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LOCAL DIVERSITY IN IROQUOIS MUSIC AND DANCE

By GERTRUDE P. KURATH

In Iroquois communities scattered from southern Ontario to northern New York State and northeastern Oklahoma, the exposure to modernization, electricity, and work at white man's occupations continues in varying degree. Allegany Seneca Reservation is bisected by a well-traveled highway; the secluded expanse of Six Nations Reserve is crisscrossed by a network of gravel roads. Yet intervening mileage and varying conditions have not severed intertribal bonds. Distance is mitigated by intermarriage and consequent visiting, and by permanent changes of residence. Delegates come from all longhouses to Six Nations meetings, which migrate from place to place during 2 months in the fall, as Deardorff has described (p. 100). Guest singers are invited to other longhouses to accompany Feather Dance, Falseface Dance, and social dances, frequently from Lower Cayuga to Sour Springs (George and Joshua Buck and Avery Bill), sometimes between Six Nations and Allegany (Hubert Cusick, the wanderer). Other wanderers, like Cayuga Willie John, even uphold connections with the Oklahoma group, including the adjacent Iroquoian Cherokee, Algonquian, and Siouan groups.

What effect have these circumstances for diffusion and local development had on ceremonial forms? Have divergent local functions developed? Do the dances and songs adhere to a uniform pattern or do they deviate? Can explanations be sought in religious and social conditions? The formulation of these questions and some answers is based on 2 years of field work, ceremonial participation, and intensive musical study among Allegany Seneca and at Sour Springs and Onondaga Longhouses on Six Nations Reserve, Canada.

RITUAL FUNCTIONS

The religious functions are dependent on practical demands and historical factors. Functional obsolescence has everywhere shifted

¹Some 80 recordings have been transcribed by the writer from Dr. Fenton's series of 1933, 1941, and 1945, comprising for the Seneca medicine men's ritual alone 100 songs on 6 records. Yet many recordings are not yet available for transcription, and some cycles have not been recorded at all. This gives an idea of the musical fecundity of the Iroquois.

war dances to cure, weather-control, or display. Yet everywhere the dream cult retains its ancient hold, and agricultural festivals persevere. They will continue as long as people are taken sick, or keep a plot of ground for gardening, or enjoy a sociable gathering.

At all longhouses, ancestral medicine rites are performed to cure specific ailments as prescribed by the diagnosing shaman, and they are held in the patient's home or at the communal Midwinter Festivals. Regularly in the spring and fall the False-faces exorcise disease demons and the 'ohgi'we commemorates the dead. In the cycle of rhythmically recurrent seasonal ceremonies the chiefs at Six Nations Reserve direct the Midwinter and Thanksgiving Festivals to the Three Life-giving Sisters. These observances are not cast in an iron mold, but may blend into various combinations.² "Social dances" of ceremonial cast but sociable objective, which conclude many festal days and the days of preaching at the Six Nations meetings, consist of food-spirit dances performed for diversion, paired dances with animal and bird names, and several miscellaneous rounds.

A prevalent sequence of invocation, celebration, and thanksgiving patterns the structure of 10-minute dances and week-long festivals. The chief constituents are the dancers and their accompanying songs. Each longhouse follows its traditional order of events. Each social occasion selects the dances on the spur of the moment. Locally the programs of spontaneous selections show a remarkable consistency. No matter what the variations, each new combination uses the age-old forms. Each celebrant, be he in his own longhouse or that of another tribe, immediately recognizes the forms and is completely at home.

HOMOGENEITY AND DIVERSITY

The celebrant of a dance feels so much at home because of the fundamental unity of its ritual constituents and the accepted identification of each.

UNIFORM PATTERNS

Ground-Plan.—In fact, the preponderance of counterclockwise circling produces a superficial impression of sameness. Each dance is cumulative: a few leaders start circling a stove or the central singers' bench, and numbers gradually swell. Between each of the 8 to 20 songs there is a brief silence with walk-around. With one exception, the participants in all rituals proceed in single file, though in a few social dances they pair into double file, namely, in the Pigeon, Duck, Alligator, and Shake-the-Bush Dances. Men and women can be variously grouped. All rituals place men in the lead, except in female

² For a ceremonial outline of Allegany and Tonawanda Longhouses, see Fenton (1936, 1941); for Sour Springs, see Speck (1949).

dances, and trail the ladies in the wake. As a rule food-spirit dances alternate the sexes and most social dances couple them. The so-called Fish-type lets partners change places in the middle of the song—a pattern which extends to several other social dances and a few rituals. Straight lines are peculiar to the former war dances and the now obsolete Devil Dance. False-faces and Husk-faces in general perform solo, even when in an organized aggregate, although the Thumbs-up Dance of the Seneca False-faces is paired. These instances are so exceptional as to seem outside the pattern.

Steps.—Seven fundamental steps are built on the simple principle of placing one foot in front or to the side and bringing up the other: side or forward shuffle, called "stomp"; step-pat; Feather Dance type; women's shuffle twist or enskanye step; Fish Dance type; and jump-hop-kick. A particular step adheres to each dance or group of dances, as the forward shuffle to a large majority of stomp dances. Five social rounds use the intricate twisting Fish-type step. Any of these steps may be the subject of embellishment. Some may be accompanied by gestures, which are arbitrary in the Feather, Drum, Women's, War, and False-face Dances; but pantomimic in the Tutelo Four Nights' Dance.

Some cycles permit the use of several successive step-types. The ga'dášot stomp changes from a forward to a side shuffle.³ Feather Dance introduces the step-pat for introductions and slow passages. More important, compound rites demand a different pattern for each section. Thus both the Cayuga and Onondaga Death Feast consist of two contrasting dances, a slow forward shuffle by the women, and later a lively sideward jump-hop-kick by both sexes.⁴ In their complete rite the False-faces first cure with their grotesque jumps and gyrations; secondly, two of them pair with two matrons in a sparring jump-hop-kick; finally they instigate a communal round, the men with a step-thump and the women with the enskanye shuffle.⁵

Song type.—Each ceremonial type is accompanied by a specific song type so expressive as to preclude any confusion. Iroquois music is distinguished from that of tribes to the West by a number of characteristics, such as a preference for five-tone scales, for tunes centered around a focal note, and for certain recurrent rhythmic motifs, such as a long and two short notes or the syncopation of a short, long, and short. But the range, motifs, phrase lengths, tempo, vocal quality, percussion accompaniment, and structure contrast the song cycles and

(this volume).

