



**MUSIC OF THE**  
**PAWNEE**  
Sung by Mark Evarts

PAWNEE CHIEF / COVER DESIGN BY RONALD CLYNE

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MUSIC OF THE PAWNEE

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MARK EVARTS

(a). Bear Song of Peter Wood; (b). Old Hand Game Song;  
(c). Ghost Dance Hand Game Song  
WAR SONGS

(a). First Council With U.S.; (b). Sioux Attack On Pawnee;  
(c). Horse Raiding Exped.; (d). Pawnee Raid On Cheyenne  
LOVE SONGS

(a). Love Song; (b). Man's; (c,d,e) Woman's;  
(f) Peyote Song  
DANCE & GAME SONGS

(a,b). Buffalo; (c). Hoop & Pole; (d) Peace Pipe - (Trade  
Ceremonial); (e). Pipe Dance Song (Baby)  
DEER DANCE SONGS

(a). Mescal Bean; (b). Morning Star; (c). Spring;  
(d). Mescal Bean

## DEER DANCE SONGS

(a). White Horse; (b). Ely Shotwell; (c). Tirahura;  
(d). Pitsu'u

## DEER DANCE, WAR &amp; OLD HAND GAME SONGS

(a). David Akapakis; (b). Skiri Jake; (c). Sky-Blessed;  
(d). Mother to Child; (e). Old Hand Game Song

## DOCTOR'S AND SOCIETY SONGS

(a) Hypnotism Song; (b). Father Chicken Hawk; (c). Sitting  
Hawk; (d). One Horn Soc. (Military); (e). Young  
Hawk; (d). One Horn Soc. (Military); (e). Young  
Dog Soc. (Military)

Five Songs of the Cosmic Religion of the Skidi Pawnee  
SACRED & AWARI DANCE SONGS

(a). Evening Star; (b). Morning Star; (c). Planting;

(d). Nurturing; (e). Transplanting

(a). Hatuxka Lance Soc.; (b). Wolf War Raid; (c). Horse Soc.  
(d). Wolf & Scalped Man

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET



# MUSIC OF THE PAWNEE

Documentary recording of 45 Pawnee Indian songs as recorded by Dr. Gene Weltfish, Associate Prof. of Anthropology, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Madison, New Jersey. Sung by Mark Evarts.

## Introduction To The Pawnee People

Under the great dome of the sky in the western plains lived the Pawnee people. Three rivers flow eastward from the foothills of the Rockies to the Missouri, crossing Nebraska and northern Kansas, and along their middle courses the Pawnee villages were clustered. Overhead the sky was their major deity and First Cause and the stars were its minions and each man was born under a star that watched over him throughout his life. For six hundred years from 1250 to 1876, life ran its course and through this time the Pawnee developed into a nation. Then history began to press in upon them. First the dispossessed Sioux from the Lakes region to the east and then other tribes were moved onto their lands and their hunting grounds and finally came the Oregon Trail, The Mormon Trail, the Gold Rush and white settlement. At last they could remain no longer and they tried to find a refuge to the south, leaving their ancestral lands behind.

Their substantial houses of timbers, thatch and earth, circular in shape with a high domed roof, were grouped into villages along the high banks of the Loup and Platte, with their cornfields in the bottom-lands. Each village had an hereditary chief and braves who were his administrative assistants. These were federated into four major Bands-- the Skidi or Wolf; Kitkehaxki, Little Earth Lodge Village; Tsawi'i, Begging the Big Game Hunter for Meat; Pita-hawirats, Man-Going Eastward or Downstream. There was a major division between the Skidi and the other three which were called "South Bands" because of their location: the division was noted on an historical map at least as early as 1701, and it was apparent in a minor variation in the spoken language. In historic times the Skidi were the most highly organized of the four bands, with an integrated theology and an official priesthood of five priests as well as an established association of combined Doctor Cluts which held an elaborate thirty-day Grand Opera after the harvest in the fall.

According to their theology, after Heaven had created the Universe in a series of primordial storms over many eons, he created the stars that were to create Mankind. In the western skies he placed the Evening Star, a beautiful woman, goddess of night and fruitfulness and her helper, the moon and in the eastern skies, the Morning Star, god of light, war and fire, born of hot meteors and a hot bed of flint. Between their realms ran the Milky Way. Assisting Morning Star was his younger brother, the sun.

For the Pawnee, the dome of the house was the dome of the sky in miniature and life kept flowing through from the stars to the people inside at all times. The circular walls of the house were like the larger horizon outside where the earth meets the sky all around them on the Great Plains. The house was always entered from the east through a long vestibule and as the Morning Star rose in the eastern sky, it entered the house and touched the fireplace, creating life anew each day when the fire was kindled.

In her western realm, the Evening Star kept her cultivated gardens of food crops and her servants, the Winds, the Clouds, the Lightnings and the Storms that were given her by Heaven itself at the Creation. Then Morning Star waged a war upon her; invading the western skies to bring light into the world and life. At the invasion, Evening Star transformed her four

servants into fierce animals in the four semi-cardinal quarters of the Universe-- the winds in wildcat form in the southwest; the clouds as wolf in the southeast; lightning as mountain lion in the northwest and the bear in the northeast. All these the Morning Star had to conquer through many trials and at last he destroyed with a meteor stone, the vaginal teeth that shielded the goddess from mating. From their union the first human being, a girl, was born, and a whirlwind carried her to earth. From the mating of their respective assistants, the Sun and the Moon, the first boy was born and also carried to earth. And so the human race-- at least of the Pawnee, began.

But man had to pay for his life, for the Morning Star demanded the life of a young girl that was captured from an enemy tribe every year and sacrificed at planting time, so that all life could go on and the crops mature. The girl was sacrificed as she stood tied to a scaffold, shot with an arrow through the heart by a warrior impersonating the Wolf, god of death-- the southeast star, Sirius. At the base of the scaffold was the oblong pit lined with white downy feathers symbolizing the Garden of the Evening Star, the kusaru, or bed. A number of features of Pawnee theology, particularly of the Skidi are reminiscent of classical Mexican religion and a direct analogy for the sacrifice is suggested by Herbert J. Spinden and Clark Wissler (American Museum Journal, XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1916, 54) in the mode of human sacrifice of the Cuicatecan tribe of the State of Guerrero, Mexico, illustrated in the Codex Porfirio Diaz now preserved in the National Museum in Mexico City. Other evidence prompts the authors to attribute the time of the diffusion of this custom between 1506 and 1519, when the victory of Cortez ended their communication. When news of this dramatic rite first reached the eastern seaboard of the United States, in 1820-21, it created something of a sensation-- especially in the light of the obvious Mexican analogies.

