

SELK' NAM CHANTS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO, ARGENTINA

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 4179



NOTES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS BY ANNE CHAPMAN

Produced with the collaboration of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris

VOLUME II

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Pamela d. Goldblum

SIDE 1

- 1-2. Háichula, pre-dawn chant (4:20)
3. Hoshócherikó (1:35)
preparing for the kloketen
4. Kot te hepé "body dry" (1:38)
5. Ho?ho?ho? (1:39)
6. Hó kreek, a/k Shoort (1:43)
7. Hú ku húu (3:18)
8. Ha?ha?:mocking Xalpen (1:03)
9. Hoshé k'lich choucha (2:33)
10. Kulpúsh, name of the spirit (1:23)
11. Héhé (4:18)

SIDE 2

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16. Hu? ku? (1:23)
17. Hush lish héuwan (2:16)
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19. Yó te kó hó o ru o (1:57)
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SIDE 3

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SIDE 4

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SELK'NAM (ONA) CHANTS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO, ARGENTINA, VOL. II

41 Chants of the Hain Ceremony

Descriptive Notes and Transcriptions of Texts by Anne Chapman (CNRS, Paris)

Produced in collaboration with the Department of Ethnomusicology, Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Master tape by Jean Schwarz.*

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I. Introduction

Volume I of Selk'nam chants (Ethnic Folkways FE 1476) comprises 47 shaman chants and laments sung by Lola Kiepja, the last Selk'nam Indian, recorded on the Isla Grande, Tierra del Fuego. This volume is made up of 42 chants also recorded that year. All these chants were sung by Lola Kiepja. She was approximately 90 years old in 1966 when the recordings were made. She died October 9 of that year.

In the notes of the volume I album the reader will find a synopsis of the Selk'nam culture and its destruction by the Whiteman, a description of the style of the vocal music, references to the literature on the subject and previous recordings as well as a brief account of the singer's life and of the context in which the recordings were made in 1966. Alan Lomax wrote a cantometric analysis of this music for the notes (1).

The Selk'nam (also called Ona) inhabited the largest island of Tierra del Fuego, the Isla Grande, which lies just south of the Magellan Strait at a latitude of 52.20° to 55° S. They were above all guanaco (*Lama guanicoe*) hunters. It was their principal source of food and clothing and was utilized for their dwelling, utensils and tools. The only substitutes for the guanaco were whales, various species of seals and small rodents. A native fox was an alternative for the guanaco, especially for clothing. But it was only eaten in times of great scarcity. They also killed birds of which there was a great variety on the island. They gathered shell fish, eggs, roots, mushrooms, berries, etc. They had no canoes but they did fish along the Atlantic coast of the island and the Strait of Magellan as well as in the rivers and lakes.

Economically their culture was the same type as the great hunting tradition of the Pleistocene. This is not to suggest however that theirs was a survival of one or another early hunting culture. We know far too little to make any such conjectures. But certainly the Selk'nam culture was embedded in the ancient hunting tradition typical of the immense area extending over most of Uruguay and Argentina. The Selk'nam had contact with their neighbors on the Isla Grande; to the south-east with the Haush, who had a very similar culture and to the south-west with fishing peoples, the Yámana and the Alakaluf, who occupied the entire area of southern Chile. In a broad sense the Selk'nam culture is a manifestation of the hunting and fishing complex of the southern cone of South America (2).



The singer, Lola Kiepja.

Lola time and again expressed joy and keen interest in recording all the chants she could recall. Her pleasure in singing is partly explained by the great evocative power these songs must certainly have had for her. She insisted that they be rendered precisely, according to the musical standards of her culture which apparently were very strict. She was also aware, however vaguely, that by recording them she was giving them to all humanity. She was never satisfied with her first recording of a chant and always wanted to repeat it. If it was one of her favorites we recorded it many times. The fact that Lola in her old age recalled so many chants is not surprising when we realize that singing was one of the main artistic expression of the Selk'nam people. During the 3 months we were together the last year of her life (1966) she sang a great deal and she also talked to me about the old way of life, about her family, her 12 children, all of whom had died, other people she had known and about the excitement and drama of the great ceremony called Hain.

The 42 chants presented here all belong to the Hain, with one exception (3). They represent two social categories of the music of the Hain. The first 25 chants are associated with the "spirits", dances and games and form an integral part of the ceremony. Some were sung by the men from the interior of the ceremonial hut or while dancing but most of them were sung by the women from camp. The remaining 16 had a special name, *k'méyu*. They were sung exclusively by the mothers of the young men being initiated in the ceremony. They, like the former type, were passed down through generations virtually unaltered.

In 1923 the Austrian ethnologist, Father Martin Gusinde, took part in one of the last Hains. He is the only European to have experienced the entire ceremony. He

donated 300 sheep, which he purchased in a local farm, as food for the participants. Most of what is known about the Hain is thanks to him and his informants. In *Die Feuerland Indianer, Die Selk'nam* (Wädling bei Wien, 1931) almost 300 pages alone are dedicated to this ceremony⁽⁴⁾. There are however a few other valuable references as well as the information I gathered from the last few survivors of this culture⁽⁵⁾. As far as I know the Hain was presented for the last time in 1933 when only a few families attended.

In native times (before c. 1880) people normally lived in small groups and moved about a great deal although they did so within a given "territory" (*haruwen*). However the Hain not only brought together large numbers of people but also resulted in their being relatively sedentary for considerable periods of time. In 1923 the Hain lasted 50 days. The year before it had gone on for 4 months. Gusinde was told that in old times, the Hain was continued for a year and sometimes longer. But this was only possible because the site of the Hain was moved several or more times during such a long period. The ceremonial huts of previous years were often reused. The good localities for a Hain were well known.

Probably there were always Hains going on in different parts of the island before the Whiteman took over the island and even afterwards⁽⁶⁾. To judge from the enthusiasm it generated, it is likely that the assistance was usually numerous. If the Selk'nam and Haush at their last period (before c. 1880) numbered, as Gusinde calculated, 3500 to 4000 people, as many as 300 might gather for a Hain. It is my impression that news spread very rapidly over the island. People were keenly interested in what others were doing. Moreover kin ties formed a network which bound together the entire population, however loosely. In the 19th century, before and after the arrival of the Whites, there were a certain number of marriages between the Selk'nam and the Haush even though they spoke different languages. The Hain varied slightly among the Selk'nam of the northern and southern-central parts of the island. The Haush ceremony, also called Hain, had a few spirits which differed somewhat from those of the Selk'nam Hain. Then too probably no one ceremony was identical to another. The director of the Hain together with the other men would decide almost from day to day what scenes they would present. Apart from one spirit (*Shoort*) which appeared every day and the rite of passage on the first day, there was no fixed order of the scenes. Except for these two and the ritual massacre of the men, the scenes were repeated as often as the men chose. Then too, for one reason or another, some of the spirits might not be presented at all. Moreover, if the women desired to see a certain spirit, their singing might "cause it" to appear.

In broad outline it may be said that the purpose of the Hain was threefold.

1. The young men were initiated into adulthood by means of a rite of passage and a training period which lasted for the entire duration of the Hain. They were taught the religious and mythological traditions part of which was exclusive to the men, the appropriate ethical behavior, the techniques and demands of the hunt, etc.

2. By no means second in importance was the "teaching" of the women, keeping them subservient to the pronounced male orientation of the society. They were constantly threatened and even punished by some of the "spirits".

3. The Hain was the main focus of social intercourse. It assembled people who rarely met and mitigated conflicts. It was also a source of artistic expression and amusement for everyone. All were very attentive to the smallest details of the scenes; the performances of the "spirits" (men in disguise), the "costumes", the chants, the dances and the games. Though basically the women's role in the Hain was diametrically opposite to that of the men, it is obvious that at certain times they too enjoyed it immensely.

II. The Ideology of the Hain

The ideological foundation of the Hain was anti-woman in a very strict sense. There are several myths which explain the origin of the Hain diachronically. The three Hain (*Kloketen*) myths published by Gusinde are extensive and de-

tailed. We will refer here only to their ideological content focusing on one myth entitled "The Origin of the Women's *Klöketen*"⁽⁷⁾.

In the epoch of *hoowin* (mythical time) a society existed in which women ruled over men without mercy. They obliged the men not only to hunt and otherwise procure all the necessities of life but also to tend the children and do the domestic chores. While the men were busy laboring from sun rise to sun set, the women lounged in the ceremonial hut, in the Hain, which the men were forbidden to approach let alone to enter. If they so dared they would be killed. But such an idea would never occur to them, overwhelmed as they were by the supernatural pretensions of the women. The most extraordinary female figure was Moon for, not only was she a shaman of incredible ascendancy and the undisputed leader of the women and hence the men, but also it was she who directed and determined all that went on during the Hain celebration. She was so powerful an entity that even "today" after the phenomenal victory of the men, she among all the women of *hoowin* still demands respect and evokes fear, especially when she enters into an eclipse⁽⁸⁾. During the epoch of her reign Sun, her husband, performed the humble tasks which were the lot of his sex. The memory of their daughter, *Tamtam* (canary), is conserved in one of the chants of the Hain⁽⁹⁾.

