

**TUTELO RITUALS
ON SIX NATIONS
RESERVE, ONTARIO**

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I

INTRODUCTION

On Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, the Iroquois have enriched their already impressive ceremonialism with three major rituals from the *dieho'ono* or Tutelo. They are the Four Nights Harvest Dance, the Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing, and the Spirit Adoption or Redressing Ceremony. An identification of the Tutelo should precede the description and evaluation of these rituals.

THE TUTELO AND THEIR MIGRATIONS

The Tutelo are a tribe of southern origin now resident among the Iroquois and intermarried with the longhouse people. Early historic references are vague and are complicated by nomenclature, from "Tutero" to "Yesang." However, historians have identified them as a vigorous tribe living in the Piedmont of present Virginia in 1608, near the related Saponi and Occaneechi tribes (Schaeffer in Speck 1942). During the seventeenth century they were in contact with adjoining Algonquians, especially with the Shawnee to the north and northwest and with several coastal tribes to the east. They had more superficial cultural interchange with

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the Siouan Catawba in the west, the Creek, and the Iroquoian Cherokee and Tuscarora around the south. In the north the Algonquian Susquehanna served as buffers against the menacing northern Iroquois until 1675. The contacts were variously friendly and hostile, never disastrous. (See maps in Hale 1883: 47 and Driver 1953, back pocket).

Archaeologists have reconstructed some of their culture and personality from ruined sites and artifacts (Griffin 1942, 1945, 1952; Coe 1952). Joffre Coe, a specialist in archaeology of the Piedmont, has made suggestions about the Tutelo in publication and in personal conversation. The Tutelo maintained an independent and conservative cultural pattern throughout the surrounding influences. They were evidently practical and straightforward people, judging by their well-shaped but utilitarian and plain artifacts.

They shared the maize economy and ritualism of the southern neighbors, but they relied on hunting more than the Creek and Cherokee, perhaps even more than the Shawnee (Voegelin 1941). Their ceremonies differed from the impressive communal festivals of the Creek and the prehistoric mound builders. This may burst a bubble (Speck 1942:80). But in 1701 Lederer found no longhouse or "State house." According to Coe, the village remains indicate no

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central plaza or temple and no mounds. They indicate individual burials under the earth floors of the homes. Thus, instead of suggesting large scale mortuary rites, they would allocate the memorial ceremonies to the home above the burial site, and would require repetition of the rite for every single member of the tribe. Yet these fairly intimate ceremonies were evidently impressive (Miller 1957:186).

The Tutelo were disturbed in their fine and prosperous location by the intrusion of White immigrants and ensuing turmoil. Mooney has traced their eighteenth century wanderings through Virginia and North Carolina, then through Pennsylvania (1894:37-53). They found refuge among their former enemies, the Cayuga, at the same time as the Tuscarora, namely, in 1753. While living in a separate village, they were adopted into the Cayuga Wolf clan. Despite the cultural disruption and even demoralization by White traders, the Tutelo maintained their ceremonies and their language.

After the Revolutionary War they moved to Canada with the Cayuga and other members of the League of the Iroquois. They established a separate settlement and held their ceremonies in a separate longhouse at present Tutelo Heights southwest of Brantford--a site now famous as the home of Alexander Graham Bell.

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The nineteenth century was evidently a period of ceremonial give-and-take, of intervisiting in longhouses, and of mutual borrowings of rituals and songs. After 1848 the Tutelo-Iroquois relations became even more closely knit. After two cholera epidemics, the Tutelo were so decimated that they abandoned their settlement and joined the Cayuga. Since that time they have intermarried with their neighbors, especially with Cayuga and Onondaga, and they have adopted individual Iroquois into the Tutelo tribe.

Yet their identity is recognized, and so is the identity of Tutelo rituals. The Tutelo chiefs have a place in the council of Iroquois chieftains, and gifted men play an eminent role in longhouse ceremonies. Members of certain families officiate and sing in domestic and public rituals, thus the late John, Peter and William Buck, the living George and Roy Buck, and Roy Buck's promising sons, Gordie and Morris. Reciprocally, they enlist the aid of Cayuga and Onondaga singers in their own ceremonies. Women participate in all events.

STUDIES OF THE TUTELO ON SIX NATIONS RESERVE

There has been no study of the Tutelo patterns of descent, intermarriage and adoption, though Speck mentions a few names (1942:3, 12, 37, 121). Studies of the language have been scarce

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and superficial and publications on the ceremonies even scarcer.

Horatio Hale became interested in the origin of the Tutelo. In 1883 he published a small vocabulary and concluded that they were of Siouan origin. Sapir (1913) and Frachtenberg (1913) maintained the theory of Siouan affiliations in their brief supplements to Hale's list. Miller (1957) was the first scholar to contradict them and to suggest Algonquian origin on the basis of historical records (Miller never visited Six Nations Reserve). Actually, the language was not as obsolescent as the linguists thought. In 1940 there were still a number of fluent speakers of the Tutelo language. Fred Williams, Susan Buck Claus and Cissy Buck Sandy conversed in their ancestral tongue, as did their niece, Ethel Buck Winnie. By 1952, when I worked with her on text translations, the aged Susan Claus had an incomplete memory of the language. And now Ethel Winnie and a few other Tutelo descendants remember only scattered terms. The question of Siouan or Algonquian linguistic affiliation cannot be solved by ceremonial analysis, because culture contacts strongly affect artistic styles. However, the surviving texts are tantalizing. Even in their partial translations they reflect ideology.

The linguists did not concern themselves with the songs. David Boyle published the first, brief mention of Tutelo rituals.

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He described Four Nights Harvest Dance as "really a series of dances, for the music and steps changed frequently" (1900:119). Alexander Cringan recorded and published eight songs from this ritual (1900:179 ff.). Later he obtained and transcribed a "Tutelo Burial Song" and some Spirit Adoption Songs (1903:139, 141).

Frank Speck became interested in these ceremonies thirty years later. He discussed them in 1935 and gave a sympathetic account of an observed Spirit Adoption Ceremony in 1942. In this work, George Herzog published transcriptions and analyses of Four Nights Harvest Dance, some Spirit Adoption songs and a miscellany from recordings by Frank Staniford Speck, son of the anthropologist. Though Herzog never visited Six Nations Reserve, he showed a keen perception of the musical forms. Speck did not commission any choreographies, but he provided ground plans of the procedures.

My interest in Tutelo ceremonies has extended, intermittently, over thirty years. I participated in the Four Nights Harvest Dance, which is for women, at the minor Green Corn Festival at Onondaga Longhouse in August 1949. I first obtained recordings in 1952 with a tape machine and battery converter. In 1964, thanks to the interest of Dr. Carmen Roy, I completed the collection with a transistor recorder.¹

PART I

THREE GREAT CEREMONIES

FOUR NIGHTS HARVEST DANCE

The Four Nights Harvest Dance is known by its Onondaga-Cayuga name, *ge'iniwaśondáge*. Its performance may follow the spring Seed Festival, when it invokes future luck with crops; or it may conclude the dancing at the August Little Green Corn or September Big Corn Festival, when it serves to give thanks for a harvest to the Three Life-Giving supernatural sisters. Lately its appearance has been sporadic and has depended on the presence of male and female leaders who were familiar with the songs and movements.

At Onondaga Longhouse the arrangement of participants follows the plan shown in figure 1.0. At Lower Cayuga Longhouse the ground plan is probably similar, but I have not witnessed the dance there because of the prohibition on White visitors. In the center of the floor are two benches for the nuclear musicians, six men. They sit face to face, the leader with an Iroquoian water drum, the helpers with horn rattles. They sing a prelude alone. Then the women singer-dancers begin

Three Great Ceremonies

to circle around the benches in a counterclockwise direction, first the three or four costumed leaders, then gradually a waxing file of women and girls. By the middle of the ceremony some thirty females may have joined the dance. The spectators are seated on benches around the walls, in the "summer arrangement" of moieties and sexes (Kurath 1968, fig. 2).

The women do all the dancing. They join the singing during designated sections of the ceremony; that is, the leaders and a few helpers sing, while all women dance. The leaders in 1949 were Anna Green, Mrs. Charlie Jamieson and Mrs. Roy Fish, matrons of Onondaga Longhouse. The late Lydia Winnie used to be the head leader. In the songs for joint singing they enter in the manner common to several Iroquois women's rites. First the men sing the song once. Then, during the song repeat, the women and men sing the first phrase together and the women sing the second, longer phrase alone. Meanwhile, they continue their dancing.

Though the ceremony has shrunk from four night's duration to one hour, it is still an extensive dance, with forty songs in eight distinct parts. The songs transcribed in figures 1.0 to 1.10 were recorded in 1952. The sections, their participants, and actions are as follows:

Four Nights Harvest Dance

Section I. Six introductory songs (Songs 1-6) by men, without dancing (fig. 1.1). They accompany the first song of invocation with a percussion tremolo. Thereafter they use a duple beat with accents on odd counts.

Section II. Eleven songs (Songs 7-17) by men and women, with dancing (figs 1.2, 1.3). The women use a step which I call the "Tutelo step," for it differs from any typical Iroquois step. It is a forward step and a heel-brush with the free foot.

Section III. Four songs (Songs 18-21) by men and women (fig. 1.4). They have the same tune and different words. The women continue the Tutelo step and mime stages of corn preparation in time with the step and percussion. With the upper arms held close to the chest they symbolize four kinds of actions with the lower arms, sharply and precisely:

Song 18. Husking corn--left hand in front of waist, closed, palm towards the body; right hand moves down obliquely right about twelve inches during the step, it moves to the left hand during the brush.

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Song 19. Pounding corn--clasped hands close together in front of waist, move vertically down during step and up during brush.

Song 20. Winnowing corn--clasped hands close together in front of waist, twist alternately right and left in rhythm.

Song 21. Making cornbread--left hand held with flat palm upward, right palm rubs left in flat, clockwise circles.

Section IV. Four songs (Songs 22-25) by men (fig. 1.5). The women execute a side shuffle. They face towards the center, slide the right foot right, then slide the left foot to join the right. They step on the strong accent of the double percussion beat and slightly flex the knee on the weak beat.

Section V. Five songs (Songs 26-30) by men (fig. 1.6). The first four songs have the same tune and different words. The accompanying dance has the following form:

A. Saunter ahead during a percussion tremolo.

B. Shuffle to the right with the *enskanye* step during a double beat. Facing the center, both heels twist to the right and slide right; both toes twist to the right, gliding right.

Four Nights Harvest Dance

In time with the percussion double beat, the heel twist is strongly accented. This brisk step recurs in many Iroquois women's dances.

Song 29 adds a third, repetitious section, thus:

A. Saunter.

B. *Enskanye*.

C. Run backwards with tiny steps, each woman holding on to the waist of the dancer in front of her.

This is the climax of the first half of the ceremony and marks the middle. A sixth song in this section (Song 30) serves as a transition to the second half, with singing by men and Tutelo step by women.

Section VI. One long song, repeated (Song 31), by men and women (fig. 1.7). During a tremolo the women mime a strawberry search. Their stride resembles the Tutelo step, but is much longer. For the duration of a halfnote they step forward obliquely left almost a yard; meanwhile they bend forward and lightly brush the left hand outwards near the ground, as if brushing away the leaves of strawberry plants. Then, for the duration of a

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quarternote, they bring up the right foot and touch the halftoe next to the left foot. Then they reverse the action to the right, always in triple timing, 1 (2) 3, etc.

Section VII. Five songs (Songs 32-36) by men and women (fig. 1.8). After the slow, sustained mime, the women revert to the staccato Tutelo step, during duple beats and complex melodies. They end with a brief *enskanye*.

Section VIII. Four songs (Songs 37-40) by men (figs. 1.9, 1.10). Each song contains two halves, the first half rapid, the second part still faster, both parts with repetitious tunes. Then each song is repeated, with these actions:

A. During a tremolo, saunter and pair up. Odd women (1, 3, etc.) face about so as to partner with the even women (2, 4, etc.).

B. To a fast duple beat, *enskanye* face-to-face.

A. During a duple beat with alternate accents, change places.

B. To the duple beat, *enskanye*.

Four Nights Harvest Dance

During the next song the women change back into the original position. During Song 39 they change places. During Song 40 they *enskanye*, in a brisk, final climax.

Throughout the cycle the men terminate each song with a double call on two high notes, one gliding down, the second gliding up. The singers conclude the last song with a whoop, "Yuhup."

Figures 1.1 to 1.10 show the melodies and choreographies. At the start of each major phase, personal symbols indicate whether the singers are men or men and women. The choreographies follow the system outlined in Kurath 1968, chapter 4. The steps are immediately above or below the corresponding musical beats, and the ground plans are adjacent. The song texts appear below the music, but without translations.

The paraphrases, which I obtained from Susan Buck Claus during two interviews, appear at the end of this chapter. The translations are not exact, because the singers do not understand the Tutelo words and they have garbled them. Secondly, Mrs. Claus, an invalid, heard the words imperfectly when I played them on the tape recorder. Thirdly, she knew little English, and gave the paraphrases in Cayuga. Richard Buck and Anna Green helped by translating the Cayuga into English. Despite these complications, the tests reveal horticultural ideas.

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PARAPHRASES OF SONG TEXTS

Section I (fig. 1.1)

1. (They are praying) because it is seeding time.
2. Same
3. (They are hoping for) good crops.
4. They are hoeing at their gardens.
5. ? (Burden syllables or not understood).
6. ?

Section II (figs. 1.2, 1.3)

7. They are going to start dancing.
8. ?
9. Have plenty of crops.
10. Good corn.
11. ?
12. ?
13. Be happy.
14. Grandmother is working in the garden.
15. She is looking at her garden.
16. We are walking around.
17. ?

Four Nights Harvest Dance

Section III (fig. 1.4)

18. Good corn.
19. Corn soup.
20. Plenty of corn.
21. Corn bread.

Section IV (fig. 1.5)

22. (It's time to plant) seeds.
23. Give thanks.
24. Pick up corn.
25. Good.

Section V (fig. 1.6)

26. 27. 28. ?
29. Dance backwards.
30. ?

Section VI (fig. 1.7)

31. Picking strawberries. Ripe now.

Section VII (Fig. 1.8)

32. 33. 34. ?
35. We are walking.
36. Plenty corn.

Section VIII (figs. 1.9, 1.10)

37. ?

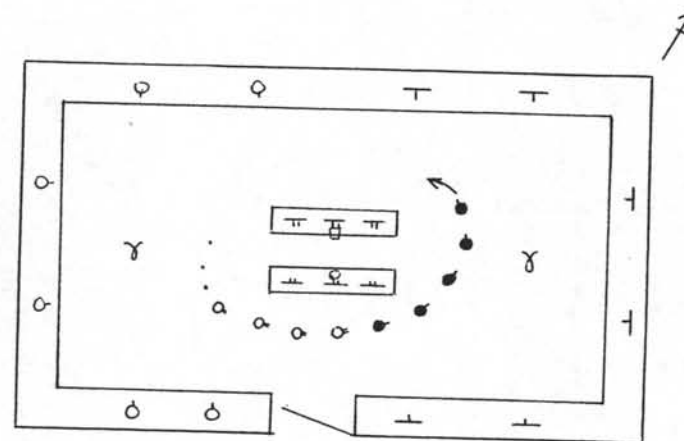
38. We must go home.

39. Right now.









40. Plants.

As frequently in Iroquois and other Indian poetry, each song has one or two key words, sometimes without grammar, sometimes in complete sentences. Sometimes Mrs. Claus supplied the explanatory sentence in addition to the key words. Some Iroquois words may have crept in, as *wiyo* for "good."