In 1816 an Ietan girl was captured by a Skidi warrior in preparation for sacrifice to the Morning Star in the spring of 1817. The chief of the Skidi at this time was Knife Chief (ritsi-risaru) of Pumpkin Village. In 1811 he had been on a delegation to see William Clark in St. Louis, who was then Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the region. They had a long and serious talk in which Clark impressed Knife Chief with the fact that white people were coming in ever-increasing numbers "like the waves of the ocean-- in, in, in... It's coming. Every year more people come over here." and the Pawnee must prepare themselves. Knife Chief, impressed with the validity of this, tried to get the people to abandon the custom of human sacrifice, but the warriors and priests, always suspicious of the political motives of the chiefs, were hostile and defiant. The ceremonies were continued and on the appointed day, the young girl was led out and tied to the sacrificial scaffold. On his trip to see William Clark, Knife Chief was accompanied by his son (or nephew) Man Chief, pita-risaru, an outstanding warrior in his early twenties and universally respected by all the people. With the crowd gathered and the warrior ready to shoot the fatal arrow, Man Chief rode before them and told them his father disapproved of what they were about to do and he had come to rescue the girl or die right there. By Skidi belief, anyone who touched the consecrated girl during her captivity would soon die, for they would be taken by the Morning Star in her stead. Thus all could see that Man Chief was offering his life as a forfeit for the girl. The crowd held off in awe while Man Chief cut the girl down, placed her on a horse and sent her south where she was able to re-join her own people. By 1820-21, the story of the conduct of Knife Chief and his son, Man Chief, had come to the attention of Edwin James and Jedidiah Morse and through them it became known. An expedition of Pawnee chiefs from each of the four bands, including Man Chief, was called to Washington in 1821, led by Major O'Fallon. There, in the light of his bold rescue, the girls at "Miss White's Select Female Seminary" collected enough money to have a large silver medal cast to present to the handsome young Pawnee hero at a public ceremony. It bore the inscription: "To the Bravest of the Brave." Man Chief was now a young man of about twenty-five. In his acceptance speech, Man Chief said when he did this thing, he did not know he was brave, but had acted according to his feelings, but now that they had called him brave and



had given him this medal, he thanked them and would always remember them. His portrait was painted by Charles Bird King and appears in the Thomas L. Mc Kenny and Hall volumes on Indian tribes. The medal was excavated near Fullerton, Nebraska, by Alonzo Thompson.

The Pawnee are historically credited by other tribes as the source of the main features of the Calumet or Peace Pipe Ceremony noted by the explorer Marquette as early as 1672 when he travelled down the Mississippi under its protection. This elaborate and beautiful ceremony was actually a ceremony of peaceful trade. The initiator of the expedition was a man of substance and influence and for at least a year he enlisted his friends and associates in the accumulation of a quantity of valuable manufactured goods and preserved foods which they would carry as "gifts" to another tribe or politically distant Band within the Pawnee group. When these preparations had been arranged for, the leader sent a messenger to make the necessary diplomatic contact with the other group, particularly with a person of comparable status, wealth and social influence to the leader. With this notification, this man would enlist the pledges of his friends and associates within his tribe or Band, for contributions of horses to be given as return gifts to the visiting leader on behalf of his party. (Possibly in the past, the visiting party brought manufactured goods and dried crops and received dried buffalo meat as a return gift). Such a "Pipe Dance" expedition often included a hundred people.

These mundane aspects were almost unrecognizably embedded in an elaborate metaphor and ceremonial procedure. The visiting expedition included under the leader, a number of chiefs, Braves, priests and Medicine Men, exemplifying the main personages of Pawnee officialdom. In addition to the goods as gifts, they carried with them the best in tents, camping equipment, utensils and food enough for the entire expedition including the entertainment of the people they were to visit. These would be left behind as part of their offering. They assisted their hosts in horticulture and other work so that they would be free to participate in the ceremony. The host, on his part, provided a large earth lodge in which the main ceremony could be performed, lodging in his home for the leader, and adequate camping facilities for the rest of the party. When the ceremony was over, the contributed horses were turned over to the leader of the visiting party who would later distribute them among those who had contributed or participated in the expedition. The visiting party came as "Fathers," the host being referred to as "Sons" or "Children." The "Father" was bringing and communicating all that he valued to his "Child." The pipe comprised two elaborately decorated pipe stems, one signifying the female eagle and the values of the home and the other the male eagle, hovering about outside and protecting it from attack. The female pipestem was decorated with a fan-shaped pendant of ten tail feathers of the brown or golden eagle, and the male pipestem with a fan-shaped pendant of seven tail feathers of the white eagle. Among the Pawnee, the symbolism of the pipestem is basic; it signifies the windpipe, the breath, life, voice, speech, the soul, and the way of communication with the heavenly powers through the smoke of the tobacco which rises to the Heavens.

The ceremony itself represented in a sense, a synopsis of Pawnee ceremonial and religious themes. The two Pipe Dance Songs in this collection, include one to Mother Corn and another, "Baby Stop Crying-- Look Upward at Father Sky" (Side I, Band 4) for which the informant added the comment: "They want the baby to stop crying and look up at the feathers at the end of the pipestem which is pointing with the mouthpiece upward (so that Heaven may smoke), and thence he will look up at Father Sky." The meaning being that Father Sky is the ultimate source of all their well-being, and it is in this direction that the child should look for his security. After the ceremony, a considerable number of horses, highly decorated for the occasion, are presented by the "Child" to the "Father." The "Father" leaves with the "Child" in addition to the other gifts, the sacred pipestems and all ceremonial paraphernalia. For a year or more at least, there will be peace between their two groups.

In my ethnological account, when the Pawnee villages were attacked by the Sioux, Eagle Chief took the decorated pipestems and said to his wives, "Dear wives, it is said that this pipe is beloved of Heaven" and so he rode out holding the pipestem aloft and as he approached, the enemy lined up, turned around and rode away when they saw the pipe.

In addition to the interrelationship of the four Bands of Pawnee, united in language as well as custom, were more distantly related to the people who spoke the kindred languages of the Caddoan language family. These peoples were distributed in a north-south "corridor" west of the Mississippi river in the midcourses of the rivers that flowed into it from the foothills of the Rockies. The Arikara, the northernmost of the Caddoan peoples, were in North Dakota, then the Pawnee in Nebraska and Kansas, the Wichita to the south of them in Kansas and Oklahoma and the Caddo from whom the language stock is named, still further south toward the Gulf in Louisiana and Texas. There was a tendency for each of these groups to look for certain kinds of cultural stimulus toward the group south of it. It would appear that in times past, individuals from among the Arikara would spend several years among the Pawnee to gain ceremonial knowledge, while from among the Pawnee in their turn, some men went south to the Wichita and apprenticed themselves to the leader of a religious cult for some years in order to learn the ceremonies, the songs and ideas. Sometime during the early part of the 1800's, a man named Kind Warrior went from the Pawnee among the Wichita and stayed for three years, returning with many new songs and religious ideas. He brought with him the knowledge of the Raris-ta, Deer-Dance, a ceremony concerning the increase of the deer and their life on the plains and in the timber. The symbolic elements have a decidedly southern flavor, rather than one essentially native to the Pawnee habitat. They included the green sage which symbolized the fresh odors of spring and with which the floor of the ceremonial house was covered, the mescal bean, smearing with white clay to symbolize its seeds, and the rattlesnake. The Pawnee Doctor Cults for example, were concerned with Bear, the Buffalo, the Otter, the Beaver, the Wolf, willows, cottonwoods and other trees of the area, as well as ducks, geese, loons, etc. The raris-ta shared many important features with the Pawnee Doctor Cults, among them an intensive practise of legerdemain and various degrees of trance, interpersonal suggestion and hypnotism. There was some difference in primary emphasis, the traditional association of the Pawnee Doctor Cults having as their main theme the curing of the sick through an intimate knowledge of the nature of the wild animals and plants, while the raris-ta was organized as two opposing war parties-- the southern groups-- Wichita, Weco, Kitsai, Takawoni, "attacking" the northern groups or *isati*, viz. the component divisions of the Pawnee. In both cases a demonstration of power was a successful demonstration of sleight-of-hand, which was referred to as "playing": *kusisaari*, in the sense of children romping, and trance-induction called "fighting" or "shooting" *patsaku*, the raris-ta, referring to this latter activity as "shooting the image or shadow,"-- *awai-taku*. The more aggressive character of this activity in the raris-ta was evident. There is evidence that the Pawnee like other tribes used their power of suggestion and trance-induction both on the hunt in relation to the wild animals and toward the enemy in war. It is said that among the tribes of the North Pacific Coast, a war party would not set out without an able shaman to exercise his powers against the enemy.