From time to time Moon would decide that a Hain be presented so that the young women be initiated into adulthood and also so that the men be reminded that the spirits and divinities were undisputed allies of the women. As today among the men, the preparations for the ceremony were undertaken in the utmost secrecy. Moon determined which of the women were to play the roles of the different spirits. The paint and masks made ready, those who were to perform practiced the stance, gait and gestures of the spirits they were to impersonate. Some of the spirits (so the men were told) arose from the interior of the earth into the ceremonial hut (the Hain) to partake in the ceremony. The others descended from the sky, usually during the night. The spectacle had to evoke admiration and fear in the men, to excite their imagination in a manner which reinforced their humility. Those men whose behavior left something to be desired or who now and again rebelled ever so slightly against the female tyranny, were sought out and punished by the spirit (*Shoort*) who daily visited the camp where the men lived. The ceremony overawed and tensed the men to the limits of endurance. Never would they dare rise in rebellion against the matriarchy knowing as they did that the powers ruling the universe had forever ordained that women be the masters.

Once the Hain had begun, a terrible female monster-spirit ascended from time to time from the entrails of the earth into the ceremonial hut to partake in the activities. She, whose name was and still is *Xalpen*, delighted in the occasion for, gluttonous as she was, she anticipated assuaging her phenomenal appetite with the meat the men would bring to her. She was also dangerously capricious even with respect to the women (so the men were led to believe) and at any moment might turn her wrath against those gathered in the Hain and massacre them. Thus the men were doubly harassed; with the imperative necessity to offer *Xalpen* the largest quantities of meat which they could obtain by hunting incessantly and with the threat that, despite all their efforts, *Xalpen* in a tantrum might slaughter the women. Meanwhile in the Hain the women would be feasting on the meat for *Xalpen* and laughing with malice at the men's naïveté and stupidity.

Xalpen was rarely shown to the men but they knew when she emerged into the Hain from her earthly abode for then the women would let out terrifying screams while shaking the walls of the hut, make sparks and flames fly from its summit, and pound the earth with rolled up *guanaco* hides to simulate *Xalpen*'s thudding screams. The other spirits appeared with less fanfare and were announced by the chanting of the women within the Hain to call the men to attention.

So it had been forever until one day Sun, returning from the hunt, burdened with the *guanaco* he had shot, unknowingly came quite close to the Hain. Suddenly he heard the voices of two women. He stealthily laid aside his burden and crept nearer to spy on them. They were practicing the parts they

were to play in the Hain, giggling and merrily commenting on the fun they would have fooling the men into believing the spirits were real. Sun was agast for he had not only seen them but he had also heard their cynical remarks. He was dumbfounded, perplexed but soon he realized the truth; that the entire ceremony was a hoax of the women to keep the men subserviant to them. He stepped out of his hiding place and shouted: "You false women! So this is how you've been deceiving the men! Now I know everything!" Back in camp when the men heard the news they too were outraged. But they too, like Sun, contained their indignation and together all the men set about making a plan to overthrow the women. (The plan was successfully carried out.) Armed with wooden clubs they rushed the Hain, Sun roaring at the top of his voice: "Strike down the women!" The massacre of the women ensued, husband killing wife, father slaughtering daughter. Sun even dared attack Moon, his indomitable wife, the master mind. But when he struck her, the heavens trembled. Under the blows she fell face forward into the fire (of the Hain). But she was not entirely vanquished. She escaped into the heavens and was transformed into the moon. Sun pursued her and became the sun. He will pursue her forever. And Moon will forever look down upon the earth, her face tarnished and scared from the wounds inflicted by her husband and the other men during the great revolt. Never will she forgive. But the men had won the great battle. All the women, young and old, had been killed or banished. Only the innocent little girls and babies remained, those who were ignorant of the perfidy of their mothers and sisters. Then began the great trek across and around the island which lasted for "centuries". All this time the men mourned for their women.



Mother and child, Courtesy of Professor Martin Gusinde

Ultimately (in mythic times) the men adopted the Hain and thus inaugurated their dominion over the women, the patriarchal society. They disguised themselves as the very same spirits which the women had used in their Hain. But not only would they assert their will over the women but also avenge the humiliations their forefathers (of hoowin) had endured. All this, and many other happenings that came about during this epic age, were to be guarded with great vigilance in the memory of the men for all time to come.

The mythological texts which we have abstracted may be considered an ideology because they provide not only an explanation of but also a justification for the existing political order (power structure). "The secret", on a political level, is a technique for maintaining a fraction of the population (the women) in submission. This is further brought out by the comments of the men to the effect that, "when the women had the Hain (in mythic times) they did the same as we are doing now." No matter how badly the women were treated during the Hain, the men possessed a completely logical construct with which to exonerate themselves in their own eyes (10). This ideology has the particular trait of being inaccessible (at least in theory) to the suppressed sector of the population against which it was directed. But these considerations take us too far afield from the purpose of these notes and will be published as a separate study.

III The Setting

The ceremonial hut was called Hain as was the ceremony itself. It was conical in form like the tipis of the Plains Indians. For their everyday living the Selk'nam often constructed huts having a similar form. But the Hain was larger, sturdier and built according to a rigorous plan. The wood employed as the native beech (3 species of Nothofagus). The frame consisted of 7 posts. Its height would vary as would its circumference with respect to the length of the tree trunks available. Every attempt would be made to build it as large as possible. The Selk'nam had no means of transporting objects except their own physical force. If for no other reason, the Hain would be built in close proximity to trees. According to Gusinde the Hain of 1923 was 8 meters in diameter and 6 m. high in the center. The entrance was relatively wide, 4 m. 35 cm. in 1923, that is over half the diameter. It was large in order to permit the men wearing high conical masks to leave and enter the hut without difficulty.

The entrance always faced East and, as might be expected, each of the 7 principal posts were carefully oriented. The 4 cardinal points were represented and each of the 3 remaining posts also had a specific locality. Each post had a name. The East and West posts were the most important. These and the North and South posts were superior to the other 3. This hierarchy as well as the names were ordained by tradition. A myth relates the construction of the first masculine Hain by the "supermen" of hoowin who hewed the 7 posts from rock. The Hain symbolized different spheres of the universe and this model was also manifested on the earth, that is, on the island which the Selk'nam and Haush inhabited.

Each man who entered the Hain (and all of them did) was assigned a place by the director under or near the post which corresponded to his "earth" (haruwen), the territory of his father's group where normally he would have been born. The island was partitioned into as many as 100 territories each of which associated with one of the 7 points, called "skies" (sho?on) (11). On certain occasions during the ceremony all the adults painted their entire bodies with symbols of their respective "skies". But the Hain itself was not painted or adorned in any way, as far as we know.

A fire was lit in the center of the Hain at the beginning of the ceremony and kept burning for the entire duration. An imaginary line from East to West, that is, from the entrance through the fire to the back of the hut, was considered very dangerous. It represented a vastly profound crevice or rift which lead deep into the earth. The fire was said to emerge through this "crevice" and certain spirits ascended into the Hain through the fire. Upon entering the Hain one took great care not to step on or across the "crevice". If you entered on the right side, toward the North, you could not walk to the South of the hut except by reentering on the left side.

Much care was taken in the choice of the site. It had to be not only close to trees but on the edge of a belt of trees. The entrance of the Hain (toward the East) always faced away from the edge, toward the interior of a forest or the denest part of a tree cluster. It was also indispensable that there be a rather wide flat area to the West, behind the Hain. In Gusinde's time this "meadow" or "la'n" measured 200 paces. The camp, the living quarters for the women and children, was located directly opposite the back of the Hain, across the meadow. This meadow, clear area, or stage as it might be called, had to provide sufficient space for the performances and at the same time adequate distance between the Hain and the camp so that the "back stage" (area behind the Hain, on either side of the entrance) be invisible to the public, that is to the women and children. The trees should also obscure their view. More prosaically the site should be close to a source of water and not too far from herds of guanaco or seals. Sometimes a Hain would be held on or near the coast where a whale had been recently beached.

Ideally the Hain would begin in autumn or early winter when there was an abundance of foals and guanacos of all ages were at their weight peak.

In 1923 Gusinde noted that the ceremonial hut was built from one day to the next. In former times, before the event of the Whiteman, the steel axe and knife, when stone tipped tools were used, the construction took much

longer. Often, however, an old Hain would be repaired and ready for use in a rather short time.

The "costumes" (masks and body disguises) were very carefully fashioned from guanaco skin and bark. They would be stuffed with leaves and grass and usually adorned with painted symbolic designs. If a Hain had been held recently in the vicinity, the old masks would be brought from their hiding places in the forest, repaired and used again. The men were very cautious that the women and children never see a mask off its wearer so that they ignore the very existence of masks.

The make-up consisted mostly of paint whose colors ran the gamut from black through grey to white and from dark red to yellow. Different kinds of clays were used for most of the paints. One having a high iron content, called akel, which when heated or burned become a vivid red, was by far the favorite. Natural chalk, charcoal from the fire place and burnt guanaco bones were also employed as ingredients of the paints. They were usually mixed with animal fat or saliva in some cases. The women were responsible for abundantly providing the emissaries of the spirits with paint all during the Hain. Angela Loiij told me, "They didn't look like men. You could never tell they were." IV. The Kloketen

For the young man being initiated, the Hain was not only a rite of passage but also a prolonged learning experience. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons for its duration. While being initiated he was called kloketen. For the girl or young woman there was no formal initiation. Every male youth, however, had to go through the Hain. There were no exceptions to this law. A recalcitrant youth might be obliged to be a kloketen a second or even a third time if the elders were not satisfied with his achievements after the first Hain. If a young man were obliged to go through 3 Hains he might spend years in "college" depending on how often Hains were held. A man could not marry until he had "graduated". It is not without reason that Lola and the few others of Indian descent always refer to the Hain as the "college" in Spanish.