Fig. 1.0 Harvest Dance: Ground Plan (Onondaga Longhouse)



Symbols

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
|  | Song leader with drum |
|  | Song helper with rattle |
|  | Singer |
|  | Female song and dance leader |
|  | Female dancer |
|  | Male spectator |
|  | Female spectator |
|  | Fire |

1. $\text{♩} = 84$

Fig. 1.1 Harvest Dance: Songs 1-6

1. $\text{♩} = 84$

yowe danine howe danine

2. yowe danine yo - ho

yowe danine

3. hayona yo he he

ABBAB

4. jiwade ho - jiwade ho ne yone di jiwade ho

5. yone hanewayo yuwine hawayo yuwine

6. hena ho kogine ho hene jigi

wine goyo jigi koginaho

yo ho

Fig. 1.2 Harvest Dance: Songs 7-11

7. $\text{♩} = 88$

hagi no'o goyane

8. wine gyo gine gyno'o goya ne

9. yohawine hene yohawine he's ho'o hene hohawine

10. 11. yowigo hene yowiyake he ho yowiyake

Fig. 1.3 Harvest Dance: Songs 12-17

12. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

wi da he yawine goya yawine goya wi da he

13. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

14. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

yawine ne ho ge yawine ha yawine ne ho ge

15. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

ne ho ge yawine ha yawine ne ho ge

hawino ya wino yo hawino ya wino yo

16. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

A B

yo ho ho winz yo ho ho yone ji wa - yo ho ho

17. $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{6}{4}$

A a a' a''

yonawine wineke yonawine

a' a'' z

Fig. 1.4 Harvest Dance: Songs 18-21

Handwritten musical score for "Wiyon Ka Kinen do". The score is written on three systems of staves. The first system includes a vocal melody line with lyrics "Wiyon Ka Kinen do", a piano accompaniment line, and a third staff with notes and slurs. The tempo is marked "♩ = 88". The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system shows a different musical notation with notes and slurs.

Same tune, different mime:

18. Husking corn (above)
19. Pounding corn
20. Winnowing corn
21. Making cornbread

Fig. 1.5 Harvest Dance: Songs 22-25

$\text{♩} = 92$

22.
 hwe do bi wa so

23.
 yowa ni hawine heno hawine heye ge hawine

24.
 yowa ni hawine
 ya hi go kenabi weke go ha'da

25.
 wiyo neke kela wehi yo

Fig. 1.6 Harvest Dance: Songs 26-30

$\text{♩} = 96$

26.
 waho go ha wiyo ho to ho ne di wa ke

27. 28. 29.
 hanado ji hane to ho ne di wa ho

29.
 ho he no ge yuh tuh

30.
 ha yo wi ne ga yo ha'e gayow. gayo he

Fig. 1.7 Harvest Dance: Song 31

$\text{♩} = 96$

31. $\text{♩} = 96$

yo ho newayo to yahane

Fig. 1.8 Harvest Dance: Songs 32-36

$\text{♩} = 88$

32. $\text{♩} = 88$

yo giwa yo gi wa ha ne

33 weka yoho giwa ha yogi wa weka yoho giwa

wane hagi nado hu ya ne

34

wa yowa ne wa yowana ha wegi we yowa ne

35.

wi giwa ya keno gogi dowa giwa ya

36. $\text{♩} = 92$

wi giwa ya giwa ha

yo'o hino ha

$\text{♩} = 112$

wi ya ha

ya ha ha

37. A $\text{♩} \cdot \text{L.}$

$\text{♩} = 96$

wi ya yoni ne hagi ya yoni ne hagi ya yoni ne

acc.

yewake ne

B 112

31:

A $\text{♩} \cdot \text{L.}$

B

Handwritten musical notation for two pieces, 38 and 39.

38. A. 104. *hawagi le*

B. 112. *yo kono genit hanoge*

40. 112. *wanawi kono ho wanawi kono ho*

Handwritten musical notation for two pieces, 39 and 40.

39. A. 104. *Dance like Song 37*

B. 112. *yo kono genit hanoge*

40. 112. *wanawi kono ho wanawi kono ho*

FOURTH NIGHT SPIRIT RELEASE SINGING

The Tutelo hold many mortuary ceremonies. With the Iroquois they share wakes and tenth-day feasts, for releasing a spirit ten days after death. They also join in the big Feast for the Dead, *ohgiwe*, with female dancing and singing analagous to the Four Nights Harvest pattern (Fenton and Kurath 1951). They especially prize two ceremonies of their own, an intimate one and a large one. The intimate ritual is generally known as Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing. The current Cayuga title, *geiniwašondáte šenadrenótkwa*, means "Fourth Night Departure Singing."

The fourth day after a death, the nearest relative of the deceased invites other relatives and close friends to his or her home. He announces that they will after dark share a last meal with the spirit, which has hovered on earth until now. He invites special singers who will free the spirit to follow the path to the abode of the dead. Otherwise the ghost would continue to wander among the living and cause sickness.

In preparation, two female cooks assemble baskets of food for the singers, with four doughnuts or cakes for each of the six

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men, thus twenty-four. Also, each relative brings a basket of cornbread. Male helpers line up six chairs (or two benches) face-to-face at the former site of the coffin, three on each of the long sides. They place a pail with berry juice and a dipper on a table near the singers. They provide sacred Indian tobacco for a ritual conductor, for the song leader an Iroquois water drum with an attached bag of tobacco, and a horn rattle for each assistant. (See fig. 2.0.)

The ritual, lasting up to two hours, takes the following course:

1. Introductory prayer in Cayuga or Onondaga by the conductor.
2. Preliminary feast for the singers.
3. A tobacco invocation by the ritual conductor, with fourfold sprinkling of pinches of tobacco over the former site of the coffin.
4. The nucleus--the singing of twenty-four songs in periods of four songs, each song repeated four times. After each group of songs the singers pause briefly to catch their breath and to drink berry juice.
5. Final feast--during Song 23 helpers begin to distribute food to the guests, and they must finish with the last drum beat of Song 24.

Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing

6. Concluding prayer by the conductor.

The songs are homogeneous in style, with a slight difference in Song 23. The ritual calls for no dance action; so the ensuing scores include no choreographies. The songs transcribed in figures 2.1-2.6 were recorded in 1952.

The song texts indicate a development of the ritual thought during the six periods, thus:

Period I, Songs 1-4. The departure on the death path (fig. 2.1).

Period II, Songs 5-8. The path to the spirit land (fig. 2.2).

Period III, Songs 9-12. The fork in the path and an irrevocable choice (fig. 2.3).

Period IV, Songs 13-16. Hunting and dancing in the spirit land, as on earth (fig. 2.4).

Period V, Songs 17-20. The last backward glance of the spirit (fig. 2.5).

Period VI, Songs 21-24. Its final release (fig. 2.6).

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PARAPHRASES OF SONG TEXTS

Period I (fig. 2.1)

1. All persons are on their way to death.
2. People who die go to the spirit land. We're all going to this same death path, to follow our ancestors.
3. She (or he) is gone now, up to the spirit land; she is ready now to dance where she is going.
4. All our relatives have now passed. Generation after generation have been on their way to heaven. ["Heaven" is term used by Richard Buck, Cayuga interpreter.]

Period II (fig. 2.2)

5. She is leading another in the path of death.
6. Dead persons mourn like the living. (They keep turning back to the living, mourning for those left behind.)
7. When persons go to the spirit land, relatives are parted from them.
8. All are bound to step into that path some day. All will be mourned with the past.

Period III (fig. 2.3)

9. There are two paths, one straight, one right. No matter where he goes, no medicine can bring him back.

Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing

10. All those dead people that are gone are also mourning. Past this world, they are looking back, they see their relatives below, they want to take them along.
11. There's a path leading to heaven. Once he has taken the fork, he is gone forever.
12. Grandpa, grandma, we can't help it, now we have parted. We won't see you any more till death comes.

Period IV (fig. 2.4)

13. We will hear no more of him because we have already parted for good.
14. They are hunting now as they did on earth. (All kinds of birds are flying around their heads.)
15. They're really now on the path, hunting on the way.
16. They really made up their minds that they have gone into the new world, to see the Heavenly Father.

Period V (fig. 2.5)

17. They're on their way, not coming back to be bothered again.
18. There's a lady standing there now (says the spirit). Lady, come with me.
19. These dead people in heaven, looking back, have their eyes on her, want to take her with them; but she is not ready to go.

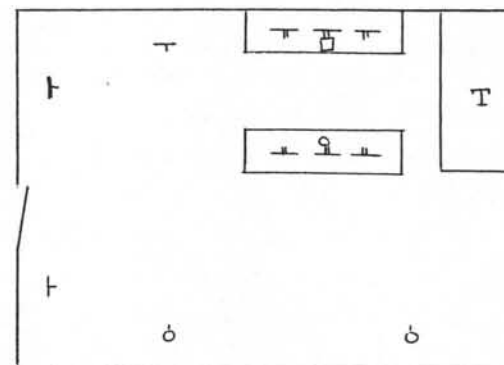
Three Great Ceremonies

20. These dead people also had a brother and sister, whom they are calling back to go where they are. But the brother and sister keep turning away.

Period VI (fig. 2.6)

21. Grandpa, grandma, that's gone away for good.
 22. They have carried all my relatives away, where I will never see them again.
 23. (Feast-distributing song). This is the last time that we are going to eat together. Whatever belongs to you that you have left, that is my own (says the spirit).
 24. You will never see me again. I have gone where nobody knows. (That's the end of that.)

Fig. 2.0 Spirit Release: Ground Plan (Private Home)



Symbols

- T Speaker
 G } Cooks and guests (*ad lib*)
 O }
 T Table

Fig. 2.1 Spirit Release: Songs 1-4

1. $\text{♩} = 76$

A B

yo he wi go ho ho he wi go he ho ya ne ha ya ne he gu

A

ya ne wine gu we he gu ya ne hoye ha ho ya ne he gu

B

guh

2. $\text{♩} = 96$

A B

hone jiwe go to hoyane hone jiwe go to hoye he-

A B

hone jiwe go to yowine diha hoyane hewa hoyane ha guh

3. A B

yo yo gigi ne hewa he wahi yo ho

B

hewa hewa he wa

A B

guh

4. A B

yo hane du ga hene du ji wa hano ga hene du ji wa

B

no yo hane du ga hoyane hewa

A B

hane du ji wa guh

Fig. 2.2 Spirit Release: Songs 5-8

5.

A B

yo yo gigi ne yo gigi ne hewa wine

B

he wa wine wine gayo ne gayo ne gayo wane

A

hewa wine he wa

B

he ne

he he guh

6. A B

yo yowa yagine

7. A B

yo we yagine hewa hewe yagine yo gigi ne hewa hoyane hewa

B

yo he hejine ne ho ge hewa

B

he hejine ne ho ge hewa hewa he wa

8. A B

hewa giwa yo ho howi ga'a yo hu

B

yo wendo giwa giwa yo hayowe wagine

A B

hewa hewa he wa

Fig. 2.3 Spirit Release: Songs 9-12

9.

yo waji le howa gile do ho — waji le howa gile

10. howa howa waji le howa gile do ho — howa howa yuh

yo waji ga le he yone di waji ga le henege do ga

waji ga le he hayo ne waji ga le he yone di ha hogen di

howa

11. hayo waji le he ga yo — dagwa yede gedowi

howa howa howa

12. yo higo ma yagoma yogi le hena

he gi le, yogi le hene yogi le yogi le hene howa

he wa

Fig. 2.4 Spirit Release: Songs 13-16

13.

hayo w. gajima wate le howa

yo gali ho no yaha ne howa he wa he wa

14. hayo w. gajiga wa he le hene

wi gajiga yanoma wine ha ne howa howa he wa

15. yo wigoya ha hene waji le wi goye ha ho ne

waji le ha ha ne

16. hayo waji le ne wi hene ka yogi le ne w. hene ka yogi le ne

Fig. 2.5 Spirit Release: Songs 17-20

17. $\text{♩} = 80-88$

17. $\text{♩} = 80-88$

heme gi-de goye'a yagile he - di go we

ha gi le he di go wa ya gi 'le - e

yuh

18.

hayo hema yo nedi-go yagile he ge di go ya

ha gi le he di go ya ha gi 'le - he

19.

hayo yo he nedi wigaye daka weha yoto we

wiga wi he yoto ne hawe

20.

hayo wagi ge wigi gi duma

wigegowa wagi ge wa wigi gi duma wigewa gi gi du ma

Fig. 2.6 Spirit Release: Songs 21-24

21

21.

yo' deha deha deha wi he' goya deha deha

wi he goya wi he goya deha

yuh

22.

yo' c yagile Kilewa — yagile yont dawa he

yabata hewa weha wi ha he

yuh

23.

yo' wagi ia - he — wi ge wi ge do gayowani -

wagi da - he wagi da'a he

yuh

24.

hayo gano weya nehe ge

SPIRIT ADOPTION CEREMONY

In the Cayuga language, the Spirit Adoption Ceremony is called *odiyedahinahta*, "Great Dressing" or *djada diyat'hahahroni*, "They are going to redress him." It is a memorial held within a year after a Tutelo's death. This must be during the winter season, because the ceremony would bring frost to immature crops. It is also an adoption ceremony, a perpetuation of the deceased person's identity.

The ritual of adoption and reclothing an individual to represent the continuation on earth of the life of one deceased is called into action automatically by the wish of the survivors of the family of the deceased (Speck 1942:15).

When a Tutelo is dying, he or she may select a close friend as his representative; or relatives may decide on a suitable person of the same sex and approximately the same age. They select an Iroquois as often as a part-Tutelo. Consequently many

Three Great Ceremonies

Iroquois have been thus adopted into the Tutelo tribe. But the membership is only for the Adoptee's lifetime. It does not affect the offspring.

Since "redressing" is a vital aspect of the ceremony, the relatives sponsoring the ceremony must prepare a new costume in current or rather nineteenth century Iroquois style, a man with a *gustoweh* headdress, long, white shirt and leggings, and a woman with a smock, beaded skirt, and short leggings (Kurath 1968, chap. 12). The Adoptee is to wear this costume throughout the ritual. The sponsors also select a Tutelo name suggested by the deceased. They invite eight singers or more, and they provide the necessary paraphernalia: an Iroquoian water drum with a small bag of tobacco, seven horn rattles and six to eight sets of striking sticks, ceremonial strings of beads, gifts of cloth, and food for two feasts. (See Speck 1942, figs 1-5 for sketches of instruments, and pp. 26-29 for symbolism of beads and foods.)

If the sponsors are fairly well-to-do or if several Adoptees are to be initiated simultaneously, the ceremony takes place at Lower Cayuga Longhouse, occasionally at Onondaga Longhouse. As a rule, it is a domestic celebration, in the home of the main sponsor, like the Fourth Night Spirit Release Ceremony. It is a much longer and more elaborate ceremony than the release ritual. It lasts all night, until sunrise; and it includes singing,

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

processionals, simple dancing, speeches, special rituals and feasting. The singing is prolonged, almost continuous and often simultaneous with ritual actions. There are from fifty-three to sixty-two songs, depending on several factors, such as the number of singers present. Each song has four complete repeats. Without breaks, they would occupy two and a half hours; but the singers pause between song groups to catch their breath, to refresh themselves, or to partake of a special feast. They also accompany one or two interludes of social dances; or they may be replaced by other singers for these relaxing interludes. Towards morning they observe a period of silence.

The songs are grouped according to the sections of the ritual. They correspond with the song numbers as performed by Roy Buck in 1964 as follows:

Section I. Fourfold rendering of an introductory chant (Songs 1-4) (fig. 3.0), first by the leader, then by the main helper, then by all singers.

Section II. Nine groups of four songs each (Songs 5-40) (figs 3.1-3.5). The ritual is the bead offering. One of the sponsors, who serves as cook, gives strings of beads to the Adoptee. He or

Three Great Ceremonies

she (the Adoptee) advances with a "Body Guard," a constant companion, offers the beads to the singers during the second song of each set, dances in place during the third song, and retires to his set. This happens nine times. Social dances can intervene between any of these nine sets.

