configuration of a face with a curved beak that touches its mouth, a configuration that is also used in Haida iconography to stand for thunderbird and moon (see Figs. 32-34), or 3) that the configuration of beak curving around to touch its own mouth is significant in and of itself regardless of what animal or creature it might be taken to represent. The second interpretation leads one to ask what thunderbird, hawk, and moon might have in common that they would all be represented in the same way, and the third interpretation is to ask what they might have in common that would be indicated by the curved beak motif in particular. These last two interpretations pose rather a large problem in iconographical analysis, but one which I will explore partially in an attempt to discover other associations that might indicate the significance of the motif on the belly of the rattle.

Swanton gives the following synopsis of thunderbird in the Haida context:

The thunder-bird (hi'lina) produces thunder by the rustling of its feathers; and when it opens its eyes, there is lightning. Thunder-clouds are its "dressing-up". This being occupied a very small place in Haida thought, probably because thunder-storms are not common. They said that "up the Stikine" they knew more about it (Swanton 1905a: 14).

This statement indicates that the Haida thought about thunderbird in much the same way as did the Tlingit and Tsimshian. Presumably they also attributed to thunderbird the power to catch whales. I would take issue with the rest of the statement, however, because although hi'lina (thunderbird) per se may not have been a prominent supernatural being and thunder storms may not have been common on the Charlottes, there is a great deal of thunder and lightning in Haida myths, e.g., at the time of the supernatural beings there was a Foam-woman sitting on a reef who wouldn't let the other supernatural beings come near. When they did try she looked and winked her eyes and lightning shot out and drove them back (Swanton 1905e: 75). In one of the Nanki'lsLaslina'-i stories, Raven sleeps with the wife of his uncle, Great Breakers, and it thunders. The next day Great Breakers causes a flood, etc. (Swanton 1905b: 121-2). The greatest of all the Wood-beings was called Supernatural-One-upon-whom-it-thunders (Swanton 1905b: 27), etc.

One thing thunderbird has in common with moon is that they both produce certain kinds of light. The moon makes night-light and the thunderbird thunder- or storm-light. Hawk doesn't seem to be associated with any kind of light in particular, but like thunderbird is

6. The following is a Tlingit account of Thunderbird, recorded by Swanton: The Thunderbird causes thunder by flapping its wings or by moving even a single quill. When it winks, lightning flashes. Upon its back is a lake, which accounts for the great quantity of rain falling during a thunder-shower The thunderbird keeps on thundering and the sky continues cloudy until the bird catches a whale. Then it carries the whale up to the mountains, where bones of whales caught in this manner may often be seen (1908: 454). People also become rich if they merely catch sight of it (ibid.).

associated with mountains and water (sea). One thing the moon has in common with all three is that it could be and was, represented as a bird. Duff has argued this in his discussion of the gable carving on Captain Gold's house (Fig. 32). He brings the interesting ethnographic fact to light that the Haida apparently conceived of "Moon-birds" and concludes that a recurved beak can be taken as a feature of moon conceived of as "moon-bird" (Duff 1970: 249).

Another example of a bird being used to represent something else is suggested by the Tsimshian assertion that the body of the raven rattle is a sea monster (see above). In the Tsimshian discussion I attempted to resolve the seeming contradiction of representing a sea monster as a bird-form by suggesting that the motif on the belly of the rattle might derive from the image of a thunderbird carrying a whale or sea monster either in its talons or in its belly: the image of thunderbird as a sea monster trap. In Haida thinking there are several ways in which birds are associated with sea creatures. 1) In myths they are frequently messengers of sea creatures. After Raven has been cast down from the sky country in the time of the supernatural beings and is floating on the water, a grebe comes up and tells him that his grandfather under the sea invites him. Also, a bird might be taken to be the spirit of a sea creature, and perhaps this is the connection between the bird the Tsimshian chief, in Edensaw's account of the origin of the raven rattle saw swimming in the sea after he had an encounter with chief Gitkunaks. Furthermore, in visual representations of sea creatures, tails are frequently represented as bird's faces (Fig. 20).

2) An extension of this association is the notion that birds have access to the sea. In the episode of the Raven story in which Raven shoots and skins a bufflehead that was eating a whale, Raven put on the skin and so could walk under heavy swells in the sea (Swanton 1905a: 121).

3) There is a Skidegate account of a sus^ean, or lake spirit: ". . . similar to a wa'sgo, which used to go after black whales every night and bring them ashore", which the hero of the account caught ". . . assisted by Bird-in-the-air" (Swanton 1905a: 126).

4) Sea monsters also catch whales and other creatures of the sea. One in particular, the wasgo, an amalgamated wolf-killerwhale creature similar to the Tlingit Gonakade't or Grizzly bear-killerwhale, has thunderbird attributes: it thunders and lightnings when it is cut up the wrong way. This happens in the account of how Sacred-one-standing-and-moving captured a wasgo (whose skin he put on to enable him to win the contest as to who was going to hold up the Queen Charlottes (Swanton 1905b, op. cit.).

He pulled him upon the shore and was going to cut him on top of his head when it thundered. It also lightened. And the same thing happened when he started upon his back. But, when he started at the lower part of his back, nothing happened, and he cut him open along the belly (ibid., p. 192-3).

The same thing happens in another myth about someone who captures a wasgo:

Then he pulled it out. He was going to cut it open in front. Lightning shot about. So he cut it open, beginning at the lower part of its back. Then he skinned it (ibid., p. 283).

The details of the sequence of these incisions suggest that the top part of the creature was thunderbird-like in some way.

These examples suggest some of the links between birds and sea creatures in general and thunderbirds and sea monsters specifically, although the logic underlying these conceptual links is difficult to articulate without further analysis. These associations do suggest, however, an interpretation of the raven rattle in the Haida context similar to that in the Tlingit and Tsimshian context: the concept underlying the image on the belly of the rattle is a trapped sea monster. The bird's-head, tail-face of the rattle could be interpreted as a manifestation or spirit intermediary of this sea monster. The thunderbird-hawk face on the belly of the rattle could be accounted for as the bird analogue of a sea monster particularly the wasgo (both thunderbirds and wasgo's catch whales) or as a sea monster trap.

The interpretation of the belly of the rattle as an image of a sea monster in a trap is also suggested by a further iconographic detail: the way the neck of the rattle is carved suggests a cleft stick, and the use of a cleft stick or log is precisely the way in which sea monsters are caught (see Fig. 28). In the three accounts cited that describe the capture of a sea monster (Swanton 1905b: 192, 283; and Swanton 1905a: 126), the trap is either two trees or a split tree tied together at one end or both and held apart in the center by a wedge which is knocked out when the sea monster swims into the trap. Edensaw's drawing in Boas (op. cit., 1927: Fig. 135) is remarkably similar to the shape of the neck of the raven rattle.

7. Possibly the split stick image is significant by itself although for reasons associated with its use in capturing sea monsters. In some myths it is mentioned that the wasgo skin is kept in the fork of a tree, as is the bufflehead skin that Raven caught that enabled him to go under water.

A further detail in these accounts seems relevant to the image of the rattle when viewed from the dorsal side. From the ventral side, the image is that of a creature caught in a split-log trap. From the top, the position of the head of the reclining figure on top of the split in the neck suggests the image of a person in front of a split-log trap. In the three accounts cited, children are used as bait: on one version, the hero takes a cedar and splits it from its butt end and places a cross-piece in:

Then he twisted cedar limbs. He spliced them together. When the rope became long he fastened the child to it. Then he let it down between (Swanton 1905b: 283).

Both the bait and the consequences of capturing a sea monster seem relevant to the context in which chiefs used the rattles: the initiation of novices into secret societies. From myth accounts the consequences of catching a sea monster are strength (Sacred-One-standing-and-moving with the aid of his wasgo-skin is enabled to hold up the world) and the ability to excel at catching food-creatures of the sea (the owner of the skin swims into the lake or sea and brings back fish, small sea mammals, and whales to the beach). In these respects a chief is like one who has a wasgo skin, or to put it another way, is a wasgo. Another treasure conceived of as coming from the sea, is the secret society ceremonial, obtained from the under-water chief Gitkunaks. By initiating children, a chief both displays his prerogative of owning these dances and receives payment for being an initiator. If the initiating chief is not receiving payment but giving wealth to validate the exercise of his prerogative, he is at least demonstrating his wasgo-like capabilities in amassing the wealth he distributes.

