SELK' NAM CHANTS
OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO, ARGENTINA

NOTES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS BY ANNE CHAPMAN

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

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I. Introduction to the Hain Ceremony.

II. The Ideology of the Hain.

III. The Setting.

IV. The Kloketen.

V. The First Day: the Rite of Passage.

VI. Daily or Frequent Scenes.

VII. Climax and Anti-climax.

VIII. Index to the Chants and Transcriptions.

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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 Huash, who had a very similar culture and to the south-west with fish hunting 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).

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)


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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 not 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 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, while dancing but most of them were sung by the women from camp. The remaining 16 had a special name, k'mayu. 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 ethnohistorian, Father Martin Gusinde, took part in one of the last Hains. He is the only European to have experienced the entire ceremony. He

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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 (Mühlberg bei Vlem, 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 1932 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. Guisinde 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 Whitemen took over the island and even after they had. (So Guisinde (5).) To some extent this is understandable. It is likely that the assistance 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 Guisinde 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.

-Remember when in times 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, included a few rituals which differed somewhat in the southern parts 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 (Shortt) which appeared every day and the rite of passage on the first day, there was no fixed order of the scenes. Except for these and the ritual massacres of the animals 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 men 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 (Kliketen) myths published by Guisinde are extensive and de-
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 realised the truth that
the entire ceremony was a hoax of the women to keep the men
subservient to them. He stepped out of his hiding place and
shouted: "You false women! So this is how you've been de-
cieving the men! Now I know everything!" Back in camp when
the men heard the news they too were outraged. But they too,
surely, 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 rose, "Shriek down the women!"
they too were outraged. But they too,

III The Setting

The ceremonial hut was called Hain as was the ceremony
itself. It was conical in form like the tips of the Plains
Indians. For their everyday living the Selk'nam often con-
structed huts having a similar form. But the Hain was larger,
sturdier and built according to a rigorous plan. The wood em-
ployed 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 trans-
porting objects except their own physical force. If for no
other reason, the Hain would be kept in close proximity to trees. According to Gusinde the Hain of 1923 was
8 m. in diameter and 6 m. high in the center. The entrance was rela-
tively vide, 4 m. 35 cm. in 1923, that is over half the diam-
eter. It was in large order to permit the men wearing high
conical masks to leave and enter the hut without difficult.

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 7 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 hier-
archy as well as the names were ordained by tradition. A myth
relates the construction of the first masculine Hain by the
"supermen" of hoovin who hewed the 7 posts from rock. The
Hain symbolised different spheres of the universe and this
model was also manifested on the earth, that is, on the is-
land which the Selk'nam and Huah 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" (harwu). 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 was associated with one of the 7 points, called "okiens"
(abo?on)[11]. On certain occasions during the ceremony all the
adults painted their entire bodies with symbols of their
respective "okiens". 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 back 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 densest
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 "lav-n" measured 200 paces. The
camp, the living quarters for the women and children, was locat-
ed directly opposite the back of the Hain, across the mea-
dow. 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. Trees would also obscure their
view. More specifically 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
existence of the Whitman, the steel axe and knife, when
stone tipped tools were used, the construction took much

Mother and child, Courtesy of Professor Martin Gusinde

Ultimately (in mythic times) the men adopted the Hain and
thus inaugurated their domination over the women, the patri-
archn arch 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 hoovin) 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 popula-
tion (the women) in submission. This is further brought out
by the contents of the men to the effect that, "when the
women had the Hain (in mythic times) they said the same as we
are doing now." No matter how badly the women were treated dur-
ing 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 popula-
tion against which it was directed. But these consider-
tations take us too far afield from the purpose of these notes
and will be published as a separate study.
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 bow would be right 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 paint. One having a high iron content, called skel, which when heated or burned became 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 esssories of the spirits with paint all during the Hain. Angela Loli, 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 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 160 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 spirit who are to appear this day, the Shoorts, don 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 taking a tear full 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 places under or near one of the 7 principal posts. Cautious not to step over the "crevices", 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? (n=3). The Hain has begun. They chant for a half an hour, perhaps more. When the first people in camp 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 Hain, 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 kloketen.