³ For the choreography of ga'dášot and explanation of method, see Kurath (1950 a, pp. 120-123). Description of this dance and others is also included in Kurath (1949, 1950 b).

⁴ For a comparative outline and analysis of the Death Feast, see Fenton and Kurath

For a descripition of the False-face ritual, see Fenton (1941, pp. 426-428).

distinguish the confined shamans' medicine songs from the far-flung modern Women's Shuffle Dances (figs. 1 and 8), the emphatic, staccato Bear Dance songs from the sustained Corn Dance melodies (figs. 3 and 6), and the short-phrased traditional Women's Dance Songs from the modern compositions (fig. 8). Antiphony occurs in about 20 percent of the cycles, some of it monotone, as in the Bear Dance (fig. 3), some of it melodic, as in the ga'dášot stomp (fig. 7c). In some of the Onondaga-Cayuga Bear songs the male dancers answer the singers on the bench. Usually the chorus answers the dance leader. Sometimes women sing, as in the Death Feast, the rite of women planters, and in the Shaking-the-Bush Dance. Usually song is a male prerogative in all of the tribes.

Instrumentation serves entirely as a background to the singing, except for the whistle in the Little Water Medicine ritual and the sixhole flageolette used in courting songs. The shamans manipulate gourd rattles; the singers of Corn and several other dances shake cowhorn rattles as they lead the file. Special singers play a small water drum for the War Dance, a large one for the Death Feast, and they combine drum and rattle in the Dark Dance, Eagle Dance, Women's Dance, and Fish Dance. They beat turtle-shell rattles in duple time for the False-faces, in iambic time for the Feather Dance.

DEVIATIONS

Deviations do not follow a set rule, yet to an extent they conform to the functional type. Thus the selected examples can be grouped according to rituals, Food-spirit and Stomp Dances, and Women's and Fish Dances. These examples are arranged in the same order and with the same numbering as the comparative illustrations. When advisable for comparative purposes, the choreographies and notations are reproduced in somewhat simplified form, and the melodies in occasional slight transposition. A key to the dance script can be found in Kurath (1950 a) and Kurath (this volume, p. 165).

RITUALS

The Society of the Medicine Men and Mystic Animals (Figure 1)

This celebration consists at Allegany of (1) Marching Songs, (2) Messengers' Songs, (3) Throwing or Individual Songs, (4) Middle or Curing Songs, (5) Round Dance. The Canadian Onondaga version omits part 2.6 The round dance develops at all times from a seated to a standing position to a side-shuffling stamp. A masker dances with the sponsor, at Allegany on the fifteenth song from the end, at Onondaga on the eighth song from the end.

Fenton, 1942, pp. 25-26; field notes on recordings, 1941 series.

The samples of songs play on the same three notes in triplets and quadruplets, but each song in different combinations. Another recurrent melodic type uses the triad. The two round dances in figure 1 (a and b) are both sung five times, with a horizontal tremolo of



FIGURE 1.—Dance of the Society of the Medicine Men and Mystic Animals.

the rattle on the first and fourth repetitions and a vertical rhythmic beat on the second, third, and fifth. These two use burden syllables, though some of the songs express an idea. The third song (c), from the second part of the Seneca group of individual songs, uses the same rhythmic motifs as a and b, but with a wider range; it uses the same rattle pattern but with four song repetitions and an insertion of the vibration during the first half of the fourth repeat. These individual songs are quite diversified. The form is here given along with the text. Sections with tremolo accompaniment are indicated by italics.

- (a) A A A A x—yowine. gayo, ho'o'o'o; yowine, gayo, gayo ho' ho. gwahe (final call). (Joseph Logan, Onondaga.)
- (b) A A A A A x—hayowaha, hayowaho; ho yohige·gę. yowige·gęhę; gwahe. (Chancey J. John, Seneca.)
- (c) AB AB A-B AB.—gagwego gendihi heniyoo wadinyo'o. (Chancey J. John, Seneca.)

Everyone I know of all the wild animals.

hai yo'ho wiyeh he he.

Throughout both cycles there run allusions to mystic animals—wolf, raven, own; to magic acts; to sharp points which are thrown; and to shamanistic contests. Yet no two texts coincide, of four versions available for study from the Onondaga of Six Nations Reserve and the Seneca of Tonawanda, Cattaraugus, and Allegany. The burden syllables, too, are related but not identical.

In sum, the curative objective has since remote times evolved a clear-cut frame, but has not stereotyped details.

Death Feast

The rite of the Death Feast, which is enacted mostly by women, may be used for curing, and shows the same conformity and diversity as

the men's shamanistic rite: variable order of events, uniformity of step, flexibility within the song type. No examples are here included, nor a ritual outline; for these are analysed elsewhere in this volume. The report below is based on the Onondaga song version recorded by Fenton from Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Jamieson. A study of photostats from Joe Williams' Cayuga version, prepared by Dr. Marius Barbeau, shows individual interpretations even of the same beginning songs, and considerable difference of choice, order, and rendering in later songs. Likewise, its sequel, Carry-out-the-Kettle, always opens with the same chant and repeats some of the same melodies in the three versions recorded by Fenton; yet the selections differ when sung by Joe Logan, Onondaga; James White, Onondaga; and Freeman Gibson, Seneca-Cayuga. The jump-kick can be varied. It does not interpret the song pattern of AAB AB, nor the drum tremolo in the opening and repetition.

The Death Feast songs combine their typically Iroquois features with a number of characteristics that are either uncommon or nonexistent in other Iroquois cycles—the syncopated drumbeat, succession of quarter notes, semitones, and pulsating phrase-endings. These features characterize certain songs of tribes coresident at Six Nations Reserve, namely, the Delaware Skin-beating Dance and the Tutelo Four Nights' Dance and Spirit Adoption Ceremony. Personal observations have been confirmed by Herzog's transcriptions of Tutelo music (Speck and Herzog, 1942, pp. 91-108), notably the Four Nights' Dance (Nos. 7 and 8) as to drum and quarter notes, the Spirit Adoption (Nos. 9, 11, 12, 18) as to quarter notes and pulsation, and Nos. 9 and 19 as to semitones. Again, many of the Tutelo scales could pass as Iroquoian, particularly those listed by Herzog under I and II (p. 107); and the Bean Dance songs recall Iroquois Corn Dance songs, especially the introductory chant and call (No. 20). This suggests musical interassimiliation in both directions during the two centuries of Tutelo coresidence, but conclusive proof is contingent on the recording and study of the complete Four Nights' Dance and other cycles.