In normal times (before the Whiteman) the kloketen was usually in his early twenties or even a bit older. He was long passed puberty and probably had experienced sexual relations. Gusinde remarks on the exceptional young age of the 2 kloketens of 1923 who were 14 and 16 years old and that the men were considerate of them because of their age. The late age preference is normal when one considers the physical stamina and mental alertness demanded of the kloketen. A young boy could not have survived the torture of the rite of passage nor the prolonged discipline and strenuous activity which was demanded of the kloketen.

The separation of the young man from the world of women and children was definitive, or almost so, as long as the Hain lasted. He was ordered to keep out of their sight. In this context we can understand the grief of the mother of the kloketen when he departed from camp to the Hain. She was not to see her son again for perhaps a year or more. And when he returned he would, in a sense, no longer be her child. He would not only have learned "the secret" which propelled him into the closed quarters of a masculine world and deprived him of his spontaneity, he would also have suffered humiliation, hunger and fatigue which hardened him. This transition to adulthood is far more drastic than that which the youth of our culture experience, except in rare cases. It can perhaps be more fully understood in the light of the demands which were made on the male population particularly with respect to hunting. It is my impression that this activity was exceedingly difficult. Recall that the guanaco is a very fast runner. The killing power of the stone tipped arrow propelled by the bow has not been calculated for this group. The bow was very well made and long (the cord measured from 140 to 180 cm.). But a lot of muscle and training were required to make it effective. Moreover the hunter had to be very swift and this is the main reason why racing was a competitive sport among the Selk'nam. He

endeavored to get as close as possible to his prey, no matter how sure his shot. Then, if successful, he had to carry the beast home. On the other hand, hunting was often a group enterprise and the work was shared. A great deal more could be said about the requirements of guanaco hunting. Here I only wish to emphasize that it was an arduous and exhausting task. This is not to imply, however, that the burden of the economy was on the men's shoulders. The women worked equally hard and they were, if not trained, severely disciplined during the Hain, as we shall see. (12).

V. The First Day: the Rite of Passage

It is impossible in this short space to describe the different moments of this long ceremony. We will only attempt to touch on some of the highlights and give an impression of its richness and drama in order to situate the chants in their contexts.

The day of the inauguration has arrived. It is probably an autumn or early winter day. It is not snowing or raining for if it were, the inauguration would be postponed because the paint with which the men disguise themselves would run and their "secret" would be no more. With luck it is a crisp sunny day. Everyone is excited.

Throughout the morning the last preparations are being completed. Inside the Hain, the only spirits who are to appear this day, the Shoorts, done their masks and are helped by the men to paint their bodies. Gradually, inconspicuously, most of the men are leaving camp and gathering in the Hain. There they paint themselves with the (totemic) geometrical designs which symbolise their respective "skies". Meanwhile in camp the mothers of the young men to be initiated, who are called kai-kloketens, are fretting over their sons, spending the last few hours with them as if bidding them farewell forever. They are troubled, sad and anxious. The other women accompany them trying to soothe them. Also, the women too are painting their bodies with the symbols of their affiliations to the "skies". The kloketens are probably bewildered and taut; fearful of what awaits them in the secret hut. The children are sensitive to the atmosphere and play less than usually.

By the early afternoon the men in the Hain have readied themselves. They are painted and composed. The Shoorts are prepared to perform. The director of the ceremony, a respected elder very knowledgeable about the Hain also sometimes a shaman, indicates to the men to take their positions under or near one of the 7 principal posts. Cautious not to step over the "crevice", they stand rigidly in a circle against the wall of the hut. The fire burns brightly. Suddenly they begin chanting in loud threatening voices ho?ho?ho? (no.5). The Hain has begun. They chant for a half an hour, perhaps more. When the people in camp first hear the chant they stop all activity and remain quiet. There is a hushed feeling as if one were being transported to a different level of existence. The ho?ho?ho? rings out strongly, rhythmically emphatic.

Slowly the people in camp begin to move again for the kloketens must be painted. The "patron" of the kloketen, called k'pin, usually a man a few years older than the kloketen, comes to fetch him at his mother's hut, and escorts him out holding his left forearm while his mother accompanies her son on his right side, sobbing and screaming. They proceed to a neighboring hut which had been assigned for the purpose of cleaning and painting the kloketens.

The kloketen's guanaco cape is removed and he is told by his patron to stand facing the wall of the hut and to stretch his arms high over his head. Another kloketen in the same hut is going through the same process. Their mothers are present as well as other women and several men, besides the patrons. As the patron rubs down the body of his kloketen with stringy fungi the women sing hoshócheriko (no.3), a rhythmic measure without words.

Then the patron paints the candidate with red akel clay. Gusinde remarks that red is considered especially beautiful and pleasing to the spirits. Soon all the women sing kot te hepé "his body is dry" (no.4). The kloketen

mother then paints her son's face with 3 vertical stripes (one down the spine of the nose and one on either side of the face) while the singing continues. Her face is painted with the same design and today she wears the men's head-dress, the k'óchel and her cape with the fur turned inside as is the custom of the men during the Hain. Normally the capes are worn with the fur outside.

Just before the painting is completed 2 Shoorts make their first appearance on "stage" (the flat area between the camp and the Hain) to manifest that they are impatient to receive the klokotens. They enter from the opposite sides of the Hain while the men chant ho?ho?ho? (no.5) from within.

Shoort is the most dynamic spirit of the Hain and certainly the one most feared by the women and the klokotens as we will describe shortly. He is the husband of the dreadful Xalpen and dwells under the earth with her. He begins the Hain and he is the last to appear on the final day. He is the only spirit who performs every day (weather permitting) and the only disguised spirit to go directly into camp among the women and children. These daily visits were very much dreaded by the women, as we will explain later.

Shoort is the most active and pragmatic of the spirits. At the same time he incarnates the complex conceptual structure of the ceremony. He appears with different attributes and sometimes as a pair. There are 7 "principal Shoorts" each representing one of the 7 posts of the Hain and hence the 7 "skies" of the territorial (and kin) affiliation of every individual Selk'nam and Haush.

Moreover there are 8 other Shoorts which symbolize the passage of time through the day. When for example a Shoort performs at about 2 PM his disguise represents the Shoort which is assigned to that span of time of the sun through the heavens, that is, the early afternoon.

Each of the 15 Shoorts has a particular name and a distinctive design of paint. But he is always adorned with circles applied with chalk. The mask paint is simply a completion of the body paint. He has no discernible face. In former times his mask may have been conical like those of most of the other spirits but in 1923 it resembled a pointed cap pulled down tightly over the face and neck. He is said to be made of rock and therefore should show no signs of breathing. He imitates the k'tetu owl (Speotyto cunicularia) by the constant swift jerking movement of his head. The men who impersonate him should have muscles as hard as rocks. He always folds his hands in a fist, the top part of the hands turned outward. When he appears, pauses or just before he reenters the Hain he lifts both arms and holds his fists upwards as if flexing his biceps. Like all the other spirits he never talks. His movements are stiff and decisive as if to create panic in those who see him.

Not all the Shoorts go directly into camp. Great training and aptitude are demanded of the one who does. This is the most difficult of all the spirit roles. He must never lapse, for he goes among the women and children. Any gesture which reveals the true man would betray the secret. One of my informants told me that once a child recognized the true identity of a Shoort by his manner of walking.

Whenever he is about to appear the men in the Hain chant the ho?ho?ho? (no.5) with a heavy monotonous tone.

Diametrically opposite to Shoort, are his servants, the Haylian. There are several and they usually appear in pairs. They too are completely disguised with masks and paint. But they are comical, clumsy and shockingly (at least to Gusinde) erotic. They supposedly take care of the klokotens when the latter are out hunting. But they are forever losing their charges and wandering back to the proximity of camp in view of the women where stumbling and falling down from exhaustion or leaning heavily on a cane with both hands, they signify their discontent at having let the klokotens escape from them. They pantomime sexual play between each other and with the women with such an exhibition of "sexual lust" that Gusinde was at lost to describe it. The women shout back, giggling and laughing at them, mocking them. Even the children join in. They are ridiculous but not friendly.

We return now to the first day. When the klokotens are fully painted the 2 Shoorts appear briefly again to the compass of the ho?ho?ho? chant (no.5). The patrons place a guanaco cape over the shoulders of the klokotens. The women continue chanting "the body is dry" (no.4) as they are lead out of the hut, the patron on the left side of his kloketen, the mother on the right side, sobbing. They walk solemnly with the other women toward the Hain. In the middle of the prairie, half way to the Hain, the procession stops. The women stand still as the men walk on. The kloketen mothers cry without restraint. This is the final moment of separation. As the klokotens and their patrons disappear around the side of the Hain, the women and girls in camp throw ashes toward them. The mothers' sobbings die out. The camp is silent. The atmosphere is foreboding. The women know that the klokotens are about to endure one of the most trying and painful moments of the entire ceremony. They are to undergo the rite of passage.

One of the klokotens is ushered into the Hain (13). The men, each bearing his (totemic) paint design, cape turned inside out, slung over his shoulders, are standing in their assigned places. They form a circle against the inner wall of the hut. As the kloketen and his patron enter they stare at the fire chanting ho?ho?ho? (no.5). The director indicates where the kloketen is to stand (in the rear of the Hain, facing the fire). A few minutes later the singing stops. The patron removes the cape off the kloketen. The kloketen stands, naked and motionless, waiting.

Suddenly the director shouts at him:

"Look upwards!"