Section III. Ten songs (Songs 41-50) for an episode of gift giving (figs 3.6-3.8). During the first two songs (fig. 3.6) a male attendant hands a set of striking sticks to each helper. The striking sticks are two plain sticks carved for the occasion, struck together during the singing, and burned after the ceremony. They are, on Six Nations Reserve, limited to wakes and to the Spirit Adoption Ceremony, hence to mortuary observances. The next eight songs are solos by successive singers. The ritual conductor approaches the Adoptee, addresses him in a Tutelo phrase, leads him to the singers and gives him (or her) the name of the deceased. Then the relatives approach the principals, present gift cloth and dance in place (figs 3.7-3.8) They use a variant of the "Tutelo step," but they brush the whole foot on the ground, and do not progress. Then the principals and relatives retire to their seats, and the cooks serve a feast. During the last song set, the singers have accelerated their

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

tempo and thus marked a climax. Now all rest, and observe silence after the feast. They await the dawn, while the fire-keeper burns the sticks.

Section IV. Ten songs welcome the dawn (Songs 51-60) (figs 3.9-3.11). Two songs serve as an invocation (fig. 3.9). Four songs accompany a recessional by the principals and relatives (fig. 3.10); four are self-accompanied for the recessional of the singers and guests (fig. 3.11). They exit from the east door and approach the Adoptee and retinue, who are seated in front of the cookhouse or on a bench in the house yard. All welcome the sunrise. The Adoptee removes the costume. The spirit of the deceased, present during the ceremony, departs for the spirit land. The singers shake hands with the Adoptee and all disperse.

Frank Speck (1942) divides the ceremony into ten episodes. He describes the ritual preliminaries and interludes, tobacco offering, speeches, feasts. He mentions the naming rite, which was omitted on the occasion he witnessed. He places the Social Dances after the fourth or fifth group of bead-distributing songs. According to Roy Buck, the Social Dances could be then or after the second group. In fact, there can be two such interludes during the night.

Three Great Ceremonies

Speck mentions ten singers. This number is unusual. When eight singers are present they offer eight Striking Stick songs, because each singer leads a song, successively in a counterclockwise order, leader with drum first. Eight singers would offer eight such songs.

Figures 3.0-3.11 display typical ground plans of the ritual during singing and dancing, and transcripts of the 1964 tape recordings. The ceremony admits variations. The Adoptee may be male or female, may or may not have two attendants. The female mourners and male relatives, as well as other officials and guests vary in number. If the ceremony is domestic, the personnel must be smaller than in longhouse celebrations. But it follows the same general plan.

TUTELO TEXTS IN THE CEREMONY

In 1964, when the songs were recorded, Mrs. Claus had gone to the spirit land. No other Tutelo was able to supply even a paraphrase of the texts. So the only clue to the contents is a perusal of the songs. Most of the texts appear to be burden syllables, which are typical of Iroquois songs, such as *weya hayo* and *hanino*. But a number of songs include words that recall the

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

Spirit Release texts. They are:

<i>wagile</i> --Songs 14, 32, 42, 43, 45, 53-56	Compare Spirit Release Song 9.
<i>yogile</i> --Song 15	Compare Spirit Release Song 12.
<i>haneduge</i> --Songs 41, 42	Compare Spirit Release Song 4.
<i>honegedoge</i> --Song 10	Compare Harvest Dance Song 29.

wagile and *yogile* also occur in the other cycles, possibly as actual variants in Tutelo or as garbled versions. The *ile* ending, which seems associated with departure, cannot be Iroquois, because none of the Iroquoian dialects on the reserve contain an "l." These samples are meager enough, but they indicate some consistency in the terminology of these rituals. Their rarity in the Spirit Adoption Ceremony suggests substitution of Iroquois burden syllables when singers became discouraged with the "jaw breakers," as they call the Tutelo words. Such a process may be fairly recent, for the untranslated version recorded by Fenton in 1941 contains more Tutelo-type words than does the 1964 version.

The ritual conductors know a few Tutelo sentences and their meanings. Speck mentions a ritual expression towards the end of

Three Great Ceremonies

the Striking Sticks episode (1942:46). The Speaker approaches the Adoptee and addresses him or her.

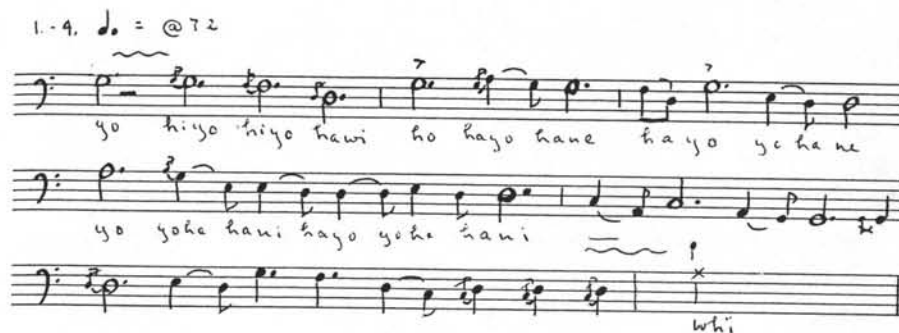
To a woman he says, "mihe yalewa kowahadonan;"
to a man he says, "wayowah yalewa kowahadonan;"
to a child he says, "wakasik yalewa kowahadonan."

The first of the three variants means, "Woman go after, lead her to where the singer is sitting."

He leads the Adoptee and attendant to the singers' bench, holding the Adoptee's left hand in his right hand. This is one of the dramatic moments, and it leads into the dancing and gift-giving by the relatives and mourners.

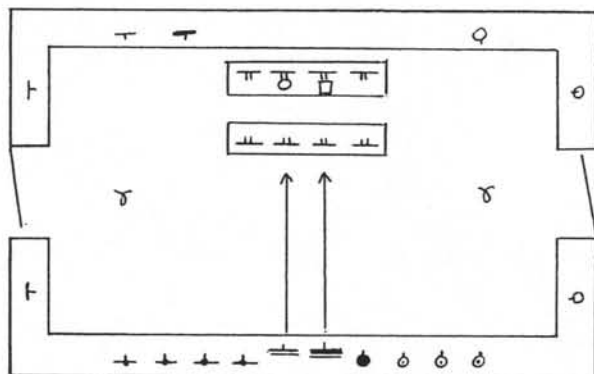
Other speeches, as the Thanksgiving prayer are, however, in the Cayuga language.

Fig. 3.0 Spirit Adoption: Introductory Chant, Songs 1-4



(rendered four times)

Fig. 3.1 Spirit Adoption: Ground Plan of Song 6
(Lower Cayuga Longhouse)



Symbols

- Sponsor
- ▬ Adoptee
- ▬ Guard
- + Mourners--male relatives
- ⊙ Mourners--female relatives
- ┴ Male guests
- Female guests

Fig. 3.2 Spirit Adoption: Bead Giving Ritual, Songs 5-8

5. A ~ a t d = 84 a t

hoya wunigo ya ha ye ha

B a t t+

yo'u ha' haw ya ha ye ha ha ye ya ha ne ho ne

A a t

6. A B

we hanigo yo le hanigo ya ho hanigo yo yohane

B A

hoya ne- yohane

7.8. d = 84

ho ha hani ne we ha ye hanine hoya nane ho

he hanine hoya hane hane ho he hanine ho ho hanine

(danced by Adoptee)

Fig. 3.3 Spirit Adoption: Bead Giving Ritual, Songs 9-16

9. 
wa ya wi hōna hōno hayōwa

10. 
ya he heye gage wa yo

11. 
A he we hane hōyo we hane
B
C (indefinite)

12. 
hōha hōne
hayeke wa we hane hōha yohane

13. 
we hane hō yohane -

14. 
gohayōne - we ne

15. 
wagile hōwano hōya wagile hōwano

16. 
yane gine yōgile yōwne

17. 
yōha gōgi yōnō yō wō de han.

Fig. 3.4 Spirit Adoption: Bead Giving Ritual, Songs 17-28

17-19 
hiyo wadayo yone yone kaliye ha

20-14 

21 
hiyo yowagi da hi

22-24 
hiyo wagiyo ke yewagi ho

25 
he hawe ho - hōyo hō hō hō

26 
hiyo hagi dake wachiye

27-28 
hagi dake wachiye

29 
hagi e di

30 

31 

32 

Fig. 3.5 Spirit Adoption: Bead Giving Ritual, Songs 29-40

29. A $\begin{matrix} \text{C} \\ \text{B} \end{matrix}$ B

30. C

31. ha go we bi yo ne

32. hi ga yeno

33-36. A a

37-40 = 33-36

Fig. 3.6 Spirit Adoption: Striking Sticks Ritual, Songs 41-42

$\text{♩} = 50$

41. 42. $\begin{matrix} \text{C} \\ \text{B} \end{matrix}$

hi go wa gi da he ha ne du ge

wa gi a hee

Fig. 3.7 Spirit Adoption: Cloth Giving Dance, Solo Songs 43-48

(ground plan like fig. 3.1)

43. $\begin{matrix} \text{C} \\ \text{B} \end{matrix}$

hi wa gi le ha gi le

44. wa hi go - o wa hi ya

45. wa gi le hi ya wa gi le ya

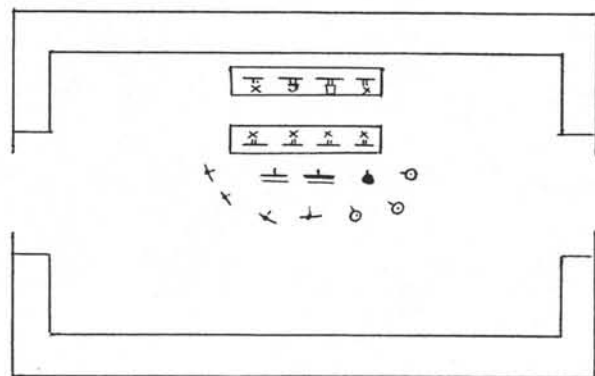
46. ha go wana

47. go ha go we ha go we ha ha ha go go ho

48. once

go we hi ya we hi ya ha ha ha go we ha we hi ya ha

Fig. 3.8 Spirit Adoption: Gift Throwing Dance, Ground Plan and Solo Songs 49-50



$\text{♩} = 92$

Symbol

x Striking sticks

49. $\text{♩} = 92$

h'yo w'ya yoh'ha y'ha-ne

50. y'o h'i y'o h'e-i y'o h'o' h'e

yuh

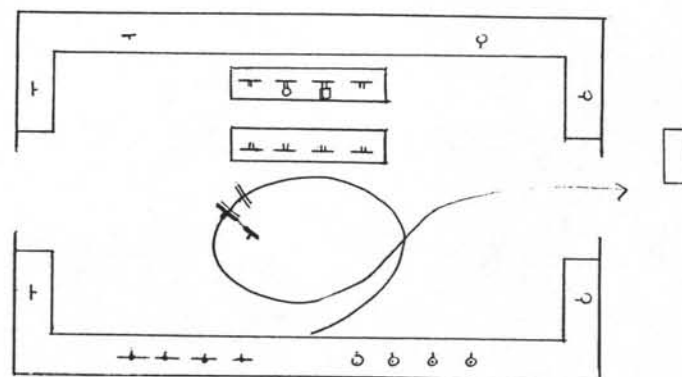
Fig. 3.9 Spirit Adoption: Dawn Songs (Invocation), Songs 51-52

51. $\text{♩} = 104$

yo he y'ho y'ha-ne he y'ho y'ha-ne

52. yo he y'ho y'ha-ne

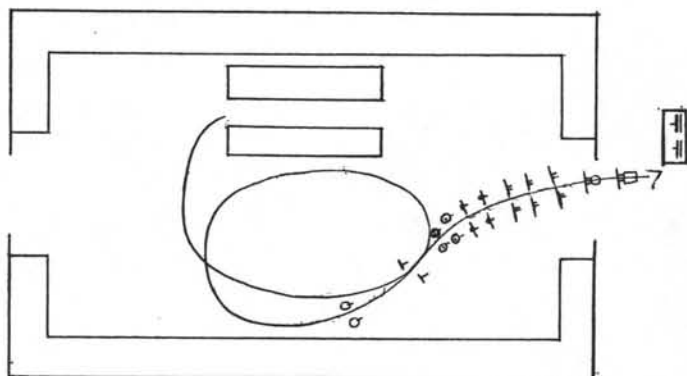
Fig. 3.10 Spirit Adoption: Dawn Songs (Recessional of Principals and Relatives), Ground Plan and Songs 53-56



53-56 $\text{♩} = 84$

wah'gi le'la gon'o he

Fig. 3.11 Spirit Adoption: Dawn Songs (Recessional of Singers and Guests) Ground Plan and Songs 57-60



♩ = 84

57-58 a a'

he-wa ya he-hay-d

(outdoors)

59-60

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

SOCIAL DANCES

The dances that provide periods of relaxation during the Spirit Adoption Ceremony are selected from the repertoire of Iroquois Social Dances. The first two in the following list are always on the agenda; the other three are popular, but many other dances may appear by request. All of them have ritualistic connotations and they may on occasion become curative dances. The first three are prominent in Food Spirit Festivals. Although the scores and choreographies appear in Kurath 1968, sample songs and short dance descriptions are appropriate. (See Recordings Used for Transcriptions for sources of songs.) The samples may throw some light on Tutelo or Iroquoian characteristics of these and other "Tutelo" songs. The comparative analyses will be deferred to Part II.

Enskanye (fig. 4.0). Termed *skanye* by the Tutelo-Cayuga, this dance is claimed by the Tutelo as their legacy to the Iroquois repertoire, but to the non-Tutelo longhouse people it is Iroquois. The step reappears in a number of important dances, such as the Thanksgiving Dance; and the dance termed *enskanye* is the great women's dance for the Food Spirits. In addition to the "oldtime" songs, claimed by the Tutelo, there are "new" songs,

Three Great Ceremonies

recently composed by longhouse singers in a special style. The step climaxes several parts of the women's Tutelo Harvest Dance. The styles of the songs in this rite disclose definite affinities with the "oldtime" songs. Song 3, sung by Joseph Williams, resembles Harvest Dance Song 36, which has *enskanye*. Song 3 has form AABA and scale 5 321 5.¹ Song 13 has the rhythmic unit 10 and cadence of Harvest Dance Song 5 and others (see chapter 5). Song 13 has form AABABA and scale 87 54 21.

Corn Dance or oneha (fig. 4.1). This is an important circle dance for men and women, both in ceremonies and in social gatherings. It is a stomp dance, led by two singer-dancers with horn rattles, and with some antiphony. Speck recorded several of the songs as "Tutelo Bean Dance," and Herzog transcribed eight tunes (Speck 1942:nos 20-27 plus a composite song). Today Tutelo and Iroquois disclaim Tutelo provenience. And, indeed, the songs are quite unlike the Tutelo ceremonial songs, except for the final call. Self-accompaniment with horn rattles and antiphony do not occur even in the Harvest Dance.

Stomp Dance or gadašot (fig. 4.2). This is also a recurrent stomp dance for men and women, with the same kind of singer-

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

dancer leading and much more antiphony. The dance is as popular among Tutelo as among Iroquois. The song samples are worth inclusion in this report, as a contrast with the typical Tutelo melodies.

Chicken Dance or gitgitgeha (fig. 4.3). This belongs to the "Fish type" group of pleasure dances for pairs of men and women. It has no reputation for Tutelo origin, yet it contains features reminiscent of parts of Harvest Dance--an initial combination of male and female singing, a brief *skanye*, cross-overs and certain song characteristics.

Fishing Dance or oshewe (fig. 4.4). This also starts with male-female singing, it continues with stomping by couples and it finishes with monotone antiphony. Despite some Tutelo similarities, this dance is not claimed by the Tutelo.