Other Associations: The Belly as a Cosmic Symbol

The configuration of the hooked-beaked face on the belly of the rattle, regardless of whether it represents a specific creature or is "merely ornamental", suggests androgyny: the image of self-impregnation. I also suggested this in the Tlingit context, the re-curved beak being analogous to the protruding tongue. On the Haida rattle, as in all cases, the protruding hooked-beak recurves and touches or enters its own mouth. The image of a beak penetrating a surface of some sort with correlations of birth or transformation occurs in the Haida Raven cycle of myths. In the beginning, when Nanki'-lsLas-Lingai's flew up to the sky country: ". . . he ran his beak into it and climbed up. In the sky-country lay a five-row town, where the town chief's daughter had just given birth to a child; and when night came, Raven entered the chief's house, scooped the baby out of its skin, and took its place" (Swanton 1905a: 72-3, emphasis Duff 1973, and mine). In the episode about N. and Great-breakers (see above, p. 160), N. is in Raven form, having stopped the flood his uncle caused, and wishes to go back down to his house:

. . . he looked down. The smoke of his uncle's house looked pleasing. He then became angry with him, at the sight, and started to fly down. After he had flown for a while he ran his beak into it from above, crying as he did so, "G.ao."
"Oh, you shall own the title of Chief-of-chiefs (Ki'lsLekun)"
[said the uncle].

He then became what he had been before. . . . (Swanton 1905b: 122, emphasis mine).

On the belly of the rattle, the beak touching the surface of the face (the mouth could be interpreted as a vagina) could be interpreted both as an image of self-impregnation and as an image of the point of time at which transformation occurs. (In light of this, the moon is also a transformer, going from the dark -- nothing -- to the full -- wholeness).

It is difficult without further analysis to do any more than suggest these interpretations as worth considering, keeping in mind that we are treading the tricky ground of different levels of abstraction, and talking about the derivations of an image and its transformed significance possibly at the same time. A definitive analysis of the iconography of the "hawk" face has yet to be done.

Chief's Ceremonial Costume

Although an analysis of the symbolism of the chief's ceremonial costume would be a separate study in itself, a number of features are worth mentioning, particularly features of the headdress (see Fig. 7). The headdress consists of a carved frontlet (plaque) usually of a crest of a particular chief and frequently inlaid with pieces of shiny abalone. From the top of the headdress sea lion bristles stick up and these form a sort of "cage" for the eagle down which a chief shakes out when he dances. Usually stuck in the top along with the sea lion bristles are flicker feathers. Hanging from the back of the headdress is a long trail of ermine skins.

The significance of the eagle down as throughout the coast seems to be that it indicates supernatural power and the shaking of eagle down is generally taken to be a peace-making gesture.

In Haida mythology, sea lions are usually the canoes of the supernatural beings, so the bristles in the headdress could relate to this.

Flickers are particularly associated with success in fishing. Swanton notes: "Fishermen are in the habit of tying the red feathers of the woodpeckers to their hooks in order to secure good luck" (Swanton 1905b: 144). Also, when a shaman got power from Ocean-People, he would put flicker feathers in his headdress (Swanton 1905a: 40).

The significance of the ermine or martin skins is less clear, unless they are merely significant as a costly fur. Otherwise, martins are associated with Sacred-One-standing-and-moving. He was conceived of as holding up the earth by a pole or pillar that extends to the sky, and, according to Swanton: ". . . when he is about to move (i.e., when an earthquake is to occur), a marten runs up it, producing the thundering-noise which precedes" (Swanton 1905a: 12).

From these it could be generalized that the "grammar" of the chief's costume derives from shaman's paraphernalia which contain references to a shaman's particular spirit helpers. The symbolism on the chief's headdress seems to be of a more general nature, emphasizing supernaturals and Ocean-people as spirit helpers. The flicker feathers presumably indicate that the chief has powers related to successful fishing. The carving on the headdress is the one specific unambiguous

representation in the chief's costume, and would seem to emphasize the crest animal thereon portrayed as a spirit helper. Curtis' description of a secret society initiation mentions that the initiate ". . . for a long time . . . wore his dancing hat, which was a carved and decorated forehead mask belonging to the chief who initiated him" (Curtis 1915, Vol. 11: 145).

The chief's rattle is likewise analogous to a shaman's rattle, which a shaman used to summon and control spirits, but the representations on the chief's rattle are at once more general than those on a shaman's rattle, perhaps, and more specific to the chief's position in Haida ceremonialism.

Interrelationships

1. The contexts in which the Haida used the raven rattles were secret society initiation ceremonies. These were presided over by chiefs who owned particular dances or positions (such as the Oolalla or Cannibal), and who "inspired" initiates by making the supernatural beings presiding over the series "come through" them. In doing this the chief acted in the capacity of a shaman. The dance series was referred to by the Haida word for "shaman" as were the initiates. Any identification of the reclining figure either as Oolalla or Ka-ka-hete or just as "shaman" can be interpreted in this context.

2. The protruding tongue can be interpreted as indicating the passage of power and the creature the reclining figure is encountering as identifying the kind of power. Just as shamans in Haida society

had powers to harm, or to heal, or to succeed at economic pursuits such as fishing, the frog in particular was associated with being a source of all three powers. Little is known about Haida associations for "kingfisher" but it seems reasonable that the kingfisher would be associated with access to watery realms in general and fish in particular. Both frog and kingfisher are interstitial creatures one of whose realms is water. The figure's head as carved on the tail of the rattle could be interpreted as an intermediary, being part of another creature. It could be "read" as an intermediary either between the belly of the rattle and the reclining figure or between the raven and the reclining figure. This latter suggests a possible double interpretation of the "power" being passed. If the tail-face is "read" as being an intermediary of the Raven (carrying daylight) then the power is "enlightenment" or a knowledge (uninitiated persons were said to have "dark faces", or closed up minds). If the rattle is interpreted as representing Raven-of-the-sea, then the power from the tail-face can be "read" as access to watery realms (either to the supernaturals or to the wealth therein).

3. In the Haida context, the image of Raven and daylight (the head of the rattle) could be interpreted as referring to the concept of "enlightenment" and to the time in the past when the supernaturals were ordered. In Haida myths about primordial Raven, he is responsible for ordering and containing the supernaturals that once roamed around in the vast expanse of sea. Although it is a highly complex image to analyze, the creature represented on the belly of the rattle at least

in part can be identified as a supernatural sea creature. Thus between the two -- Raven and sea monster -- two natural and cosmic realms are represented and combined in one image: "Raven-of-the-sea". The Raven is also the trap for the supernatural. The trap is indicated by the split neck of the raven. Thus the image is one of the supernatural contained. The chief holding the rattle then is holding both an image of enlightenment and of controlled supernatural power. The relationship of the chief to the initiate is that of a person who has enlightenment and supernatural powers to one who is receiving these. The image of the reclining figure on the rattle could be interpreted as an image of the process by which both acquire power.

4. The identity of the creature on the belly of the rattle is enigmatic. I have suggested that it might be interpreted as a cosmic symbol indicating androgyny and transformation. At the iconographic level it could be interpreted as a captured sea monster, particularly a wealth-bringing sea monster, such as the wasgo or Gitkunaks, the possession of whose skin brought the owner great strength and access to wealth under water. In his ability to potlatch, the chief is like one who has a wasgo skin.

5. The initiate is above the trap (the split in the Raven's neck) like the children who were used to bait the wasgo trap in the myth. Thus the initiate could be described as bait for the supernatural, the acquisition of whose power will be of eventual benefit to society in the wealth it will bring to the potlatch.