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, beside the patrons. As the patron rubs down the body of his kloketen with stringy fungii the women sing hoo?hocherik (n=3), a rhythmic measure without words. Then the patron paints the candidate with red clay. Gusinde remarks that red is considered especially beautiful and pleasing to the spirits. Soon all the women sing kot to hond "his body is dry" (n=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 headdress, the k'chel 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 kloketens. 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 kloketens as we will describe shortly. He is the husband of the dreadful Kalpen 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 "kloktes" of their territorial (and kin) affiliation of every individual Selk'nam and Haush.

Moreover there are 8 other Shoorts which symbolise 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 black chalk. The mask paint is simply a completion of the body paint. He has no discernable 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'tety owl (Speotyto Cinereus) 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 his hands turned outward. When he appears, pauses or just before he enters 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 monotonous. He frequently jerks in what appears to be the intense pain of a spasm. Some paint design or "warding" that Shoort was at lost to describe it. When he breathes, he shakes the fur outside.

We return now to the first day. When the kloketens are fully painted the 2 Shoorts appear briefly again to the compass of the ho?ho?ho? chant (no.5). The men place a muaanco cape over the shoulders of the kloketens. 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 kloketens and their patrons disappear around the side of the Hain, the women and girls in camp throw stones over the heads of the kloketen's heads. The sounds die out. The camp is silent. The atmosphere is foreboding. The women know that the kloketens 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 kloketens is ushered into the Hain(15). The men, each bearing his (totemic) paint design, cape turned inside out, slung over his shoulders, are standing in their assigned places. They face east with smallest cape inner wall of the Hain. 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 into front of his, as if he had risen from the fire, his arms arched downward, fists tight. The kloketen's head is lowered.
Shoort remains in the same position, impassive. Slowly the kloketen approaches him and touches his ears softly. 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 Yaman 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'ochel) 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), or 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 in the forefathers of the hoowin women, their unconscious 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 appoved 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 also be 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, during all 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 awakened 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 stand and the others join in singing báchula (no. 1) for a half an hour or more. According to Quisinde 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 the illness will come relief for the kloketens. A few hours later having taken again their positions they sing ywören (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'ho' (cm. 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 guanaco cape. Then a few others, are the only women treated with deference by Shoort. All the women should sing ho'ho'ho'ho' all the while he is in camp.

Shoort is always accompanied to camp by a shaman (xo'ong), 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 footprints as they walk. If Shoort is supernatural he does not leave footprints.

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 uncompro​isingly serious. He comes to threaten the women and to select out for punishment those whose behavior has not conformed to the model of a subordinate wife. For a diligent visit to camp they are promised a very choice meat, such as an excellent piece of guanaco liver or heart. If they have guessed already that the game he kills and always keep the worst parts for himself, he will be made to confess; if he had been disrespectful to 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, or 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 his good-bye chanting hét wekk (no. 5) which is another name for him. According to Lola, as he approaches the Hain he flees his biclops 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'énda 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, 59-42).

A married couple, Hashé the husband and Wáuské the wife, make frequent nightly visits to camp. They are one of 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’témren 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 he'hens chant (no. 6) of the women is probably a defiance of Xalpen when it is sung without fear. When the women hear the wa boliering 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 while chanting (no. 6) in a playful mood. They even compete to see who can run the fastest.

The hongk’lish choucha chant (no. 9) means forehead of stone or rock connotating “hard headed” which is an insult but signifying rock (yan or sel) 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’nun bows, atseeke and tie down guanaco hides over the frame. Paint the surface with red clay (aka) and long white stripes and you have a Xalpen. I was told she is half rock and half flesh. 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 descends 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 hongho 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, curved 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. Guisinde 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.

Hoshtan is another female spirit who is never shown. But when she emerges into the Hain and the men chant hó hó (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 launcheums, 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 screening as if he were dying, if he is 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 "Casique", was never daunted by his attackers, how he never fell. Guisinde 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 ywu ywu (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 at the upper part of her head to her neck (concealed by a public 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 and future so naturally the women don’t like her. Sometimes she makes love in the Hain, running 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 pimirk 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, Koshmön, is impersonated by 4 spirits, each having distinctive body paint representing the cardinal points. Two often appear fighting together for her favors, "Ha" is cuckold by all standards. His appearance causes much hilarity among the women, who greet his singing hul ke kep (no.14). He is forever frantically searching for his faithless companion and goes into a rage if he discovers her in action. When Xalpen is angered he pounds on the outside walls and jumps around furiously, much to the delight of others. The other spirits are Kulpúsh, Hoshtan, and a group of women who may not be named.
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 express his
jealous frenzy. But when he appears alone with her, he
is calm and consolcd. Those who interpret Kosmënk must be
very agile, capable of making high leaps while kicking the
buttocks and holding on to the mask. He is very like Katan,
to be presented in the fastest of all the men. At first time in
him in leaning. The 2 have similar disguises. Sometimes the
entire body and mask are painted red with a few broad hori-
zonal stripes evenly distributed over the body, being also
quite similar to Kulan's paint.