After the death of the originators, Kind Warrior, the leadership of the raris-ta was taken over by a Skidi Chief, Victory Call and it became more and more a composite with many typically Pawnee ceremonial features added to the original Wichita nucleus. Among both Pawnee and Wichita, the participants in the ceremony were grouped around a central fireplace into two halves, one part in a northern "arc" and one in the southern. These were again subdivided into two "positions" each in the semi-cardinal directions, southeast, southwest, northeast, northwest. In the raris-ta, at each end of these "stations" a number of cult leaders were seated, the positions signifying the ages of a man-- southeast: youth; southwest: fully grown men; northwest: men in their prime and northeast:



old men. (The more usual Pawnee symbolism designates the west positions for youth; the cardinal positions for maturity and the east for old age-- more particularly the southeast).

The procedure was for gourds and ceremonial bows to be brought to the first station at the southeast and for the men to begin to rattle and sing. Then someone would get up and dance and eventually a feat of sleight-of-hand would be performed. Then further dancing and for the next round the rattles and bows would be taken to the next or southwest station and they would begin to sing-- dancers would get up and another sleight-of-hand performance would be carried out, and so on through the two other stations-- northwest and northeast. In the course of these performances the dancers jumped diagonally over the fireplace toward the diagonally opposite semi-cardinal "station" and a complete performance would include "forming a star," that is, making two diagonal crossings in the opposite direction. The Pawnee pictograph for a star was an equal-armed cross like our plus sign and the star referred to was Sirius, the star of the southeast-- the Wolf Star. The Pawnee referred to this star as Tskirixki-tiuhats, Wolf-He is deceived, which refers to a legend in the mythology. Performances of trance-induction were also carried out between members of the diagonally opposite semi-cardinal "stations." Many observers have attested to the great skill of the Pawnee as illusionists. This ceremony was carried out in the fall for ten days after the harvest, nine night session and a tenth all-day episode. (Songs of the raris-ta are heard on Side II, Bands 3, 4 and 5).

The ceremonies of the Association of Doctor Cults occupied thirty days after the harvest and comprised elaborate animal-mime performances and dances, some of them in the public dance-grounds in the open. One aspect of the animal miming was sleight-of-hand and trance induction, between members of the different cults. It was characterized by public parades and was an elaborate Grand Opera with a central theme, an integrated vision story and songs, dances and performances. In it the Doctors who had charge of the health of the people affirmed their kinship with the living things of nature-- the wild animals, the birds and the plants. Three songs, two by the leading doctors of the association, are included here. (Side II, Band 3, (a), (b) and (c)).

In 1867, the raris-ta was becoming so popular that a bitter rivalry developed between the leaders of the established Doctor Association and the raris-ta leaders. On his death bed, Victory Call attributed his death to sorcery by Big Doctor, of the Doctor Association. There is reason to believe that there were rival cults at an earlier time that finally became integrated into a larger composite cult.

In the Pawnee religious scheme, the Doctors were in charge of the realm of the earth and the water and the official Priesthood, of the Heavens and the stars and constellations. While all life and creation had its source in the Heavens, the cultivated crops were in a more immediate relationship with Cosmic realm. The palladium of the cosmic theology was an elongated bundle containing ceremonial paraphernalia wrapped in a tanned hide and tied around with a rope of braided buffalo hair, its form and mode of wrapping symbolizing a particular spirit. Among the Skidi who theology was most highly organized of all the Pawnee Bands, there were twelve sacred bundles, with a certain variation in the objects they contained, but each having two sacred ears of corn of a special archaic breed grown especially for the bundles and renewed after the harvest each fall. Each of these ears of corn had an individual name and as the bundles hung over the sacred altar in the earth lodge, offerings were made to it, and the ears of corn were addressed by their names. Every spring the ceremonial cycle began with a ceremony of the five official priests who went to each bundle in succession, singing of the steps of the creation of the universe, of the star gods and of the formation of the political federation of villages into the Skidi Band long ago. Of the five songs given here (Side II: Band 4) one refers to the Evening Star, the second to the Morning Star and three to an elaborate ceremony performed at the time when the ground was first broken for planting the corn. This ceremony is

called Awari which signifies activity or motion, and in the course of it, motions of breaking the earth are made with the adze-like hoe, made with a buffalo shoulder blade sharpened along the edge so that it can break the ground.

Like all American Indian groups, raiding parties went into enemy territory, but among the Pawnee, glory was far from the sole motive. Most of all they went to take booty-- valuable costumes and decorative objects made of hard to get materials and also dried and preserved buffalo meat. There is evidence that this was an old pattern, but horses as a highly mobile and convenient kind of booty were certainly a prime objective. The Pawnee always set out on their raids on foot, particularly with the expectation of getting horses-- but they also packed the booty they got on their own backs. Scalps were taken as concrete evidence for the people at home that one had been in the land of the enemy, and honor was given for touching the enemy during battle, provided this could be attested to by an eye-witness or other conclusive evidence, sometimes even an erstwhile enemy during a time of truce. Among the Plains Indians, the young men formed themselves into military societies under whose auspices raids were undertaken. Among the Pawnee, societies seemingly comparable in form, were not for this purpose, but for national defense against enemy attack of the settlements, and for providing official police during the semi-annual tribal buffalo hunting expeditions. (Horse Society Song: Side II, Band 5 (c) is of such a society).

A primary characteristic of Pawnee life was its dual alternations through the seasons of horticultural activities and tribal migrations south and west across the State of Nebraska to attack the Buffalo herds, bringing home the dried and preserved meat for storage. In the spring they lived in settled villages and tended to the planting of the crops; in the summer (the corn being laid by) they migrated for the summer buffalo hunt; in the fall they returned to the villages to harvest, dry and store the crops; and in the winter again they migrated to the buffalo hunting grounds to attack the herd. A storage pit in conjunction with each house held more than a year's supply of dried and preserved buffalo meat, corn, beans and squash. At the western wall of every house, there was a sacred altar on which the buffalo skull rested and above it hung the sacred bundle with its ears of corn, signifying their dual dependence. Side I, Band 4 offers two Buffalo Dance songs of the Buffalo Doctor Cult and a third song of the Hoop and Pole Game which comprised the rolling of a hoop down a long playing field and aiming a spear or pole at it, symbolizing buffalo mating, the hoop representing the female. At the same time the buffalo hunt with a spear was symbolized. This game was a constant and characteristic feature of Pawnee life, the men betting heavily on the sidelines. The gaming grounds were a favorite rendezvous for the men to watch the game, to meet and talk, or just sit around.

Another favorite game of the men was the Hand Game in which two opposing teams sat on opposite sides of an oblong firepit, two members of one side hiding a pair of long white tubular beads in their hands, representatives of the opposite side trying to guess the combination of beads and empty hands among the four. This was definitely a game of war symbolism-- of attack on the enemy and reprisal and the betting was very heavy. The players on opposite sides sometimes tried to strike each other, but the whole group combined to prevent them from actually doing so. A song of this type can be heard in Side I, Band 1 (b).