False-faces (Figure 2)

Fenton's field notes on recordings show slight local differences in the order of events in this ritual: At Six Nations longhouses, (1) Marching Songs, (2) Wooden False-faces, (3) Thumbs-up pairing with matrons (not recorded), (4) Husk-faces, (5) Doorkeeper's Round Dance; at Allegany, (1) Marching Songs, (2) Wooden False-faces, (3) Thumbs-up, (4) Round Dance, (5) Husk-faces. In addition to

Recorded by Marius Barbeau in August 1949; transcribed by Margaret Sargent and Marius Barbeau.

this complete ceremony, the maskers can renew obligations at Midwinter, on the day of medicine rites. This always opens at Sour Springs with the Doorkeeper's Round Dance (at least, on the observed occasions), and features several masked dances for different sponsors.

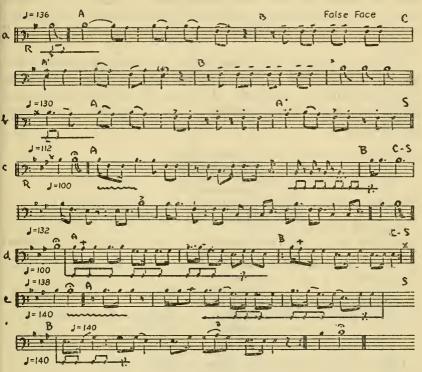


FIGURE 2.—False-face Dance.

In the course of their exorcisms, the maskers emit unearthly groans and improvise crawls, distorted straddling jump-hops, and angular postures. They shake their turtle-shell rattles or knock them on the door or floor, in spasmodic reinforcement of the singer's insistent hammering. The dissonant chants are not identical at Six Nations and Allegany; yet both descend from a play on a semitone interval to a reiterated monotone, a fourth below the highest note. Frequently the monotone is flattened. Each song can be repeated as often as desired and immediately connected with the next tune by a series of calls and an unbroken rattle-beat. The illustrations are drawn from the recordings by Chancey J. John of Allegany and by the Six Nations Cayuga, Joshua (Billy) Buck, whom the writer has heard at Sour Springs. Buck is a Seneca from Tonawanda Reservation, by an Onondaga-Tutelo father from Six Nations Reserve. His version is as eclectic as his heritage, for it includes New York Seneca songs as well as a collection from the several Canadian longhouses. The Seneca texts identify certain Seneca songs. The False-face song 2a is Onondaga-Cayuga, the two round dances (figs. 2c and 2d) are Seneca. Buck's first Doorkeeper's song (2c) matches Chancey's first Doorkeeper song (2e) as to text; Buck's fourth one (2d) matches 2e in the recurrent iambic rhythmic motif and curious relationship of voice and rattle-beat. These do not synchronize but run parallel in the approximate ratio of four to three, except for the synchronization in part B of 2e.

Prototypes for these texts were sought in Jesse Cornplanter's version, which is available in manuscript but not in recording. Similarities occur, but not identities. As might be expected, the patron masker, called the "great defender" shagodyoweh'gowa, receives repeated appeals.

(a)x[: aba'b :] x—hoi; yaa'o gagonhsiyogowa.

The great good mask.

he'e he he'e'e, he'e hogonsayondii; hoi, hoi, hoi. (Buck, S N R.)
has a smiling face.

(b)x[:AA':] x—hoi; he'e dehaskayondye'a, he'e he dehaskayondy'a; hoi, They (the False-faces) are coming in.

hoi. (C. J. John, S.)

(c) x AB AB x—hoi; sayonkiyadonyano sagodoyowehgowa'so'o (Seneca)

They stir us, the great False-faces.

he' he'e; hayohoo hayohoo, hahaa hayoho; he'e he; hoi. (Buck.)

(d) xABB AB x—hoi; sagodyoweh hodigwenyo eyokiya'dageha' False-faces they can help us.

hayo ho'o he'e hee yo'oho ho; hoi. (Buck).

(e) x A A A x—oneh negi osagoya'donyanoo shagodyowehgowahane', Now you our bodies stir, O great False-face.

hai yoho haiyoho, hai hehe; hoi, hoi. (J. John.)

Texts of Jesse Cornplanter, Tonawanda Seneca.—
oneh negi o'djogwaya ' de'ihene' shagodjowehgowa'aha'; hai he he.
Now it is our bodies move with rhythm, Great False-face.
esagoya' donyanoho shagodjowehgowaha'a; haiyo'o, hai he'he.
He will move her body about in the dance, the great False-face.

Bear Dance (Figure 3)

The Bear and Buffalo Societies can enact their propitiatory cures at special ceremonies or at Midwinter, just as the False-face Societies. On the latter occasion they may carry out the whole process of cure, or they may limit themselves to the communal round or "songs only." The full sequence is:

Invocation by song and tobacco-offering to the bear spirit and treatment of the seated patient.

(I) Round Dance, first by the patient and conductors, later by the community. A waddling shuffle expresses ursine clumsiness, and the voices puff hoarse and abrupt phrases. The first dance songs of the Six Nations and Allegany cycles use the same rhythmic motifs and the

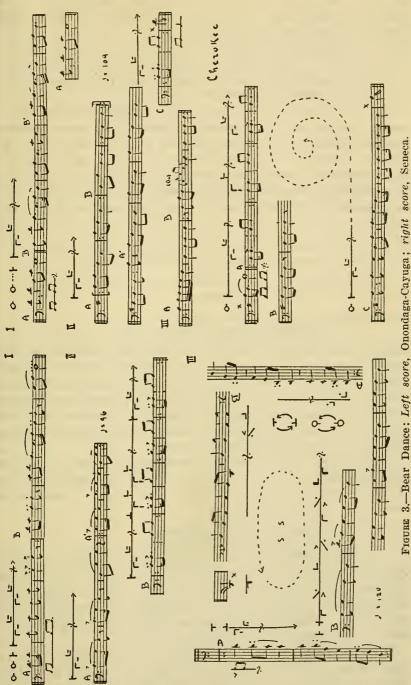


FIGURE 3.—Bear Dance: Left score, Onondaga-Cayuga; right score, Seneca.

same scale (except for the lowest note in Logan's song); but they effect different combinations. The texts also differ, Logan using words, Johnny John uttering nonsense syllables:

- (I) AAB AB A—uhwejiagehe (ga) niyonta'a'a:he'e ne'e'e wiyoho (Oa.).