These are some interrelationships suggested by available data. The associations that can be brought to the raven rattle within the contexts of Haida culture as revealed in myth and ethnography link the imagery of the rattle with the guardian spirit quest and the position of chiefs in society. The imagery of the rattle and the symbolism of the chief's ceremonial costume refer to functions and concepts which underly the position of secular and spiritual authority that chiefs hold in Haida society.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have set out to identify Northwest Coast cultural concepts and themes as they are revealed in the iconography of the raven, or chief's rattle. To do this, I have relied on (after Turner 1967: 20): 1) my own observation of the external form and format of the rattle, modified by a familiarity with stylistic conventions in Northwest Coast art; 2) interpretations offered by "specialists" (i.e., highly informed informants such as chiefs and ethnographers, and museum records); 3) a consideration of the following significant contexts: myths, ceremonies in which the rattle was used, and, since it was a chief's rattle, the position of chiefs in the various societies studied. I have used myth in three ways: 1) as a source of ethnographic data, particularly with regard to the associations which individual animals might have; 2) I have considered the few myths about the origin of the rattle for clues to the identification of the figures on the rattle; and 3) since a major image on the rattle, as I have argued, is that of Raven liberating daylight, I have examined myths about the origin of daylight to determine what significance(s) might have been attached to this event in the Northwest Coast mind. Finally, I have been concerned with interpreting the iconography of the raven rattle primarily within the context of three northern Northwest Coast groups: the Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida.

For the dominant motifs on the rattle, I have identified the following thematic associations and interrelationships:

1. The referent of the head of the rattle, a bird's head with an object in its beak, is Raven the Transformer liberating daylight. Among the Tsimshian and the Tlingit the origin of daylight was an event of major cosmic importance, a major reversal in the order of the universe and the beginning of the social and natural order of things as they were in the ethnographic "today" (here, Northwest Coast cultures in the 19th century).

a. In the Tlingit version of the myth, the pre-daylight order (or disorder) of things was that animals were also humans, and changed back and forth by putting on or taking off their skins. They were all living along the banks of the Nass fishing for oulachon, making a lot of noise. When Raven opened the daylight box, they became fixed in whatever state they were caught in (human or animal depending on whether they had their skins on or off), and the different animals went off to their respective natural realms.

b. In the Tsimshian version, it is ghosts, and frogs ("who were people before daylight") who were fishing for oulachon in the dark, at the mouth of the Nass. When Raven opens the sun box, they disappear, "perish", or, in the case of the frogs in one version, become stone.

In both versions, the event immediately preceding the beginning of daylight is that the creatures in the darkness refuse to share (are non-reciprocal) or to believe Raven was who he said he was (are

unenlightened), or are making a lot of noise (are in chaos). In the Tlingit version, at the breaking of daylight merely a different order is established, and Raven later instructs people that animals are to be their "friends". In the Tsimshian version, there is the suggestion that the ghosts were preventing people from fishing at the Nass, since when they were banished "other folk came from all directions to gather oolaken" (Barbeau 1964: 335-6).

c. Among the Haida, Raven was also the Transformer and major culture hero, but by Haida accounts, the liberation of daylight was a relatively minor event. As I have suggested above, for the Haida an event of comparable magnitude, i.e., a major reversal in the order of things, would have been the creation of land and the sorting out of the supernaturals who were jumbled together on the sea. The Haida would have known of the Tlingit and Tsimshian versions of Raven and daylight, and to the Haida the image of the event could have stood for the myth time in general, including the creation of land. They could also have associated it with the theme of enlightenment (un-initiated people are spoken of as having a "dark face").

2. The reclining figure motif: although there are a variety of specific identifications that have been brought to the different objects on the back of the rattle, they can all be subsumed under one general interpretation: that the reclining figure motif is an image of the guardian spirit quest. The tongue stands for the transference of power (expressed through the metaphor of sexual intercourse, speech, or simply, union). The various animal figures stand for different kinds of power and can be interpreted in several ways:

a. As specific to kin groups (i.e., the animal stands for a particular phratry or moiety).

b. As specific to shamans: frogs and land otters are thought of as shamans of the animal world, which at another level can be attributed to the fact that they are interstitial creatures between natural and spirit realms, and in the case of the land otter, between the human and animal state of being. Frogs and land otters are also associated with powers to bewitch and heal.

c. As specific to fortune in fishing: land otters in particular are associated with good luck in fishing, and all three -- land otter, frog, and kingfisher -- are natural intermediaries between the sea and the realm of man.

d. As general intermediaries that can stand for spirit helpers of, or to, all realms: frogs, land otters, and kingfishers all cross boundary lines. As for the unidentifiable faces on the tail of the rattle, they are presented as intermediaries by the very format of the rattle; they are creatures that are part of another creature -- be it the "Raven" or the creature on the belly of the rattle.

These specifiers also identify the reclining figure, which otherwise has no identifying features, and can be interpreted as a person in the marginal state, presented at the moment of the transfer of supernatural power and expressed by the joined tongues. The reclining figure could be: 1) an initiate in the institutionalized quest (a member of a particular kin group), 2) anyone receiving power, i.e., to hunt or fish, etc., or 3) a shaman, either a particular shaman (Ka-ka-

hete, Oolalla), or "shaman" initiate in the secret societies or "shaman's series" (Haida), or "shaman" in the sense that the shaman is a prototype for anyone who successfully encounters the supernatural.

Hence, the image is capable of a variety of interpretations but they are all variations on a common cultural theme: the sources of different kinds of power and their transference to man.

3. "Hawk" motif, the belly of the rattle: this is the most complex (formally) and enigmatic (iconographically) image on the rattle. It could be that its greatest significance is expressed at the level of style, that is, in the arrangement of forms and their interrelationship. I have suggested that the recurved beak touching the large mouth might indicate androgyny, or that the use of the same motif to stand for "moon" or thunderbird indicates that it might portray conceptual similarities between these two (as, say, to different kinds of light, see Haida and Tlingit chapters). The belly is also the most two-dimensional and most "stylized" part of the rattle.

Whatever the motif might mean at the level of style, at the iconographic level most indications are that it represents, or stands for, a sea monster. Barbeau's informants merely identify it as hagweloq (a general term for sea monster), while Tlingit and Haida accounts associate the rattle with the Gonakade't or with Gitnagunaks, both chiefs of the under-water realm: the Gonakade't in particular is a creature of great wealth and by Tlingit accounts the source of many chiefly prerogatives. Emmons and Boas (1907) have suggested that the design on Chilkat blankets, although highly generalized and capable of

several interpretations, derive from the Gonakade't. According to some accounts the design on carved wooden chests also derives from the Gonakade't (Gunther 1966; Inveriarity 1950). There are observable similarities between the design on the carved wooden chest and that on the belly of the rattle, one of the most intriguing of which is the little circle carved or painted on the bridge of the beak-nose on both rattle and chest.

The image then, is that of a sea monster or supernatural of the sea, a source of great wealth, a powerful chief of the underwater realm, a being that appears in many amalgamated forms (e.g., as a combination grizzly-bear killerwhale), a potentially dangerous cannibal who swallows people, and who frequently manifests itself in whirlpools and other phenomena of turbulent water.

Finally, the way the neck of the rattle is carved suggests the kind of split-log trap that people always use to trap sea monsters. Thus the image on the belly is that of a trapped sea monster.

Contexts

1. Initiation ceremonies:

a. The relation of the rattle to the context in which it was used, initiation ceremonies, is most explicit. The reclining figure motif is an image of a guardian spirit encounter. The rest of the rattle places the initiate motif within the context of the whole natural and spirit world. The various figures with whom the reclining figure is in union not only identify specific powers but can also stand for

general intermediaries between realms. As an image, then, the rattle is relevant to any initiation ceremony, be it a Tsimshian chief's throwing dance or Haida secret society initiations (unfortunately key details of the Tlingit chief's dance are not known).

b. If I have interpreted it correctly, the head of the reclining figure is between the cleft neck of the Raven's head, hence the image is that of the initiate in a dangerous (to himself and others) marginal state being held in check. Some photographs of chiefs holding raven rattles show the rattle being held belly-side-up. The creature on the belly is a transformed creature, a supernatural, and is also associated with darkness. Initiation ceremonies generally take place at night, the time when supernaturals go abroad, and are concerned with transformations and reversals. Holding the rattle belly side up, then, could be a symbolic gesture indicating that the supernatural is in ascendancy, and daylight and ordinary time is underneath.

2. Chiefs:

a. The belly of the rattle is a transformation of the chief. Just as the marvelous Gonakade't is a source of wealth, so is the chief. Anyone who has a sea monster skin can become one himself and thereby gain access to the wealth that is under the sea.