The love songs contained on Side I, Band 3, of the man and the woman, I am sure need no further comment.

In this brief summary, I have been able only to suggest some of the richness of traditional Pawnee life.

The dispossessed Sioux who for several centuries had continued to be pressed westward from their original home around the Great Lakes carried on a desperate crescendo of attack upon the Pawnee, attempting to take over their lands and their hunting grounds. They early acquired guns from French trade to the east and as they added to these, horses, which came ultimately



from Spanish sources in the Southwest, they became a powerful military force, armed and mounted, and more and more displaced peoples who had formerly been settled, joined up with them. It is estimated that in 1780 the Pawnee numbered 12,000, in 1855, 4,000. Epidemic disease was also a major killer. In 1855, the Dakota Sioux alone are said to have had 30,000. In 1865 there were 3,400 Pawnee and on August 5, 1873, while on their summer buffalo hunt, accompanied by an agency-appointed trail agent, the hunters were massacred by a band of 800 to 1,000 Sioux warriors who then proceeded to attack the rest of the encampment including the women, children and old people who had been rushed to a ravine near Trenton, Nebraska, for shelter. The death toll was very high and finally after visiting parties among the Wichita to the south had sounded out the possibility of migrating there, the movement became a landslide in spite of all the chiefs could do to dissuade them from leaving their own territory. They migrated to Oklahoma in three contingents under different leaders. By 1876 the Pawnee had all left their ancestral home that they had occupied for six hundred years. The move was disastrous for many of the people sickened in the new climate and from the hardships of the journey and the need to develop new resources for food, clothing and shelter. By 1879, three years after the last move, they numbered 1,440 and by the census of 1910, 630, -- a loss of 94% in 130 years of contact. In 1928, when I first went to Pawnee Oklahoma to record the language, they numbered 750 and today there are 1800 on the tribal rolls.

Today remembrance of past traditions is faint and most of the Pawnee have found their way into professions and trades, -- numbering among them, engineers, accountants and business managers, a journalist and illustrator, a fine artist, a former Major League baseball player, a professional radio entertainer, a psychiatric social worker, nurses, clerical workers, carpenters and others, with their working homes scattered throughout the country. But their feeling for the past is not lost and every year many return to Pawnee, Oklahoma for a period of homecoming together. But in 1928 there were a number of old people whose only language was Pawnee, whose youth was spent in Nebraska, living in the traditional villages and going on buffalo hunts. Their memory of their life was vivid and they hoped to make a final record so people would know "what they had done." After working on the morphology of the language, in order to get materials for its semantic study, I tried to get as detailed an account of old Pawnee life as I could. I enlisted the help of Mark Evarts who had lived in Nebraska as a boy and migrated to Oklahoma with the last contingent in his early teens. Later he joined a group of his friends and went to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania and, trying to adapt himself in New York, Philadelphia, Newark and other cities, he returned to Pawnee, lonely and broken in spirit in the early 1890's where an important religious revival known as the Ghost Dance was in progress. By religious means, the Indians thought to turn back the clock, "blow away the white people and the devastating new conditions" and bring back their dead and old ways. With all his relatives and friends dead, Mark Evarts embraced this belief wholeheartedly, put away his new ways, returned to speaking only his own language and in a series of visions saw with vivid clarity Pawnee life as he had lived it in his youth. Later, marriage, the birth of a daughter and a successful farm seemed to bring him satisfaction, but his wife died of tuberculosis and his daughter followed at the age of twelve and by 1924 his farm was lost through a bank loan in a bad crop year.

When I came to Pawnee in 1928 we first became acquainted through my friend Stacy Matlock and my linguistic interpreter, Henry Chapman, with whom I worked on the South Band Pawnee dialects. I was looking for material on the linguistic differences between the South Band and the Skidi. Henry Chapman continued to act as my interpreter, but finally Mark Evarts became exasperated with the obvious difficulty of direct translation and began to work with me in heavily accented English. When we came to know each other, I realized that he would be the ideal informant for the detailed account of traditional Pawnee life I was looking for. I began with a theoretical question in anthropology, -- viz. the general belief among anthropologists that the sedentary Plains peoples were a-typical and had come originally from Woodlands areas east of the Mississippi and were gradually abandoning their settled life in favor of nomadic

buffalo hunting, the dual life that we met being historically a transitional stage. It was also thought, an idea chiefly introduced by Clark Wissler, that the acquisition of the horse had intensified the drive toward nomadic life and the hunting of the buffalo herds. I explained these questions to Mark Evarts and he felt that their life was an integral one and its dual character went far back in time, a judgement that is proving more and more accurate as archeological and ethnological work proceeds. The plan of work we devised was to get a complete round of an entire year of Pawnee life in all its detail when Pawnee Society was still fully functioning and Mark was a small boy, roughly the year 1867. Beginning on a spring morning when he awakened in an earth lodge, he recounted the whole scene, -- the people, the day's round, etc. and from 1929 to 1936 we continued this plan, finally completing the four-seasonal round in its normal course. This is the account of Pawnee life published by Basic Books, New York.

In 1936, Mark Evarts came to New York and at Columbia University's Department of Anthropology where I was teaching, we made a plan for recording Pawnee music that pertained to the account of Pawnee life we had just completed. Excellent equipment was available from the Laboratory of Ethno-Musicology under Prof. George Herzog of the Department. Mrs. Martha Champion Huot who was assisting in the Laboratory, operated the technical facilities. Mark Evarts said he would try to give an example of each kind of Pawnee music so that we would have a general synopsis of the musical styles. He made a small water drum out of a glazed earthenware specimen jar with a piece of tanned hide drawn over the mouth and fastened in the traditional way, filling it partly with water through the skin. The drum that was used by the Pawnee was made of a section of cottonwood log that was partly hollowed out by rotting and then scraping, and then the skin drawn over the mouth and tied as in our substitute. A skin covered drum stick was also improvised for the occasion and a gourd rattle was used. The songs were sung and recorded on five aluminum discs, ten sides, now in the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music, Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics, Indiana University. At the same time I transcribed and translated the song texts. The collection comprised forty five songs dealing with politics, war, love, the Buffalo Doctor Cult, and associated Hoop and Pole Game, the Pipe Dance trade expedition, the Raris-ta or Wichita-derived Deer Dance, Songs of the Traditional Doctor Association, the Cosmic Sacred Bundles, Military Societies and a song that was sung in the course of telling a tale. The translations of the song texts are as literal as is consonant with basic comprehension. I have made no attempt at further subtlety or equivalence in translation, rather leaving the word to stand as a cue to a whole network of associations that can better be understood within the framework of Pawnee life itself, as it was for the Pawnee.

#### Pawnee Songs Sung by Mark Evarts of the Skidi Band,

August, 1936

#### Song Texts Translated and Transcribed

by Dr. Gene Weltfish

(The order in which the songs were sung has been preserved and a list follows after which the song texts are given with additional notes.)

#### SIDE I Band 1:

- (a) Bear Song of Peter Wood
- (b) Old Hand Game Song

This song symbolizes the two opposing parties out on the warpath, which is dramatized in the play of the game. It is sung to wholly meaningless syllables. Considerable gambling accompanied the song.

heya	heyai	hera
heya	heyai	he
hera	hera	hiru
	ahayu	
hera	hera	heyu



(c) Ghost Dance Hand Game Song

This game was largely religious recalling the old life in the Revival Religion. In addition to traditional themes, Christian elements are also included in some of the songs. Betting and gambling would not accompany these versions of the game.

