

Long Names of Houses



NOTE: As stated in the First Note at the front of the book, The Back of the Book consists largely of information. According to the distinctions proposed in the "Note Concerning Narrative Modes" on page 500, things from here on will be just as fictional, but more factual, although equally true.

Since accent marks give a bristly and forbidding look to a page of English print, they have been left out so far, but in The Back of the Book and the Glossary they are used to indicate long *i*, *o*, and *u* in Kesh words. Pronunciations are given on page 496, "The Kesh Alphabet."



Often the houses of the nine towns of the Valley had quite long names, which I have sometimes shortened in translation, through cowardice. I was afraid that these long names—Rain Falling Straight Down House, Here With Its Back to the Vineyards House, Danced the Sun a Hundred Times House—might sound quaint, that they might sound "primitive." I was afraid that people who lived in houses with names like that could not be taken seriously by people who live in places with names like Chelsea Manors Estate, An Adult Community, or Loma Lake Acres East, a Planned Recreation Development. Though the adage runs the other way, the unfamiliar also risks contempt.

The length of some of these names might also make them seem improbable; would anybody actually say, "Do come see us, we live in Nine Buzzards Over the Mountain House in Kastóha-na!" In fact, they probably wouldn't, since anyone they talked to would very likely know where they lived. In the uncommon event of inviting strangers, they would mention the house's location or looks—"In the southeast arm, with red doors on the porches"—by way of address, as we might say, "2116½ Garden Court Drive, you take the second San Mateo exit going north and turn right at the third stop light and go two blocks."

Anyhow, the people of the Valley had no objection to long names. They liked them. Perhaps they enjoyed the fact that they had plenty of time to say them. They were not ashamed of having time. They lacked drive, that great urge to get done which powers us, sending us forward, ever forward ever faster, reducing San Francisco of the slow settlers to Frisco and Chicago of the even slower natives to Chi and the town of the mission of our lady of the angels becomes Los Angeles, but that takes too long so it becomes L.A., but let's go faster than we do so we use their language and call it LAX, because what we want is to move on quick, to go fast, get through, be done, done with everything. To get it over with, that's what we want. But the people who lived in the Valley and gave interminable names to their houses were in no hurry.

It is hard for us to conceive, harder to approve, of a serious adult person not in a hurry. Not being in a hurry is for infants, people over eighty, bums, and the Third World. Hurry is the essence of city, the very soul. There is no civilisation without hurry, without keeping ahead. The hurry may lurk invisible, contradicted by the indolent pose of the lounge at the bar or the lazy gait of the stroller along the hotel walkway, but it is there, in the terrific engines of the TWA or BSA supersonic planes that brought her from Rio, him from Rome, here to NY, NY for the IGPSA conference on implementation of GEPS, and will rush them back tomorrow, hurrying across the world of cities where there is no tense left but the present tense, every second and tenth of a second and millisecond and nanosecond clocked, the readout moving always a little faster, and the A rising. Mozart's A was a hundred and forty cycles a second, so Mozart's piano is out of tune with all our orchestras and singers. Our A is a hundred and sixty, because the instruments sound more brilliant tuned up higher, as they all rise like sirens towards the final scream. There is nothing to be done. There is no way to heighten the pitch of the instruments of the Valley, no way to abbreviate their institutions and addresses and names to capital letters, no way to get them to move ahead.

As their names tended to spread out and take time to say or write, so the houses themselves tended to take up room and elaborate themselves, a porch added on here, a wing there, so that the essentially simple plan might, over the slow lapse of years, burgeon and bulge and exfoliate like an old oak tree vastly grafted and spacious. The basic plan was usually an oblong or a shallow V shape, the foundation being of half-sunk fieldstone on which two storeys in stone, adobe brick, or wood were built. Washrooms, workrooms, storage rooms, and such were in the basement. The first and second floors—they counted down from the roof—were divided into hearthrooms, kitchens, and sleeping rooms and porches, four or five rooms to a floor in the small houses, twelve or fifteen in the big ones. Such a house might contain one numerous household, or as many as five different households: generally two or three households shared a house, often for generations. Each family had at least one private entrance, so there might be several outside staircases to the upper and lower porches and balconies. It was on these porches that most of the life of the house went on, except in cold weather.