Fig. 4.0 Social Dances: *Enskanye*, Ground Plan and Songs 3, 13

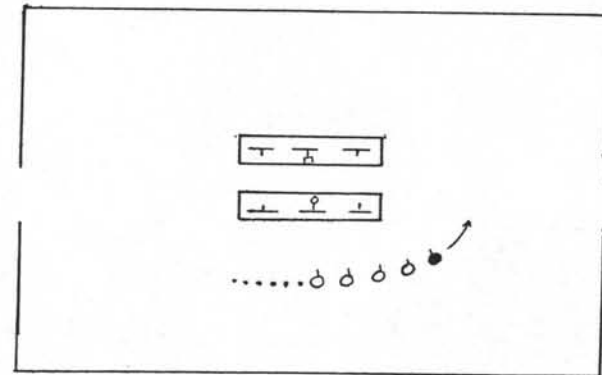


Fig. 4.1 Social Dances: Corn Dance, Ground Plan and Song 3



Ground plan diagram showing a semi-circular path of dancers, indicated by a dotted line and arrows. The path starts at the bottom left and curves upwards to the right, ending with an arrow pointing up and to the right.

Musical notation for Song 3, tempo $\text{♩} = 108$. The music is in 3/4 time and consists of three staves. The lyrics are: "hūi hūi", "yoze wa he yoze wa he antiphony".

Fig. 4.2 Social Dances: Stomp Dance, Ground Plan and Song 3



Ground plan diagram showing a semi-circular path of dancers, indicated by a dotted line and arrows. The path starts at the bottom left and curves upwards to the right, ending with an arrow pointing up and to the right.

Musical notation for Song 3, tempo $\text{♩} = 104$. The music is in 3/4 time and consists of two staves. The lyrics are: "hūi hūi", "yoze wa he yoze wa he antiphony". The notation includes a "3" above the first staff and "(no rattles)" below the second staff.

Fig. 4.3 Social Dances: Chicken Dance, Ground Plan and Songs 4-5

$\text{♩} = 108-126$
 4
 A
 B
 L.
 o t o t →
 o t
 ↻
 t o
 A Walk
 B Fish step

Fig. 4.4 Social Dances: Fishing Dance, Ground Plan and Song 4

$\text{♩} = 104$
 4
 $\text{♩} = 116$
 t o t o →
 (antiphony by male dancers)

Three Great Ceremonies

THE CEREMONY AND A MIGRATION TALE

In the minds of the Tutelo the Spirit Adoption Ceremony fuses with the tradition of their migrations. Roy Buck tells this story:

A couple lost their three-year-old girl. They travelled in distress. They got to the Cayuga, and they saw a little three-year-old girl playing outside the house. She resembled their child. They introduced themselves and asked whether they could take her and adopt her.

The Cayuga parents thought for four days. They asked their little girl whether she would go with the couple. She said yes. So the Tutelo went home and prepared for the ceremony.

Four days before the ceremony they called for the child. They invited their relatives and adopted her. Till then the Tutelo had been fierce. Now they were not fierce any more.

Later the Tutelo had to flee from their homes. They went to the Cayuga for refuge. The Tutelo Chief had a place in the Council, but he could not vote.

The Tutelo introduced the Redressing Ceremony. The

Spirit Adoption Ceremony

Cayuga said,

'We have many social dances. Would you like to dance them?'

The Tutelo said,

'We will insert your social dances in the ceremony when our singers need a rest. Your men can sing for us, and we will sing for you.'

Now they sing together.

PART II
STYLISTIC SIGNIFICANCE

TUTELO MUSIC AND DANCE STYLES

In the Tutelo ceremonies the music greatly outweighs the dance in importance. The dancing in the harvest ritual provides a picturesque sight, but the songs are even more varied and masterful. The two spirit ceremonies have no dancing or else very simple dancing and processions. The elaborate social dances are addenda.

An artistic analysis should hence emphasize the songs, though it should also consider the relationship of movement to music. The two musical constituents are temporal and tonal. The temporal elements are tempo and rhythm. The tonal elements are the scales, the range, intervals, and contours of the tunes. The tonal elements blend with the movements by means of the basic timing of the percussion instruments. Each song combines the musical elements into well-ordered structures, short or long. Together with the movements, the songs build a large structure, the total pattern of each ceremony.

Stylistic Significance

TIMING OF SONGS

The temporal patterns are the products of percussion beats and melodic tempi and rhythms.

Tempo. The basic tempi of the instruments and voices are identical. The instruments state the speed at the opening of each song or song series, with an accented or unaccented duple beat. In the beginning chants and in a number of songs they use a tremolo. Generally the drummer states the tempo, along with the song theme, and the players of the other instruments follow. On this basic tempo the singers weave melodies in units of varying speeds.

The prevalent, basic tempo is moderate, around 88 M.M. to the quarter note as written. As is evident in figure 5.0, the Harvest Dance songs have somewhat faster speeds in several parts. They speed up towards the middle of the ceremony. Then they start slowly and speed up even more at the end, to 112 M.M. In contrast, the Spirit Release songs maintain a steady tempo for the first sixteen songs, after the slow chant. The last eight songs are somewhat slower. The Spirit Adoption songs, after the chant, maintain a moderate tempo for most of the ceremony, and they do not speed up until the end of the Striking Sticks

Tutelo Music and Dance Styles

episode. After the salute to the dawn, the recessional songs return to the moderate 84 M.M.

The dancers follow the percussion beat exactly. Thus they perform with measured dignity, and they liven up only for the two climactic episodes of *enskanye* in the harvest ritual.

Rhythmic Units. Figure 5.0 shows twelve rhythmic units which occur most frequently in the melodies, not all with equal frequency. A tabulation of the units according to their occurrence in the three ceremonies shows the relative importance of the units to an extent (table 1). The tabulation lists a unit only if it recurs several times in the song.

Slow units are exceptional, except in opening songs and in Harvest Dance Song 31, which has mime. The opening chant of the adoption rite is especially sustained and indeed rhapsodic. Unit 2, successions of even eighth notes, synchronizing with the percussion beats, prevails in all three ceremonies. This is distributed through the song series, alternating with more complex rhythmic patterns. Unit 4 is fairly conspicuous in all ceremonies, and so is fast unit 10. Pulsations appear here and there in all rituals, but they are not as evident as in songs of other tribes.

Stylistic Significance

Table 1. Occurrence of Rhythmic Units

Ceremony	Rhythmic Unit	Songs as Numbered in Part I
Harvest	1	1, 6, 8
Dance	2	1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18-21, 22-25, 26-30, 32-35, 37
	4	2, 3, 23, 26-29, 39
	5	1, 2, 7, 12, 22, 23, 24
	6	8, 31, calls
	7	1, 3, 26-29
	8	4, 5, 6, 14, 16, 17, 37
	9	5, 6, 22, 29, 38, 39, 40
	10	5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
	11	6, 9, 17, 34
	12	6, 10-14, 16, 22, 23, 26, 30, 32-36
Spirit	1	1, 2
Release	2	5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 24
	3	16, 17, 18
	4	3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 20, 23
	5	21, 22
	6	1, 9, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21
	7	5
	9	4, 6, 7
	10	8, 9, 11, 17, 21, 22, 24
	11	10, 16
	12	2, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 24

Tutelo Music and Dance Styles

Table 1.--continued

Ceremony	Rhythmic Unit	Songs as Numbered in Part I
Spirit	1	60
Adoption	2	5, 6, 7-8, 11, 16, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33-40, 57-58, 60
	4	5, 45
	5	51, 52
	6	1-4, 5, 17-19, 22-24, 26, 27-28
	7	50, 51, 52
	8	12, 13, 43, 49, 53-56
	9	17-19, 25, 27-29, 45, 46, 57-58 (always with upbeat)
	10	6, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 20, 27-28, 47, 48
	11	12, 17-19, 21, 22-25, 41-42
	12	9, 10, 11, 16, 51, 52

Stylistic Significance

The three ceremonies differ in the unit prevalence, besides those mentioned above. Harvest Dance has more slow units than the other ceremonies, especially during mimetic episodes. There are dotted units and some "scotch snaps," especially in the earlier sections. In the middle and the end fast units reinforce the fast tempi. Triplets are absent.

Spirit Release is the only one of the ceremonies featuring triplets. It contains some dotted figures, many syncopations and snaps, and unit 10, but otherwise not an overabundance of fast and complex units.

Spirit Adoption songs alternate between the restful, even rhythm of unit 2 and nervous units--fast syncopations, broken rhythm of unit 9, and fast units, especially during the Striking Sticks episode. In contrast with Harvest Dance, the tempo and units slow down at the end. In Songs 9-16 the rhythms are particularly fast, even elusive. They defy notating, and appear only in approximate renderings. A special characteristic of this song series is the frequency of upbeats. Here and there upbeats appear elsewhere, as in Harvest Dance Song 29, but in Spirit Adoption they appear with increasing frequency during the drama, for example in songs 7-8, 22-25, 41-42, 45-47. Like the elusive rhythms, the upbeats give the songs a restless, floating quality, as if they were indeed imitating wraiths. It is clear that these

Tutelo Music and Dance Styles

curious rhythms do not reflect uncertainty on the part of the singer; for they appear in the same places in the two recordings of 1941 and 1964 (see Recordings Used for Transcriptions).

Rhythmic Phrases. Usually units combine into longer rhythmic phrases. Sometimes the phrase is still brief; sometimes it is more expanded. Figure 5.1 shows typical phrases for different parts of Harvest Dance, in combination with other temporal factors. These units are arranged in three columns according to the scale type. Because of the varied sections of this ceremony, such correlation has reasons which will be more apparent later on. Meanwhile, tonal analysis is the next step towards determining style.

TONALITY

The tonal materials are varied, as to scales, range, intervals, cadences, and contours.

Scales. "Weighted scales" are the best device for charting tonality. They are the invention of Erich von Hornbostel and have shown their value to American musicologists, thanks to Hornbostel's student, George Herzog. The note values do not

Stylistic Significance

represent rhythms, but they indicate note frequency. That is, the most frequent tone appears as a whole note, the next as a halfnote, etc. Holds show the concluding tone, which is usually also the maintone; inverted holds show the opening tone. Brackets here mark fourths, and arcs mark thirds in some representative songs.

Though the songs are recorded at times in a consistent pitch and sometimes in varying pitch, the tables show consistency, if need be through transposition of the scale.

Tutelo songs have three kinds of scales. The most common, termed quartal, has a nucleus of the tones 54 21, with further development upward or downward. The least common scale is tertial, on a basis of 321. In between them is a scale which I term quartertertial, with a nucleus of 543 1. (See figs. 5.2-5.4.)

The tones within these scales vary from two to six within an octave, sometimes with tone duplication below the maintone. The most common types are the fourtone (tetratonic) and fivetone (pentatonic) scales. Sometimes these tones are close together, sometimes spread out, especially in Spirit Release. In sixtone scales five tones never occur in succession. The extra tone is in a different section, so that each song section is still fivetone. This peculiarity is indicated by writing the tones of

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Table 2. Distribution of Scale Types

Scale Types	Harvest Dance	Spirit Release	Spirit Adoption	Total
Quartal	24	23	27	74
Quartertertial	10	1	21	32
Tertial	6	0	12	18
2-tone	1	--	--	1
3-tone	3	--	7	10
4-tone	15	5	38	58
5-tone	18	17	10	45
6-tone	3	2	5	10

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the first section with upside-down stems. There are no monotone passages except for codas, and there are no diatonic scales. Table 2 shows the distribution of scale types by the count of songs in each category.

The Spirit Release songs all have quartal scales, mostly with four or five tones. There is no tertial column in figure 5.3. The two columns on the left differentiate songs with tones 87 54 21 and 8 654 21. Song 23 has a smaller scale than the others. In figures 5.2 and 5.4 for the other two ceremonies, each of the three scales has a column. Figures 5.2-5.4 show that sixtone scales are at the start, but that other types are strewn through the series. They show how songs are sometimes paired, or are clustered in long groups, most frequently with fourtone scales (Harvest Dance Songs 18-21, Spirit Adoption Songs 31-40).

Range. Figures 5.2-5.4 also show the range, which varies from three tones to nine tones. The most common range is an octave, especially in Spirit Release. A fifth is close to the octave in frequency, and predominates in Harvest and Adoption songs. The distribution of the count of songs is shown in table 3.

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Table 3. Distribution of Ranges

Range	Harvest Dance	Spirit Release	Spirit Adoption	Total
Third	2	--	2	4
Fourth	1	--	--	1
Fifth	16	--	25	41
Sixth	3	1	9	13
Seventh	8	--	--	8
Octave	7	23	15	45
Ninth	3	--	9	12

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Intervals. Figures 5.2-5.4 show bracketed fourths and thirds. These refer to the use in tunes. Fourths prevail in quartal scales, especially in Spirit Release Songs of the type 8 54 21. Thirds prevail in tertial tunes, Spirit Adoption Songs type 321 has only thirds (major, minor, neutral), seconds, and semitones. Many songs have seconds. Only one has a direct fifth, Spirit Release Song 9.

Cadences and Contours. Figures 5.2-5.4 tell little about the behavior of the melodies within their tonal materials. They indicate whether, in general, a song centers around the maintone or dips down to a low maintone in the course of melodic patterns. For the appreciation of these melodic manipulations we must return to the songs themselves. They show an almost bewildering variety of manipulations. Yet they reveal recurrent cadences, that is, short units of melodic rise and fall; and typical contours, that is, larger patterns of rise and fall in the course of the melody.

The most common cadences, in terms of tonal numbering, are:

4 21 and 54 21, in Harvest Dance Songs 4 and 5, Spirit Adoption Song 50, for instance.

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54 2 in Spirit Release Song 5.

8 565 in Spirit Release Song 22.

4343 1 in Spirit Adoption Songs 33-40.

454 and 545 in Spirit Adoption Songs 43 and 50, respectively.

32123 in Spirit Adoption Songs 57-60, with a semitone between tones 2 and 3.

These examples include descending and wavering cadences, a predominance of smaller intervals, but also some use of wide fourths.

The contours similarly are varied. Some songs contain a terrace pattern with a theme repeated in ever lower levels and with shrinkage of intervals in each lower recurrence of the theme, as in Spirit Adoption Song 49. Many songs descend gradually with many up-and-down waverings on the way, as in Harvest Dance Song 34. A few start in the tonal center, rise and descend with undulations, as in Harvest Dance Songs 18-21. None start at the bottom, rise and return to the base.

Fig. 5.0 Rhythmic Units

1.	2.	3.
4.	5.	6.
7.	8.	9.
10.	11.	12.

Fig. 5.1 Rhythmic Phrases, Tempi and Scales of Harvest Dance

Section	Quartal	Quarternial	Tertial
I	8 4 		
II	8 4 - 8 8 		
III		8 8 	
IV			
V	9 6 		9 2
VI		8 4 	
VII		8 8 	
VIII			9 6 - 11 2

Quartal

Fig. 5.2 Scales of Harvest Dance

Quarternal

Handwritten musical notation for Fig. 5.2 Scales of Harvest Dance, Quartal and Quarternal sections. The notation is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The scales are numbered 1 through 21. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The scales are written in a sequence, with some scales having multiple measures. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a student exercise or a composer's sketch.

Quartal

Fig. 5.2--continued

Quarternal

Tertial

Handwritten musical notation for Fig. 5.2--continued, Quartal, Quarternal, and Tertial sections. The notation is written on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The scales are numbered 22 through 40. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The scales are written in a sequence, with some scales having multiple measures. The notation is handwritten and appears to be a student exercise or a composer's sketch.

Fig. 5.3 Scales of Spirit Release

Quartal

1. 8 6 5 4 2 1

2.

3.

4. 9 8 7 6 5 4 2 1

5.