Thereupon his patron, who is now standing in back of him, takes his head in both hands and jerks it backwards (upwards), holding it in this position. At this moment a Shoort springs in front of him, as if he had risen from the fire, his arms arched downwardly, fists tight. The kloketen's head is dropped. The terrifying masked spirit squatting in front of him now fiercely clasps his knees, clinging to them, struggling to throw the kloketen who, with his arms pressed against his sides, as he was ordered to stand, tries desperately to keep his balance. Now the director orders the kloketen to place his hands on his head with his fingers interlaced, elbows stretched out. The Shoort moves excitedly around in front of the naked kloketen puffing through his nose and mouth as if panting with sexual urge, torso swaying, pushing and bending his head. Suddenly he grasps the kloketen's genitals pressing them hard, increasing his panting. The kloketen endures the acute pain without resistance, his hands folded on his head. His patron holds him firmly in place. The Shoort continues to pull, tug and squeeze the genitals for some time. Finally he pulls them forcefully with both hands, lets off a shrilling yell and releases them. The kloketen is allowed to lower his arms. He stands trembling, shocked from the intense pain and terrorized as to what may come next. A few minutes pass then Shoort squats again and again grasps the kloketen's knees making him fall this time. The men shout at the kloketen:

"Fight! Grab Shoort!"

The kloketen reacts and the wrestling match begins. Shoort turns round and round still squatting, now dodging his opponent, now attacking him, aiming particularly at his genitals. The kloketen, infuriated by the torture he has endured, plunges at the Shoort. But he is strictly forbidden to touch his enemy's head or neck (the mask). The odds are against the kloketen for if he gains on the Shoort, the patron intervenes. If the fight becomes wild the Shoort may even bite the kloketen on his genitals or grab a stick from the fire and burn him. A kloketen must never triumph over a Shoort. When both are finally exhausted the director orders the fight to end and the men chant ho?ho?ho? again.

Shoort is now sitting on his haunches, hands between his legs, head sinking a little, trying not to breathe hard. The kloketen hasn't begun to recover when his patron, pointing to the Shoort's head, gives him a most startling command:

"Grasp it!"

And the director may say to him:

"Touch Shoort. Is he of rock or of flesh?"

Shoort remains in the same position, impassive. Slowly the kloketen approaches him and touches him ever so lightly. Encouraged by his patron, he continues to pass his fingers over the Shoort's head and neck. Urged on, he finally grasps the head, feels the mask and lifts it off. He stares at the unmasked face. One of the elders then may shout at him:

"Who is he? Could he be a hoowin (mythical ancestor)?"

Another may join in:

"Who could he be? Maybe a Woo (a neighboring Yámana Indian)?"

This may go on for several minutes before the kloketen identifies the actor. When he does, he pushes the impostor to the ground and all the men laugh heartily. The kloketen relaxes, drained but exhilarated.

A while later the director will tie the triangular headband (k'óchel) around the kloketen's head as a symbol of his manlyhood.

The rite has come to an end. The kloketen now knows that Shoort is only a man and he may have guessed already that all the other spirits are the same. But of this and much more he will learn in detail later.

Sometime afterwards he will be made to confess; if he had sexual relations (though if so, he is not obliged to name his lover), if he had stolen, if he had been disrespectful to the old people, etc.

On the first day and all throughout the duration of the ceremony the director and other elders will relate to those present in the Hain, with special attention to the kloketens, the myths of origin of the Hain, dwelling on the perfidity of the hoowin women, their outrageous mistreatment of the hoowin forefathers. The kloketens will be told many other stories which explain how the world and society came to be what they are today. He will learn about the mysteries which emanate from nature and the animals, from the wind and the sea, from the stars and the sun and most especially from the moon.

He will be repeatedly admonished never to tell the women "the secret" nor ever to mention to them what transpires in the Hain. He will be warned time and again that he will be spied upon when he returns to normal life, that if he lets out the slightest hint of the forbidden knowledge to the women or to the children, he will immediately be killed as well as the woman in whom he confides. He will be also taught to respect the women as well as the elders, to share the game he kills and always keep the worst parts for himself, to be generous and responsible, to care for his family, etc.

Although his most trying moments are those filled with pain and anguish inflicted on him by the Shoort, all during the long ceremony he will be subject to a very severe discipline. He should never talk in the Hain except to answer questions. He is only allowed to laugh after unmasking the Shoort, at the end of the rite of passage. He must listen intently to all that is told and said to him in the ceremonial hut. While seated his legs should be stretched out in front of him. He should look straight into the fire and not from side to side. He can scratch himself only with the little stick with which he is provided. He eats meagerly and none of the delicacies such as guanaco liver or heart. Nor is he permitted to drink guanaco blood. He sleeps little, is kept busy all day and even into the night. He may be awoken before dawn to set out on a hunting expedition which often lasts 3 or 4 days. His patron is charged to prevent him from relaxing. He must paint himself every day. He is expected to maintain a diffident, attentive conduct at all times. But after the Shoort rite he never will be tortured again.

VI. Daily or Frequent Scenes

Everyday day long before dawn, the women awake and take their positions standing outside near the entrance to their dwellings. The kloketen mothers start and the others join in singing háichula (no. 1) for a half an hour or more. According to Gusinde this chant is dreadful, unpleasant and anxious. Lola told me that this song brings the dawn of day. The women hope that with the dawn will come relief for the kloketens. A few hours later having taken again their positions they sing yóroheu (no. 2) meaning "dawn", to greet the rising sun.

Before Shoort emerges from the Hain for his daily visit to camp, the men chant ho?ho?ho? (no. 5). Upon hearing it the women prepare themselves to receive him. All except the kloketen mothers remain in their huts and cover themselves completely under a guanaco fur hide. The women are not supposed to look at Shoort while he is in camp. The kloketen mothers stand in front of their homes, their heads shrouded in a guanaco cape. They and a few others, are the only women treated with deference by Shoort. All the women should sing ho?ho?ho? all the while he is in camp.

Shoort is always accompanied to camp by a shaman, (xo'on), who remains closely by his side, perhaps to add further authority to his presence. If there is snow on the ground, the shaman discretely brushes snow over Shoort's foot-prints as they walk. If Shoort is supernatural he does not leave foot-prints.

These daily visits are moments of great tension for all the women except those he favors. He is almost always in a tyrannical mood and uncompromisingly serious. He comes to threaten the women and to select out for punishment those whose behavior has not conformed to the model of a submissive wife or a diligent worker or whose singing of the Hain chants has been lax, etc. During the Hain if, for almost any reason, a man is not satisfied with the conduct of his wife, he confides in Shoort. Upon his next visit to camp, Shoort seeks her out. He may only frighten her by shaking her hut or throwing a basket at her as she huddles under a guanaco cape. But he may stab her with a stick, even beat her more or less fiercely or tear down her hut, depending on what her husband has told him, what he may have heard from the other men or perhaps on his own feelings and mood.

When Shoort leaves camp, the women rush to the edge of the prairie, the kloketen mothers a few steps in advance, to bid him good-bye chanting hó'kreek (no. 6) which is another name for him, according to Lola. As he approaches the Hain he flexes his biceps and disappears around the side in a great forward leap, flinging out his feet as if he were plunging into the earth.

Every day, during the entire ceremony, each woman sings her k'méyu chant(s). Often they all sing at the same time! This singing is obligatory and is said to please Xalpen and Shoort, and hence to aid and abet the kloketens (nos. 26, 27, 29-42).

A married couple, Hashé the husband and Wákus the wife, make frequent nightly visits to camp. They are emissaries of Xalpen and are sent to fetch meat and paint, especially akel, the red clay. They are not really spirits for they are maskless though they paint their faces with charcoal. They ruffle up their hair and place a crown of branches on their heads for the occasion. They wear their guanaco capes, fur turned inwards and Hashé at least carries a staff. When they are about to set out from the Hain the men sing hú ku húu (no. 7) another name for Hashé. This chant is sung in the Haush language by the emissaries when they descend upon the camp and while they are there inciting the women to give them gifts. The women receive them very cheerfully and joke and play with them. I was told that this couple must sing in

Haush. Why is not clear. When the couple arrives, it galloped through camp. Both of them enter the huts, pretend to beat the women, stab at the fires and almost all in, throw themselves on the bedding and so forth, all the while making it clear that they have come for gifts. The women tease them. One may proffer them a piece of meat, then snatch it away before Hashé grabs it. Hashé is supposed to receive the gifts and Wákus to carry them. They also perform tricks for the women. For instance they feign swallowing hot chunks of meat or burning charcoal. And after all the rumpus, the walk away, Hashé with his staff and Wákus bearing the gifts for Xalpen.

Xalpen presents herself frequently in the ceremonial hut. When she does, the men let out a terrifying wa (long a) cry. The Hain trembles, fire flies through its apex and, if it is night, the men rush on "stage" banishing burning torches as if fleeing from her. They pound the Hain floor with rolled up guanaco hides to represent her hollow screams.

Xalpen is the most sinister, nefarious, heinous of all the Hain creations. Gluttonous and even cannibalistic, she also lusts to have sex with all the men and especially the klo-

ketens whom she takes under earth with her to momentarily placate her urges. She may even abandon them there. But worst of all, she is unpredictable, the ally of no one. At any moment she may turn her fury on the men. The women try to save the men during their great moment of crisis, as we shall later explain. Nevertheless Xalpen is the mother of a most charming spirit, the baby K'térnen fathered by one of the kloketens.