Katan is the greatest entertainer of the Hain. When he
descends from the sky he is acclaimed by the public who
greatly appreciate his pantomime. He is very agile and
leaps on stage. The women continue chanting to lure him
closer to them. He delights everyone and frequently per-
forms. Guinside points out that apparently he is independent
of the tyrannic cult of Xalpen.

Tunu, 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
both otherwise 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
overw’hich a thick guano hides. It is stuffed with
reeds, grass and leaves to fill it out. This structure is
harassed on the performer who fits into it backwards,
supporting the body on the arms. The knees must work
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 midnight. There is a large fire
on the center of the stage. Tunu 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 Hainsohun-
wan who for lack of space we cannot describe here. Besides
the Kulpahe dance-game and her own scene, Tunu is a witness
for several others including the great procession called
Kewnax which we consider the most beautiful spectacle of the entire

The men prepare themselves for the Tunu scene by paint-
ing themselves red. The leader adds a white stripe from neck
to genitalia and jabs himself in the nose until blood flows
onto his chest. While this is going on Tunu slowly emerges
from the Hain and the men intone the 66 kyi chant (no.16).
A line of naked painted men appears. The blood stained
leader holding his hands on his hips while the others place
themselves 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 66 hok hok chant (no.17) for
Hainsohunwan. Then follows a rhapsody expressing the
desire 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 guano fur.

To offset a snow or rain storm, a rite is performed which
is named Chovhtoxen meaning 66 chov - water, toxen - 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
(6 in 1923) in the Hain undress and wind pads of grass
around their heads forming a crown. They exit from the Hain
in a slow chanting of their own, even dancing to the
center of the stage where a fire is smoldering or ex-
tinguished. 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 ah ah (not recorded) rotating faster and faster, first in one
direction then in the other. At some time during this
moment, the women open a way to run to the Hain. The
leader adds a 66 hok 6 ru chant (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. Thin
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 kloketens are kept busy all the time. The women
know this but think they are under the despotlic orders of Xalpen
who at any moment can attack one of them. They imagine that
the kloketens must hunt instig-
tively to save their very lives. When Xalpen's presence in
the Hain is known, the kloketen mothers often intone the ma-
toni "now far away" chant (no. 20) to appease her and
console or strengthen to their sons who are supposedly
(and very likely) "far away" hunting. As sun by Loa
this chant tells that the kloketens 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
kloketen). When she is about to give birth she becomes
really uncontrolable, but with peach this time. Here the
climax of the ceremony occurs. Xalpen kills the kloketens,
those most of the men, disembo'ling them one by one with
a very long finger nail she has. The Hain trembles as if
the earth were shaking, her gutsy screams ring out amid
sparks and flames that fly through the roof. In this great
comotion terrible agh roars are heard. The women
recognize the individual voices of the men as each expires with
a pitiful agh. Wrought with anguish the women intone the
66 vi 16 no 17 chant (no. 21) begging to appease the slaughter-
teres, but in vain.

Suddenly the Hain is still. Most of the men have been
massacred. The few who surv'ive, overwhelmed by grief, lift
the bodies of the kloketens drenched in blood (of a guano)
and carry each slowly out of the Hain, one older support-
ing 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 hain koin hëmëna (no. 22), a lament
for the kloketens. Federico Echeuline who was a kloketen 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 kloketens, they all remain in the
forest overnight.

The restorer of life is a very small creature, the be-
loved Olum, who the public never sees. He is such a power-
ful shaman that the scars vanish as he holds the wounds
and brings life back to the victims of Xalpen. The day
following the massacre, the men having returned surrepti-
tiously 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 vocalisation (no.23)
against a pounding rhythmic beat (men hitting their flots
on the earthen floor). The women rejoice singing again the
appearing Xalpen chant (no.21).
Soon another marvellous happening, Xalpen gives birth! The baby (either a boy or a girl) is called K’térmen. 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 hdi ká maka? 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 capes the fur turned inside. The baby is now being well brought up 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’térmen, 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 comical head to its feet. 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 Halahaches spirit (the men call him Kot-ta) is in a sense an anti-Xalpen and this is why ve end the notes with his. The ceremony itself ends simply, when the malamapets, for one reason or another decide that it should. Short makes his final daily visit and the director tells the public the end has arrived.