6.

7.

8. 8 5 4 2 1

9.

10. Quartertial

11.

12. 8 5 4 3 1

Detailed description: This page contains the first 12 measures of the 'Scales of Spirit Release'. Each measure is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). Measure 1 is labeled 'Quartal' and has a fingering of 8 6 5 4 2 1. Measures 2-4 show various scale patterns with some notes beamed together. Measure 5 has a fingering of 9 8 7 6 5 4 2 1. Measure 10 is labeled 'Quartertial'. Measure 12 has a fingering of 8 5 4 3 1.

Fig. 5.3--continued

13. 14. 8 6 5 4 2 1 Quartal

15. 8 5 4 2 1

16.

17. 18.

19.

20.

21. 22.

23.

24.

Detailed description: This page contains measures 13 through 24. Measures 13-14 are grouped and have a fingering of 8 6 5 4 2 1, with the word 'Quartal' to the right. Measure 15 has a fingering of 8 5 4 2 1. Measures 16-24 show various scale patterns, some with beamed notes and some with rests. Measure 24 ends with a final scale pattern.

1-5 Quartal

Fig. 5.4 Scales of Spirit Adoption

6. Quartertial Tertial

7-8 9 8 6 5 2 1

9 10.

11. 12.

13. 14.

15. 16.

17-19 20.

21-24 25.

26-28 29.

30. 3 2 1 5

31-40

Fig. 5.4--continued

41-42

43. 8 5 4

44.

45.

46.

47.

48.

49-50.

51-52.

5 4 2 1 5 5-56 1

5 4 3 1 57-60

3 2 1 5

STRUCTURE

Structural analysis should consider smaller compositions, that is, single songs, and also large phenomena, that is, the total ceremony. In the devices for song composition the three ceremonies show much agreement. In the dramatic build of the total event they differ.

Song Structures. The lettered labels in the notations represent themes which are identified by their rhythmic units and pattern of intervals. Most of the themes are short and so are the songs, but some are more complex and extended than others. A single theme may be repeated, as in Harvest Dance Songs 26-30 and Spirit Adoption Songs 21-24, but its exact repetition never constitutes a complete song. If there is a single theme, it recurs in variant forms. If there are two themes, they alternate sometimes in the original form, sometimes in variation. Occasionally there is a brief third theme. Examples of manipulation are:

1. One theme, recurring in lower levels and with modified intervals--Spirit Adoption Songs 49 (fig. 3.8), 5, 13, 43, 46, 51-52; Harvest Dance Songs 3, 4, 9, 17, 18-21 (in extended form),

31, 33, 38-40; Spirit Release Songs 4, 7, 9 (plus coda), 15, 20 (without coda).

2. Two themes, in alternation, each appearance varied (*aba'b'*)--Harvest Dance Songs 5 (ending with *b*), 34 (ending with *a*); in succession--Spirit Adoption Songs 33-40 (with *b* varied--*abb'*), 57-58 (with *a* varied--*aa'b*). Harvest Dance Songs 18-21 and Spirit Adoption Song 5 combine two themes into a more extended form, the Harvest Dance song by variation of a longer *A ab*, the Spirit Adoption song by more complex manipulation in the song center and recapitulation, *A B A*, and hence a high maintone.

3. Three themes, usually with the third theme inserted in the second half, *bc b*, as in Harvest Dance Song 6 and Spirit Release Song 22, where *a* and *b* recur as *a'* and *b'*. In Harvest Dance Songs 29 and 30 the third theme is in the nature of a coda, *abbcc*.

Themes *a* and *b* are often developed, by various means:

1. Variation of intervals in a sequence, as in Spirit Adoption Song 49.
2. Lengthening, as in Harvest Dance Song 4 (*b*); Spirit Release Song 6; Spirit Adoption Songs 8, 50.
3. Shortening, as in Harvest Dance Song 4 (*a-*); Spirit Release Song 22 (*a-*); Spirit Adoption Songs 5, 21-24.¹

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4. Inversion, as in Harvest Dance Songs 12, 13, 18-21, 38; Spirit Release Songs 2, 12; Spirit Adoption Songs 5, 10, 13, 21, 33-40, 48.

5. Insertion of an extra measure, as in Harvest Dance Songs 7, 10, 34; Spirit Adoption Songs 12, 30.

6. Omission of a measure, as in Spirit Adoption Songs 21-24, 41-42.

7. Free development, as in all opening songs; Spirit Release Songs 7, 12; Spirit Adoption Songs 33-36, 45, 59-60.

Within the scope of an entire song, each theme is generally repeated. The most common device could be codified as *AABAB*, with the first theme (*A*) stated by the leader with drum tremolo, and continued by all singers with the statement and repetition of *AB* accompanied by duple drum beat. In Harvest Dance songs this constitutes a complete rendering. But in Spirit Release and Spirit Adoption the song must be repeated four times, thus greatly prolonging the ceremony. The entries of women in Harvest Dance and of helpers in Spirit Adoption have been mentioned in chapters 2 and 4. The total repertoire contains many subtle means of repeat, of *a* or *b* or both, sometimes terminating with *a*. These devices appear in the scores with repeat signs.

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Songs within the Total Event. The three ceremonies differ in their dramatic structure and in the manner of grouping songs. The Harvest Dance is a continuous performance terminating a longer Iroquois ceremony. Probably formerly, when it really lasted for four nights, song groups were followed by periods of rest, prayer or feasting, especially after the acceleration in the middle of the series. Now one song follows another with a few seconds' pause and one group follows another with only a minute or so intervening, with drumming and dancing circuit by ambling. The eight sections include a homogeneous song type, but each section is distinct from the other by tempo, rhythm, construction and movement. Yet certain song and movement characteristics recur here and there and tie together the whole dance drama, as the songs with Tutelo step and the vivacious *enskanye* songs. The evaluation of these artistic phenomena belongs in a special concordance of music and dance at the end of this chapter.

The Spirit Release songs form a continuous, nuclear part of the entire ceremony, in between prayers and feasting. They are grouped with mathematical precision, four songs to a group, with a series of sharp drum beats marking the group's end. Between the groups the singers may pause very briefly to catch their

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breath, or they may take time for a drink of berry juice. The song style is very homogeneous, though varied as to rhythmic patterns. Thus all twenty-four songs extend to an octave, except for Song 23.

In contrast, the Spirit Adoption Ceremony includes the music and simple dance movements in a prolonged and elaborate drama, and it combines action with singing. As in Spirit Release, each song is repeated four times and also it forms part of a group of four songs. For certain episodes such as the Striking Sticks distribution and the announcement of dawn, two similar songs form a group. Each group terminates with a drum signal and sometimes a cry. Generally, within a ceremonial section, one fourfold group follows the other promptly, but in the first half of the drama, through Song 40, the singers may announce a lengthy pause for social dances.

After the introductory chants, the first forty songs combine into a long and relatively homogeneous musical section. But they make use of many types of rhythms, scales and structures. Sometimes they are grouped in pairs, or by fours, or by eights (Songs 33-40), with almost identical recurrences of the same tune. But again they may succeed one another with variations in style and even in pitch. The elusive groups from Song 9 to Song 16 are

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continually shifting in tonality and form. This long ceremonial section is separated from the ensuing section by a feast.

The second major section--Songs 41-60--is divided into subsections, each with its special song style. The Striking Sticks songs are more affirmative and clearcut than the Songs 9-16. They share a similar tempo and style, but they are distinct one from the other. They are, in fact, individual songs by the various singers, with group help as customary. The dawn and recessional songs--Songs 51-60--form a dramatic unit which is fairly homogeneous stylistically. They exploit upbeats and semitones, and thus they create a groping and nostalgic mood of farewell to the spirit.

Between the large song groups many other ritual events bring moments of relaxation, some short, some long, some verbal, some musical. Perhaps the climax is the episode of Striking Sticks songs and gift-giving. This is the liveliest section, with most group action, and with tempo acceleration. It resolves into a threnody, not unlike the structure of Greek drama.

Speck diagrammed this total drama, with reference to events but without consideration of the song character (1942:74).

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MUSIC AND DANCE

While Spirit Release Ceremony contains no dancing and Spirit Adoption permits very minimal dance movement, the harvest rite is as varied in its choreographic as in its musical aspects. It falls into eight distinct sections. The melodies differ for each section, but they fall into three tonal categories, and they show recurrent uses of temporal devices. Figure 5.1 displays the temporal factors in the three tonal categories. Figure 5.2 groups the tonal materials. Table 4 relates the steps to the scale types of the eight sections. The letters S, M, L refer to the size of the movement--small (step 4-5 inches), medium (9 inches), large (28 inches).

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Table 4. Steps and Scales of the Harvest Dance

Quartal	Quartertial	Tertial
I. No dancing		
II. Tutelo step M		
	III. Tutelo step Mime M	IV. Side Shuffle S
V. Enskanye S		
	VI. Stride Mime L	
	VII. Tutelo step M	
		VIII. Enskanye S

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A comparison of the various figures and tables suggests some relationships:

1. Small movements--side shuffle and *enskanye*--are specialties of tertial scales, though *enskanye* is also associated with some quartal scales. They are in the middle and end of the ceremony. They combine with melodies with fast tempo, complex rhythms, and limited range of three to five tones.

2. Medium movements are associated first with quartal, later with quartertertial scales, with moderate tempo, fairly complex rhythmic units, and ranges five to eight tones.

3. Large movements are associated only with quartertertial scales, in slow tempo, with simple rhythms, and with an octave range.

4. Mime is associated only with quartertertial scales, with medium or large movements, slow tempo, average rhythms and ranges.

5. The dance movements are not intimately dependent on melodic patterns as they are on the tempo, but their size is related to tonal factors. The movements and scales effect a sort of artistic compensation with the melodic patterns. That is, their size and complexity is in inverse ratio to the rhythmic and structural complexity of the melodies.

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The principle of artistic compensation also is operative in the Spirit Adoption Ceremony, that is, small scale songs have complex rhythms. But in the Harvest Dance the movements reinforce this principle. The above conclusions are important in defining Tutelo style, and they are basic to the discussion in chapter 6. Meanwhile, table 5 coordinates musical and kinetic factors. It refers both to chapter 5 and to chapter 6.

Table 5. HARVEST DANCE--MUSIC AND MOVEMENT

Section	Songs	Tempo	Rhythmic Units					Scale			Range			Steps			Mime
			1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	421	431	31	3-5	5-8	8-9	S	N	L		
I	1-6	84-88	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	---	x	x	---	---	---	---	---
II	7-17	84-88	x	---	x	x	x	---	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	---	---
III	19-21	88	x	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	---	x
IV	22-25	88-92	x	---	x	x	---	---	x	x	x	---	---	x	---	---	---
V	26-30	96	x	x	---	x	x	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	---
VI	31	84	x	---	---	---	---	x	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	x	x
VII	32-36	88-112	x	---	---	x	x	---	---	---	x	---	---	---	---	x	---
VIII	37-40	104-112	---	---	x	---	---	---	x	x	---	---	---	---	---	x	---

TUTULO STYLES AND INTERTRIBAL CONTACTS

This chapter will relate the Tutelo characteristics in the three ceremonies to historical factors of intertribal contacts. The presentation will be in three parts, a comparison of music and dance styles, a consideration of cultural patterns, and a hypothesis concerning the artistic effects of intertribal contacts.

The Six Nations Iroquois have for over two centuries influenced the Tutelo, almost to the point of assimilation. A justified comparison of styles has the backing of a vast repertoire of Iroquois music and dance. Among the Iroquoian tribes who adjoined the Tutelo in the seventeenth century, the Tuscarora must be ignored, for they have joined the northern Iroquois and have furthermore lost all of their original culture. The Cherokee have in part been removed to Oklahoma, but a contingent remains in North Carolina. Some dance descriptions and a few songs are available, but of course these may have changed since the seventeenth century.

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Among the Algonquian neighbors of yore, only a fragment of Delaware dance music and no Coastal Algonquian culture remains. The Shawnee, now in Oklahoma, have preserved some available ritual arts. Much material is on hand from Algonquians further removed, around the Great Lakes. Siouans were also some distance from the Tutelo. Some Choctaw and Omaha music is published, and more music of the High Plains. Some descriptions and songs are available for the Yuchi, Creek, and Seminole, now in Oklahoma and Florida.

COMPARISON OF THE CEREMONIAL ARTS

Instead of comparing the arts tribe by tribe, I shall proceed according to ceremonial constituents. That is, I shall show similarities and differences in dance, music, and dramatic structure. This procedure will help in the definition of peculiarly Tutelo characteristics.

Dance. Counterclockwise circling is the predominant longhouse ground plan, and it prevails throughout the Eastern Woodlands, though not in a prescribed number of four times (Spirit Adoption Ceremony). Around the Great Lakes and in the Great Plains the tribes go clockwise, except for the Oklahoma expatriates from the southeast. This trait appears as a result of geographical

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location. Pairing and cross-overs are fairly common in Iroquois choreography, sometimes between members of the same sex, sometimes by mixed couples. (See the second part of the Chicken Dance, chapter 4.) The Cherokee also make some use of cross-overs between pairs, within a general circular arrangement (Cherokee singer Awigadoga, communication).

The side shuffle is a widespread step, to the right in the Woodlands, to the left in the clockwise area, sometimes with local variants. The Tutelo shuffle is identical with the Iroquoian. The *enskanye* step permeates much of the Iroquois repertoire, as a special women's dance, and as insert within other, mixed dances. As already mentioned, the Tutelo claim that they gave it to the Iroquois, a suggestion that finds support in musical similarities. Apparently the modern Cherokee and other southeasterns do not use the *enskanye*, but eighteenth century Cherokee women twisted their feet in a step that sounds like the *enskanye* (Bartram 1791 [1928]:299). A description of the women's step in the Shawnee (Oklahoma) Bread Dance sounds like the *enskanye* (John Gillespie, communication). In short, the only certain performers of this step are the modern Iroquois and Tutelo. In contrast, the "Tutelo step" is not typical of the Iroquois. A side-to-side swaying suggests this step-brush, as the women await their cue by the

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singers' bench in the Fishing Dance. It is common among Great Lakes Algonquians, especially the Menomini of Wisconsin and the Meskwaki, formerly of Michigan, now of Iowa. The "stomp step," which concludes the Spirit Adoption Ceremony, is generally Woodland. It does not occur in the Four Nights Harvest Dance.

In the Harvest Dance the mimetic episodes distinguish this dance from Iroquois dances. The Iroquois suggest animals by their postures, but they do not use mimetic gestures. The women's arm jiggling in *enskanye* has no mimetic connotations. It seems significant that the Tutelo mime is associated with the Tutelo step in two variants, a short step and a long stride, and with distinctive songs (fig. 1.4, Songs 18-21 and fig. 1.7, Song 31). Among other tribes, the Cherokee make special use of gestures, as corn pouring during the Corn Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:77). The gesture codes of the Pueblo Indians and British Columbia are quite different and could hardly have influenced the Tutelo.

The traditional, demure quality of feminine movement agrees with Iroquois standards. However, the stride is larger than usual.

Music. The manner of instrument manipulation and of singing also is Iroquoian-- the thin female voices, the male resonant voices. Drum and rattle tremolo and duple beats are identical. So is the

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pattern of singers' entrances. The Iroquois order of leader, then helper, then ensemble, prevails and in Spirit Adoption Ceremony is even expanded because of the quadruple pattern. The entrance of the female voices in sections of Harvest Dance is the same as in three great Iroquois ceremonies for women, one mortuary, two for curative purposes.