During the 1923 ceremony Xalpen appeared in the Hain on the average of every 3 days, raging, demanding food and threatening to slaughter the men. The unrelentless repetition of this highly dramatic scene contributes greatly to sustaining the intensity of this long ceremony.

The ha?ha? chant (no. 8) of the women is probably a defiance of Xalpen for it is sung without fear. When the women hear (the wa hollering) that she has arrived in the Hain, they run carrying baskets full of mushrooms for her (Xalpen likes anything edible) and set them on the ground as close as they are allowed to approach the Hain, all the while chanting (no.8) in a playful mood. They even compete to see who can run the fastest.

The hoshrk'lish choucha chant (no. 9) means forehead of stone or rock connotating "hard headed" which is an insult but signifying rock (yar or pal) in reference to her upper body. It is sung by the women when Xalpen is raging in the Hain. I understand that it has this double meaning, that it is emitted by the singers as an insult with the intention that it be received by Xalpen in adulation, to pacify her fury (14).

Xalpen is rarely shown to the public and sometimes never. In 1923 she was displayed only once. Quite a bit of work is required to make one. Stuff branches, twigs, leaves and grass into a frame about 6 m. long made of Selk'nam bows, stretch and tie down guanaco hides over the frame, paint the surface with red clay (akel) and long white stripes and you have a Xalpen. I was told that she is half rock and half fleash. While the women stand nervously on the edge of camp looking at the Hain, thinking she might appear, the men slowly push this structure to the side of the Hain sufficiently so as to permit the public a glance at the upper (rock) part of her body. She is then quickly pulled back. She is the only spirit which is represented as an effigy. Sometimes, however, there is a man in the bundle to make it move.

Kulpúsh, a female earth spirit, is never shown. Unmarried she ascends into the Hain quite often to make love to the men. The women may not like her but they don't fear her. When she appears (announced by a male hohoho not recorded here) one of 3 dances is performed in her honor. We will describe only one of them. All 3 delight and amuse everyone, particularly the young people who perform them.

Young men ("graduates" from the Hain) naked, painted red with dark red or black stripes on their bodies, their faces painted black, leave the Hain in line formation, left foot forward, they advance in a rhythmic hopping step, curbed over as if carrying a heavy load, all the while chanting kulpúsh (no.10). Meanwhile the young women form their line. Their hands on the hips of the girl in front, they laughingly approach the men. When the two lines contact, the dance becomes a game, each pushing and trying to break through the other, a man or woman aiming at a particular "opponent" to make him or her fall. Gusinde comments that the participants greatly enjoy this teasing love game. Sometimes it is held at night around a large fire in the center of the stage. Often Xalpen sends one of her envoys, a spirit called Tanu, as an observer.

Hóshtan is another female spirit who is never shown. But when she emerges into the Hain and the men chant hé hé (no.11), the women approach the edge of camp and wait happily for what may have been their favorite dance, which again is a sort of game. It is commanded by this spirit. It could be called "the vengeance of the women game".

A small group of men hopp penguin fashion (15) out of the Hain, their faces and necks painted black, the

rest of their bodies naked, not painted. Their hair is tied in 3 or 4 bunches with grass or thin reeds. The group hops back to the Hain and brings forth another 3 or 4 men and so on until all the players are in the middle of the stage. There they sit on their haunches, like penguins, chanting (no. 11). Then the women (especially the young) charge them. Each aims for a particular man (he must be a kin with whom she is permitted to have a familiar, joking relationship) and laughingly she tugs with both hands at one of the bunches of his hair, with great effort until she topples him. He struggles with her, resisting her aggression but finally screaming as if he were dying, he falls over prostrated. Whereupon the victor stand up and scans the field for another potential victim. So the game continues until all (or nearly all) the men are "killed". Lola vividly recalled how a Selk'nam by the name of Kankot, whose nickname was "Cacique", was never daunted by his attackers, how he never fell. Gusinde comments that, "For once the women had the possibility to triumph over the men." And again, "The women delight in this game and 'kill' many men in a short while. They enjoy it immensely..."

Kulan is "la femme terrible" of the Hain. The men announce her descent from the heavens by chanting yo yo yo yo (no. 12). She doesn't always appear announced but she does come often. On stage she wears a conical mask painted (usually red) bearing a white stripe from the tip of her head to her sex (concealed by a pubic covering) and one or more other stripes across her thorax. Her dainty breasts (small stuffed leather bags) bulge slightly. She is young and slim (usually or always impersonated by a kloketen) (16). She is constantly surrounded by her lovers, past present and future so naturally the women don't like her. Sometimes she makes love in the heavens, absconding with one or more of her admirers. When the women think this has occurred they sing the maukel chant (no.13) to entreat her to return and liberate their men. Maukel or pímaulk in this context means the far heavens (to the East?). She also makes love in the forest or even in the Hain. But she moves exceedingly slowly. In 1923 she only covered 10 meters in an hour, taking short lateral steps with long pauses between them.

Her husband, Koshménk, is impersonated by 4 spirits, each having distinctive body paint representing the cardinal points. Two often appear fighting together for her favors! "He" is cuckold by any standards. His appearance causes much hilarity among the women, who greet him singing húe ke kee (no.14). He is forever frantically searching for his faithless companion and goes into a rage if he discovers her in action. When she is making love in the Hain he pounds on the outside walls and jumps around furiously, much to the delight



Koshménk, Courtesy of Professor Martin Gusinde

of the women who see him from afar. When she is taking on one lover after another in a circle, he peeps through the circle between the men's legs and by his pantomime expresses his jealous frenzy. But when he appears alone with her, he is calm and consoled. Those who interpret Koshmék must be very agile, capable of making high leaps while kicking the buttocks and holding on to the mask. He is very like Matan, to be presented in the next paragraph, who even excels him in leaping. The 2 have similar disguises. Sometimes the entire body and mask are painted red with a few broad horizontal stripes evenly distributed over the body, being also quite similar to Kulan's paint.

Matan is the great entertainer of the Hain. When he descends from the sky he is acclaimed by the public who greatly appreciate his amazing ballet-like verticle leaps. He must perform with exceptional dexterity and grace. Again like Koshmék he is presented with 4 different paint designs each representing one of the 4 main "skies" (cardinal points). The men sing a hohoho chant calling Matan from the heavens into the Hain. This call is not recorded here. According to Gusinde the male chorus sings it for about 2 minutes after which 2 voices chant it on different scales as a duet and it may be repeated for as long as a half an hour. A shaman precedes Matan on the stage to herald the women who rush to the edge chanting his name (no.15) as he takes a great leap on stage. The women continue chanting to lure him closer to them. He delights everyone and frequently performs. Gusinde points out that apparently he is independent of the tyranny of Xalpen.

Tanu, the sister of Xalpen (though Gusinde thinks this spirit may be masculine) presents an extraordinary figure. She is also shown with 4 different paint designs on her "costume" each symbolising one of the 4 principal "skies". She always has the same body; very tall (in 1923 she was 90 cm. over the head of the performer), conical at the apex but otherwise very broad, almost rectangular in shape. Only the knees and feet of the actor are exposed and they are daubed with feather down. Like the other spirits she is almost faceless. The frame, which covers the entire body except the lower legs and feet, is constructed of bows tied together over which are stretched guanaco hides. It is stuffed with reeds, grass and leaves to fill it out. This structure is harnessed on the performer who fits into it backwards, supporting the weight on his shoulders. He must walk with his back to the public, because of the volume and weight he carries, thus the front of the spirit is at his back. He advances taking side steps, very slowly, struggling under the heavy load. "She" is always accompanied by an old man who guides her and prevents her from stumbling.

Her scene, ordered by her (as an envoy of Xalpen) to be performed, takes place at night around a large fire on the center of the stage. Tanu is associated in some way with fire. When she ascends from the earth into the Hain the men whistle. She is a spectator or witness of her scene, sometimes together with another earthly female spirit called Hainxohéuwan who for lack of space we cannot describe here. Besides the Kulpúsh dance-game and her own scene, Tanu is a witness for several others including the great procession called Kewanix which we only mention here because it is considered the most beautiful spectacle of the entire ceremony.

The men prepare themselves for the Tanu scene by painting themselves red. The leader adds a white stripe from neck to genitals and jabs himself in the nose until blood flows onto his chest. While this is going on Tanu slowly emerges from the Hain and the men intone the hu? ku? chant (no.16). A line of naked young red men appears, the blood stained leader holding his hands on his hips while the others place theirs on the shoulders of the one in front. The pace is very short, slow and tiring. The men in the line pierce their noses with a pointed stick they carry, as they dance toward the huge fire. They encircle it still pounding their feet and singing in a harsh tone the hush lish héuwan (no.17) for Hainxohéuwan. The public gathers in its usual place except that now the young women form a circle on the dance floor. The line of men, panting heavily and chanting (no. 17), closes in on the circle of women. As the line turns around them, each woman tries to dry the blood off the nose or chest of a favorite man, with a piece of guanaco fur.

To offset a snow or rain storm, a rite is performed which is named Chowhtoxen meaning, chowh - water, toxe - dry, that the rain or snow become dry, disappear. When there has been bad weather and it is threatening to continue the director orders that this rite be performed. A number of young men (8 in 1923) in the Hain undress and wind pads of grass around their heads forming a crown. They exit from the Hain in a row chanting wa wa wa (not recorded) while dancing to the center of the stage where a fire is smoldering or extinguished. They rotate around it and then on to a source of water in the vicinity. They circle around the source, arms entwined, facing inwards but now chanting sh sh sh (not recorded) rotating faster and faster, first in one direction than in the other. At some time during this scene the women begin to chant yó shu xe é yó (no. 18) or yó te kó hu ó ru (no. 19) if they have a snow problem. All the while the girls joyfully throw water from leather buckets sometimes also mixed with snow and ice on the rotating backs of the men. If the supply of water runs out they throw snow balls. When the girls tire, the men join hands and dance in a line back to the Hain. This dance rite may be repeated several times on one day if the weather does not improve and again on the following days until the weather does improve.