 On earth ripened fruits (berries) are beautiful.
- AB B' A—hayo hahiyo; hiyoho hahiyo hiyoho haiyo; hiyoho hahiyo hiyoho'o; haiyoho hiyo; i'i haiyen. (S.)
- (II) After awhile the dancers grunt and blow, and commence to answer the singers or their leader antiphonally. The two examples illustrate a solo by the singer, followed by antiphony between the dancers. The Seneca reiterate "hahiyo" on a single note, along with a steady forward waddle; the Onondaga and Cayuga echo "yohiyo; hiyo," first with a forward stamp, then with a shift to a higher note and a sideward waddle, finally back to the original note and the forward shuffle.

AA A'A'. Bx—yonehe, ponehe, gaya (howi) yo; yohiyo hiyo, etc. (Oa.). AAB ABB Cx—ganohiyo howane; yahi'ihi: hahiyo hiyo, etc. (S.)

(III) Pairing by members of the same sex, to distinctive songs with an alternately accented drumbeat:

AAB AB x—wehayonendi wehayonendi hayonene; weheyonendi hayonendi hayonene. Hui.

Every second dancer faces about, thus taking a partner, men and women segregated. On part A alternate dancers thus stomp backward. During B all execute the "therapeutic" step, the jump-hop-kick, which terminates other curative rites. On repetition of the song, partners change places as in Fish Dance (fig. 9) and in B the jump-hop is resumed and emphasized by terminal stamping and thumping. This entire section is omitted at Allegany.

Joe Logan has adopted several Seneca songs from Seneca members of his longhouse. These can readily be identified by their texts. One of these is virtually identical with Chancey's song 9, reproduced as Seneca III. The form and text are:

AAB AB x—ha' oonsh jigwiiye', e'e; hai ysh.
So now strip the bushes (of berries).

A subtle yet significant melodic change in the Onondaga version is indicated in parentheses. Namely, during B the melody is built on the first, second, and fourth notes of the scale, instead of the original first, third, and fifth or minor triad. This distinction holds good for the entire cycle. Whereas Logan does not use the triad at all, Chancey uses it in six songs, one of them illustrated as II.

This triad scale predominates in the Cherokee songs of yona, the bear. These excerpts are from an aural transcription from Dave Lawsey's singing at Qualla Reservation. Note the similarity of text C to Seneca II, and the similarity of rhythm in C to Onondaga II A.

During the rise in the antiphony, the Cherokee dancers turn sideward like the Onondaga-Cayuga. During the entire dance they clomp in a counterclockwise circle, which finally winds into a spiral (see groundplan). Men and women alternate in the line and cap the climax with the "bear hug" and other manifestations of obscene buffoonery. All ritual significance has faded in the process of Christianization (Gilbert, 1943, pp. 257-268).

Cherokee texts-x wi'ihi:-

(A) wihe wihe (antiphony); (B) hai da'e hahiya; (C) ganuhiya, ganuhiya; hi.

The Iroquois Buffalo Dance progresses through a similar sequence, with a similar curtailment among the Seneca, but its shuffle moves sideward with bovine butting and bellowing. The Onondaga and Cayuga use no antiphony and the Seneca only a brief terminal response. Other details of a nonchoreographic and nonmusical nature differentiate these versions.

Eagle Dance (Figure 4)

The Dew Eagle, possibly related to the Central Algonquian thunderbird, brings communal health to Iroquois Midwinter worshipers. Its excellence depends on the grace and skill of the four young men who line up in front of the singers. They lunge and tremble and shiver rattles and wands in extended arms, while the chanters vibrate the drum and horn rattle. Experts can pick up objects from the floor with their teeth. During the regular drumbeat (B) they hop across the room in a deep crouch and accompany the final drum flourish with a knee twist from side to side. Both drumbeat and ground plan vary somewhat, whereas some of the same songs are common to the Onondaga and Seneca. One of these similar songs is reproduced in figure 4:

A A B A B-[: hanigondo yohe:]: yohe hanigondo yohe'e'e'e.

Canadian and New York practices agree in essentials, in the motions, in the spasmodic interruption by cane tapping, speech, and gift distribution (Fenton, 1942, pp. 29-30). The two distinct differences, of drumbeat and ground plan, are not blatant, yet suffice for a difference of effect. The Onondaga and Cayuga advance in a single-line foursome toward the singers' bench and then retreat. The Seneca of Allegany and Tonawanda form the corners of a square, as they face each other in pairs during part A. The hopping cross-over during B effects a swap of position with the opposite. A cross-over during the second B returns each dancer to his original position. Logan starts his drumbeat with an eighth-note flourish. Richard and Chancey J. John start with eighth notes, proceed with quarter



FIGURE 4.—Eagle Dance.

notes, and end with eighths. The apparently insignificant substitution of the initial eighth notes changes the pattern from a tapering one to a symmetrical one.

The Eagle Dance is included in the Sour Springs Midwinter medicine rites, but rarely, despite its attractiveness—perhaps once to five performances of Bear Dance. It is unique in longhouse choreography, without introducing any sense of clash or discord. These two factors, its rarity and uniqueness, lend support to historial theories of introduction from the Great Plains (Fenton, n. d.). The writer has not observed the Plains Calumet Dance, but is acquainted with the Fox-Winnebago Pipe Dance. A brief comparison may explain the acceptance.

The Fox Pipe Dance songs resemble some of the Eagle Dance songs both as to tonality and motifs; they consist of a chant with tremolo and a song with regular beat. These call forth a low dip and a hopping cross-over by two opposing dance contestants. The choreography differs from the Iroquoian by the smaller number of participants, and by the variable nature of the steps—a sway or kneel rather than a lunge, a war-dance jump-hop rather than a crouching hop. The paraphernalia is the same, that is, a small gourd rattle in the right hand and a feathered wand in the left.