The instruments are largely but not entirely Iroquois. The small water drum is of Iroquois construction, but the drum sticks may take special forms, and a small bag of tobacco is attached to the drum. This type of drum is common in the Woodlands and it resembles the Algonquian medicine or Midewiwin drum. It differs from the Oklahoma water drum made of pottery and even more from the huge Plains and Pueblo drums. The horn rattle is identical with the Iroquoian in construction and manipulation, except that it is never a singer-dancer self-accompanying instrument, as in the Iroquois Corn Dance. The Striking Sticks, however, never appear in the longhouse. On Six Nations Reserve they are restricted to wakes. The Choctaw used sticks (Densmore 1943:159). So did Omaha mourners (Fletcher and La Flesche 1893:122; La Flesche 1889). Male dancers' deer-hoof knee rattles mentioned by Speck (1942:27) are now rare in the longhouse. They evidently used to have a vast distribution, and they still appear far away, in New Mexico and northern Mexico.

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The instrumental tempo, and hence the melodic and dance tempo, resembles the Iroquoian, except that it is more uniform, and, in general, a little slower. The usual Tutelo tempo is 88 M.M., the Iroquois 104 M.M. (the stomp tempo). The fastest Tutelo speed for the *enskanyé*, 112 M.M., is the Iroquois *enskanyé* speed. But the Iroquois Feather Dance speeds up much more. And, on the other hand, some Iroquois songs have a much slower beat, as the Bean Dance and, with drum syncopation, the Death Feast. The Cherokee have a moderate tempo and a duple beat, like the Tutelo. Algonquians and most Plains tribes also favor the moderate duple beat, however, with more variation in speed than the Tutelo. Towards the west, percussion complexities increase, especially in British Columbia; and any similarities with the Tutelo cease.

The rhythmic units of melodies have a similar distribution. It is impossible to detect any differences between Iroquois and Tutelo rhythmic units. The Cherokee and Central Algonquians favor the even rhythm of unit 2 (fig. 5.0) (Kurath 1956, 1959, 1961). The Creek and Yuchi use more short-clipped snaps and fast units (Speck 1909, 1911) and so do the Choctaw, or did (Densmore 1943). More westerly tribes use some of the simple rhythms and also more complex configurations. In the phrases, the larger combinations of units, each tribe shows individuality, including the Iroquois as distinguished from the Tutelo. The Omaha Funeral Song resembles

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the Tutelo as much as do the Iroquois rhythms (See Fishing Dance in figure 4.4 for an Iroquois type). In one characteristic the Tutelo seem unique, in their extensive use of upbeats, especially in Harvest Dance Song 31 (fig. 1.7) and the last Spirit Adoption songs (fig. 3.11).

Quartal scales prevail among most tribes, especially among the Iroquois, Algonquians, and Northern Siouans. They also are common in Creek and Yuchi songs (perhaps under the influence of their present Siouan neighbors). Tertial scales appear in animal dance songs of the Menomini, older songs of their culture (Kurath 1959), and they are common in Iroquois Fish type and also some agricultural dances. They virtually monopolize the Cherokee song style. On the other hand, quartertertial scales--543 1--show rare appearances: in three Iroquois rites--a Corn song, a Bean song and a Pigeon song--and in some Omaha and Pawnee rites (Fletcher and La Flesche 1893:7). This scale is characteristic of many Tutelo songs, in Harvest Dance and Spirit Adoption Ceremony.

The range of a fifth or an octave also is pan-Indian. But the Iroquois and Algonquians may extend their scales to thirteen tones, the former also may shrink them to a monotone. Western tribes may use huge scales of thirteen tones, the Teton Sioux even of seventeen tones (Densmore 1918, no. 195). The Tutelo Harvest Dance has eight songs with a range of a seventh. This is unusual.

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The Cherokee also use this range, but by means of "chained thirds," 7 5 3 1. The Tutelo build up to this range by clusters of seconds as well as thirds, for instance, in Songs 18-21 (fig. 1.4), a scale of 43 17 5, centered on the maintone. Here is another Tutelo peculiarity.

The Tutelo resemble the Iroquois in their use of intervals, varied but never huge, rarely exceeding a fourth and never exceeding a fifth within a tune. The Tutelo use direct fourths more than the Iroquois, though they share the fondness for indirect fourths--43 1 or 4 21. They use thirds less than do the Cherokee, but about as frequently as do the Great Lakes Algonquians. Adjacent, open fourths, as in Spirit Release Song 12 (fig. 2.3), are exceptional. They resemble the usage among Siouans of the Great Plains. The Tutelo lay claim to a unique feature in the use of intervals, namely, in the semitone. This unusual interval appears frequently in Spirit Adoption Ceremony in the series of Songs 9-16 (fig. 3.3) and in the concluding recessional songs (figs. 3.10, 3.11). The Iroquois very rarely use a semitone--in a song derived from the Cherokee, a Bean Dance song (Kurath 1961:195). For songs rich in semitones we must travel far, to the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona, to the Kwakiutl of British Columbia, and to the Dogrib tribe near Slave Lake.

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The Iroquois employ the same cadences as the Tutelo, even in combination with the same rhythmic units. For instance, Fishing Dance (fig. 4.4) has the combination of rhythmic unit 10 with cadence 54 21. The Iroquois would use the cadence 32123, but with whole tones, not with the semitone as in Spirit Adoption Songs 57-60 (fig. 3.11). The 8 565 seems to be a specially Tutelo cadence. Other tribes show less agreement with Tutelo usage. This suggests musical exchange between the tribes on Six Nations Reserve.

Iroquois and Tutelo also agree on their contour types. They favor songs with a descending trend with much up-and-down wavering on the way. They also have songs with a generally undulating design, centered on a maintone (Fenton and Kurath 1953:261-263). Their usage resembles that of the Cherokee and Central Algonquians. It contrasts with the steeply descending trend of the Great Plains, and the pyramidal contour of Pueblo kachina songs. The Tutelo lack one contour type, which appears in Iroquois and Cherokee stomp dances, and even more frequently in Creek songs. The Stomp Dance in chapter 4 (fig. 4.2) illustrates this type, with its opening around the maintone, the broadening above and below the maintone, and the return to the limited range, thus *A* (narrow), *B* (wide), *A* (narrow).

This contour (and structural) type is identified with a phenomenon which is absent in the Tutelo Ceremonies, but is most

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conspicuous in Iroquois songs and in Woodland songs of the southeast and even the North Atlantic Coast--namely, antiphony. The antiphonal stomp dance songs usually rise in the middle. There are exceptions, as the mildly antiphonal Corn Dance song in chapter 4 (fig. 4.1). It is amazing that the Tutelo should not have shared this custom. Perhaps they did and have not preserved their antiphonal songs. Or, perhaps, after all, they introduced the Corn Dance, *oneha*, songs and stomp dance to the Iroquois.

The contours are associated with structural devices in other ways. The terrace descents usually derive from sequences; the undulating contours derive from inversions and other forms of thematic development. The Iroquois and Tutelo devices for development are very similar, except that the Iroquois have ceremonies with free development, as False Face and Feather Dances. Neither the Tutelo nor the Iroquois make as extensive or as cleancut use of descending sequence as do the Central Algonquians, or the Oklahoma composers of "Round Dance" songs. But they do exploit it as a device for coherence. In fact, the Tutelo Harvest Dance Songs 18-21 (fig. 1.4) and 31 (fig. 1.7)--the songs for mime--are sequential, with undulating contours.

In the construction of whole songs the Tutelo and the Iroquois use varied devices of repetition. Both tribes favor a structure that can be schematized as *AABAB* and another (less

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common in Tutelo rituals), *AABABA*. They construct the large sections, *A* and *B*, from subthemes, *a*, *a'*, *b*, *b'*, sometimes *c*, etc. The *AABAB* structure is associated with the pattern of leader statement, helper statement, and ensemble completion. This structure also prevails in the Great Lakes and in Oklahoma. While the harvest rite singers repeat their songs twice, as is customary among the Iroquois, the singers of the Tutelo mortuary rites must repeat them four times. This agrees with Algonquian practices.

Sometimes the different song sections have choreographic equivalents, sometimes they do not. In Harvest Dance Song 37 (fig. 1.9), as in Iroquois Chicken Dance and many other dances, each song section and repeat calls for a different step and formation, and at the same time for a distinctive drum beat. On the other hand, the songs with mime continue without any change in the dance action, as do Iroquois *enskanye* and many other songs. Other tribes show a similar distinction in their repertoires, songs with sections for different movements, and songs without change. This complicated creative phenomenon has no tribal restrictions.

As appendages to the general song structure, short calls may open or close songs. Harvest rite songs usually conclude with a double call on the fifth or tonic with a connecting glide. This call has southerly affiliations. It is evident in the Iroquois

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Corn, Bean and other agrarian dances. The opening *yo* in Tutelo Spirit Release is distinctive and persistent. The sporadic *hiyo* in Spirit Adoption resembles some Iroquois openings. Terminal animal cries or yelps appear in the songs of many tribes.

Structure of the Ritual Drama. The three Tutelo ceremonies share many melodic qualities, but they differ in total structure and setting. The Harvest Dance, which features women, is a continuous but eclectic suite of songs and dances. It is included in a large Iroquois ceremony once or twice a year, always in the longhouse. The Spirit Release, performed by men, is a continuous and homogeneous series of songs, enclosed in a frequent, domestic ritual. The Spirit Adoption Ceremony, which features men and women, is a complex yet fairly homogeneous ceremony, with its own ritual episodes. It takes place frequently in the winter, in a home or in a longhouse.

The Tutelo ceremonies share one feature with one another and with Iroquois observances. They all begin with an invocal chant to percussion tremolo, without dancing. After that, they vary.

If the Harvest Dance were lifted out of its present setting and were stretched into an independent rite with preliminaries and a final feast, would it resemble other tribal harvest rituals?

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The song-dance would still be in the form of a suite, all sung by men and danced by women, sometimes with self-accompaniment. This recalls the suite-like structure of the Iroquois summer Food Spirit festivals, in the Cayuga Longhouses and until recently in the Onondaga Longhouse. The suite includes Feather Dance for all, *enskanye* for women, and a series of mixed round dances, mostly antiphonal, namely, Stomp, Corn, Bean (Hand-in-hand) and sometimes Squash. In the Seneca Longhouse and for the last few years at Onondaga the series is limited to two Feather Dances and *enskanye*. The female role of the harvest ritual is reminiscent of Iroquois female medicine rites and Ohgiwe Death Feast. These are stylistically homogeneous celebrations, which may conclude with mixed social dancing.

The suite-like structure is also reminiscent of Cherokee and even more of Creek and Yuchi harvest celebrations. Until recently the North Carolina Cherokee held a Bean Ceremony and a little and big Green Corn Ceremony. The big Green Corn Ceremony had four outdoor periods, with dances by men and women separately, then jointly (Speck and Broom 1951:45-53). The Oklahoma Creek celebrate an outdoor, four-day Busk in July, with specific series of events on each day; on the last day and night are all kinds of dances, for men or women or both, for vegetable and animal spirits, even some medicine rites. According to Witthoft's

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sources, the eighteenth century festivals lasted eight days, with a special "long dance" for women on the fourth day, and also with many kinds of dances on the final day and night (1949:52-70). In comparison, the Tutelo dance lacks male participation and animal mime.

The Cherokee, Creek (and related Seminole) have not featured mortuary ceremonies, as do the Tutelo, Iroquois, and also the Central Algonquians. The Tutelo Spirit Release Ceremony has the compact structure of the homogeneous, though prolonged Iroquois medicine and death rituals. It especially resembles the "sings," the wakes and ten-day feasts. It seems to resemble Central Algonquian death feasts even more, according to reliable notes on the Meskwaki (Fox). Jones describes a "Kigano" at death, with mourning songs and a midnight feast (1939:69). Michelson writes that Wailing Songs are dangerous. They are long, paired songs, repeated twice (1930:154-170). He also tells of a Ghost Feast. He and Jones describe an elaborate Adoption Ceremony.

The Meskwaki Adoption Ceremony resembles the Tutelo Spirit Adoption more than any Iroquois Ceremony. Many tribes, including the Iroquois, Pawnee, and others, hold adoptions by a living person of a living child or adult. The Meskwaki, like the Tutelo, symbolically reincarnate a deceased person as an Adoptee of the same sex and age. They must do this within four years after the

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death, otherwise the spirit will turn into an owl. The ceremony has a tone of gladness, with dancing to kettle drum and gourd rattles, games (the favorites of the deceased), dressing of the Adoptee, gift-giving, and feasting (Jones 1939; Michelson 1925:385-481). The celebrants circuit the indoor sanctuary, "wickiup," four times. The dance step seems to resemble that now used in the Tutelo Ceremony (Jones 1939:67-71).

The general structure of the Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony also resembles Meskwaki structure. The Central Algonquian gens and other festivals do not build up gradually as do the major Iroquois rituals. They alternate song-dance with other ritual events, thus: preliminaries, song without dance, songs with dancing, speech, dancing, speech and feast, dancing, big feast, dancing recessional--everything by fours (Michelson 1930; Jones 1939). They all take place indoors, under the sponsorship of a specific gens.

Spirit Adoption customs survive in the Menomini and Potawatomi Shawanoga ritual. Ghost Suppers persevere even among Catholic Ottawa. Possibly they formerly resembled the Meskwaki rituals.

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CULTURAL CLUES

The rituals derive from many cultural factors. I will outline some clues that appear in the economy and in the beliefs of the Tutelo, Iroquois, and adjacent tribes.

Ritual and Economy. The economic structures and customs are reflected in the Harvest Dance more than in the mortuary ceremonies. The tribes in question share maize economy and ritualism. The Iroquois celebrate a series of first fruit rites, culminating in the big Corn Ceremony. Such rituals used to enjoy a wide distribution in the Woodlands. They found their most intense expression in the Creek Busk (Witthoft 1949). But they included other fruits and also animal harvests in the course of the celebrations. The Tutelo certainly shared in the economy of their Piedmont neighbors, just as they now share in the ways of the Iroquois. Probably, like the Shawnee, they depended on the hunt as much as on agriculture (Voegelin 1940). The absence of animal mime in the Harvest Dance is perplexing, but it does not prove such an absence two centuries ago. In fact, Speck salvaged a Hunting Formula (1942:109).

The migration of the Tutelo from a warm to a cold climate may throw some light on the peculiar placement of the strawberry-picking mime, after the corn mime. In the southerly Piedmont the

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Tutelo would have celebrated the first green corn not much later than the Creek Busk, that is, in July. The migration to northern seasons in Ontario would synchronize this date with the time of the strawberry harvest, and this might encourage amalgamation of a strawberry and green corn festival.

The maize growers have conceded a more important position to women than was customary in hunting cultures. The women were the cultivators. Iroquois women now limit their cultivation to small gardens, while the men cultivate the large acreage. But the women still represent the Three Life-giving Sisters: Corn, Beans and Squash. They are the clan mothers. And they exercise considerable influence even in political matters. Speck quotes John Buck, "The men depend upon the women as the beans cling on the corn (stalks) when growing" (1942:120). Speck stresses the role of women, even in the Spirit Adoption Ceremony (1942:78) and he describes their ritual functions in Cayuga ceremonies (1949:26, 39, 41). Kurath has choreographed special women's corn rituals (1964, 1968). Thus the Tutelo attitude towards women found an echo among the Cayuga. And, again, the Cayuga and Onondaga would accept a female dance ritual readily. The women are fulfilling their roles as mothers and food-givers in song and movement.

Women are important in mortuary ceremonies. They perform special curative rites. They participate in many animal dances,

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among the Creek as well as among the Iroquoians. They and the men symbolize the dichotomy and interplay of the sexes in ceremonies and in social dances.

Women fulfill a significant role among the maize-growing Algonquians, as the Shawnee, but they play a secondary part in northern climates, where the tribal men are the hunters, warriors and gens fathers (see Driver 1961: 254-255, 534-535; maps 29, 32).

Beliefs. All American tribes respect their dead, and they dispatch the spirit with a ritual. Not all tribes dwell on ghosts and on repeated ceremonies in their honor. The Tutelo stress mortuary rituals.