Halahaches 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 in front of public men sing in a high-pitched voice; see notes Part V and Gusinde 1939, 1063-65; text - Lola says in Spanish, todñas las mujeres “all the women (sang),” kloketen todo afuera “all kloketen out (hunting),” asf “that’s it.” No. 2 Hachoche; deformation of varias “dawn”; repetition of this word; sung by women; see notes Part V and Gusinde 1977, 1040, 1064-66; text - Lola comments astas varias “behind (before) dawn.” No. 1 repeated; text - Lola comments again, todñas las mujeres No. 2 repeated; text - Lola comments, llamar “call (the dawn)”. No. 1 repeated. No. 2 repeated; Lola says, varias clara “dawn is breaking.” No. 1 repeated; Lola, kai kloketen primero “kloketen mother (sang) first”.

3. Ushohcherikö: preparing the kloketen; repetition of title word, meaning unknown; sung by women; see notes Part V, Gusinde 845 for comparable chant.

4. Kot to hehe: deformation of khat hapen “body dry” - (the body paint of the kloketen is dry) and vocalization; sung by women; see notes Part V, Gusinde 846; Lola speaks, asf mujeres “thus the women (sang),” kloketen mara el colegio “the kloketen for (are going to) college (Hain),” no mínimo “the same (continue singing the same chant),” más línea “the kloketen is ready,” asf “that’s it”.

5. Ho/ori?ho?: vocalization only; sung several times daily by the women while Short is visiting camp and by men in Hain every time a Shortae person in public; see notes Part V, VII, Gusinde 844-66, 1960.
6. Hé kwek: another name for Shorot, repeated as a vocalization; sung by Kloketen mothers when Shorot return from visit to the Main, other women may join in; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 935-939, 972-73, 996; Lola comments: este no sabe yo- malo malo this one (this chant) I don't know — bad-bad (I sing it badly). Ye malo, don't look at the women when they come (and the singing goes on), then falls again (Kulan descends again), no tanto — no poco "no 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)."

7. Hé kwek name for the assembly Hahó in the Huich language though probably derived, followed by hoh shorot k'ael ni'kí, also in Huich referring to hahóshen "red paint" k'ael ni'kí "nife to no," name "women," that is "women give me red paint" which Hahó and his wife Vaukú 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 926-27 though he didn't mention this chant; Lola comments in Spanish, con fuego "with fire" (the dances play with fire), otro amor "the other" (vukus) takes (the paint, etc.), aekl canón (ord for ashes in hol'love and Spanish), asi lon mujeres "thus the women" (taken measure of three) go in the camp and the other to the hot (sun) (refers here either to Hahó or Vaukú), hahóshen en aekl Hahó's k'echón "hahóshen means aekl (red clay for paint) in the Hahó language" para cambiar otro al rancho "in order to change (the other) in the hot (camp)" here I think she refers to the giving of paint in camp.

8. Hahóshren coaling Kulan, sung by the women while they run carrying baskets of food for her, placing them as close as possible to the main; see notes Part VI, not in Gusinde; Lola says, cuándo anda "when (the women) walk (run), asi mujeres "thus the women (sing), todas "all.

9. Hohor k'élch choucha: hoher is forehead but here means head, choucha according to Angela Loli is word of the Main signifying rock thus the expression "head of rock" referring to Xalpen sung to her hoping to win her favor 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 transcribe. Repetition of hoher k'élch choucha "will be annotated as "title." Lola comments in Spanish throughout the text; jefte "angry"... title, asi mujeres "this is a k'élch Klokoten"... jefte k'ehajem "she (Xalpen) wants to be (or is going to be) angry..." tul uilichen "good heart (in praise of Xalpen), anah mótón "good visit (praising again and that the men will visit her)", koolah ilmeren "face enraged" (Xalpen furious), title repeated, asi mujeres "thus the women (sing)" today thus all the women (sing), primero se enola primero, asi enola "first (Xalpen) gets angry, title, cuando se enola la mujer das Xalpen ("this phrase is sung) when that woman gets angry, Xalpen," title.