The Eagle Dance is not an utter stranger. The motions, it is true, have no other equivalent, but the longways formation has survived in

The Cherokee Eagle Dance will not be drawn into the discussion because of its differences. See Gilbert (1943, pp. 257-268) and Mason (1944, pp. 175-179); Kurath, MS.

at least one dance, the wa'eno'e', Strike-the-Stick, an ancient Iroquois war dance and present-day Sun Rite and Midwinter Cure Dance. Two lines of men and women, formerly only of men, dance erect in place, meet, recede, and cross over, then repeat all. This follows the AAB AB form of songs which otherwise do not closely resemble those of the Eagle Dance. The Seneca rendering by Henry Redeye contains a tonality related to that of the Eagle Dance 3 (see scales, fig. 10), except for the lower maintone in the former. In general, the Eagle Dance five-tone scales find many counterparts in other cycles, as the Onondaga Bear song III. The introductory chant to a tremolo is also a familiar device. Thus various pre-existent features encouraged adaptation.

The Seneca adaptation appears more closely modeled on the Fox type, being simply a duplication of the pairing. The Canadian version, on the other hand, stretches this out into a line, without the opposition of either Calumet or Strike-the-Stick. This Sun Rite is clearly not the prototype, but a contributing factor in acceptance. This acceptance is more complete among the Seneca and thus possibly prior to the Canadian borrowing.

Great Feather Dance (Figure 5)

The Feather and Drum Dances are not curative rites but return thanks to the Creator for all benefits. The Feather Dance occurs at every one of the seasonal festivals. Both cycles owe their kaleidoscope of movement to inspirations of the moment. The older men may adhere to the fundamental two-step brush, but younger leaders add extra heel bumps, raise their knees, pivot, sway, and whoop in ecstasy. Some wave their arms wing fashion, another charges in fencing style, still another saws sharply from side to side. The in-



FIGURE 5.—Great Feather Dance.

finite possibilities know no tribal bounds. Great dance personalities arise in every Iroquois community in each generation. Allegany Seneca Amos Johnny John and his son, Richard Johnny John, become as animated as Onondaga Bill Johnson or Cayuga Ezekiel Hill and Russell Johnson or Seneca Huron Miller or the late Chief Lyman Johnson of Tonawanda. The excitement is confined to the men, for the women inconspicuously glide sideward in the wake of their gyrating warriors. Despite the circular progression, gesticulation places these two dances in a class by themselves. Historically, they probably belong to the War Dance cycle.

Likewise, the chants are strongly differentiated from those of other cycles. They frequently use five-tone scales or monotone, but predominantly focus thirds on a central note (see fig. 10). These they combine into rhapsodic units, which end on short-clipped breathing pauses or long sustained notes. James White's voice quavers on these final notes; Chancey Johnny John's and Hubert Cusick's voices pulsate rhythmically. As further differentiation, the Onondaga songs emphasize the highest note (fifth of the scale) somewhat, whereas the Seneca version favors a frequency of low notes, on the first of the scale. The Onondaga-Cayuga cycle is further distinguished by the inclusion of "slow" songs where the turtle rattle holds a steady measured beat. These incisive songs provide a respite from the breakneck speed. They recur in the same form in every Six Nations Feather Dance.

The two examples of typical fast songs show the originality within a family relationship and the flexible pattern of alternately duple and iambic rattle-beat. They always start with introductory cries which are answered by the singers and dancers, and they end with an echoing call (fig. 5, last line). Both texts express the same fundamental idea in different words.

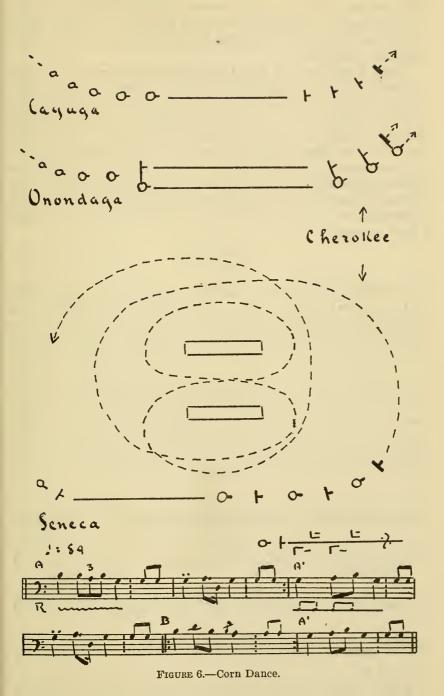
- (a) x A A' x—yoho: gahendiyonehe ahwejagwegoho deyawehayendo. (James White, Oa.)

 Beautiful meadows all over the world bloom profusely.
- (b) x A A' x—yohe'dzage wadoni djohe'hgo; he; he he. (Chancey J. John, S.)
 On earth it grows our life (supporters) [food].

FOOD-SPIRIT AND STOMP DANCES

Corn Dance (Figure 6)

The corn spirit, together with her sisters, beans and squash, is honored at food-spirit festivals and on the last night of Midwinter. The leader invokes her with vibrant chants, as he shakes a cow-horn rattle and stomps along the circular course. Cayuga men follow him ahead of the women. Each of the Onondaga women hooks her left arm in a male partner's right, with the small fry in a single-file queue. On

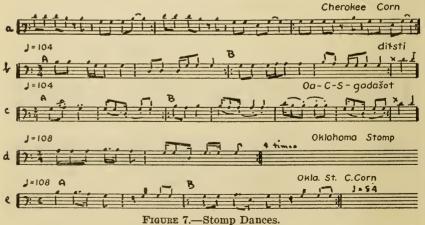


the repetition of each song the Onondaga turn toward the center for a few measures. The Seneca men and women, in alternate array, follow a serpentine course when the leader is Albert Jones, the Cherokee dance enthusiast.