Their former neighbors, the Cherokee and Creek, did not hold great memorials, at least not at the dawn of history. But the eighteenth century Tutelo and their relatives, the Saponi, laid considerable stress on memorials, albeit in a domestic setting. William Byrd gave one of the few accounts of religious beliefs, when he told of the path to the spirit land and of a fork in the path (Dorsey 1894:519). This is one of the themes in the texts of the Spirit Release Ceremony.

The Tutelo shared and still share in widespread beliefs about the journey of the soul to the spirit land. Algonquians and certain Siouans (Omaha and Hidatsa) believed that a spirit

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wandered on earth for four days and nights before setting out on the final path. Hence female relatives lighted fires on the grave for four nights to light the way, and they offered food. A strong guard conducted the good and the bad on a path, till they came to a fork. The right-hand, level road lead to a charming land abounding in fruit and game, while the left-hand, stony path led to a wintry place of misery. Evil spirits fell off a footbridge or rolling log into a turbulent stream. Good spirits went to the land of bliss, or, according to the Omaha, they reached the Milky Way. They could return to earth when called. (Dorsey 1894:516-518; Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:590; Jones 1939:69-71).

The division of spirits into the good and the bad seems to reveal Christian influence. Christian ideology has made its way to the longhouse, and appears in Richard Buck's term, "heaven," for the spirit land. As a mixed belief, the journey to the other world features in the lore of modern Indians, even the Protestant Ojibwa (communication).

The modern Iroquois and Tutelo retain an intense belief in spirits of the dead. They revere them and invite their presence at ceremonies in their honor, but they also fear an encounter with a ghost, especially a vengeful ghost. They tell of such meetings (Fenton and Kurath 1951:162-163). They must hold rituals to send them to the spirit land or to re-dispatch them, on the rays of the

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rising sun. The Tutelo, but not the Iroquois, believe that a spirit will be restless if it cannot welcome a proxy on earth. At the Spirit Adoption Ceremony the honored spirit but also the other tribal dead gather near the people and they share the feast. Hence the Tutelo must time the ceremony for the winter months. The spirits bring frost.

The structure of the mortuary ceremonies and the associated beliefs stress an ancient numerical symbol. All ritual actions must come in fours--the repeats, the number of songs in a group, the number of circuits. This symbolism, which probably derives from the concept of the four cardinal directions, pervades Creek, Algonquian and Siouan cults, but not Iroquois ceremonies. Thus the Harvest Dance fits into the twofold patterning of the Iroquois, and the mortuary ceremonies maintain the older Tutelo pattern of four, multiplied by six or nine.

HYPOTHESIS OF TUTELO CHARACTER AND OF BORROWINGS

The scattered comparisons from observation and from literature leave many gaps, for the patterns and even the locations of the former Tutelo neighbors have changed. Yet the fragments suggest conclusions about Tutelo characteristics and about cross-influences.

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Tutelo Characteristics. The Tutelo share many artistic elements with other tribes, especially with the Iroquois and with Central Algonquians. They also display preferences for certain elements that are rare or absent among their past and present neighbors. The elements are, in dance, the Tutelo step and its variants, and agricultural mime. In music they are a special preference for moderate tempi and moderate tonal ranges, the unusual (elsewhere) 54 31 scale, the range of a seventh, elusive rhythms and tonality at times, and semitones. In certain cadences, contours and structural devices they recall the Iroquois, perhaps as a result of influence.

In dramatic content and structure they show some Iroquoian characteristics, but in the Harvest Dance they suggest their former contacts with the Creek to their south, and in the mortuary rites they show similarities with their former Algonquian neighbors to the northwest. They probably held the harvest rites outdoors in a plaza, as did the Cherokee and Creek. But they almost certainly held the mortuary rites indoors, in a domestic setting, according to archaeological evidence.

Harvest Dance forms suggest the following derivations:

1. The central Section III, with side shuffle and limited melodies, derives from a widespread, ancient substratum, possibly

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from a former animal dance.

2. Sections II and VII show Algonquian resemblances in music and step.

3. Section IV mixes an Algonquian-type step with Cherokee-type mime and a unique melody.

4. Section VI is uniquely Tutelo in all respects.

5. Sections I, V and VIII resemble Iroquois music and dance. The *enskanyo* may have wandered either way, according to the Tutelo as their own legacy to the Iroquois.

Though the Harvest Dance is especially eclectic, many longer rituals combine sections of different origins and periods. Thus the Iroquois Eagle Dance shows two influences within the song series, and even more within the entire ceremony (Fenton and Kurath 1953:300-301). The long Pawnee Hako combined assorted styles and symbols (ibid.:275-276). In ceremonies on Six Nations Reserve, musical development seems to grow from the inside out, whether the ritual is homogeneous or complex; and the most developed songs are at the beginning. The Drum or Thanksgiving Dance is an example. Sometimes the last songs also appear archaic, as in the Iroquois False Face and Death Ceremonies and in the Tutelo Harvest Dance.

The Tutelo mortuary ceremonies appear definitely Tutelo, though the Spirit Adoption songs suggest some Iroquois influences,

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especially in rhythmic units. Within its several parts, this ceremony maintains a consistent style. The beginning songs are the most developed, the middle songs of the Bead Giving are the most archaic, and the end songs are also simple and "archaic." They exhibit Tutelo characteristics in every respect. If the Iroquois influenced any of the songs, they contributed to the development of the beginning songs and perhaps also the Striking Sticks songs.

The question of Iroquois influence deserves further exploration. The influence appears inevitable after two centuries of proximity. The process of influence is connected with the process of change. Studies of change can draw on concrete musical materials which span sixty-six years.

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

It is expedient to reverse the order of chapter 6 and to mention cultural change before the resultant artistic change.

CULTURAL METAMORPHOSIS

It is difficult to imagine a more disheartening fate than the Tutelo uprooting and migrations. They were perfectly happy in their prosperous Piedmont home. They had a "venerable mien." There were considered the "most honest and brave Indians the Virginians had ever known" (Mooney 1894:49). By 1722 their culture and character were feeling the demoralizing influences of White encroachment and of the dissolute frontier ways. They were herded together with other southern tribes in Fort Christanna (ibid.:43). The breakdown continued during their northerly trek, until, during their Pennsylvania residence in Shamokin in 1748, they appeared to missionaries as "a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards who crowded in rude wonder around the horses of the Brethren" (Claude E. Schaeffer in Speck 1942:xiii).

By the time that they joined the amiable Cayuga, they had lost

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their native material culture, dressed and lived like White frontiersmen, and had lost the cleanly habits of their forbears, who "had more the air of cleanliness than any copper-Coloured Beauties I had ever seen" (Miller 1957:128). But the migration to the vicinity of Six Nations Reserve brought a change for the better. They built a new village and a longhouse, probably a log structure similar to the Iroquois Longhouses. A second generation had grown up and adjusted to the harsher climate, the changing economy, and ritual modifications. They evidently became quite cheerful. They were considered a "jovial, uproarious lot" (Mooney 1894:56). At this time they held their own ceremonies, though they may have swapped dances with the Iroquois. They held their own social dances and they sometimes terminated these in a turmoil recalling the "Mad Dance" of the Creek.

This time prosperity proved their undoing. Dissipation and disease forced them to give up their independent existence. At Six Nations Reserve they came under the influence of the Handsome Lake Code, a sobering influence (Wallace 1961). By 1848 they were evidently prepared for full acceptance of the Iroquois way of life and ceremonialism. They recognized many similarities with their own traditions. Reciprocally, they could offer rituals which were congenial to the Iroquois.

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The Tutelo-Cayuga mixture proved fruitful, genetically and ritualistically. The Tutelo of today are neither dissipated nor uproarious. They are gentle, dignified, sometimes stubborn people. They are among the conservatives of Six Nations Reserve. They seem defiant towards the White material culture. They do not accept it fully. Peter Buck refused to send his grandchildren to school, though his son Roy had an education. Except for Ethel Winnie, who has a neat, modern home, the Tutelo-Cayuga live in simple, but tidy homes, without modern conveniences. Roy Buck and his family own a charming, old log cabin half a mile from the road. They work their modest plot of ground and grow corn and other vegetables. Roy and his sons earn their living entirely through singing and dancing, on Six Nations Reserve and at shows as far away as Raleigh, North Carolina, and Macon, Georgia.

Roy Buck is the closest approximation to a full-time ritualist. The Iroquois have no professional preacher, but they repeatedly call upon their wise men and their experienced singers for the many ritual occasions. Other members of the Buck family are also dedicated to ritual music. No longer are they "fierce."

Since the Tutelo removal to the Cayuga settlement, all good singers command both repertoires, though Tutelo descendants remain leaders in their own ceremonial songs. Onondaga and Cayuga women have learned to lead the Harvest Dance. Some Iroquois and some

Tutelo men seem to know the entire vast repertoires of both tribes. It certainly took several generations of gradual learning to effect this complete joining of forces. If the process continues, Tutelo ceremonies will probably be entirely incorporated into the Iroquois system.

Speck intuitively grasps the reasons for this successful process:

It is now, however, time to realize that while the manifold cultural pattern of the Iroquois supervened, from all that we may deduce, in the subsequent life of the Tutelo there remained a national tradition continuously operating in the Tutelo minority among the Cayuga to preserve part of its cultural independence from that epoch down to the present. The political agenda of the Iroquois tolerated, even fostered, the retention of tribal institutions among those minority bodies of natives who voluntarily came to ally themselves with the Long House, not withstanding the circumstances that they be of alien speech-stock and extraction. The Tutelo were evidently of a temper to enjoy this form of institutional freedom with the added dignity of social and political equality accorded them. Their emigration to the north must have radically affected the structure of their economic life through coresidence with a

confederacy of progressive tribes already long adjusted to the conditions of existence on the southern border of the Canadian zone. But, as we infer substantially from tradition among the Cayuga as well as among the Tutelo descendants themselves, the Tutelo preserved the ritualistic and ceremonial solemnities which they cherished distinctly as their own. They have been responsible for the introduction of some elements of the same into the ritual systems of their Iroquois hosts if we are to credit the Cayuga priest-chiefs (1942:2-3).

In his mention of minorities, Speck is referring to various tribes--the Nanticoke and Tuscarora, who are absorbed ritually though still identified tribally, and the Delaware, who held a Bear Ceremony of their own for many years but have now lost it. Only the Tutelo have maintained their ritual identity.

ARTISTIC CHANGE

The sources for the study of artistic change are more concrete than for the inspection of intertribal derivations, but they also leave much to be desired. Descriptions of the dances are scant and recent. Musical transcriptions offer problems, because of the change in techniques of recording between 1898 and 1964, and

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because of the different techniques in the transcriptions of Cringan, Herzog and Kurath. The most secure source for observations on the nature of change is the series of recordings at my disposal, the 1941 disc recordings by Fenton, and my own recordings of 1952, 1963 and 1964. We will try to make the best of the material, old and new, for the three great ceremonies.¹

Four Nights Harvest Dance. David Boyle, the first reporter on the Harvest Dance, made one reassuring and one confusing statement. He described the Four Nights Dance as "really a series of dances, for the music and steps changed frequently." This agrees with the impression of the modern version. But he said that it "was engaged in by men and women" (Boyle 1900:119). That would suggest male participation in the dance. Again, he may have meant the male singing.

In 1936 John Buck was quite definite about the participation, when he told Frank Speck:

The Four Nights Songs were for women to dance only. [Note past tense.] The men sang the songs during the first half of the singing. The women sang the second half of the verses. The dancing was in single file, turning

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counterclockwise. If there were many women dancing, they danced side by side making a double file of dancers. The men who did the singing sat on a bench in the middle of the house. The small drum and the horn rattle were used. The Four Nights Songs are still sung in the same way as they used to be done (Speck 1942:119).

The description could fit modern practices. But another part of John Buck's account shows how the modern version has shrunk in length and in the number of songs. Further comparisons will show that the songs are not sung exactly in the same way as before.

The last time they (the Tutelo) sang these songs was when the Tutelo were living at Tutelo Heights. Then they had a Long House of their own. Since they have settled among the Iroquois these songs are only sung as part of the Iroquois Harvest Ceremony in October. [Now in September.] There are about 80 songs, taking all night to sing them. In old times they would repeat the 80 each night at each of four houses where Tutelo lived. The Tutelo were known for the number of their ceremonies and for their singing. After the Four Nights Songs were sung they would sing other songs. The Bean Dance songs were one of the others.

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The Four Nights Harvest Ceremony included four different kinds of 'dance.' They were all done on the same night in the Long House during the October Ceremony (ibid.:118).

After Four Nights Songs and the Bean Dance, "taken over by the Cayuga from the Tutelo," came the Iroquois Feather Dance and some *adonwe* men's songs, with Tutelo words.

They would perform at one house for a whole night, then go to the other three in succession. At each house where they performed eatables were prepared and eaten by the people present. What was left in the morning was distributed among the people to take home. The singing and dancing lasted all night (ibid:118-119).

This brief description answers two questions. One is the former structure of the ceremony when it was still independent. Evidently it did resemble the Iroquois Food Spirit Dances in structure, though not entirely in content. It included several Cayuga dances. Probably it included prayers and speeches, though Buck does not mention these.

The statement about the eighty songs explains why so few of the songs that Cringan obtained from Kanishandon and Dahkahedondyeh can be equated with later recordings. Of the eight songs Cringan published in 1900, Herzog identified two, the only

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two that he transcribed from Frank Staniford Speck's sessions with John Buck and Deskaheh. Cringan's no. 13 resembles Herzog's no. 7 and Cringan's no. 15 resembles Herzog's no. 8. It also resembles no. 34 as recorded by Peter Buck in 1952 and by Roy Buck in 1964 (fig. 1.8). Nobody states how many songs were current in 1936. Since John Buck remembered eighty songs, Cringan's singers probably recorded a number of tunes that are now extinct and hence defy equation.

Figure 6.0 reproduces the song that is recognizable in the three versions, namely, Cringan's no. 15 (1900:179), Herzog's no. 8 (Speck 1942:94), and Peter and Roy Buck's no. 34 (fig. 1.8). They are the same tune, with considerable variations.

The scale, cadence, and general rhythmic plan are similar, except that Cringan's version ends on the fifth of the scale, the others on the tonic. Structurally they would be similar, if Cringan had not tried to fit the melody into the frame of regular 4/4 metre. Half bars above his version make his tune comparable to the other transcriptions. His version is structurally shorter and simpler than the others. The later versions differ somewhat in their recurrence of themes. Apparently the singers of 1936 (whom Speck recorded) rendered the first measure differently from the third, fourth and fifth, while the singers of 1952 and 1964

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used the same theme as measure 1, in different levels. In Herzog's labelling, the structure is: *abedede, abedee, abede* (Speck 1942:111). I treat his *d* as an expansion of *a*. My labelling for 1952 is: *ab a'a+a' a' a+a' a'*, sung twice over. The 1964 structure is the same, except that *a* is repeated in the first rendering. All three versions have the terminal call. As to the song-texts, there are no words in 1900, and Speck's list of texts on page 119 do not indicate which words belonged to which songs.

Figure 6.1 shows several of Roy Buck's renderings that differ from his father's. The selections, which have the same numbers as Peter's, show the same melodic character, scale, cadences, tempi and words (cf. figs 1.1, 1.6). They deviate in fine points of timing, for instance in the upbeat of Song 3 and the syncopated unit in the third measure of Song 28. Some of the melodic treatment deviates from the earlier version, especially in Song 4. While most of the songs have similar structures, the opening chant of 1964 is longer, with an added *b'* and *c-*, but it is not repeated in toto.