1. The generalized design of the Chilkat blanket, like that on the carved and painted chests can be interpreted as the Gonakade't. They both originate with the Gonakade't according to myth traditions anyway. In this sense just like the aboriginal creatures who became animals when they put on their respective skins, when one puts on his blanket he becomes the Gonakade't, or his manifestation in one of his many forms.

b. The chief when he puts on his ceremonial costume becomes a supernatural creature (see fn. 1, above). The carved frontlet mask on the headdress could be interpreted as the particular chief's spirit helper. Garfield has suggested that the tail-face on the rattle represents the plaques on the chief's headdress, the frontlet mask or am-hallait. Elsewhere I have suggested that the tail-face on the rattle can be "read" as the spirit intermediary of the creature on the belly of the rattle. Thus the frontlet mask stands in the same relationship to the chief as a transformed wealth monster (transformed by putting on his Chilkat blanket) as the tail-face on the rattle stands to the sea monster on the belly.

c. A chief holding a raven rattle (belly side up) is holding a sea monster in a trap. That is, the Raven's neck is one end of the trap and the handle of the rattle is the other. A person who has a sea monster (skin or power) has access to wealth, and therefore is wealthy. The chief is a potlatch-giver.

d. The chief is also one who has control of supernatural power, with which he inspires others. (Sometimes he also "cures" the initiate as the end of the ceremony.)

i) The rattle itself is an implement in the control of the supernatural. This is the general context of rattle use among Northwest Coast groups.

ii) In several ways the rattle expressed the control of the supernatural (the sea monster in a trap) and of a person in a marginal

state (the initiate in the trap).

iii) The images on the rattle as a whole add up to a hierophany and cosmography (to use Eliade's terms) ² of the different kinds of power in the universe. In this, the reclining figure motif is an image of the itinerary by which people on the Northwest Coast tapped these powers -- the guardian spirit quest. In this sense the chief's raven rattle is analogous to the "orb" carried by the Holy Roman emperors, which is a very simple symbol of the world surmounted by a cross, a hierophany signifying "christian dominion over the world" (Whittick 1960: 230), the emperor being the intermediary between the sacred order (the church) and the secular state. The raven rattle is a symbol of the Northwest Coast cosmos in which the chief had pre-eminence as a technician of the sacred, i.e., as an initiator.

iv) The chief is enlightened, one to whom the Raven has brought daylight, someone who has been inspired and is now in a position to inspire (initiate) others. The initiate is one becoming enlightened. The uninitiated (in Haida society) are referred to as having dark faces, or blocked-up minds.

2. Eliade (1964: 145) uses the terms in explicating the significance of a shaman's costume: "The shaman's costume itself constitutes a religious hierophany and cosmography: it discloses not only a sacred presence but also cosmic symbols and metapsychic itineraries. Properly studied, it reveals the system of shamanism as clearly as do the shamanic myths and techniques." Here, Eliade might just as well be describing the raven rattle. Also it suggests another worthwhile problem in the analysis of Northwest Coast symbolism: a comparison between the chief's costume and the shaman's costume.

3. Themes associated with the image of Raven and daylight relate to the above contexts in the following way:

a. The theme of enlightenment: the chief is enlightened and the initiate, carried on the back of the raven (and on the back of the sea-monster chief) is being enlightened (see iv), above).

b. The theme of cosmic reversal and the beginning of order: in terms of the guardian spirit quest, the origin of daylight marked the end of a time when animals and humans were freely intertransformable, when the world was full of darkness, chaos, and amorphous creatures (e.g., ghosts), and supernaturals, and the beginning of ordinary time and differentiated, ordered species. The guardian spirit quest is the means by which a person re-establishes unity with the animal and the supernatural (transforms), and taps the power that lies in crossing boundary lines and bridging distinctions. As Mary Douglas has suggested, "ritual recognizes the potency of disorder" (1966) and defines order by dwelling on its opposite. Hence initiation ceremonies include dramatized transformations, reversals such as destructive and anti-social behaviour, people saying one thing by speaking its opposite, etc.

The origin of daylight also marks the beginning of the social order, of reciprocity, and of rank. The initiation ceremony, although dramatizing themes of transformation and reversal marks the assumption of a new status, a new ordered position in society. The potlatch or feast that of necessity followed to validate that assumption, is the medium of reciprocity and of establishing rank. Both potlatch and initiation ceremony are part of the means by which people "agree on a

view of what the relevant social structure is like" (Douglas, op. cit., p. 121-2). So this is the order that began at the time when Raven liberated daylight.

4. Finally, the raven rattle is an object carried by Northwest Coast chiefs when they acted in a special capacity, and as a symbol underlines the basis of their authority. If the origin of daylight and the exploits of Raven mark the beginning of the social order, chiefs in Northwest Coast societies were key in maintaining that order. Not only were they potlatch-givers, but they were also initiators. Tsimshian chiefs performed a "throwing dance" that was the prerequisite for a person's being initiated within his own lineage traditions, and Haida chiefs initiated people into the "secret societies". On the Northwest Coast chiefs were, to use Mary Douglas' phrase, "power in forms". That is, they exerted power on behalf of the order of society.

. . . where the social system explicitly recognizes positions of authority, those holding such positions are endowed with explicit spiritual power, controlled, conscious, external and approved -- powers to bless or curse (Mary Douglas 1966: 120).

Thus the Tsimshian, who seem to have led the Coast in the development of tribal chiefdoms (Nootka excepted), called their chiefs by two names: wihalait, "Great Dancer", as well as "chief", semoiget. It was in the capacity of wituhalait that chiefs were called by supernatural names and threw power into initiates. And it was in this latter capacity of generalized pre-eminence in the control and use of supernatural power that chiefs in all three northern Northwest Coast groups wore their ceremonial costume and carried the raven rattle.

The raven rattle was the voice which summoned the supernatural and through which the supernatural spoke, and the images on the rattle identified the context. The context was the world (cosmos, universe) and the sources and transformations of power therein. As both a religious symbol and an emblem of office, the rattle identifies assumptions underlining the guardian spirit quest on the Northwest Coast and the authority of chiefs in the dynamics of the social order.

To face page 184

Figure 1. Raven Rattle. (American Museum of Natural History 16-288, photograph courtesy of Wilson Duff)

Figure 2. Raven Rattle. Tsimshian. (National Museum of Canada VII-C-1799, photograph courtesy of Marjorie Halpin)

Figure 3. Raven Rattle. Tsimshian. (National Museum of Canada VII-C-14, photograph courtesy of Marjorie Halpin)



Figure 1

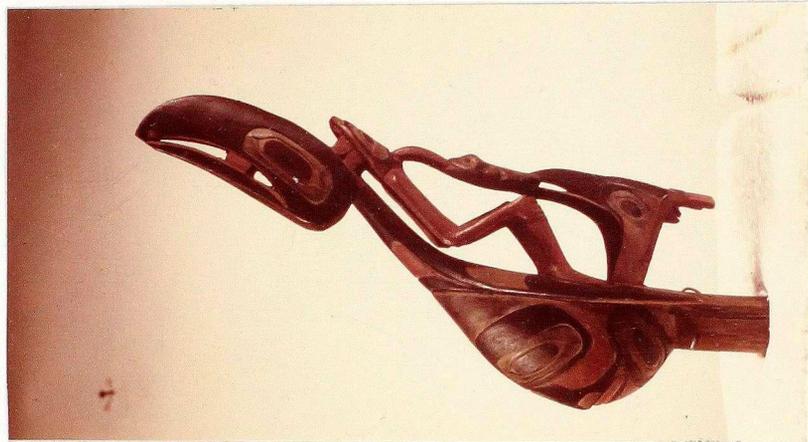


Figure 2



Figure 3

To face page 185

- Figure 4. Raven Rattle (ventral side). Tlingit. (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum 2823, photograph by J. Gould)
- Figure 5. Raven Rattle. Tsimshian. (National Museum of Canada VII-C-14, photograph courtesy of Marjorie Halpin)
- Figure 6. Raven Rattle (detail). (B.C. Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology 96-2, photograph courtesy of Wilson Duff)