10. Kulpashe: name of the spirit during whose scene it was chanted by the men while they were dancing; see Part VII, Gusinde 909-90, 1056; at the end Lola laughs as she recalls a Selk'nam named Casique, whose real name was Kankot, as he danced this scene.

11. Hakeh: vocalization only; sung by the men during the Hahóshren scene while they are dancing and playing with the women; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 994-99; Lola comments: cuando el caso (are) bad (refers to the dancers) Kulpashen as lime, Kulpashe (dance-scene) is pretty (this one not), clicking as "Casique" did (see above note and notes) más fuerte es cuando viene mujeres — la cabeza "stronger (singing louder) when the women come — the head (try to grab the men by their hair)," Casique més peu, no, no canso nada "Casique was the worst, he didn't fall at all," no está malo "it isn't bed" andando anda "let's go"... clicking.

Record 1, Side B

12. Yoyoyoyo: vocalization only; sung by the men in the Main when Kulan descends from the sky; see notes Part VI, Gusinde 995, 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), ye malo, don't look at the women when they come (and the singing goes on), then falls again (Kulan descends again), no tanto — no 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. Naukel: or plaukel signifies, usually the eastern most distant or infinite sky which as Tomukel, in an ethnomological context, Gusinde (499-500) interprets as the name of the supreme essence or being; sung by the women to lure or great Kulan from the sky with her kloketen lovers; see notes Part VI, this chant is not in Gusinde; text - naukeló mé & repeats, asi toda mujer, tudo, cuando baja kloketen Kulan, Kulan shá "thus all the women (sing) all, when Kulan returns the kloketen to earth" Kulan's husband (the kloketen), repeats times "he's back again," the heavens above)... asi le dicen "that's how it's said," these, asi naukeló mé & para arriba,plaukel (id. above), these, para llevar los jovenes,Kulan "for Kulan takes the youth above," después los baja "afterwards she descends them", en la noche bajan "she descends in the night", theme, todas las mujeres, "lady kloketen, para besar Kulan "all women (sing), to call the kloketen, so that Kulan descend, lo mismo Cantu como canta "that's the way it's sung."
weather-controlling rite; see Part VI, chant not in Gusinde but see 1000-03 for rite; Lola says nada mas, so when viendo no sola, blanca hohshi "that's all, its for when not to get-white (didn't remember Spanish word for snow) snow (in Selk'nam)" these, blanco esta el hilo "the son is white", ante cantaban laa "vierno cuando frio this the women sang when it was cold", cuando llenan calendario bien "when they came back they'd get warm."

19. Yó te kokho or: vocalization and then "go, leave" win (another word for said, leave), hohshi bin kay "snow to home", (another word for snow or rain); sung by the women during the weather-controlling rite and also sung simply to make the bad weather disappear in everyday life; see Part VI.

20. Maa toni "now far away": theme, vocalization and some 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 these, tul ulichen "beautiful heart (of praise of Xalpen) kau vaiken "house search for" (reference here that Xalpen is looking To the huts in camp because she wants to receive meat) vocalizations, Lola says tija "ankel" with reference to the kloketen being tired, as if 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" tija k'ochen "ankels tired" (reference to the kloketen) recent, vocalization.

Record II, Side A.

21. Yó te kokho or: 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 kloketen first", vocalizations, kloketen sai "thus the kloketen" (here she alters the level of her voice meaning perhaps that the women sang differently for them), toda mujer "all women(sing)".

22. Hára khoi hárabo: "Main" rest unknown: vocalization only; lament for kloketens after Xalpen has killed them; notes Part VII, not in Gusinde; Lola says en pora kloketen "(the chant)is for the kloketens".

23. Clapping and clicking: done by the men in the Main while Olum is resting life; notes Part VII, not in Gusinde; Lola todo todo "all all (the men), we're junatar nanre "blood (in Selk'nam) bring together blood (which Olum does to restore life)"

24. Háj ká raka?: vocalization only; all women to greet K'térren and lure it closer to them; notes Part VII, Gusinde 955-56; Lola -sañ mujeres "thus the women(sing)"

25. Halahóchen: 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'meyu chant: V.O. Lola adopted chants of her mother's "sky" (West) though she belongs to the South "sky", her father's.