VII Climax and Anti-climax

The klokotens are kept busy all the time. The women know this but think they are under the despotic orders of Xalpen who at any moment in an attack of fury, may kill them. They imagine that the klokotens must hunt infatigably to save their very lives. When Xalpen's presence in the Hain is known, the klokoten mothers often intone the maa toni "now far away" chant (no.20) to appease her and to console or give strength to their sons who are supposedly (and very likely) "far away" hunting. As sung by Lola this chant tells that the klokotens are very weary from hunting (for Xalpen).

Given Xalpen's indomitable sexual drive and so much love making, sooner or later she becomes pregnant (by a klokoten). When she is about to give birth she becomes really uncontrollable, but with pains this time. Here the climax of the ceremony occurs. Xalpen kills the klokotens, then most of the men, disembowling them one by one with a very long finger nail she has. The Hain trembles as if the earth were shaking, her gasps screams ring out amid sparks and flames that fly through the roof. In this great commotion terrible wa groans are heard. The women recognize the individual voices of the men as each expires with a pitiful wa. Wrought with anguish the women intone the yó te kó ho ló chant (no. 21) hoping to appease the slaughterer, but in vain.

Suddenly the Hain is still. Most of the men have been massacred. The few who survive, overwhelmed by grief, lift the bodies of the klokotens drenched in blood (of a guanaco) and carry each slowly out of the Hain, one elder supporting the head and another the legs and feet. The procession moves gradually around the stage and returns to the Hain. Besides themselves with dolor at the sight of the inert bodies of their sons, the women approach the Hain as close as permitted chanting hájñ kojñ hórshe (no. 22), a lament for the klokotens. Federico Echeuline who was a klokoten in the Hain of 1933 commented to me once, "I was really sorry to see the women cry so. They really thought their sons were dead."

During this scene the other men slip out of the Hain and later joined by the klokotens, they all remain in the forest overnight.

The restorer of life is a very small creature, the beloved Olum, who the public never sees. He is such a powerful shaman that the scars vanish as he heals the wounds and brings life back to the victims of Xalpen. The day following the massacre, the men having returned surreptitiously to the Hain, Olum begins his work of "bringing the blood together" in the words of Lola. The sign of such a glorious event (Olum at work) is the sound of rapid applauding accompanied by a clicking vocalization (no.23) against a pounding rhythmic beat (men hitting their fists on the earthen floor). The women rejoice singing again the appeasing Xalpen chant (no.21).

Soon another marvellous happening, Xalpen gives birth! The baby (either a boy or a girl) is called K'térrnen. It may appear several times during the ceremony. The women especially anticipate this event following the restoration of life by Olum and begin their welcoming hóí ká rak? chant (no. 24) to draw the baby out of the Hain so that they delight in admiration of it.

As the creature has just been born it must be supported, for it can hardly walk. This is the task of one or two very respected men, the director of the Hain and/or a shaman who upon the occasion might wear an especially beautiful feather head-dress as well as the usual cape the fur turned inside. The baby emerges from the Hain, well braced on one or both sides, taking very tiny steps. As they advance all of them hit their right heel on the ground. As much as possible they move laterally, facing the public. K'térrnen, arms stiffly held against the sides of its body, looks straight ahead. As it just emerged from the womb it is covered with feather down, parallel rows of it, from the tip of its conical head to its toes. The tiny feathers are glued to the red body paint which, by contrast of colors, produces a glimmering effect, making it seem all the more supernatural. The women keep singing their admiration and contentment during the entire scene. Upon reentering the Hain the men greet the baby with very gentle hand clapping.

The Halaháches spirit (the men call him Káféix) is in a sense an anti-Xalpen and this is why we end the notes with him. The ceremony itself ends simply, when the male participants, for one reason or another decide that it should. Shoort makes his final daily visit and the director tells the public the end has arrived.

Halaháches is appropriately a male sky spirit. In Gusinde's words he "wrests supremacy from Xalpen." When he appears in the Hain, Xalpen returns immediately into the earth. Sometimes when Xalpen is having an ominous fit of rage, the men suddenly change their tune so to speak and start chant uá (not recorded) thus announcing the arrival of Halaháches. The women second them by chanting his name (no. 25) to welcome him knowing that his presence will make Xalpen vanish. At the same time or shortly thereafter they prepare a battery of snow balls to be hurled at him for he too is capricious and may kill the men.

He is particularly grotesque, even frighteningly so, though he may be comical if the mood strikes him. When he leaps out of the Hain the public see a creature with long rather thick horns moving speedily and pugnaciously, looking intently from side to side, holding on to his chin with his left hand, elbow up, making sweeping movements in a half circle with his right arm while clutching a long stick. He advances in wide lateral jumps, legs spread out, torax bent forward, knees slightly flexed. His body is white with red stripes, his mask fitted tightly over his head and neck. He never lets go of his chin nor does he ever alter his rather stooped posture and staring glance. He constantly jerks his head from side to side and he always moves by propelling himself with his right arm, leaping side-ways. Also he is a champion dogger of snow-balls, much to the dismay of the women.

His scene is too long to describe here. Unlike Xalpen he does his slaughtering of the men in full view of the public, on stage. He strikes 2 at a time, giving them mortal blows with his stick. He drags his to-be victims by pairs from the Hain and kills them amid an onslaught of snow missiles and screams (of joy?) of the women. His task completed, he pulls the corpses back into the Hain where promptly little Olum performs his miracle.

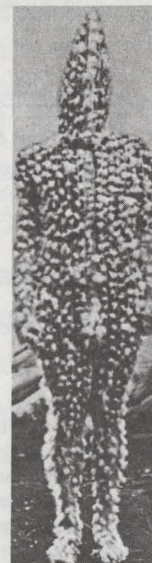
Lola always laughed a great deal when she imitated his gestures often uttering, " Halaháches was very bad." Another Indian woman with whom I studied, Angela Loij, once told me that the women laughed at him because of fear.

Why the horns? Because, according to the mythology, the hoowin ancestor who played this part was transformed into a horned fish, thus Halaháches acquired horns, or already had them (17).

VIII Index to the Chants and Transcriptions

These recordings were made with an UHER at 19 cm. speed. Many of the chants in this volume were recorded

at different moments, under slightly different acoustic conditions, hence the voice levels may vary for a given chant. The transcriptions were done with Angela Loij, but are not written phonetically. They are transcribed using approximate equivalents in English. I wish to thank Chistos Clairis for helping me with the notations. In the near future we intend to analyse the linguistic data I was able to collect, including the texts of all the chants. The most recent studies made of this language are by Elena L. Najlis (Lengua Selknam, Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, 1973 and Diccionario Selknam, ibid, 1975). Apropos of Lola's voice quality it may be of interest to quote a comment by Gusinde (p.1039), "The Selk'nam women possess very deep and strong, loud and full voices; one sometimes imagines that one is hearing men singing."



K'térrnen, Courtesy of Professor Martin Gusinde

Record I, Side A

- 1-2. Haichula: pre-dawn chant; reptition of title word whose meaning is unknown to A.C.; sung by women; see notes Part V and Gusinde 1039, 1063-65; text - Lola speaks in Spanish, todas las mujeres "all the women (sing)", kloketens todos afuera " all kloketens out (hunting)", así "that's it". No. 2 Yóroheu: deformation of vorje- "dawn"; reptition of this word; sung by women; see notes Part V and Gusinde 877, 1040, 1064-66; text - Lola comments atras vorje " behind (before) dawn". No. 1 repeated; text -Lola comments again, todas las mujeres, No.2 repeated; text - Lola comments, llamar "call (the dawn)". No.1 repeated. No.2 repeated; Lola says, vorje clara "dawn (is) breaking". No.1 repeated; Lola, kai kloketen primero "kloketen mothers (sing) first".
3. Hoshócherikó: preparing the kloketens; reptition of title word, meaning unknown; sung by women; see notes Part V, Gusinde 845 for comparable chant.
4. Kot te hepé: deformation of k?at hapen "body dry" - (the body paint of the kloketens is dry) and vocalization; sung by women; see notes Part V, Gusinde 846; Lola speaks, así mujeres "thus the women (sang)", kloketens para el colegio " the kloketens for (are going to) college (Hain)", lo mismo "the same (continue singing the same chant), está listo "(the kloketen) is ready", así "that's it".
5. Ho?ho?ho?: vocalization only; sung several times daily by the women while Shoort is visiting camp and by men in Hain every time a Shoort appears in public; see notes Parts V, VI, Gusinde 844-46, 850,