Many houses had no front and back: the front of the top floor might be the back of one ground-floor household and the side of the other—it depended on where your front door was. The foundation storey was often set out to get the light on the northwest side, and retired under the upper floor and balconies for summer shade on the southeast side, which gave such houses a lurching look; but they were soundly planned and built, and often stood for centuries.

A house was oriented to the local terrain and lightfall—hillslopes, other houses, trees, creeks, shade and sun patterns—and secondarily to the compass, the corners pointing N, E, S, W, which meant that the walls faced the preferred half-directions.

The siting of the house was determined by the ideal plan of the town—

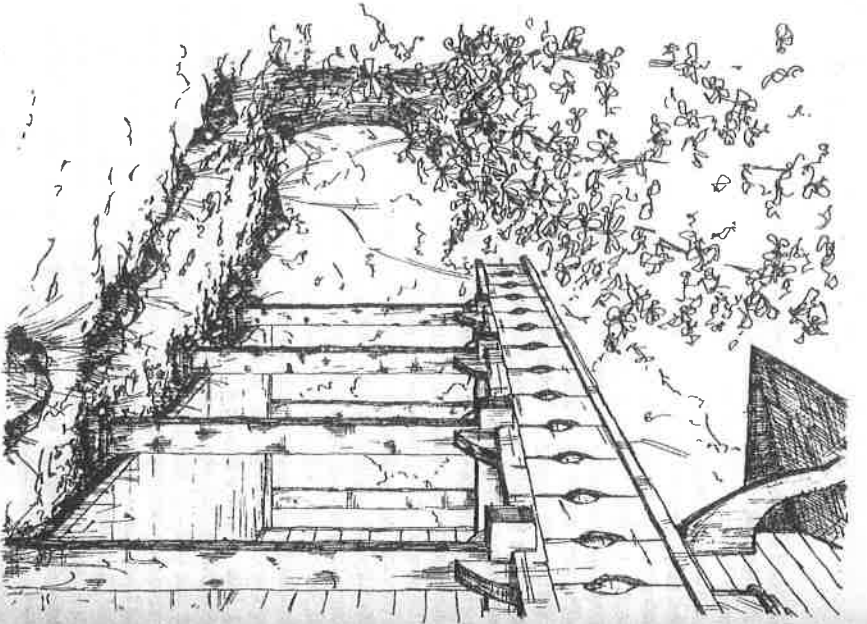
the heywa-ii figure. Each house made part of that pattern, an element of the Left Arm curving to meet the Right Arm of the five heyimas buildings at the Hinge of the Town—which was always running water or a well. The pattern was not neat or orderly (neither was the town), and nothing was in rows; yet the shape was there, and was felt, the interlocked curves springing from/returning to the center. In Kastóna-na and Telína-na there were several Left Arms, for to build so many houses in a single curve would either have crammed them together or strung them out inconveniently.

The area within the loose curve of the houses, planted with some trees and perhaps containing a few sheds or booths, but mostly left open and mostly either muddy or dusty, was the *common place* of the town. The corresponding empty area within the curve of the five heyimas on the Right Arm of town was called the *dancing place*. But both places were common, and they danced in both.

One town of the nine did not quite fit this description. Tachas Touchas was (notoriously) settled by "people from outside"—from the northwest, traditionally. Certainly the village architecture showed a likeness to the styles of towns far north of the Valley on the west-running rivers of the redwood lands. The houses of Tachas Touchas were all wood, redwood or cedar, with shallow cellars, and no use of adobe. They stood so close that they shared rain-gutters, in a tight curve, all facing inward. The Hinge of the town was a lively falls in Shassash Creek, and the Right Arm was laid out and built conventionally. But the circle of dark, tall, steep-roofed houses under the sheer rise of Bone Mountain, black-green with fir, was somberly impressive and quite different from any other Valley town. Disapproval of the "tightness" of the town plan was frequently expressed outside it; inside it, the people of Tachas Touchas rebuilt, when, from century to century, a house must be taken down and replaced, in their immemorial and peculiar fashion; which perhaps did express or encourage a "tight," aloof, intimated quality in the character and manners of the townsfolk.