- 1- wi hawa witatutiirit  
now again now I see him
- 2- atias pirau-rahau  
my father's child-very own
- 2-
- 3- atira iriraa a  
my mother there she comes

Signifying: When Jesus comes, his mother comes right behind him.

Band 2:

(a) War Dance Song

To celebrate the first council the Pawnee had with the U.S. Government at St. Louis, Mo. in 1811 with William Clark.

- 1- rahukatewahaki (spoken as: rahukatiwaahat)  
They are all sitting around  
against the walls
- 1-
- 2- atirixwawaktiku (iriu)(sung syllables)  
and they are talking

(b) War Dance Song

Commemorating a Sioux attack upon a small party of Pawnee who had gone off scouting away from camp while the Pawnee were on their summer buffalo hunt.

1st Stanza

- 1- rutixwaki wiratira  
they are all saying when I am coming
- 2- rutixwaki wisirikutirika  
they are all saying when they see me
- 3- witihawitsa  
now he has arrived- coming
- 4- ari  
See here! kirusuxta  
Where can you go?
- 5- a hawa iriru (hi hi u) (sung  
and also afraid syllables)

2nd Stanza

- 2-  
3-  
4-  
5-

(c) War Song

For a Horse Raiding Expedition. The leader of the war party chides the tired novice (tarutsuhus) who lags far behind. He says, "Who told you to come on this expedition if you were going to lag behind like that. I'm on the warpath-- not on a stroll."

- 1- hi tarutsuhus (ha era)  
now tarutsuhus
- 2- hi taki rawaku  
now who told you
- 3- istawira  
to go on the warpath
- 4- hi rasihatuxka  
now you come way in the rear

5- hi arahawi (sung syllables)

6- (ra) tahawira (ha ira)  
I am on the warpath!

(d) War Song

The Pawnee Scouts who were in a Battalion of the U.S. Cavalry under Major North, protecting workers on the Union Pacific Railroad as it was being built from the attack of hostile Indians, particularly the Cheyenne. In this song reference is made to an occasion when the Cheyenne are tracked down and charged in their encampment. The Pawnee sing: "Brother, you left the camp and ran out."

- 1- i hi ya hi hi (sung syllables)
- 2- de he he a he he he (sung syllables)
- 3- sitasiturawa irari  
you all left the camp behind brother
- 4- ha iru hiru (sung syllables)

Band 3:

(a) Love Song

Through inadvertance or by design of Mark Evarts, the text and translation of this song was not made at the time, but the rollicking tune with its refrain of heya he rihe, heya he riara, should be preserved. It is therefore included here, presumably as the first of the love song series.

(b) Man's Love Song

- 1- tsapat tiwaku (hu) (sung syllables)  
woman she says
- 2- wetatatsiksta  
I love you
- 3- arisit kustiwu  
myself I will go (of my own accord)
- 4- wirakukuwatu  
when I am lonesome
- 5- hiru hira (hai ira') (sung syllables)  
there someone comes

(c) Woman's Love Song

- 1- ha kuahaku  
there he is sitting
- 1-
- 1-
- 1-
- 2- tisiratuutara (hai) (sung syllables)  
there is the one with whom I did it

(d) Woman's Love Song

- 1- taku hiru kuuwia  
someone here I wish he were coming
- 2- titaku hawa hiru kuuwiaa  
right here again here I wish he were coming

(e) Woman's Love Song

- 1-- atsiksutatuta (spoken as:  
my thoughts are atsiksutatuuta)
- 1--
- 2-- tihirarux-kusaaru  
upon the other-bed

(f) Peyote Song Composed by Mark Evarts  
(Said by Mark to be a Kiowa-type song)



The peyote or cactus plant comes from northern Mexico and when taken is said to induce visions. It is apparently not habit-forming. It also relieves fatigue. It was probably used in Mexico in pre-conquest times and ceremonies concerning it are still found among the Huichol and the Tarahumare. Some of the ceremonial features and the use of the dried plant to be taken dry or in the form of a "tea" was transmitted to the American Plains tribes in the nineteenth century-- the Kiowa and Comanche apparently acting as agents. The very first adoption by the Pawnee is placed in the early 1890's. Many Christian elements were added and today the religion is current among American Indian tribes as The Native American Church.

The basic purpose of the ceremony was to cure a sick person. The ceremony went on all night to the accompaniment of drumming and singing and the eating of peyote. After the ceremony, the people sat around talking of their experiences and then lying down to rest or wandering about until a dinner was served by the women. The ritual itself was first learned by the Pawnee in the 1890's from a visiting Arapaho. The Arapaho word for woman or girl appears in the song. The song itself concerns the peyote meeting held among the Arikara in North Dakota that Mark Evarts attended.

- 1st Stanza
- 1- hirara ru iru  
way yonder one is wandering about
- 2- rarahawi irara ru iru  
Arapaho word for woman
- 3- hirara ru iru
- 4- hiri rua  
2nd Stanza
- 5- hi hura
- 6- hi ara ru riru  
3rd Stanza
- 1-  
2-  
1-  
2-  
1-  
1-

Band 4:

(a) Buffalo Dance Song

When on the hunt, early in the morning, one sights a buffalo standing quietly and waiting for the sunrise.

- 1- ha wera ira rariki  
there one comes one comes standing
- 1a- ha ira ira rariki
- 2- awiusiiku rariki  
quietly standing
- 3- turtzakuhuri' (u)  
waiting for the sun

(b) Buffalo Dance Song

One smells the odor of the bison.

- 1- ratiwaaka  
this is what I said
- 2- hiru rerike  
here he stands
- 3- wirahaitawiha  
when I told it
- 2-  
2-  
4- raharawi rariki rariki  
odor that stands that stands  
2nd Stanza

- 2-  
2-  
2-  
4- (Spoken as: hiru irariki  
here he that stands)

(c) Hoop and Pole Game Song  
(Of a type like the Doctor Cult Songs)

It is in four parts and the succession of the stanzas is referred to as "making steps or footprints" (tispikaruuku).

The game symbolizes buffalo mating and increase at the same time an attack on the buffalo with a lance.

Every earth lodge village had at least one or two long flat gaming fields on the outskirts of the village. The rolling of the loop down the game field is referred to, the need of the buffalo to escape from it, the location of the field near the edge of the village and finally the gambling that goes on along the sidelines. While in the village, the men spent a good deal of their leisure watching the game, betting, or sitting nearby and talking.