- 925,937,1062; Lola comments, mañoso Shoort pegar las mujeres "Shoort (was) bad to beat (strike) the women", tapar con el cuero todas mujeres "all the women (were) covered (hidden) with pelts", no miralo Shoort, no mira nada "the women don't look at Shoort, don't look at all", eso es, con la canasta "that's it, (Shoort strikes the women) with the basket", mañoso es "he's bad", mañoso para el palo, mujeres "he's bad with the stick (against) the women", canasta también, tirar no mas, "the basket too, (he'd) throw it (at the women)". This is the only Hain chant recorded sung by both men and women.
6. Hó kreek: another name for Shoort, repeated as vocalization; sung by kloketen mothers when Shoort returns from visit to the Hain, other women may join in; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 933,939; Lola speaks, así para cuando se viene para el colegio, más lejón, Shoort para el colegio "this (is what is sung) when (Shoort) comes (returns) to the college, (he is) far away, Shoort (is going) to college (the ceremonial hut)", mañoso Shoort, pegar las mujeres con canasta "Shoort was bad to hit the women with basket(s)"... para el hijo, para el colegio, dos (my voice in background) "for the son, for the college, two (probably two mothers of kloketens of whom she was thinking), hasta el colegio (the women sing) until (Shoort has arrived in) the college".
7. Hú ku húu: name for the emissary Hashé in the Haush language though probably deformed, followed by halishani k'ai pó néme also in Haush referring to halishan "red paint" k'ai pó "give to me", néme "women", that is "women give me red paint" which Hashé and his wife Wákus demand of the women in camp as well as meat; it is chanted by the couple while they are in camp playing with the women and demanding red paint and meat; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 925-27. though he doesn't mention this chant; Lola comments in Spanish, con fuego "with fire" (the emissaries play with fire), otro agara "the other (Wákus) takes (the paint, etc), apel coniza (word for ashes in Selk'nam and Spanish), así las mujeres "thus the women" (makes gesture of throwing ashes), primero otro al rancho "first the other to the hut (camp) (refers here either to Hashé or Wákus), halishan es akel Haush k'chan "halishn means akel (red clay for paint) in the Haush language", para cambiar otro al rancho "in order to change (with the other) in the hut (camp)" here I think she refers to the giving of paint in camp.
8. Ha?ha?: mocking Xalpen, sung by the women while they run carrying baskets of food for her, placing them as close as possible to the Hain; see Part VI, not in Gusinde; Lola says, cundo anda "when (the women) walk (run)", así mujeres "thus the women (sing)", todas "all".
9. Hoshir k'lich choucha: hoshir is forehead but here means head, choucha according to Angela Loij is word of the Hain signifying rock thus the expression "head of rock" referring to Xalpen sung to her hoping to pacify her rage; begun by the kloketen mothers and sung by all the women; see Part VI, Gusinde 1042; I only note the words in the text which I was able to translate. Repetition of hoshir k'lich choucha will be annotated as "title". Lola comments in Spanish throughout the text; ... je?te "angry"... title, así mujeres kai-kloketen "thus sing the kloketen mothers", ... je?te k'hajmaje "she (Xalpen) wants to be (or is going to be) angry", ... tul ulichen "good heart (in praise of Xalpen), hané mején "good visit (praising again and that the men will visit her)", koosh aimeren "face enraged (Xalpen furious)", title repeated, así mujeres "thus the women (sang)", title, así mujeres todas "thus all the women (sang)", primero se enoja "first (Xalpen) gets angry", title, cundo se enoja la mujer ésa Xalpen "(this phrase is sung) when that woman gets angry, Xalpen", title.

no se pierde "it's not lost (I remember)", title, para kloketen esta mal "for kloketen it (Xalpen) is bad", title, así mujeres "thus the women (sing)", title, para cuero "as skin", penahoshir para yar - pál here Selk'nam and Spanish mixed - "this (reference to Xalpen) skin (and) forehead (head) was rock."

10. Kulpush: name of the spirit during whose scene it was chanted by the men while they were dancing; see Part VI, Gusinde 989-90, 1065; at the end Lola laughs as she recalls a Selk'nam named Cacique, whose real name was Kankot, as he danced this scene.
11. Héhe: vocalization only; sung by the men during the Hóshstan scene while they are dancing and playing with the women; see Part VI, Gusinde 994-95; Lola konipin es malo "penguins is (are) bad (refers to the dancers)" Kulpush es lindo "Kulpush (dance-scene) is pretty (this one not)", clicking as "Cacique" did (see above note and notes) más fuerte es cuando viene mujeres - la cabeza "stronger (sing louder) when the women come - the head (try to grab the men by their hair)", Cacique más peor, no caye nada "Cacique was the worst, he didn't fall at all", no está malo "it isn't bad", anda anda "let's go", ...clicking.
- Record I, Side B
12. Yoyoyoyo: vocalization only; sung by the men in the Hain when Kulan descends from the sky; notes Part VI, Gusinde 925,967-69,972-73,996; Lola comments esto no sabe yo - malo malo "this one (this chant) I don't know - bad-bad (I sing it badly)", un rato, después le cayó otra vez "for a while (the singing goes on), then falls again (then Kulan descends again)", no tanto - es poco "not so much - a little (the men don't sing so long)", no canso nada yo "I don't tire at all (singing)", no puedo "I can't (do it well)".
13. Maukel: or pimauk signifies, usually the eastern most distant or infinite sky which as Temaukel, in a mythological context, Gusinde (498-508) interprets as the name of the supreme essence or being; sung by the women to lure or greet Kulan from the sky with her kloketen lovers; see notes Part VI, this chant is not in Gusinde; text - maukelé mé ek repeats, así toda mujer, todo, cuando baja kloketen Kulan, Kulan shé "thus all the women (sing) all, when Kulan returns the kloketen (to earth) Kulan's husband (the kloketen)", repeats theme, pimauk nain "the heavens above" "... así le dicen "that's how it's said", theme, así maukelé mé ek para arriba, pimauk (id. above), theme, para llevar los jóvenes, Kulan "for Kulan takes the youth above", después los baja "afterwards she descends them", en la noche bajar "she descends in the night", theme, todas las mujeres, para llamar kloketens, para bajar Kulan "all women (sing), to call the kloketens, so that Kulan descend", lo mismo canta como está "that's the way it's sung".
14. Húp ke kep: vocalization only; sung by women when Koshmank appears; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 972.
15. Maudé-en: deformation of Matan; sung by women to call this spirit; notes Part VI, Gusinde for men's Matan chant 964-66.
16. Hu? ku?: vocalization only; sung by the men for Tanu during the Tanu-Hsinxohéuwan scene; notes Part VI, not in Gusinde; Lola says, ... héuwan nain.
17. Hush lísh héuwan: deformation of Hainxohéuwan; repetition of word with interjection of hu? ku? (cf. above); sung by men while dancing in the Tanu-Hainxohéuwan scene; see Part VI, not in Gusinde; near the end Lola asks quiere más? "do you want more?"
18. Yó shu xe é yó: deformation of hohshi "snow" with vocalization; sung by women during

weather-controlling rite; see Part VI, chant not in Gusinde but see 1000-03 for rite; Lola says nada más, eso cuando viene no moja, blanca hohshi "that's all, its for when not-to get-white (didn't remember Spanish word for snow) snow (in Selk'nam)", theme, blanca esta el hijo "the son is white", esto cantaban las mujeres cuando frio "this the women sang when it was cold", cuando llegan calentar bien "when they came back they'd get warm".

19. Yó te kó ho' o ru o: vocalization and johen "go, leave", win (another word for go, leave), hohsh hin kawy "snow to home"... Tannia (a mythical locality in the North sky), hues wai "why (are you here)" ?kan (another word for snow or rain); sung by the women during the weather-controlling rite and is also sung simply to make the bad weather disappear in everyday life; see Part VI.
20. Maa toni "now far away": theme, vocalization and more texts of; below; sung by kloketen mothers to console their sons while they are out hunting and for Xalpen; see Part VII, not in Gusinde; text - vocalization of theme, tul ulichen "beautiful heart (praise of Xalpen) kawj waixen "house search for" (reference here that Xalpen is looking to the huts in camp because she wants to receive meat) vocalizations, Lola says tilia "ankel" with reference to the kloketen being tired, así le dicen "that's how it's said", vocalization, toda cosa del colegio "all (so many) things of the college" maa toni "now far away" tilia k'ochen "ankels tired" (reference to the kloketens) repeats, vocalization.

Record II, Side A.

21. Yó te kó ho lí ho ho lí: vocalization only; all women when Xalpen massacres the men; see Part VII, not in Gusinde, for scene cf. 922-23; Lola toda mujer, cuando se enoja, cuando mata ella "all women (sing), when she is angry, cuando she kills", (note Lola avoids naming Xalpen), kloketen matar primero "she kills the kloketens first", vocalizations, kloketens así "thus the kloketens" (here she alters the level of her voice meaning perhaps that the women sang differently for them), toda mujer "all women(sing)".
22. Háin kojn hórsno: "Hain" rest unknown; vocalization only; lament for kloketens after Xalpen has killed them; notes Part VII, not in Gusinde; Lola says es para kloketens "(the chant) is for the kloketens".
23. Clapping and clicking: done by the men in the Hain while Olum is restoring life; notes Part VII, not in Gusinde cf. 923 for scene; Lola todo todo "all all (the men)", wa'r juntar sangre "blood (in Selk'nam) bring together blood (which Olum does to restore life)".
24. Héj ká rak?: vocalization only; all women to greet K'térrnen and lure it closer to them; notes Part VII, Gusinde 955-56; Lola -así mujeres "thus the women(sing)".
25. Halachaches: slightly deformed only vocalization; all women during his scene; notes Part VII, Gusinde 961. (From now on "vocalization only" will be written V.O.)
26. Lola K'méyu (18) chant: V.O. Lola adopted chants of her mother's "sky" (West) though she belonged to the South "sky", her father's.
27. Ejich K'méyu chant: V.O. (Lola's mother), of the West.
28. Nonen shaman chant: V.O. (probably Lola's maternal grandfather's brother); Lola says eso es de mi tío, po?ot "this is my uncle's (chant) father's brother (in Selk'nam)".