Albert is the singer of the antiphonal chant in figure 6. To his "hoyowine" Chancey responds with a brief "weha." A shorter version of this same tune has been recorded by Cayuga George Buck in his Corn Dance cycle and by Cayuga Willie John as an Oklahoma Stomp song (fig. 7d). Willie John, of course, brought it from Oklahoma. George Buck learned the Corn Dance from Jesse Cornplanter of Tonawanda, originally from Cattaraugus. Chancey migrated from Cattaraugus to Allegany and taught the songs to his musical progeny. Despite the possible common origin, the Seneca and Cayuga-Onondaga repertoires are not exact replicas, beyond the introductory chant and a few key songs.

Stomp Dance (Figure 7)

The various features of the Corn Dance pertain to the large problem of the so-called Stomp Dance. This ambiguous term refers in the first place to a large class of dances which plod along a countersunwise course with a rapid, springy, stamping shuffle, like the Bear and Corn Dances. Specifically it applies to an antiphonal follow-the-leader circuit called ga'da'šot (S.) or ga'da'trot (C.) or ga'da'tseta (Oa.) This former Warriors' Standing Quiver Dance (Fenton, 1942, pp. 30-32) is now a ceremonial ice breaker and draws large numbers of men, women, and children into its ranks. At Sour Springs it usually segregates the sexes; at Onondaga and Allegany it alternates them, as in the Corn Dance. Its simple and insistent tramping calls forth even the most unskilled. Without any instrumental accompaniment, four



men start chugging around the fire, now a stove, and toss around monotone syllables— wiho, wii; weha, weha; hahe, hahe; ha'a'a, ha'ha'a; haheya, haheya; HUI, hui. They emerge into the center of the longhouse and swing into ingenious melodic antiphony, with a rise in part B and a simultaneous side-shuffle (fig. 7c) (Kurath, 1949 and 1950 a). This pristine form swells steadily in numbers, excitement, and melodic complication. The vocal chorus works itself into whimsical echoing. The sideward shift intensifies into staggering toward the center; at Sour Springs, into echoing counterrhythms of stamps, kicks, and jumps. Clowns stray into the center singly or cluster into threes and fours, till suddenly the leader calls a halt.

This nuclear form retains its simplicity in the food-spirit dances for the beans (Hand-in-Hand) and squash (Shake-the-Jug). But the core is molded into the varying patterns of the social stomp dances.

The devices include:

(1) The meander already noted in the Corn, Cherokee, and Okla-

homa Stomp Dances.

(2) The double file. The Pigeon, Shake-the-Bush, and Duck Dances pair members of the same sex; Alligator Dance couples them as in the Onondaga Corn Dance.

(3) Progressive pairing and cross-over during the song repetition. Garters or Knee-rattle and Shake-the-Bush Dances cross like Bear Dance III, whereas the Duck Dance joins the mens' arms into arches

for the ladies' passage.

(4) Pivoting of the girl by the boy, during a wild cry. Only in the rarely performed Alligator Dance does the male thus lift the female clear of the ground. Formerly at Allegany the girl went on to the next boy, like the fickle woman in real life.

A century ago Morgan (1851, pp. 278–279) already observed these as well-established dances; he even labeled the Knee-rattle Dance as obsolete. He may have meant Alligator with his Passing Dance. Nevertheless, they do not enjoy the prestige of the food-spirit rounds and ga'da'šot, and they are confined to social occasions. The Shakethe-Bush Dance is fairly common at Sour Springs, where it is usually embellished with the "therapeutic" step. The Alligator is rare in Sour Springs and taboo at Allegany. Aside from any possible "moral" objections, the significance of this nonmimetic dance is impaired by the total absence of alligators in the area.

This entire class is musically homogeneous, in the incomplete fivetone scales and typically Iroquoian rhythmic motifs; though each song has its own tempo and phrase development. Some but not all are antiphonal. Squash Dance songs always add a long terminal monotone response, and the Squash and Bean Dances attach a brief

ga'da'šot.

Distribution

The stomp enjoys a wide dissemination. Formerly it prevailed among the Eastern Algonquian as well as the Iroquois. Recently it has spread like wildfire among Oklahoma tribes.

The Cherokee.—Two brief sojourns at Qualla Reservation provided the writer with the musical and choreographic fragments of Iroquois pattern. As sung by Dave Lawsey of Painttown, Bear Dance, or yona, starts with monotone antiphony and a shift of pitch and direction as at Six Nations (fig. 3). In the course of their counterclockwise waddle, the alternating men and women claw the air like bears. They end up in a tight spiral.

According to Carl Standing Deer (Awigadoga'), the mixed Friendship Stomp and men's Ballgame Conjuring Dance start off with monotone responses of hohe, hohe; hoheho, hoheho; hohoya, hohoya; anali', isa'. The Stomp, or dilsti, resembles ga'da'šot in the melodic themes, shift of pitch and sideturn, and general climactic development. In addition, the chorus plays follow-the-leader with the first dancer's improvisatory gestures. During his statement, he raises his arms, points, or puts his hand to his ear; during the chorus, the whole line imitates him. He feints postures and leads the group astray by a change of direction, he dictates pairing and cross-overs, he winds and unwinds spirals and meanders, and finally he calls out, "stiyu (dance hard)," for a grand finish of double-time stomping and low-crouched kicks.

Some of the dances are in double file. As at Onondaga Longhouse, the women dance parallel to their partners in the Corn Dance (šelu dilskusti). But they cross to the inside of the circle on repetition of the song and enact the sowing of corn and the hoeing. Their tortoiseshell knee-rattles keep time with the special singer's gourd rattle and his chant on the three basic triad notes of the scale (fig. 7a). Commonly the circling ends in meanders, like those of the Stomp, Snake, and Ant Dances. The Pigeon and Quail Dances divide their double circle into two diverging and merging smaller circles. This figure has not been found in surviving dances of the northern Iroquois (Mason, 1944, pp. 163 and 173–175).