Figure 4



Figure 5

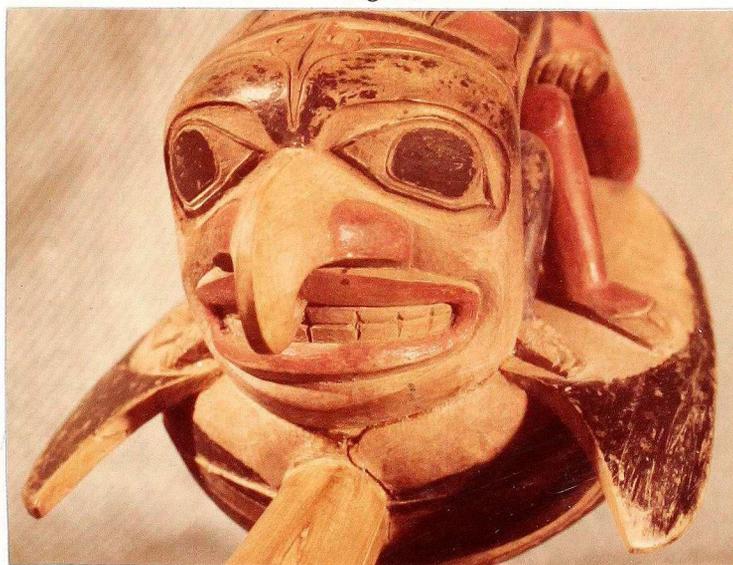


Figure 6

To face page 186

Figure 7. "General Type of Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit Chief's Costume" (from Niblack 1890: Plate IX).

Figure 8. Chiefs Coudahwot and Yehlh-gouhu of the Con-nuh-ta-di, Tlingit (from Emmons 1916: Fig. 1).

Figure 9. Chief Minaman or "Yen-aht-setl", Tlingit. Photographed in 1886 (from DeLaguna 1972: Plate 62, p. 979).



Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9

To face page 187

Figure 10. Members of the Nanyaayi Family,
Stikine Tlingit, in Ceremonial Dress
(from Emmons, The Art of the North-
west Coast Indians, 1971).

Figure 11. "Chilkat Men Dressed in Ceremonial
Potlatch Helmets and Blankets"
(from Krieger 1927: plate 2).

Figure 12. Chilkat-Tlingit Dancers (from Wherry
1964: 123).



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

To face page 188

Figure 13. "Tlingit Spirit Doctor" or Shaman
(from Andrews 1960: 97).

Figure 14. "Tlingit Healer" or Shaman (from
Andrews 1960: 104-5).

Figure 15. Tlingit Shaman's "Oyster Catcher"
Rattle (University Museum, University
of Pennsylvania, NA 4972, photograph
courtesy of Wilson Duff).



Figure 13



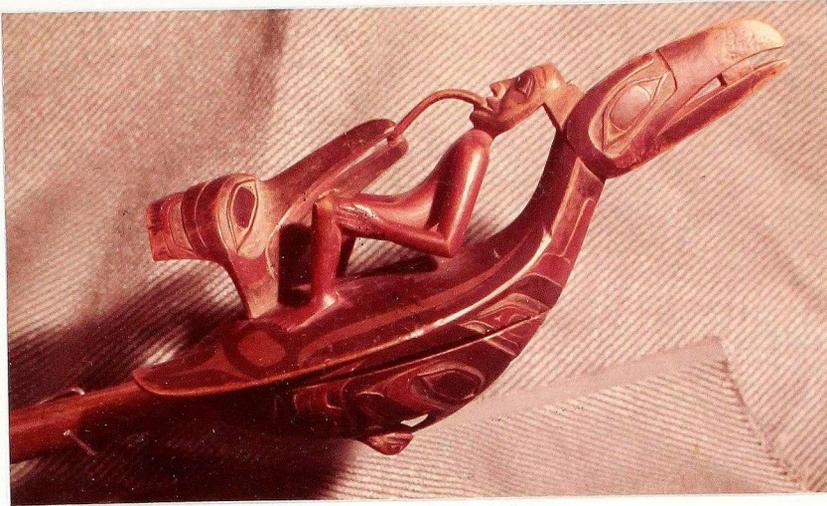
Figure 14



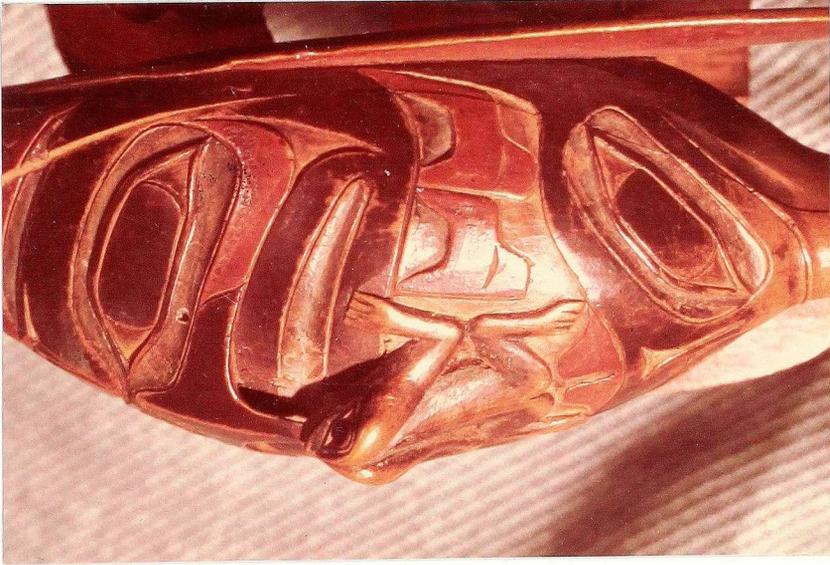
Figure 15

To face page 189

- Figure 16:
- a. Raven Rattle. Tlingit. (American Museum of Natural History 19-803, photograph courtesy of Wilson Duff).
 - b. Same (ventral side).



a



b

Figure 16

To face page 190

- Figure 17. Carved Tlingit Dish Made of Horn
(from Boas 1927: Fig. 168, p. 191).
- Figure 18. Tlingit "Hawk" Mask, identified by
Shotridge as representing the "Lord
of Hawks" (University Museum, Uni-
versity of Pennsylvania NA 10832;
in Wardwell 1964: Fig. 69, and notes).
- Figure 19. Tlingit "Barbecuing Raven Helmet"
(from Shotridge 1919b: plate 1).
- Figure 20. Haida Helmet Representing "Raven
. . . standing on the back of a
sculpin; a hawk head . . . on the
tail" (Montreal Museum of Fine
Arts 46.AB.3; from Wardwell 1964:
Fig. 36, and notes).

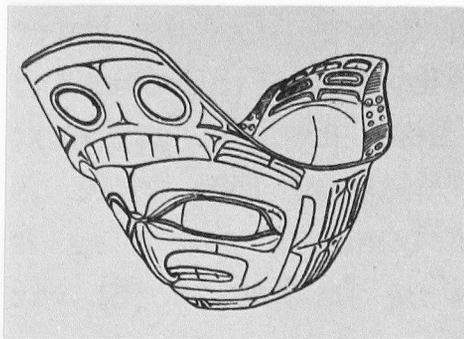


Figure 17

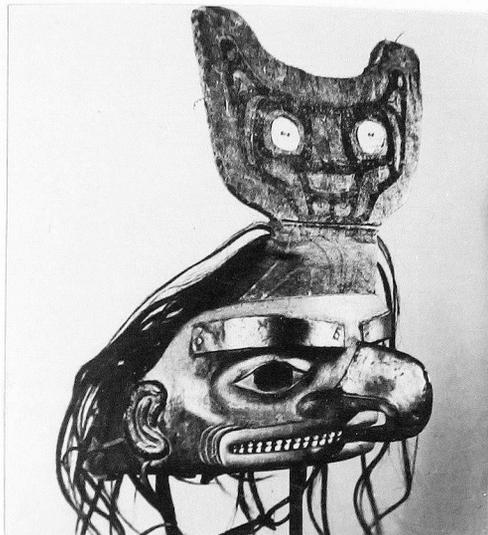


Figure 18



Figure 19

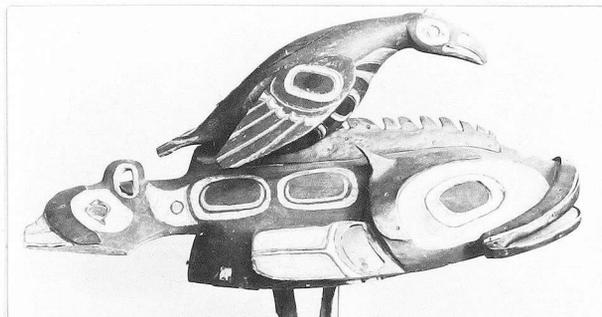


Figure 20

To face page 191

Figure 21. "A Naas Chief in Ceremonial Dress"
(from Shotridge 1919a: Fig. 21,
p. 59).