29. Yoter K'méyu chant: repetition of yokel shé - this term which I was not able to translate refers to the West post of the Hain, hence to the West "sky" to which the owner of the song belonged. (Lola's mother's sister); of the West.

30. First Otrich K'méyu chant: voichi koyoti repeated; Yoichik is the name for one of the lesser posts of the 7 principal posts of the Hain. It is situated between the South and the West posts. Koyotl is the name of one of Otrich's sons who belonged to the West "sky" while his mother, Lola's maternal grandmother, belonged to the South "sky" and was Haush.

31. Second Otrich K'méyu chant: V.O. of the South, Haush.

Record II, Side B

32. First Halupé K'méyu chant: V.O. of the South, Haush.
33. Second Halupé K'méyu chant: V.O. of the South, Haush.
34. Yoimolka K'méyu chant: V.O. of the North, Haush.
35. Kauhualpan K'méyu chant: V.O. of the North, Haush.
36. Haricho K'méyu chant: V.O. of the West.
37. Anien K'méyu chant: V.O. Lola says yipen, yipen, "ulgy (the chant)"; of the West.
38. Kachira K'méyu chant: V.O. of the West.
39. Kauyiya K'méyu chant: V.O. of the West.
40. Halkan K'méyu chant: V.O. of the West.
41. Amilken K'méyu chant: V.O. of the West.
42. Guanaco Myth Chant: see vol. I no. 40 for the same chant. It is presented here again because the text of this version is longer. It was claimed by Amilken who belonged to the West "sky" as did the guanaco. It is a very important chant because its text relates the myth of the origin of the prohibition of incest. As frequently occurs in Selk'nam myths (hoowin epoch) there is a deliberate ambiguity in the make-up of the personages: they are (super) human and at the same time they have certain characteristics of the animal (natural phenomenon, etc.) into which they will become transformed. This is the case here. In the beginning the father-guanaco is "really" a human hoowin but he acts like a guanaco. In another version of the same myth, it is clearer that he and his daughter are transformed into guanacos while they are committing incest. The myth also relates the origin of the mourning rites (t'a'acheren) as performed by the daughters. The chant also has a double function: it is a lament and also a k'méyu song. For the myth see Gusinde, 650-52 also vol. I pp. 7-8 of Selk'nam chants. The following transcription was also done with Angela Loij. Unfortunately I have not as yet been able to clarify some of the words in the text. Note that this was a women's chant, apparently men were not allowed to sing it.

yohwn ténsa kai' ?ainn wlejche yohwn k?mná
guanaco said your father die guanaco lament

k?mná // The guanaco said (to his daughters) your
lament father (will) die, (then) sing the lament,

yohwn k'akshi ?ainn márren márren nit ?ainn
guanaco bury father old male g. old male g. ... father

?ainn // Bury the guanaco, the old male guanaco, the
father old male guanaco, (your) father, father.

k?mná yohwn-winá ja tem nas //
lament guanaco (of) women I speak here

I am speaking (singing) the women's lament of the
guanaco.

Vocalization.

naim yohwn ténsh t'ainn or k'mná-wina //
 guanaco spoke father after lament (of) women
 (Thus) the women (daughters) sang the lament after
 their father's (death).

t'ainn temá shonni'ish kil
 father after them sexually excited following

ja haash ashni márrén k'tam
 .. footprints urinating old male g. his daughters

nia haash ni márrén yohwn //
 ... footprints .. old male g. guanaco

The father went after them (his daughters) following
 the footprints (of) his daughters (while he was running
 he was) urinating, (following) the footprints, the old
 male guanaco, guanaco.

soshits chinen mik hárník k'shá ja ?ainn //
 one ran ... away - mate .. father

One (daughter) ran away. The father mated (with the
 other).

Vocalization.

márrén yohwn k'tam m'chaaha //
 old male g. guanaco his daughter take care of

The daughter took care of the old male guanaco, guanaco.

ja haash ók'en k'winta //
 .. footprints run very fast .. found

(He) ran very fast (following) the footprints (and) found
 (overtook his daughters).

t'ai vinen káxén or kórié kórié káxén
 ... went bury after white clay white clay bury

wirik k'oosh chítish //
 his (of himself) face uncovered

After they (the daughters) went away (after) burying him
 (as he ordered, told them) in the white clay (bed of the
 guanacos), white clay, his face uncovered (not buried).

chinen ?ainn tam ni haash ashni
 ran father daughter(s) footprints urinating

wit nia tam ni haash //
 daughter(s) .. footprints

The father ran (after) (his) daughters (following their)
 footprints (while he was) urinating, ... (his) daughters'
 footprints.

k'auk she?mai mak' she?mja k'chinen k'tam
 to mate his lover ran daughter

k'she?min ni marren t'kari son winma //
 lover old male g. family not

(When) they mated, (when) the old male guanaco ran
 after his daughter, (at the moment they became) lovers,
 (they were) not (no longer) family.

té sei jixen páaika //
 she was lover love-woman woman.

soshits chinen mik hárník k'swién
 one ran ... away .. make love

ma hárník //
 daughter away (in the fields) (to the other) daughter.

Notes

1. For analyses of the chants in vol. I see G. Rouget
 (with the collaboration of J. Schwarz) "Transcrire ou
 décrire? Chant soudanais et chant fuégien" in Echanges
et Communications. Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-
Strauss à l'occasion de son 60 anniversaire, edited by
 J. Pouillon and P. Maranda, vol. I, Paris-La Haye, Mouton,
 1970, pp. 677-706 and (same authors) "Chant fuégien, con-
 sonance, mélodie de voyelles" in Revue de Musicologie,
 tome 63, no. 1, 1976 pp. 5-23. For a portrait of Lola
 Kiepja see A. Chapman "Lola" in Natural History, vol.
 80, no. 3, 1971, pp. 33-41. The following errors were made
 in the pagination of the notes for vol. I: p. 6 should read

p. 10, p. 7 should read p. 6 and p. 10 should read p. 7.

2. The only agriculturists in the entire area of southern
 South America are the Araucanos of central Chile, the
 extinct small groups which inhabited the mouth of Río La
 Plata and vicinity in Argentine and groups in Uruguay.

3. No. 28 is not a Hain chant. It is included here because
 it does not form part of vol. I and because it belonged to
 Lola's family.

4. Gusinde calls the ceremony "Kloketen Feier". The last
 Indians and mestizos I knew almost invariably said
 the term kloketen referred to the young man being initiated
 and that the ceremony as well as the ceremonial hut was
 called Hain. The initiation was only a part of the ceremony.

5. See especially E. L. Bridges The Uttermost Part of the
Earth, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1949 and for a survey of the
 literature on the Hain see Gusinde (1931) pp. 808-820. This
 author also wrote several articles on the ceremony but most
 of the material is contained in his main work.

6. Before 1923, according to Gusinde, the Selk'nam had held
 a Hain every year for 10 years. In 1924-25 there occurred an
 epidemic among this small population of Selk'nam (they numbered
 279) which decimated it. This is the main reason why there
 were very few Hains after this date.

7. See Gusinde (1931) pp. 857-882 and an English translation
 of these myths in J. Wilbert Folk Literature of the Selk'nam
Indians, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975,
 pp. 147-170.

8. See vol. I of the Selk'nam chants, chants 5 and 32 and
 pp. 6-7 in the notes. Also A. Chapman "Lune en Terre de Feu",
 in Objets et Mondes, vol. 12, no. 2, Paris, 1972 pp. 145-158.

9. Chant 26 of this volume. In another version of the same
 (chant 14 vol. I) Lola says that it is a k'méyu chant of the
 tamtam bird. This one and no. 42 are the only chants repeated.

10. Gusinde (1931) pp. 883-887, 900-901, 940-41.

11. See A. Chapman and T. R. Hester "New Data on the Archae-
 ology of the Haush" in Journal de la Société des Améri-
canistes, tome 62, 1973 "Introduction and Ethnographic
 Background", pp. 185-193.

12. See A. Chapman "Economía de los Selk'nam de Tierra
 del Fuego" in ibid tome 64, 1977, pp. 135-148.

13. Two kloketens may be taken into the Hain at the same
 time for this rite.

14. Moon (the moon during eclipse) is sung to with the
 same sort of ambiguity, see note 8.

15. Gusinde describes this movement as frog hopping but
 Federico "chueline" who was initiated in 1933 insisted that
 it was like penguin hopping. As there are no frogs in the
 entire zone but penguins are abundant, the latter seems more
 logical, even though the dancers do stoop like frogs.
 Note also that Lola while singing the chant of this dance (no. 11)
 commented jokingly "penguins are bad" referring to the men.

16. Gusinde (p. 970) simply states that Fulan was impersonated
 by a slim rather short young man while I was told (by Fede-
 rico Echeuline) that this spirit was always played by the
 kloketens.

17. Some of the other highlights of this ceremony, not sur-
 parized in these notes are: the Kewanix procession, the dance
 of the seals, the phallic dances. Also several spirits were
 omitted.

18. Each woman had one or more traditional k'méyu chants which
 she inherited and which in some way was associated with her
 "sky". The women were obliged to sing these chants everyday,
 to placate Xalpen and Shoort so that they be gentle with the
 kloketens. These chants were also called Hain-enmai meaning
 "for (or there is) a Hain". See Gusinde 1040-41.