Eastern tribes.—The Penobscot Leading Dance combined the shuffle with antiphony, and multiplied the double line into foursomes and intermittent cross-overs (Speck, 1940, pp. 165 and 275, 277–283). The Snake Dance, yane ha, wove a serpentine path. Creek and Yuchi songs show a greater prevalence of antiphony than do the Iroquois (Speck, 1909, pp. 63 ff.; 1911, pp. 126 ff. and 162 ff.). The choreographies do not seem to correspond exactly to those of the longhouse. Alligators are, for instance, represented by a realistic wobble, similar

See Mason (1944, pp. 169-173) for a lively description.

to that of the Seminole. But snake enactments are always serpentine, down to the Everglades. And prancing men echo their leader from Maine to Florida.¹⁰

Oklahoma tribes.—The Eastern Stomp has been wholeheartedly accepted by the Delaware (Speck, 1937, pp. 26, 96), Shawnee (Voegelin, 1942, p. 468), Osage, Comanche, Sauk and Fox, and has spread to the Fox of Iowa and their Winnebago friends in Wisconsin. The delightful Fox Snake Dance is modeled on the Cherokee dilsti: the chorus answers the leader with whimsical calls and gestures, and follow him in all sorts of spirals and meanders. In Oklahoma the tortoise-shell knee rattle still jingles under the skirts of the leading women, or else it has been replaced by hoofs of small milk tins.¹¹

In this dissemination, did the longhouse receive or lend? The answer demands a summary of shared and extraneous features. Common elements are antiphony, the step, the counterclockwise communal round, usually in single, sometimes in double file, the cross-over. Cherokee antiphonal gestures have carried over to the Western tribes but not to the longhouse. The meander is prevalent in the western Stomp and Snake Dances, but among the Iroquois it is confined to the frankly introduced Cherokee and Oklahoma Stomps and to the Corn Dance of the southerly located Allegany Seneca. The therapeutic step of Six Nations Reserve has not been noted among the Cherokee; it differs from the stiyu kick.

In view of the nuclear position of the stomp-type dance among the Iroquois, it would be as reasonable to assume that the Cherokee borrowed this form and added postures, as that the Iroquois borrowed it and omitted the gestures. Though we may here have a complete absorption from "way back," a blend of southern antiphony and the ancient ritual type, it is more likely that the Iroquois shared these features with the great Eastern Woodlands area and developed their own variations, minus postures and meanders. The intrinsic relationship facilitated the acceptance of this natural convolution of the single line into the Allegany Corn Dance. And as to the Corn Dance song in the Oklahoma Stomp Dance, here we evidently have a gift from the Seneca of Cowskin Reservation to the eclectic array of melodies, as in the spiral we have a gift from the Cherokee.

MODERN EMBROIDERY ON ANCIENT PATTERNS

Whereas the stomp-type dance encourages inventiveness only in step improvisations, the Women's Shufflle Dance and Fish Dance types allow melodic creativeness. The old type is modeled on ancient patterns in ever new combinations; the modern type combines daring with a traditional core.

¹⁰ Seminoles at the Cherokee school have taught some of their songs to Qualla natives. Incidentally, the Seminoles at one time had an Alligator Dance.

¹¹ Kurath, 1950 b, article on rattles, dance; see also Voegelin (1942, p. 468).

Women's Shuffle Dance (Figure 8)

Women represent corn on all ritual and social occasions. They dedicate their special dance to this spirit, symbolically in the Great Shuffle Dance (enskanye goowa) and in the Oldtime Women's Dance (enskanye gainqgai'yqka'), playfully in the modern type. They twist their feet in the same saw-foot sideward progression, without achieving uniformity. Inexpert dancers jumble the foot-twinings. Experts embellish them with demure arm swings and hand twists. In these variations they do not heed the elaborate interplay of voice and percussion.



FIGURE 8 .- Women's Shuffle Dance.

For all Women's Shuffle Dances, six to eight singers plus several small boys sit face to face on two benches (Fenton, 1942, pp. 33-34). They invariably start on the highest note and maintain a strident "throwing" of the voice. The drummer always states the theme and the chorus takes it up, repeating each song and gradually accelerating till the final cry. In the old type the form varies from AAA'A' to various combinations of AABAB. The drum plays an accented double beat from beginnig to end. At times Joe Williams starts with an introductory tremolo. In the new type, the fundamental AABAB form is elaborated by subthemes. Voices and sound effects combine by the following formula:

Figure 8c:

Aab-soloist; even drum, rattle, and heel bumping.

a-chorus; drum and rattle tremolo, even heel bumping.

b Bcb-chorus; even instrumental beat.

Aa-chorus; drum and rattle tremolo, even heel bumping.

b Bcb-chorus; uniform instrumental beat.

Both ritual types follow similar precepts of scale and motif limitations (figs. 8a and 8b). The Great Shuffle Dance is distinguished by introductory songs to the corn. Chancey Johnny John precedes his 17 dance songs with 14 such chants for men and later for mixed voices.

Willie John of Sour Springs has taken some of these dance songs into his old-time cycle (fig. 8a). But as a rule the extensive repertoire shows few repeats, even in the 12 available recordings. Each productive singer produces new ones and teaches them during practice sessions in private homes and at Six Nations meetings. Though each artist prefers his own inventions, James White of Onondaga Longhouse has recorded songs composed by Chief David Jack of Six Nations Reserve and disseminated them in the Canadian longhouses, Allegany, and Cattaraugus.¹²

Except for corn references in the ritual introductions, the texts are burden syllables, with interpolated meaningful words.

Figure 8:

- a. AABBx—we'e yogino, we'e yogino; weha'yogino yoho. (C. J. John, S.)
- b. (Not reproduced in entirety)—heyagoni; heyahewe; yoha yohayo ha'ahege; yoho. (Willie John, C.)
- c. x Aab Aab Bcb Aab Bcb x—heya yo'o; gwaiwanegen wase';

 Brand New;

heyadesontas gagongwedasee'; ga' enawiya'; So pay attention young girls (and enjoy it); heya he hai heho; heho heho noheho; heya hai. (Johua and George Buck, C.)

Fish Dance (Figure 9)

This important social couple dance has extended its popularity to inclusion in the Midwinter medicine rites. It differs from enskanye in function and ground plan, but resembles it in structure, percussive



FIGURE 9.—Fish Dance.

pattern, and relation of old to new types. The two samples from the huge repertoires use burden syllables:

Figure 9:

- a. AABABx—wenoyane weno'oyane wenoyane; wenoyane yo'o wenoyaye; henoyane wenoyane; yo'ho. (George Buck and Ed Styres, C.)
- b. AAB ABx—wenoye heya; wenoye'e'heya; we gayowe heya; wenoye heya; wenoye'e' heya; gayowe wenoye; heya ho. (Buck and Styres.)