Figure 22. "Kitwancool Chiefs in Costume, 1910"
(from Duff 1959: plate 7, p. 39).

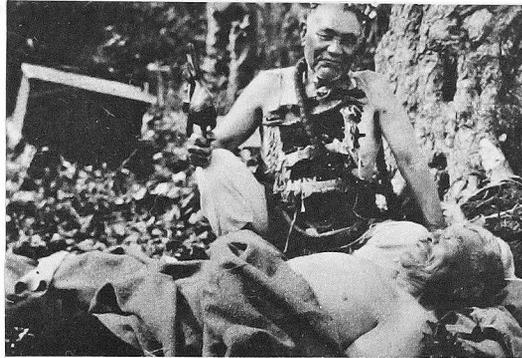
Figure 23. "Gitiks~~e~~ or Tralarhaet . . . Niska
Chief of the Eagle Clan on the lower
Naas River . . . performing a medicine
ritual for the benefit of the camera,
in 1927" (from Barbeau 1958:
Figs. 46, 47, p. 43; and notes p. 56).



Figure 21



Figure 22



46. Gitiks, Niskæ; his patient Wirhæ.



Figure 23

To face page 192

Figure 24. A Haida Sub-chief in Full Dress
(from Collison 1919: 136).

Figure 25. A Haida Dancing Party (from
Harrison 1925: facing p. 66).

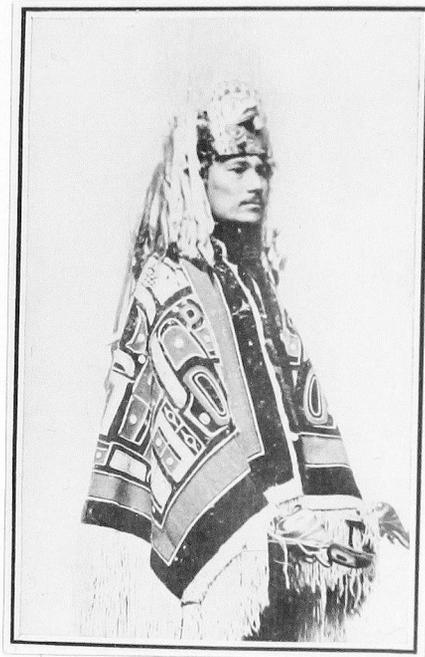


Figure 24



Figure 25

To face page 193

- Figure 26. Raven Rattle, identified as a "Shaman's Rattle" (from Curtis 1915, vol. 11: 138).
- Figure 27. Drawing of a Haida "Medicine Man", or Shaman (from Barbeau 1958: Fig. 38).
- Figure 28. "Haida drawing representing the story of a young man who caught a sea monster" (from Boas 1927: Fig. 135, and note).

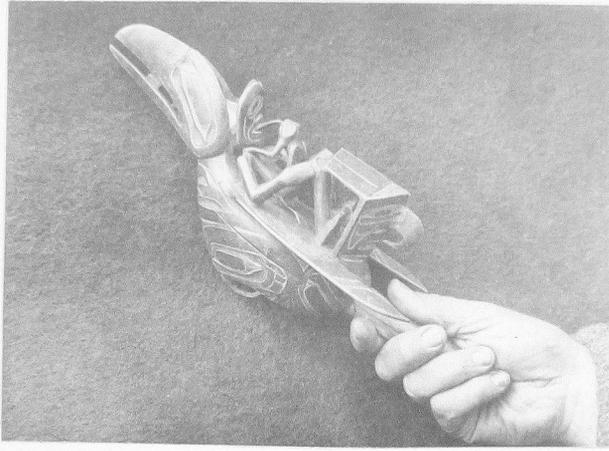


Figure 26

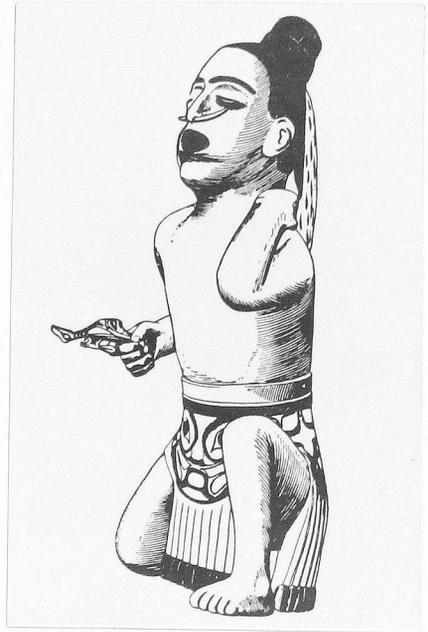


Figure 27



Figure 28

To face page 194

- Figure 29. Haida Tattooing Representing the Sea-monster, Ts'um'a'ks (from Boas 1927: Fig. 239, p. 233).
- Figure 30. "A carved dish in the form of the Raven holding the sun in his beak" (from Barbeau 1952: Fig. 142, p. 176).
- Figure 31. A section of the Raven Screen of the Tlingit (from Holm 1965: Fig. 1, p. vi).

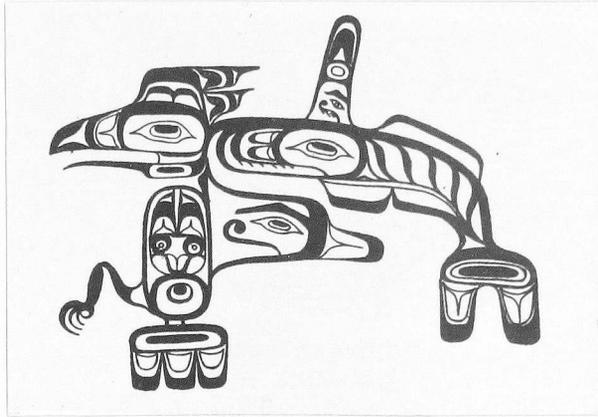


Figure 29

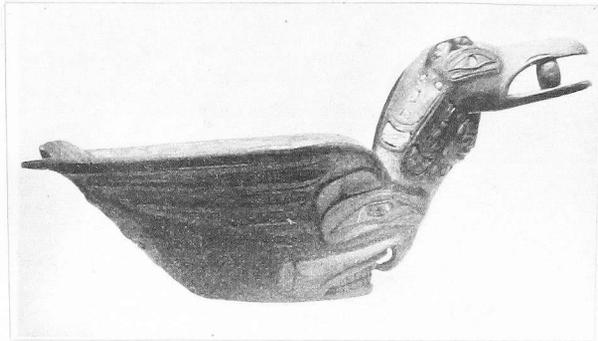


Figure 30



Figure 31

To face page 195

- Figure 32. Haida House Post, Representing Thunderbird with a Whale in its Talons (bottom) (from Swanton 1905a: Fig. 9, p. 129).
- Figure 33. Chief Gold's House, photographed by Maynard, ca. 1885 (from Wardwell 1964: 10). The gable carving represents the moon (see Duff 1970).
- Figure 34. A Carved Haida Box, showing "the moon represented like a bird" (from Swanton 1905a: Fig. 12a, p. 132).



Fig. 9.