- 1st Stanza
- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| Sung version:                                       | Spoken version: |
| 1- taki raturarihika<br>this is what I told         | taki raturarika |
| 2- werahaitawiruhu<br>when I told it                | wirahaita' wuha |
| 3- tiratawirahawu<br>here it is going-rolling       | titawi' raawu   |
| 3-  |                 |
| 4- atskasukskatahahaki<br>you must get away from it | kasuuskata' hat |
| 3-  |                 |
| 3-  |                 |
- 2nd Stanza
- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| 1- tiwakararuwahata<br>he told all about it                 | tiwa' kararuat |
| 2- tsixtahaaru tiraasa<br>edge of the village this is lying |                |
| 3- tiratawirahawu<br>here it is going-rolling               |                |
| 3-  |                |
| 4- atskasukskatahahaki<br>you must get away from it         |                |
| 3-  |                |
| 3-  |                |
- 3rd Stanza
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1- witataitawi (ha)<br>Now, I call you              | witatai' ta'wu  |
| 2- witaki tawirisu<br>(man) gambler                 | piita ki' tawiris<br>man gambler<br>or<br>piita kitawi' irisu |
| 3- tiratawira (ha)<br>here it is going-rolling      |   |
| 4- atskasukskatahahaki<br>you must get away from it |   |
| 3-  |   |
| 3-  |   |
- 4th Stanza
- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| 1- tiraktausiksahata<br>Now they stop        | tiraktausiksat |
| 2- wirasakuuwitsata<br>when the sun gets low |                |



3-  
3-  
4-  
3-  
3-

The Pipe Dance (Calumet) Trade  
Ceremonial - Two Songs Sung by  
Visiting "Fathers"

(d) "Greetings, Mother Corn"

- 1- raratiraya (repeat ten times) (Spoken as:  
Greetings my Mother Nawa atira  
Greetings, my Mother )  
2- rawatira

(e) "Baby Stop Crying. Look Upward at Father Sky!"

The intent is: Child, look up at this pipestem  
as the mouthpiece points upward toward Father  
Sky. Look at the eagle feathers on the stem as  
they wave, and stop crying. Have confidence in  
Heaven.

- 1st Stanza  
1- ha isti(a)wata (Spoken as:  
There look upward ha istiwata)  
2- irataahau (Spoken as:  
my very own child rat'ahaa'u )  
1-  
2-  
3- hi ri hi ri hastiwaha (ha) (Spoken as:  
there that place hirihi'  
hastiwaaahat)

1-  
2-

2nd Stanza

- 1-  
2-  
1-  
2-  
4- rikutsi ih1 hastiwahaha (Spoken as:  
Stop there Father-Sky rikuutsi'  
(your crying) Be quiet!  
Cease!  
Wait!)

1-  
2-

The Songs That Follow on the Next Three  
Bands Are All Songs from the Raris-ta  
(Deer Dance), the Wichita Derived Deer  
Dance, also referred to as The Whistle  
Dance.

This Cult was borrowed from the Wichita and  
incorporated into Pawnee ceremonialism. Main  
features are legerdemain and hypnotism or  
trance-induction called "playing" and "fight-  
ing" respectively. Between intervals of perform-  
ance, there is dancing. The first four songs  
are "for dancing only", the next five "for  
playing" and the last two for "fighting."

Band 5:

(a) Deer Dance Song About the Mescal Bean

The song is about producing the mescal bean  
out of thin air when it is likened to an arrow  
and is said to fly. In some of the sleight-of-  
hand performances the mescal bean is shaken from  
a bunch of wild sage. In this case it is simply  
taken out of the air in the song.

1st Stanza

- 1- hawa wiru hawa rawa 1 (Spoken as:  
again now flying-coming wiruua  
now flying-coming)  
1-  
1-  
2- rawaiiri (Spoken as:  
nawa iiri  
Now thanks  
to Heaven)

2nd Stanza

1-  
1-  
2-  
1-

The implication of "Now, thanks to Heaven!" is  
that the performer, although he is quite conscious  
of the mechanisms he uses to create the illusion of  
magic, will fumble his performance if the super-  
natural powers are not with him. When he has  
accomplished his feat successfully, he expresses  
his relief.

(b) Deer Dance Song (See Densmore No. 21)  
"The Rawaara Star is Coming Up; Morning Will  
Soon be Here"

The ceremony is held at night and when it is  
completed, the attendant, tarutsuhus, is sent  
outside to look at the stars and see what time  
it is. The rawaara star comes up just before  
the Morning Star and if he has seen it he says,  
"It's nearly morning, the rawaara star has come up."

- 1st Stanza  
1- hawahe rawa rawara (Spoken as:  
awa'hi nawa  
It's coming now  
rawa'ara  
the early morning  
star, Sirius)

- 2- hawahe rawa

2nd Stanza

1-  
1-  
1-

3rd Stanza

1-  
2-  
1-

(c) Deer Dance Song (Densmore No. 22)

The reference is to the odor of the wild sage with  
which the floor of the ceremonial lodge is all  
covered. Until a certain stage of the ceremony is  
completed, the the members may not eat any of the  
fresh green crops that are being harvested.

- 1- rawiira  
here now it is coming  
2- wiriikaharawa (Spoken as:  
now there are odors all about wirikahaarawa  
now there are  
odors here and  
there all about)

1-  
2-  
1-  
2-  
1-  
2-

(d) Deer Dance Song

This is a song about one of the performers who  
pulls a mescal bean out of the air, likening the  
bean to an arrow.

- 1- ha wiwirawa (sung syllables)  
2- iwiruwa (Spoken as:  
there now flying-coming iwiruua)  
1-  
1x- (?) ihirawa ihirawa  
2-  
3- kitsi tatar1 rahawiti'  
Me! I am the one in the water there it is  
4- hirawixkawi rahawiti  
it is shot (like an arrow) in the water there it is  
(Spoken as:  
tirawi'xka'wi)  
1-  
1-  
1-  
2a- tiwiruwa  
here now flying-coming



SIDE II

Band 1

- (a) Deer Dance Song of Asaa-taka, White Horse  
 "I Am Just Like a Bison" -- Said to be a  
 Wichita-type song.

White Horse was an old man much feared as a  
 witch and a hypnotist. In this song he implies  
 he is like a bison and can therefore fight  
 anyone. If they don't get up and dance while  
 he is performing, he can compel them through  
 hypnotism, "fighting." He occupies a special  
 seat in the lodge in a position east of the  
 southeast "station" and directs his powers  
 toward one of the leaders of the Cult in the  
 due west position.

- 1- rawahu tatiwakari (ha wa)  
 a fight within the tribe I am just like that  
 1-  
 2- (wa) kiwiku tatiwakarihawa  
 bison I am just like that

- (b) Song of Ely Shotwell (Southwest Station)

"There are noisy dreams." While he sings this  
 song he produces the mescal bean from a bunch  
 of wild sage, by sleight-of-hand.

- 1- hitkasaru ha wiriwa  
 dreams now they are going  
 2- ha wiri wakara wi  
 noisy  
 3- wirihiwa (wa)  
 now they are going  
 1a-hitkasaru wirihiwa  
 dreams now they are going  
 2- hawiriwakarawi  
 noisy  
 3- wirihiwa (wa)  
 now they are going

- (c) Song of Tirahuru (Scalps-the-Enemy)

"The Buzzard Flies Close To The Ground Over  
 Level Places" -- Northwest Station.

As he sings this song he makes a bunch of feathers  
 come alive as a bird. The old man was blind, but  
 he claimed that when he wore a buzzard skin on his  
 back he need not stumble for he could walk as if  
 there were all level ground.

- 1- ha ra hiwiriwi (sung syllables)  
 2- ha ra rikuwawa (Spoken as:  
 level place kuhaaru  
 level place  
 3- hara rikuwa  
 1--  
 2-  
 1-  
 3-  
 1-  
 3a- hara rikuwa hiwiriwi  
 2-  
 3-

- (d) Song Of Pitsu'u (Reaches-the Enemy)

"At Night I Dream That The Cheyenne Are Standing  
 There Again" -- Northeast Station.

While this is sung he produces a jackrabbit.  
 A jackrabbit can run around at night, and so too  
 can Pitsu'u arrive and fight at night.