¹² Announcement on recording.

Fish Dance songs strike a golden mean in the less conservative old type and less rhapsodic modern scales than found in enskanye. A table for both cycles can best isolate the innovations and point the conformities. The compositions suggest Sioux models, but they also have prototypes in the individual songs of three Iroquois ceremonies, the archaic chants of the Women's Society of Planters, the less conservative men's thanksgiving chants, and the individual songs of the shamans' curing rite. Chancey's curing solo (1c) plunges down 12 notes of the scale, yet preserves the core of the archaic scale and sequentially repeats one simple theme. The scales on figure 10 link this ceremonial composition with the bold sociable enskanye of today.

Song	Range	Tempo	Drum and voice	Phrase	Form	Contour	Theme of A and B	Development
Fig. 8a Fig. 8b Fig. 8c	5+3 5 11	96-112 92-108 120-108	Differ Same Differ	4 beats 4 9–13	AABB AABB AABAB	Level Level Steep de- scent.	Same Same New	Reversal. Repeat. Sequence, rhapsodic, coda.
Fig. 9a	8	80-126	Same	6	AABAB	Moderate descent.	Same	Extension.
Fig. 9b Fig. 9c	11 12	80-126 80	Same Same	6 4	AABAB [:AB:]	Descent Descent	Same Same	Curtailment. Sequence.

TRADITION AND INNOVATION

Modern artists are continually modifying their heritage. Joe Logan has remodeled his borrowed Seneca songs; George Buck and Albert Jones have each varied the accepted Corn Dance songs; numerous musicians are developing a contemporary style. Albert Jones and Willie John have introduced new dance plots. Creative personality finds expression in song interpretation and vocal quality, and in the ever new combinations of fundamental steps.

Unless time has changed the Iroquois attitude, such ingenuity has always been operative in the evolution of song forms, in the metamorphosis of simple motifs into more complicated structures. The single rhythmic song motif of the medicine rite had combined with subsidiary themes into the binary and ternary structures of the stomp type and into the long, ingenious phrases of the new enskanye. Out of the basic three notes of the ancient rites, insertions and additions formed five-tone scales and finally developed the comprehensive modern scales (fig. 10).

Similarly, the most conspicuous choreographic digressions have been introduced by adventurous individuals, but have been accepted by the community because they fitted into the traditional patterns. This certainly accounts for the introduction of the Cherokee and Oklahoma rounds, and probably explains the various versions of the Eagle Dance.



FIGURE 10.—Song scales. In fourth scale, the whole note is sustained.

Explanation: The note-values do not refer to the rhythms of each song. They represent tone weighting, that is, the relative frequency and importance of each note. The main tone (tonic) is represented by a whole note, the next important note (of, say, eight repetitions) is written as a half-note, and the next note or notes (of, say, four repetitions) as a quarter note, and so on. The final note, shown by a hold, is frequently but not always identical with the main tone. Even in this simplified form, weighted scales are useful in showing range, focus, and scale construction. For instance, they show the homogeneity of the stomp type, 6 and 7. (See also Speck and Herzog, 1942, pp. 90, 107-108.)

GEOGRAPHICAL SEPARATION AND COMMUNICATION

Longhouse separations have molded such changes into local styles. The distinctions have subtle reasons, such as vocal quality, the shifting of one note in the scale (fig. 3), or variations in tone weighing (figs. 1–5). However, constant intercommunication has taken dance songs on long trips. Proximity at Six Nations Reserve has drawn together the longhouses of the different tribes into a constant interchange of artists and ceremonial leaders, into a gradual unification of practice, and even into introductions from their Algonquian neighbors. Recently improved transportation facilities are encouraging song dissemination and are leveling differences between distant longhouses.

COMMUNAL RITUAL

Whatever the means of innovation and introduction, these contributions are never haphazard. However spontaneous the sequence of events and the details of execution, they follow in unhurried order within the ancient frame of each ceremonial. Participation is open

to all; yet the planning and conducting is in the hands of a chosen group of male and female officials, the hono'ndiont.¹³ Distinction is determined by ability. Any gifted musician may be called upon as accompanist, according to his repertoire. Any gifted dancer can display his virtuosity. Yet never will the most erratic genius invent a tune or a step that is out of place. Never will the community adopt a pattern that clashes with the native pattern, such as the Siouan clockwise circle ¹⁴ or the white man's squares. The conservative yet democratic ritual system frames adoptions and inventions.

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¹⁸ For an example, see Death Feast, this volume.

¹⁴ Kurath, 1950 b, round dances.

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SONGS USED IN ILLUSTRATION 15

Figure 1:

a—L. C., 1941, 37A, song 23 (see I. L., 2B).

b-L. C., 1941, 54A, song 32.

c-L. C., 1941, 51B, song 7.

Figure 2:

a-L. C., 1941, 10A, dance 3 (see I. L., 3A, dance 3; c, d-10B, 1, 4).

b-L. C., 1941, 42A, song 3; e-42A, 9.

Figure 3:

a-L. C., 1941, 24B-25B, songs 4, 10, 14.

b-L. C., 1941, 48B, songs 3, 9, 11 (see C. L. 5A).

Figure 4:

Oa.—L. C., 1941, 24A, song 15 (see I. L., 4B).

S.-L. C., 1941, 56B, song 12.

Figure 5:

a-L. C., 1945, 5A, song 12.

b-L. C., 1941, 40B, song 19 (see I. L., 1A).

Figure 6—L. C., 1945, 25B, 2 (S.); similar to L. C., 1941, 16B, song 2, I. L., 3B, 2. Figure 7:

a-Recorded by ear.

b-Recorded by ear.

c-L. C., 1941, 8B, song 3 (see I. L., 5B, 3).

d and e-L. C., 1945, 22B, songs 3 and 4.

Figure 8:

a-L. C., 1941, 44B, Songs 21 and 23.

b-L. C., 1945, 21B, song 2; similar to 1941, 44B, song 24.

Figure 9:

a-L. C., 1945, 13A, song 2.

b-L. C., 1945, 12A, song 2.

¹⁵ Numbers refer to private and published collections. L. C.=Library of Congress; I. L.=Songs from Iroquois Longhouse; C. L.=Seneca songs from Coldspring Longhouse; Oa.=Onondaga; S.=Seneca.