Figure 32

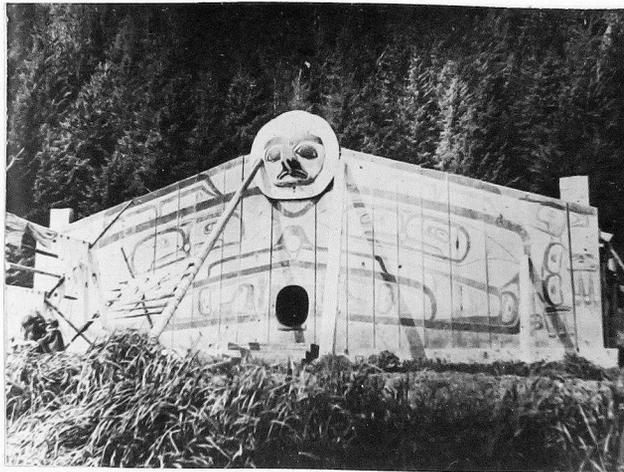


Figure 33



Figure 34

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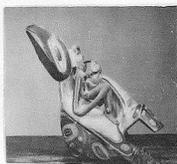
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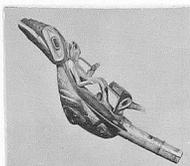
APPENDIX

Presented below is a partial list of the total number of raven rattles that have been collected on the Northwest Coast that can be found in museums and in publications. Included also are dates of collection, provenance, and interpretive documentation that was available as data for analysis in this thesis. Underlined numbers indicate museum catalogue numbers and "(see . . .)" indicates a published photograph of the rattle. Explanation of abbreviations and photograph credits are listed at the end of the Appendix.

TLINGIT



1. #238-4. Lisiansky Collection. Tlingit. Collected 1804 by Baranof. (See Siebert and Forman 1967: Figs. 59, 60).



2. #620-20. Voznesensky Collection. Possibly Tlingit. Collected 1830-1845. (See Siebert and Forman 1967: Figs. 54, 55).

3. Cat. No. 10309. U.S.N.M. Tongass village. Collected by Lieut. F.W. Ring, U.S. Army. (See Niblack 1890: Fig. 290).

4. WSM 952. Stikine (Ft. Wrangell). Collected by Emmons. Emmons notes: "General dance rattle", "this type of rattle seems to have originated among the Tsimshian. . .", Fig-

TLINGIT (continued)

ures are identified as: "Raven", "human figure", "frog", "hawk" (Emmons).

(See Inverarity 1971: Fig. 119).

5. WSM 954. Wrangell, Stikine. Collected by Emmons.

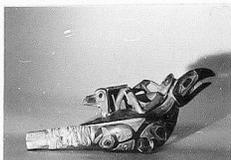


Emmons' notes: "general dance rattle . . . used upon general occasions." Figures identified as "Raven", "Hawk's head" on breast, "human figure" with tongue carved as "land otter", "frog", "kingfisher".

6. WSM 951. Sitka. Collected by Emmons.

Emmons' notes: "general dance rattle of wood, which is carried by either a man or a woman upon ceremonial occasions or at dances. The whole rattle is carved to represent a raven. On the back a human figure representing a dead man, reclines".

7. WSM 2823. Chilkat. Collected by Emmons. Identified as "chief's rattle", "ceremonial rattle".



8. AMNH 19-803. Sitka. Collected by Emmons.

Notes: "Chief's wooden dance rattle - the rattle represents a crow, on the back is a dead man with protruding tongue in the bill of a kingfisher, and on the lower side an owl with frog getting secrets from it."

9. AMNH E/421. Collected by Emmons before 1888, from shaman's grave.



"Emmons commented that this type of rattle is usually owned by a chief, and that only two or three have been found in shaman's graves" (DeLaguna 1972: 699).

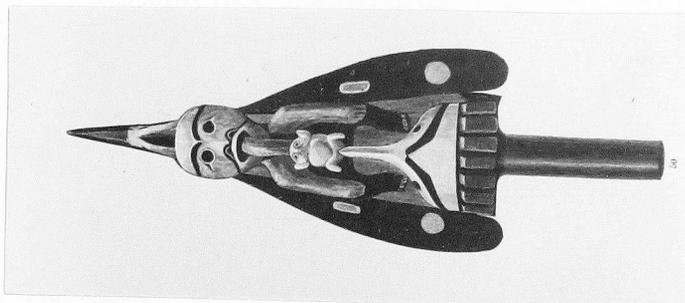
(See DeLaguna 1972: 1107, Pl. 187).

HAIDA

10. In Dawson 1880, pl. VI.

"Rattle apparently used only by persons of some distinction" (Dawson 1880: 1388).

- 11.



Dall 1081-2: Pl. XXII, Fig. 50.

"Shamanic rattle used by the Haida, from a specimen obtained from J.G. Swan at Port Twonsend, W.T., from a Queen Charlotte Island Haida, showing the shaman, frog, and kingfisher with continuous tongues" (Dall 1881 - 2: Notes to Fig. 50, Pl. XXII).

12. Cat. No. 89085, U.S.N.M. Queen Charlotte Islands. Collected by James G. Swan. (See Niblack 1890: Fig. 286, Pl. LIII).



Notes: "According to Judge Swan, the carving represents the sparrow-hawk, the bird itself representing Hooyeh, the raven . . . The figure on the back is Oolalla, or Kaka-tete, the whistling demon" (Niblack 1890: 342).

13. Cat. No. 89078, U.S.N.M. Queen Charlotte Islands. Collected by James G. Swan. (See Niblack 1890: Fig. 288).

Notes: same as above, except: "the tail of the raven is carved to represent a bird's head, carrying in its beak a frog. The frog is supposed to possess a subtle poison in its head, which, when sucked out, enables a medicine man to work bad spells" (ibid.).

HAIDA (continued)

15. UBC A7058. Queen Charlotte Islands. Collected by Rev. W.E. Collison.

(See Hawthorn 1967: Fig. 31).

16. In Curtis 1915, Vol. 11: 138. Identified as "a shaman's rattle".

17. PAM 48.3.705. Queen Charlotte Islands. Purchased in 1930. (See Gunther 1966: Fig. 274).

Notes: "A so-called 'chief's rattle' of carved wood representing a raven with a curved beak. On the raven's back is a shaman sharing some object or his protruding tongue with a kingfisher" (Gunther 1966: notes to Fig. 274).

- 18.



NMC VII-B-28. Haida.

Collected by Mackenzie-Tolmie in 1884.

HAIDA (continued)

Museum notes: "Dance rattle of wood, carved in form of a raven; on its back lying human figure faces a Thunderbird [sic], their tongues connected; on the bottom . . . carved Thunderbird(?)," "Siss-ah" written on underside of wing.

19.



PM 96-2. Haida.

20.

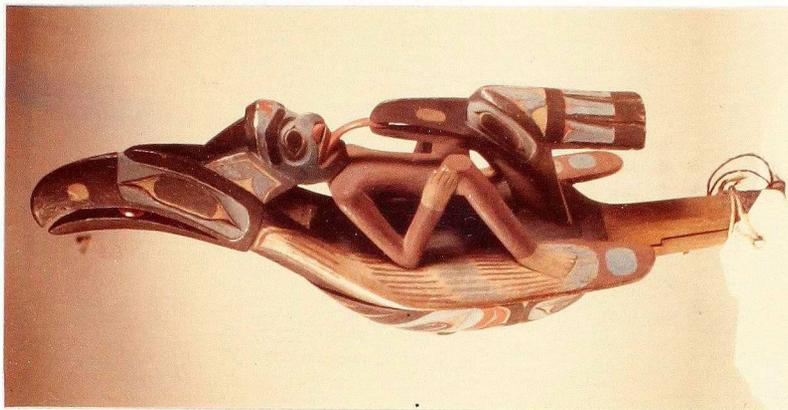


NMC-VII-B-30 (1283). Haida

Collected by Mackenzie-Tolmie in 1884.

HAIDA (continued)

21.



NMC-VII-B-1123. Haida

TSIMSHIAN

22. PM 4116. Port Simpson (lower Skeena). Collected by Tolmie ca. 1852.

Identified as a "chief's rattle".

23. UBC A6795. Prince Rupert (lower Skeena).

Notes: "over 100 years old . . . item known to have belonged to three generations of the Simon Brown family."

(See Hawthorn 1967: Fig. 31).

24. UBC A6796. Prince Rupert (lower Skeena).

Notes: "over 100 years old."

(See Hawthorn 1967: Fig. 31).

25. ROM HN-614. Gitksan. (Purchased 1924).

Made by William Gaga, "about ten years ago".