Wakwaha, at the other end of the Valley world, was also exceptional: being the Benares, Rome, or Mecca of the Valley, much visited by people from the other towns, its Left Arm included five long, single-storey hostels, maintained by the Five Houses, where visitors could housekeep for a few days or for months; and the Right Arm took in more area than the Left, containing not only the five great heyimas, but a dozen or more buildings of public and sacred use and significance, such as the Archives, the Conservatory, and the Theater. The Hinge of Wakwaha was one of the high sources of the Na, a beautiful steady spring rising from the volcanic rocks of a deep canyonhead of the Mountain. The site was a difficult one to put a fair-sized town on, but the steep, uneven ground and the sweep of the mountain slopes and canyon walls above and below the town gave it both grandeur and charm. Some of the houses of Wakwaha were very old, built of the stone they stood on and seeming to have grown from it; the madrones that shaded their roofs and walled courts were immense, but the walls had been there long before the trees. They had old, long names, these houses. Rising Up

Kasíóha meant and why it changed, as it apparently had done, from Hasíóha, and why the oldest house in Madídnou was called Madídnou Animoun, nobody knew. No doubt the etymologies could have been traced from data in the Memory Banks of the City of Mind, with a few weeks or months of work at the Exchange. But what for? Need every word be translated? Sometimes the untranslated word might serve to remind us that language is not meaning, that intelligibility is an element of it only, a function. The untranslated word or name is not functional. It sits there. Written, it is a row of letters, which spoken with a more or less wild guess at the pronunciation produces a complex of phonemes, a more or less musical and interesting sound, a noise, a thing. The untranslated word is like a rock, a piece of wood, its use, its meaning, is not rational, definite, and limited, but concrete, potential, and infinite. To start with, all the words we say are untranslated words.



From Where the Quarrel Ended was one of them. Another was called Jackrabbit's Grandmother's Hole House. But then some equally old had very short names; there was a house called Wind, a house called High. And others had names that had lost their meaning over the years, worn away by the changing of the language—Angrawad House, Outecho House.

Though people in a small society may talk slowly, their language is likely to change quickly; even written, it keeps flowing, leaving the old spellings and usages high and dry. So the names of the nine towns, being old, had no translatable "meaning," except for Wakwaha-na, the town at the holy spring of the Na (but it could also mean the dancing way of the Na). Chókúmas probably meant Live Oak House originally, and the -ma/- in Ounmain is hill or hillock. The people of Tachas Touchas insisted, without offering evidence, that the name of their town in their forgotten northern tongue meant Where the Bear Sat Down. But why Shushan and its mountain were Shushan, or what

an intrinsically mysterious being. The ewe was the sign and symbol of the Blood Lodge and of the First House, and sheep were called the Children of the Moon.

GOATS.

Goats were kept as commensals and for milk, in the Upper Valley towns; in Madínon, Sinshan, Oummalin, and Tachas Touchas they were raised for meat, leather, and wool. The Upper Valley towns, though liking goats for their mischievous intelligence, preferred not to keep them around in great numbers, saying, "One goat outnumbered three people, three goats outnumbered thirty." As they were bred with various aesthetic and practical ends in view, there was a great variety of fancy strains and types, including several very small, fat, black or black-and-tan "short goats," the lop-eared, long-haired, cream-colored Oummalin Milch Goat, and the pugnacious and handsome "mountain goat" that ran with the sheep on Sheep Mountain.

CATTLE.

The Valley cattle were mostly dun, cream, brindle, brown, and fawn color; they were small, with a moderate shoulder-hump, slender legs, incurved horns of medium length, dished brow, and large, oval eyes. In Telina-na a somewhat larger animal, often pure white, was much prized for work. The herds were primarily dairy herds, but a good deal of plowing and heavy hauling was done with oxen. They were not raised for beef, and if slaughtered were generally killed in the first year for veal. As a rule, each household had its cow or cows in the town herd, in charge of the Tanning Art; herding, feeding, and milking might be done by the family or by arrangement with the Art. Households going up into the hills to a summerhouse for the hot weather often took a cow along. Most cows and oxen were commensals, named, and counted and regarded as members of the household. A good deal of poetry was addressed to cows, some of it pointing out how much easier to get along with they are than human beings. The breed was mild, canny, and goodnatured, deserving the praise they got; only the bulls were of uncertain temper, and so were usually common property of the town or the Art, kept fenced in Penis Meadow.