- 1- hiras tatutakiwitsata  
 at night I arrived there  
 1a- (wa)  
 1a- (wa)  
 2- hitkasaru katatu (ru)  
 dream (ing) I am like (just as if I were)  
 3- hiri hiri hawa irawaariki  
 there there again those standing there  
 1-  
 4- tawakararua rawaaka  
 the calling out what he said

3a- sahi hawa tiriwariki (Spoken as:  
 Cheyenne again here they stand tiriwarit)

Band 2:

- (a) Song For David Akapakis - Southeast Station

"I am becoming a deer in spirit." While this  
 song is sung he produces a mescal bean by sleight-  
 of-hand. The words are said to resemble a  
 Wichita pronunciation.

- 1- ta wi hawa ta rikuwiari  
 deer now again deer I am becoming in spirit  
 2- ta or hi wi ha ta rikuwia (ri?)  
 See! deer I become

1-  
 1-  
 1-  
 2-  
 1-

- (b) Song of Skiri Jake (rahirasuriwi)- Southeast Station

His hypnotic attack is directed against New Young  
 Dog at the diagonally opposite semi-cardinal station,  
 viz. the northeast. His song is called, "Jack-Rabbit  
 Jumps Among the Crowd."

1st Stanza

- 1- hiwiriwiri (sung syllables) rutika  
 comes into the crowd  
 2- rirutika  
 he comes into the crowd there  
 1-  
 2-  
 3- kitsarias awa (ti) (Spoken as: kitsaarias  
 jackrabbit emerges jackrabbit)  
 4- kiwiriwata  
 suddenly jumped out (Spoken as: tikiriwatat  
 he suddenly jumped out)

2-  
 2-

2nd Stanza

2-  
 3-  
 4-  
 2-  
 2-

- (c) Song of Sky-Blessed (tirawahat-siritiriku) - North-  
 east Station

"I Am Going To Do A Strange Thing"

This song belongs to Soldier (raripakusu) who is  
 at the same station with Sky-Blessed. It commemorates  
 a time when raripakusu was defending himself from  
 attack and began to feel light as if he were floating  
 up and therefore was invulnerable. He felt like a  
 soft feather. He would also sing this song while  
 producing a soft feather by sleight-of-hand.

On this occasion Sky-Blessed uses the song to  
 hypnotize Ely Shotwell of the southwest station in  
 retaliation against the south side for having  
 hypnotized his friends of the northeast station.

1st Stanza

- 1- hiwiri wihi-kiwira  
 now it is different

1-  
 1-  
 1-  
 1-

- 1a- hiwiri hia  
 1b- wihihiwira  
 now it is different

2nd Stanza

(repeat of 1st Stanza)

3rd Stanza

- 2- hiwiri witikuwia  
 now I am becoming the spirit  
 (imitating)

2-  
 2-  
 2-

- 2a- hiha  
 2b- tikuwia  
 I am becoming the spirit



(d) Mother's Song To Her Child

Sung by a Mother who is poor, hoping that Heaven will bless her son and he will go on a successful war expedition and improve their situation with the booty he will get. "If Heaven would only bless you."

1- hiru tikis kusixkitawi  
here son this will be the boss

1-  
2- hiru tikis ha rirawahaki  
here son there is the sky

(e) Old Hand Game Song

"Chase The Enemy As He Approaches"

This game was symbolic of opposing war parties.

1- a hiruhirara (Spoken as:  
chase he who is coming hiruhirara')

1a- a hiruhirara (tikuhiraara  
he chases me, Skidi  
dialect.  
South Band:  
tikuxiraara)

1a-

1a-

1-

1a-

1-

1b- a hiruhira

Three Songs From The Thirty-Day Grand Opera  
of the Doctors in the Autumn

Animal miming, sometimes with trance-inducing features and also sleight-of-hand performances were part of the ceremony that followed the harvest. While the ceremonial period was in effect, members who were recalcitrant in their attendance or violated some other rule of the Doctor Association were punished by a number of other doctors who hypnotized them, leading them down to the water where they would roll in while under the spell, or they would lead them out of their homes causing blood to flow from their mouths. Some who were caught attending the rival Deer Dance were also punished in this manner.

Band 3:

(a) Doctor's Hypnotism Song To Punish  
Recalcitrant Members

"This Is What I Can Do When I Become Angry"

1- tirakukuwaratsiksa (ririu)  
here when I have become angry (raruru)  
2- kitsi riratuta (eyeyeyey yo)  
especially this is what I do

(b) Song Of Father Chicken Hawk

Song of That Chief (Irisa'a) for sleight-of-hand performances. Irisa'a, was an old man of great influence among the Pawnee-- priest, medicine man, leader of the Council of Chiefs and a tribal historian. He died in 1878. He sings this song while producing a chicken-hawk by sleight-of-hand.

1- ratiwaka (ha)  
that's what I said  
2- wiruwaha (Spoken as:  
come flying around wiruaha)  
3- wirahaitawiraha (Spoken as:  
that's what I told wirahaitawuha)  
2-  
2-  
4- rikutirukiwi (raha)  
it is a different thing (implying the supernatural)  
2-  
5- atlas (ihi)  
My Father (referring to Chicken Hawk)  
4-  
2-  
4-  
2-

(c) Doctor Song Of Sitting Hawk (pia-tiwitit)

Sung as he performs a feat of sleight-of-hand

in the Doctor Lodge. He is the leader of the Bear Doctor Cult and speaks in the song of the ferocity of the bear and how he enjoys fighting.

(Before the Performance)

1- ratiwaka (ri)  
that is what I said  
2- atikukustiriia  
when I will be coming over  
x- werahaitawuha  
when I told it

2-

2-

3- rawakawariusa  
the noise is chasing back and forth  
4- rarasuhurari  
the fight

2-

2-

3-

4-

(After the Feat)

5- tirikurakuwaaka (ria)  
this is what he said

2-

y-witirakutawaki  
to enjoy oneself

3-

4-

2-

2-

3-

4-

Two Songs Of Military Societies

When the full encampment had been setup close to the buffalo herd, the governing body of chiefs and Braves called upon one of these "soldier" or military societies to police the camp and see that no one anticipated the group attack on the herd. They also were called upon to supply the necessary scouts and sentries to watch out for the enemy and provide information as to the location of the buffalo herds. Ordinarily the official Braves who were part of the regular administration in the villages and on the march, carried out this function. The appointment of the special police was temporary and for a limited time. Normally among the Pawnee, the official members of the military societies were the sons of chiefs and Braves-- the hereditary aristocracy. They had the national function of defense and ordinarily police duty was assigned to one of them. The traditional society for this role was the Horse Society, raris-ceremony; arusa-horse. It was also known as Two Lance from its main palladia. Its sanction was Cosmic from the major sacred bundles. The membership of the One Horse Society was aristocratic in character and the song here belongs to Eagle Chief.

(d) Song Of The One Horn Society

The Society was supposedly founded as the result of a special vision in which a gallant warrior, Pahukatawa, whose body was cut to pieces by the enemy, returned in a series of visions and warned the Pawnee of enemy attack. He assumed various forms when he returned to earth, among them a buffalo, an eagle, and sometimes a man. The living Pawnee through whom Pahukatawa communicated continued to see him in a series of visions and at each visitation in his various forms, he showed fear of the vision, but when Pahukatawa came in the form of a buffalo bull who came charging at him, he showed courage and in the vision stood his ground. As the buffalo bull was about to run him down Pahukatawa appeared as a man with a costume including a whole eagle. The horn became one of the main insignia of the Society. The song celebrates the bravery of the visionary in the face of the charge of the bison and his consequent power of prophecy. The song states, "My Father says," (referring to Father Bison), "this is what you now have."