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

26. ROM HN-642. Gitksan.

27. ROM HN-747 (120). Gitkaxdamks (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1927.

Notes: carved by Sqatin (Wolf phratry). "Saso is the name of the bird represented. It was a spirit of the sea which they first heard and then saw emerge out of the sea, long ago. It appeared in exactly this shape in which it is represented."

28. ROM HN-748 (176). Gitlaxdamks (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1927.

Notes: "A chief's rattle. The carving does not represent the crest of any given family, but a monster bird of the sea that was seen long ago. Any chief may use it." "Carved by paEt'nExt . . . who died over 60 years ago . . . he carved many such rattles in his lifetime to sell to other chiefs."

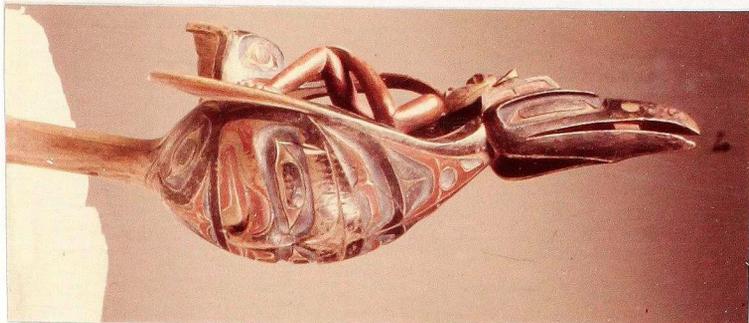
29. ROM HN-903 (929.21.41) Nass River (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1929.



30. ROM HN-904 (929.21.42) Nass River (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1929.

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

31.



NMC-VII-C-12 (323). Tsimshian. Collected by I.W. Powell in 1897.



TSIMSHIAN (continued)

32.

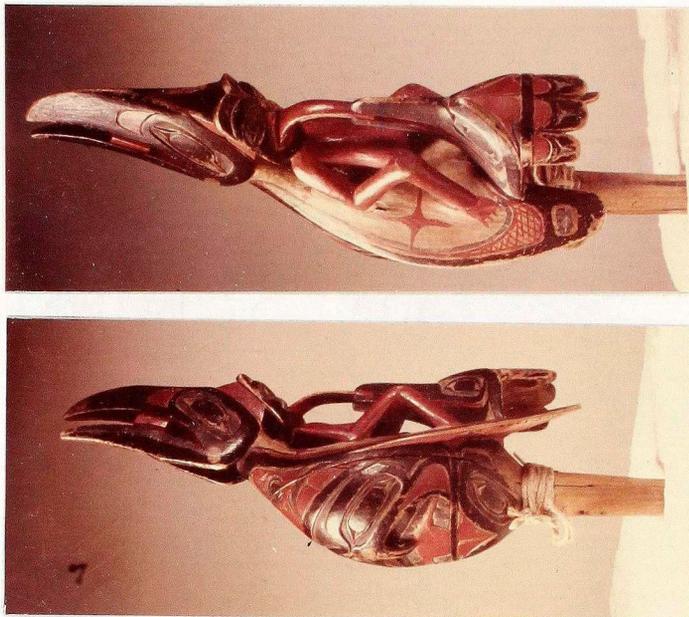


NMC-VII-C-15 (180). Tsimshian. Collected by I.W. Powell in 1897.

33. NMC-VII-C-157 (7). An'gid'ah village (Niska).
Collected by W.A. Newcombe in 1905.

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

34.



NMC-VII-1394. Angede (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1927.

Notes: a "chief's rattle" (hasem semallait). "This particular rattle here came from the Wudste (Bella Bella), and may have been carved there. Histsuit, a brother of Bolton, a Nisgae (of the Eagle phratry) bought it at Victoria from a Wudste man, over 35 years ago But it may have been carved by a Nisgae, as these usually were, and then traded off to a Bella Bella."

35. NMC-VII-1425. Gitlaxdamks (Niska). Collected by Barbeau, 1927.

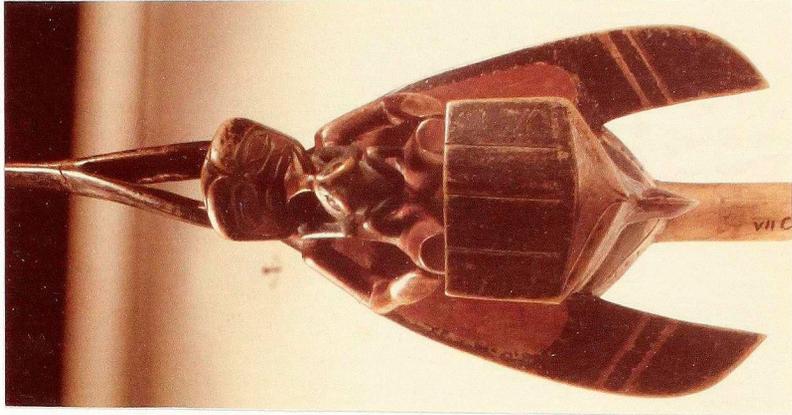


Notes: "carved by old Sqatin . . . who died about 20 years ago . . . carved many rattles in his lifetime, to sell them in the usual way to other (and foreign) chiefs . . . (rattle) left unfinished at Gitlaxdamks at the time when he became a convert and moved down to Kincolith about 30 years ago."

"Saso is the name of the bird. It was seen long ago with the little man on its back."

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

36.



NMC-VII-C-1749. Niska. Collected by Lord Bossom ca. 1900-10.

Notes: a "chief's rattle of wood carried in the general winter dances. The rattle, as a whole is carved as a raven. The turned up tail and breast show hawk's heads. On the back is reclining figure with the tongue in the mouth of a frog."

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

37.

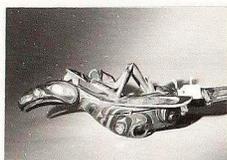


NMC-VII-C-1799 (Ts-91). Metlakatla. Collected by Lord Bossom ca. 1900-10.

Notes: "said to have belonged to an old Tsimshian chief".

38. NMC-VII-C-1788 (Ts-81). Aiyanch, Nass River. Collected by Lord Bossom ca. 1900.

39. WSM 1434 (543). Tsimshian. Collected by Emmons, 1909-39.



Emmons' notes: "ceremonial rattle of wood, from the West Coast, believed to have come from the Tsimshian Peninsula. The body of the rattle is carved to represent an eagle, on the breast is a hawk, on the back is a human figure reclining with the tongue in the mouth of the frog."

40. PAM 48.3.720. Gwinaha. (Niska).

(See Gunther 1966: Fig. 275).

Notes: "A chief's rattle in the form of a raven with a hawk on its breast and a shaman and a frog on its back. The shaman is shown with his tongue stretching out to reach the frog from which he is supposed to be getting poison" (Gunther 1966: notes to Fig. 275).

41. In Garfield 1955: 156. Niska.

Notes: carved by Brian Peel of the Niska at Aiyanih on the Nass River, Blackfish clan. Born in 1875. A "chief's rattle", raven with closed beak, spread wings, hawk's face on breast; "Supernatural being" with a mask-like head" resting on the raven's "ears"; "frog holding tongue"; "in front of the Being is a plaque with a hawk face on the front and the top bent back to rest on the Being's knees". (From Garfield, 1955).

TSIMSHIAN (continued)

42. MAI 1/4189. Gitlaxdamks (Niska). Collected by Emmons ca. 1907.
43. MAI 1/4190. Nass River. Collected by Emmons ca. 1907. Identified as "dance rattle".
44. MAI 1/4191. Aiyanih (Niska). Collected by Emmons ca. 1907. Identified as "child's dance rattle".
45. MAI 5/5041. Nass River. Collected by Emmons ca. 1916.
46. MAI 9/8003. Nass River. Collected by Emmons ca. 1920.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMNH (American Museum of Natural History); CMNH (Chicago Museum of Natural History); MAI (Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation); NMC (National Museum of Canada); PAM (Portland Art Museum); PM (B.C. Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology); ROM (Royal Ontario Museum); UBC (Museum of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia); USNM (United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution); WSM (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum).

CREDITS

Photographs in Appendix numbered: 1, 2, 5, 7, 29, 35, 39 - by J.G.; 18, 20, 21, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37 - courtesy of M. Halpin; Photographs 9, 11, 12, 16 - published in sources indicated; 19 courtesy of Wilson Duff.