In general Roy's series agrees with Peter's. But he uses a somewhat different order, especially in Section I. He omits Songs 5 and 6 (fig. 1.1). Later on, he sings, in the order of the 1952

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labelling, Songs 12, 17, 16, 10, 15, 15, 13, 14. His Song 30 is the same as Peter's Song 26 (fig. 1.6). He uses somewhat different syllables for the series, Songs 18-21 (fig. 1.4).

18. *weyoho henohi heyo'o hiyahi*
19. *wayaho heyowi hawaja*
20. *hanendo henendo*
21. *hayando henendo*

These deviations are particularly significant in this case, because Roy has tried to preserve his father's tradition. He heard the 1952 recording after he had recorded his own version. Roy noticed the differences, especially in the order. Now that he owns a copy of the earlier recording, he may revert to this tradition. It will be interesting to see whether he does. This would be an important procedure, because he is the leader of these songs in the performances, and he is teaching them to his sons.

Spirit Release Ceremony. Cringan transcribed three Tutelo Burial Songs (1903:141, nos 11, 12, 13). No. 11 is clearly the introductory chant (see fig. 2.1, Song 1), with some differences, as shown in figure 6.2. The melody is the same as in 1952, but the tempo and rhythmic pattern vary. No. 12 resembles no. 2 of

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1952. No. 3 has no equivalent. Nevertheless, I would surmise that changes have been minimal. I have no 1964 version to prove the constancy.

Spirit Adoption Ceremony. According to the reports of living Tutelo ritualists, the Spirit Adoption Ceremony has survived in its entirety as to the ritual events and the number of songs. In practice, each event varies in the sex of the adoptee, the number and placement of the singers, the location (domestic or longhouse) and other elements. The number and identity of the singers has a significant effect on the melodies in the Striking Sticks episode, because each man renders a special song.

This may account for the discrepancies between the four versions of the songs. Cringan transcribed three Spirit Adoption songs (1903:139-141, nos. 1, 2, 3). Not one is equivalent to the songs in later recordings. Herzog transcribed his songs 9-19 from Speck's records by John Buck (Lower Cayuga) and Deskaheh (Upper Cayuga). Song 9 is similar to Roy Buck's introductory chant (fig. 3.0), with the usual freedom of such chants. Song 10 is an enigma. Songs 11-19 are clearly Striking Sticks songs. In fact, Herzog adds a percussion label, "Sticks" (Speck 1942:95-101). The character and the general tonality of the songs agree with the

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later versions. Song 19 has semitones, like later versions, but it is a special tune.

A comparison of two more recent recordings is more fruitful, William N. Fenton's recording in 1941, with Joseph Williams and Freeman Gibson, and my recording of 1964, with Roy Buck. The 1941 collection includes the whole ceremony, except for the introductory chant. The discs are generally of good quality, though some waver because of the field mechanisms. The tapes of 1964 were made with a transistor tape recorder and are reliable. Considering the span of twenty-three years, the long series of Bead Giving Songs shows amazing agreements, even to the elusive qualities of two groups and to the pairing and long repetitions at the end of this episode (Songs 33-40, fig. 3.5). The four excerpts in figure 6.3 show that differences are limited to subtle matters of accent and rhythm and to a few melodic variations. Parentheses enclose the notes that differ melodically from the 1964 version (see figs 3.2, 3.3). The discrepancy in numbering is due to the 1941 omission of the introductory chants.

Major differences appear in the Striking Sticks portion. As the 1941 version has twelve such songs and the 1964 version has eight (Songs 41-48, figs 3.6, 3.7), the earlier version catches up to the numbering of the later version. (That is, both versions of

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the ceremony conclude with Song 60.) Except for the first song, they are all different, as is evident in figure 6.4. This discrepancy is the final link in the explanation of the apparent changes since 1902. The Striking Sticks songs are individual songs which the various singers can select from a large traditional repertoire or which they can even compose within the traditional style. Other ceremonies on Six Nations Reserve include such individual songs, as the *Yeidos* Ceremony of Shamans (Kurath ms. from 1941 Onondaga recordings) and the Women's Society of Planters (Kurath 1968). These individual songs are less *otgon* (possessed of supernatural power) than the others, and would hence be more likely to appear in partial recordings of the ceremony than the ghost-calling songs.

The final songs of 1941 (figure 6.5) resemble the conclusion of 1964, except that the earlier 1941 has four songs, not eight (see figs 3.10, 3.11). The final song pair has the same semitone and the same structure, but the 1941 rendering starts with a strong beat, not with an upbeat. Other rhythmic and melodic distinctions are subtle.

As a generalization on the musical variations in the versions, it appears that the scale and tonality remain stable, that a quartal, quartertial or a tertial song does not in the

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course of time shift to another category. Yet the melodic play within this scale may vary greatly, perhaps as a creative endeavor on the part of each song leader. Also, accents and rhythmic units show some mutation. The basic theme usually recurs in the different versions, but it may undergo development or shrinkage. The opening chants seem particularly subject to expansion and to other modifications. Individual songs adhere to the style of the entire cycle; they fit into the scale and contour patterns of the typical songs. Yet they show more Iroquois qualities than do the set song series.

Though the span of time between 1936 (Speck's recordings) and 1964 (my recordings) is relatively short, Herzog's comments on Tutelo scales have a bearing on the stability of the scale types. He says:

The great variety of scale-themes indicates that not one or two but a number of scale patterns are employed in the melodies. Most of the scales can be ranged into four general groups, of which the first and second contain the scales of most Bean Dance songs, the second the majority of the adowa songs, and the third and fourth most of the songs of the Adoption Ceremony (Speck 1942:88).

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As illustrated on pages 107-108 of Speck 1942, Herzog's first scale is my tertial scale, the second is quartertial, the third is quartal and the fourth is hexatonic. Herzog also includes a fifth scale, which is quartertial. If he had heard more complete recordings he would have noticed the quartertial melodies in the Harvest Dance.

Other comments by Herzog confirm the constancy of certain patterns. Of the contours he says:

Variety, independent of scale structure, may be observed also in the patterns of melodic movement. The great majority of the songs have a predominantly descending trend, of three general kinds. The first consists of descent within one melodic segment, at the bottom of which stand the tonic. In the second type an additional melodic segment carries the movement below the tonic but returns to it for final rests. In the third type the secondary descent carries the melodic weight and the tonic along to the bottom of this second descent (Speck 1942:88).

As a rule, the relation of the contour to the tonic is stable; but figure 6.0 shows that at times it may shift in the course of decades.

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Herzog's comment on page 87 confirms my impressions, especially with regard to the elusive Songs 9-16 of Spirit Adoption Ceremony (fig. 3.3):

A striking feature of the singing is the liberty taken in intonation... Some of what in the Tutelo songs at first glance seem "liberties," must be considered part of the pattern, however.

This widely experienced musicologist also approaches the musical analysis from a broader viewpoint. He intersperses his comments with intertribal comparisons. On page 89 he summarizes this approach:

Throughout the material there are strong indications of general similarity with melodies of other Southeastern tribes; occasionally also with Pueblo melodies; and quite specific agreements with Iroquois melodies. More study of the ramifications of these musical styles may well contribute to our knowledge of Indian tribal movements, and the vicissitudes of their history.

FACTS AND CONJECTURES

The previous chapters have attempted to relate the arts to the records of Tutelo history and other tribal movements. Now I shall match the facts and conjectures with the newest anthropological theories on retentions, acceptances in diffusion, and change.

Facts. The facts support the ideas summarized by Barnett (1964:353-354). He and others contend, from observations, that material things are accepted more readily than intangible aspects of culture, namely, religion and social patterns. Like the Iroquois, the Tutelo have shifted to White materials, architecture, and furnishings in their ceremonial buildings. This is basically a nineteenth century style, but modernization is changing some of the equipment. The clothing is either White Twentieth century, or Iroquois nineteenth century development on original patterns. The foods are modern, except for corn soup and ceremonial cornbread. The musical instruments, though recently constructed, use Iroquois models. The Striking Sticks are probably Tutelo.

The religious beliefs and social aspects have adapted to Iroquois patterns because of inherent compatibility. They have

taken only very little Christian ideology. In the status of women and the democratic ritual organization the Tutelo have readily adapted to the congenial Iroquois patterns, not to the White precepts. The ritual language is Cayuga or Onondaga, with the Tutelo words surviving only in garbled song-texts. It is never English.

The dance and song styles show no White influence. The Harvest Dance is fitting into the Iroquois Food Spirit ritualism, due to innate resemblances in function and style, while the mortuary rituals have maintained their independent structure in totality, probably because of their significance to a dwindling tribe. The dance movements maintain their forms even in the rendering by Iroquois women. The songs show more signs of Iroquois influence and of change, inevitable change from generation to generation.

These facts also contribute to anthropological observations on stability and adaptability (Service 1964:374). While the material objects change with the dominant culture, the ritual aspects remain stable. However, within the stability, certain variations are noticeable: the greater tenacity of mortuary rites, and in songs the stability of scales and contours and mutability of rhythms and cadences within the traditional frames.

Conjectures. Chapter 6 has carried the problem of intertribal similarities and Tutelo borrowings back into early history and even prehistory. Some of the beliefs, ritual structures and song-dance patterns may go back to a widespread substratum, as suggested by Service (1964:365) and as theorized in connection with the Harvest Dance. These widely diffused aspects may now survive in geographically separated groups. At one time the Tutelo perhaps adjoined the southern Siouans and Central Algonquians on the Ohio River (Griffin 1942; Voegelin 1941), and at that time they shared in mortuary customs and musical styles. Similarities with the southeastern cultures derived from diffusion and trade, similar to the Iroquois reception of certain ritual influences (Fenton and Kurath 1953; Kurath 1961, 1964:61-62). On the other hand, the Iroquois similarities and influences derive more from migration than from earlier diffusion. This is analagous to the origin of the Shawnee musical styles (Nettl 1956:138-139). Service mentions the element of chance. This may have entered into the picture, but its effects are not clearly evident.

Considering the great variety of Amerindian patterns, any resemblances have reasons of origin and contact (Driver 1961:12-20). My reasons for Tutelo adaptations may perhaps contribute to the sum total of diffusion studies.

Significance of the Tutelo Ceremonialism. In addition to the intrinsic values as works of art and to the interest as examples of adaptation, the retention of these ceremonies has a special message. In this message the Cayuga play a basic part. The cultural rehabilitation and ceremonial tenacity are a tribute to the nobility of the Tutelo people. But the fact remains that the Cayuga adopted them, gave them homes and astutely perceived the value of the songs and dances. The Iroquois have profited from these splendid additions to their repertoire, just as the Tutelo have been enriched by inclusion in the longhouses. The Cayuga attitude is an outstanding example of "permissive acculturation" and its benefits to all concerned. In contrast with the endeavors of White missionaries and traders, the Cayuga reception of the Tutelo rituals has resulted entirely in enrichment.

Fig. 6.0 Three Versions of a Harvest Dance Song

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree" in G major. The score is written on a treble and bass staff. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 152$. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The time signature is 4/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The piece is marked with a "C" time signature and a "Finis" marking. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 176$. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The piece is marked with a "C" time signature and a "Finis" marking. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 88$. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The piece is marked with a "C" time signature and a "Finis" marking. The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 195, 196, 4$. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The piece is marked with a "C" time signature and a "Finis" marking.

Fig. 6.1 Harvest Dances Songs: 1964

[illegible]

Fig. 6.2 Spirit Release--Opening Chant: 1903 and 1952

1903

$\text{♩} = 112$

1952

$\text{♩} = 76$

The image shows two musical staves for the 1903 and 1952 versions of the Spirit Release--Opening Chant. The 1903 version is written in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 112$. The 1952 version is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 76$. Both staves contain a series of eighth and quarter notes, with some measures featuring ties and repeat signs.

Fig. 6.3 Spirit Adoption--Analagous Songs: 1941 and 1964

2. $\text{♩} = 92$ (6)

9. (13)

10. (14)

11. (15)

The image shows four musical staves for the Spirit Adoption--Analagous Songs, 1941 and 1964 versions. The first staff is labeled '2.' with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 92$ and a measure count of (6). The second staff is labeled '9.' with a measure count of (13). The third staff is labeled '10.' with a measure count of (14). The fourth staff is labeled '11.' with a measure count of (15). All staves are written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature. They contain a series of eighth and quarter notes, with some measures featuring ties and repeat signs.

Fig. 6.4 Some Striking Sticks Songs: 1941

39. Same as 1964, no. 43

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree" in F major, 2/4 time. The score consists of 10 systems of two staves each. The first staff of each system contains the melody, and the second staff contains the bass line. The melody is marked with 'A' and 'B' sections, and the bass line is marked with 'A' and 'B' sections. The tempo is marked '♩ = 92'. The key signature is one flat (F major). The time signature is 2/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, bar lines, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'.

Fig. 6.5 Final Songs--Analagous Songs: 1941 and 1964

53-54 ♩ : 84 (57-58)

55-56 (59-60)

Plate I



Tutelo Heights Today



Lower Cayuga Longhouse



Onondaga Longhouse

Plate II

Peter Buck, 1952

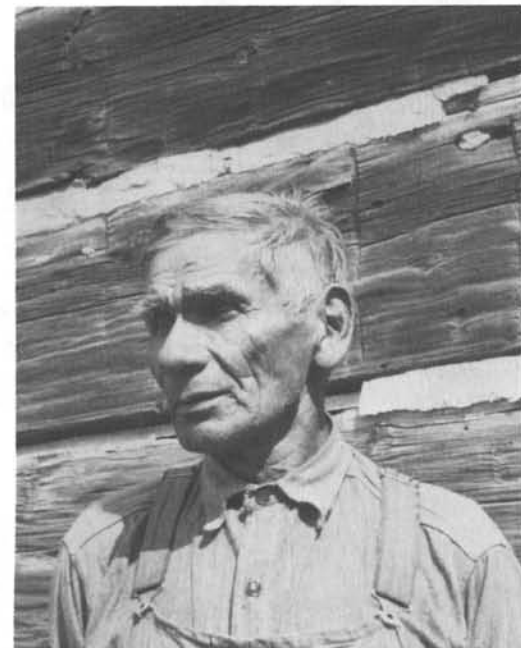


Plate III



Mrs. Peter Buck with
Grandchildren, 1952



Roy Buck, 1963

Plate IV



Roy Buck in Front of his House, 1964

Plate V

At Iroquois Village on Grand River



Ethel Buck Winnie
with her Crafts



Howard Skye and Roy Buck

RECORDINGS USED FOR TRANSCRIPTIONS

Fenton, William N.: Unpublished Discs

- 1941 Tutelo Adoption Ceremony, with Joseph Williams and Freeman Gibson.
- 1941 Enskanye, with Joseph Williams.
- 1941 Corn Dance, with George Buck and Joshua Buck.
- 1941 Stomp Dance, with George Buck and Simeon Gibson.

Kurath, Gertrude P.: Unpublished Tapes

- 1952 Tutelo Four Nights Harvest Dance, with Peter Buck.
- 1952 Spirit Release Singing, with Albert Thomas.
- 1952 Fishing Dance, with Huron Miller.
- 1963 Chicken Dance, with Roy Buck.
- 1964 Tutelo Harvest Dance, with Roy Buck.
- 1964 Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony, with Roy Buck.

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NOTES

Chapter 1

1. The project was subsidized in turn by the Viking Fund (now Wenner-Gren Foundation), The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, and the National Museum of Canada.

Chapter 4

1. An underlined scale number indicates a tone below the maintone--Ed.

Chapter 5

1. A dash after a section or theme letter indicates shortening of the section or theme--Ed.

Chapter 7

1. The songs compared in this section are from published transcriptions in Cringan 1901 and 1903 and Speck 1942 (Herzog's transcriptions), and from recordings by Fenton 1941 and Kurath 1952 and 1964 (see Recordings Used for Transcriptions). Dates in figures 6.0 - 6.5 refer to publication dates for Cringan and Speck and recording dates for Fenton and Kurath--Ed.