28. Nonen shaman chant: V.O. (probably Lola's maternal grand-father's brother); Lola says eso en de mi tio, no sé "this is my uncle's (chant) father's brother (in Selk'nam)".

29. Totor K'meyu chant: repetition of yoki and - this term which I was not able to translate refers to the West post of the Main, hence to the West "sky to which the owner of the song belonged. (Lola's father's sister) of the West.

30. First Utrich K'meyu chant: yoichi koyotii repeated; Yoichi is the name for one of the lesser posts of the 7 principal posts of the Main. It is situated between the South and the West posts. Koyotii is the name of one of Utirich's sons who belonged to the West "sky" while his mother, Lola's maternal grandmother, belonged to the South "sky" and was Haush.


Record II, Side B

32. First Halánd K'meyu chant: V.O. of the South, Haush.


34. Yololoka K'meyu chant: V.O. of the North, Haush.


36. Ximilcha K'meyu chant: V.O. of the West.

37. Anien K'meyu chant: V.O. Lola says yipen, yipen, "uluy (the chant)" of the West.


40. 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 Anikhen 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 (hoo'ntem ocho) there is a deliberate ambivalence in the make-up of the personalities: they are (super) human and at the same time they have certain characteristics of the animal (natural phenomena, etc.) into which they will become transformed. This is the case here. In the beginning the father-guanaco is "really" a human hoo'ntem 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 cohabiting, and the myth also relates the origin of the mourning rites (i't'achen) as performed by the daughters. The chant also has a double function: it is a lament and also a k'meyu 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 Angel Loi. 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.

yohnen tónsh k'ai'ainn "while other yohnen k'án 'ayn guanaco said your father die guanaco lament k'án / the guanaco said(to his daughters) your "lament father (still) die, (then) sing the lament, yohnen k'akshii 'ainn márren márren nii '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'án yohnen-help / in tem mar / lament guanaco (of) women I speak here. I am speaking (singing) the women's lament of the guanaco.

11
The father went after them (his daughters) following the footsteps (of) his daughters (while he was running he was ) urinating, (following) the footprints, the old male guanaco, guanaco.

sooshits chinen mik harnik k'ash ja fa'in//
one ran ... away - mate ... father

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

Vocalization.

marren yowen k'tam m'waaha//
old male g. guanaco his daughter take care of

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

ja haash ok'kin k'winta//
... footprints run very fast ... found

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

t'ai vinen k'asen or k'ori k'ori k'asen ... went bury after white clay white clay bury

wirik k'oono shhitah //
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 ?a'in tam ni haash ashi
... father daughter(s) footprints urinating

wit 'ni tam ni haash //
... daughters .. footprints

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

k'aak she?no mak she?so k'chinen k'tam
... to mate his lover ran daughter

k'she?sin ni marren t'kari non winne //
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 nei liyen phali// She was his lover, his

she was lover love-woman woman.

sooshits chinen mik harnik k'aswê'dun
one ran ... away ... take love

man harnik //
One ran away. He made love away daughter away (in the fields) (to the other) daughter.

Notes

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 Rio La Plata and vicinity in Argentine and groups in Uruguay.

3. No. 26 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 Paier". The last Indians and mestizos I knew already 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.J. Bridges "Afterword Part of the Earth", E.P. Dutton, New York, 1974 and for a survey of the literature on the Hain see Gusinde (1931) p. 866-890. This author also wrote several articles on the ceremony but most of the material is contained in his main work.

6. Before 1925, 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 few Hains after this date.

7. See Gusinde (1931) p. 85-86 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.


9. Chant 26 of this volume. In another version of the same (chant 14 vol. I) Lola says that "it's k'awo, chant of the tatan bird. This one and no. 49 are the only chants remoted.


12. See A. Chapman "Economía de los Selk'nam de Tierra del Fuego" in ibid tome 64, 1977, pp. 135-146.

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

14. Moon (the moon during eclipses) is sign to with the the same sort of ambiguity, see note 6.

15. Gusinde describes this movement as hop hopping but Federico Schueline 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 Fullan was impersonated by a slim rather short young man while I was told (by Federico Schueline) that this spirit was always played by the kloketens.

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

18. Each woman had one or more traditional k'awo 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 Kalpen and Shoort so that he be gentle with the kloketens. These chants were also called Hain-omni meaning "for (or there is) a Hain". See Gusinde 1940-41.