1st Stanza

- 1- a hera he  
2- a hira he  
(line 2 sung eight times in all)

2nd Stanza

- 1a- atias tiwaku  
my father he says  
2a- irikutatirahu (Spoken as:  
it is mine rikut'atira  
that which is mine)  
3a- tiwerasuxhaka  
this is what you now have

1-  
1-  
1-

(e) Song Of The Young Dog Society

From time to time, societies were formed by a few creative spirits among the Pawnee Commoners. One such, was the Young Dog and the chief's sons were not welcome to its membership. Its sanction was from the vision of a poor old man who was lonesome and took good care of a dog and her pups. The ceremony included the sacrifice of one of these pups and the ceremonial eating of boiled dog meat. On one occasion, in an emergency, the chiefs called upon the Young Dog Society to take over the buffalo police function. The priests were at this time holding a sacred ceremony to the Cosmic Powers in the encampment and the buffalo meat that had been dedicated to the powers was lying in position when it was taken up by the members of the Dog Society and fed to their dogs. The priests and the people were so incensed that they recalled the traditional Horse or Two Lance Society for duty. Though this was not specifically stated by my informant, the song given may have reference to these circumstances. The first stanza imitates the howling of the dogs and the second asks the question, "Am I actually a horse?"

1st Stanza

- 1- wahu a hua  
2- hai haira  
3- hirahahu hua  
4- hi ha ha hi hi  
syllables all imitating the sounds  
made by the dog

2nd Stanza

- 5- wikatatawaktiks (a)  
I wonder if I truly am  
6- arusa wiraatu  
horse now that I am  
7- hai hai hai

The following four songs concern the Cosmic Powers and horticulture with which they are directly involved. The first is to the Evening Star and the second to the Morning Star, the two major deities of the Pawnee after Heaven itself. The third and fourth songs refer to a very elaborate ground-breaking ceremony just prior to planting the corn. Part of the pantomime in the course of the ceremony consists in vigorous motions as if breaking the ground, the dancers holding a hoe with a stout handle to which a buffalo shoulder blade with the broad edge well sharpened, has been fastened in the manner of an adze. The word awari which this ceremony is named refers to vigorous motion and also refers to health and active going-about.

Band 4:

(a) Sacred Bundle Song To The Evening Star

"The consecrated buffalo meat now lies upon the ground." (in preparation for the ceremony).

- 1- ra ra kakusi (Spoken as:  
consecrated meat hakakusu, consecrated  
meat, or  
rahakaaku)  
2- huraru tirasa (ha ra)  
the earth here lying  
3- ih1 hi hi

1-  
1-  
2-  
3-  
1-

1-  
2-  
3-  
3-  
1-

- 4- hm hm hm (sound indicating that awesome power that had been welling up from the earth is being pushed down again).

(b) Sacred Bundle Song To The Morning Star

"I have power from the Fierce Spirit."

This song signifies that the male Morning Star is the spirit of ferocity and war. This is one of the songs sung in the ceremony of sacrifice of a young girl to the Morning Star.

1st Stanza

- 1- irikurituta  
that's what I did  
2- kuwia (Spoken as:  
I become that spirit I become that spirit)  
3- rikuwaratsiksara  
when I become angry

2-

- 4- hi hi waruksti  
power  
1a- ha rikurituta  
there is what I did  
2nd Stanza  
1a- ha rikurituta  
there is what I did

2-

2-

- 3- 2-

4-

1a-

3-

4-

1a

- 2a- hi hi kuwia  
I become that spirit  
5- hm hm hm

(c) Awari Dance Song

"Now you are making holes in the earth."

Preparatory to inserting the seeds in the corn hills

- 1- wirahuraritpatuka (Spoken as:  
now you are taking out the earth wirahuraritpatuka,  
viz. making holes in the earth tiritpatuuka,  
making holes;  
1- huraaru, earth;  
1- ritpatu, hole)

2- awari

2a- awari hi hi

(d) Awari Dance Song

"The Sprouts Are Coming Up Through the Earth"

- 1- rahawaktariwaata (Spoken as:  
that sprout is coming up through rutia'waktit  
it is sprouting;  
1- hawaktu, sprout)  
2- ihurarutirasa (ha)  
land, is lying here (Spoken as:  
tiraasa, this lying  
here)

1-

1-

2-

1-

1-

2-

1-

1-

Band 5:

Military Society Songs And a Song Sung  
In the Course Of Telling a Tale



(a) Haturka Lance Society Song  
 "I Am Afraid When I See The Lance"

The members were pledged to desperate war deeds. When the lance was planted in the ground, even should the enemy come close, the man who has been delegated to plant it must hold his ground and was certain to be killed. The lance was remade every time the enemy captured it. On the march during the buffalo hunt they always guarded the procession by going in the rear. Hence the name, Haturka, the last ones. They were also referred to as Crow Lances. Eventually they were all killed and the Society was never again reformed.

1- wi hawa rikuriru  
 now again I am afraid

1-  
 1-  
 1-

2- hukawikis  
 lance

3- wiratutiirit  
 when I see it

(b) Wolf War Raid Song

"Why Do I Lie Here When I Could Be Going On The Warpath?"

1- tusira itaxtsa  
 I don't know why do I lie there

2- hi titaku raxkahurawara  
 right here in the wide world I went about

3- ratuskahuraaruwari  
 I used to go about in the world

4- wahu

4a- wahuri

5- hawira

on the warpath

5a- haira

(c) Song Of The Horse Society (raris arusa)

"Father Sun Comes Bringing Good Gifts"

This Society is one of the major official societies for defense, drawing its sanction from the leading tribal sacred bundles. It was officially assigned by the priest to police the tribal buffalo hunt. It was not for offensive warfare.

1st Stanza

1- he re he re ya he re a (sung syllables)

2- ra iria  
 there one comes

3- rurahiira  
 good gifts

2nd Stanza

4- atias tira  
 my father here he comes

5- tararuwahu  
 he is coming bringing

2-

3- rurahiira  
 good gifts

3rd Stanza

6- atias sakuru  
 my father the sun

5-

2-

3-

(d) Story Of The Wolf And The Scalped Man

"Who Can It Be That Is In That Thicket?"

A coyote or wolf story told only in the winter. The incidents refer to the "trickster" character of the wolf.

The wolf wandering around hears a voice in the thicket. The voice tells him that whoever he may be, he is so powerful that the wolf will have to serve him and carry water for him. The wolf is frightened by this, thinking it must be a very powerful being who can compel him to do such menial work. But it is only a "Scalped" (kitsahuruksu). Once a man had been scalped,

even should he survive, he could never again return. It was said that these men made themselves a dugout on the river banks and stole whatever they wanted and caused other kinds of mischief, capturing chance wanderers as well. Their function was conceived as similar to the dwarfs in old European stories, and on the whole there is an element of grim or whimsical humor in stories about them.

1- taku ruaxkaku (si)  
 someone is probably in there

2- tirixkitapatstawitawia  
 here they, willows, are not quite touching  
 (the bank)

3- tikutkiraruwahusta  
 He is to bring water for me (the unseen being  
 says)

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