HORSES, DONKEYS, AND MULES.

Since most human people of the Valley were not travellers and when they did travel usually went afoot, there being no long roads, horses were not kept for journeys. They were commensals, and rather extravagant ones. Riding was a sport, not a means of getting somewhere, and horses were seldom used to haul or work. There were not many of them in the Valley, and none of heavy stock; they were selected less for strength and patience

Some of the Other People of the Valley

I. Animals of the Obsidian

All domestic animals were considered to live in the First House, the Obsidian.

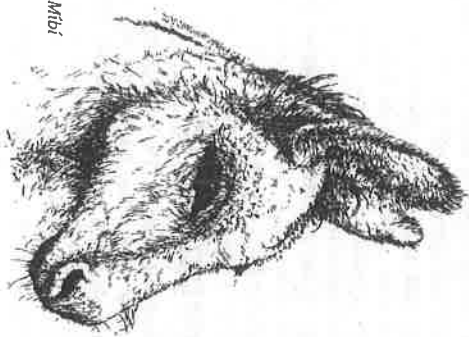
SHEEP.

The several strains of Valley sheep were all derived from crossing "foreign" breeds traded or stolen from neighboring peoples' flocks with the Odoun breed of the Upper Valley: a small, compact animal with loose, fine wool, dark legs and face, two or four short horns, and a pronounced Roman nose. The lambs were born dark, and about half had dark or mixed wool when adult. Every town kept sheep; individuals or households might have one or several sheep in the town flock, and sheepherding and care of the flock was in the charge of the town's Cloth Art. The towns of Chumo and Telina-na ran large flocks on Sheep Mountain and in the Odoun Valley, northeast of Chumo. To let the pasturage and soil recover and to fatten the sheep on sailgrass, these flocks were taken down the River to the floodplains at the Mouths of the Na in the middle of the rainy season, and not taken back up onto the hills until the weather began to get hot, between the Moon and the Summer dances. Mutton and lamb were the festival meat of the Valley, and sheepskin leather and woolsens of all grades and kinds were staple fabrics of use and wear. The sheep was not a symbol of passive stupidity and blind obedience as it is to us (and indeed the Valley sheep were both athletic and wily), but rather was regarded with a kind of affectionate awe, as



than for "wit and beauty." The Summer games always included horse races and riding exhibitions, which might go on here and there up and down the Valley for a couple of months. There was a mystique of the horse, the stallion especially being considered sacred, uncanny, or venerable. The stallion was the cult symbol of men of the Obsidian, though Serpentine people, of the House of the Summer, were most often the breeders and trainers. In the Summer games men rode mares, women rode stallions; in the races the jockeys were adolescents of both sexes. White, black, or piebald stallions were sacred to the Obsidian, but the most prized colors were buckskin and red roan. The Valley horse was seldom as much as fifteen hands tall, fine-boned and short-barrelled, fast on a short track, and inclined to get fat. Unwanted colts were not killed but taken down the river and turned loose to join the wild herds on the grasslands and saltgrass flats west of the Mouths of the Na. These herds roamed the coasts of the Ocean and the Inland Sea. The horses in them were mostly scrubby, but sometimes a group of Bay Laurel boys or Obsidian men made an adventurous and enjoyable sacred journey to the wild horse country to catch an animal or two to recruit the Valley stock. The only large herds of horses in the Valley were kept by the Serpentine of Chukúmas. Lower Valley towns generally did not keep any horses at all.

All the towns kept donkeys. Like cows, donkeys were members of the household. They worked with people at hauling, carrying, pulling, plowing, and all donkeywork. Crippled people got about in little donkey-carts. Donkey colts trotted about loose with the cats, dogs, and children. The Valley donkey was the typical small burro, fine-legged, with a black cross on mouse-grey shoulders, and a dreadful voice. Donkey stallions, being notoriously intractable, were pastured in Penis Meadow with the bulls.



A Portrait of Mitoi

Mules, like horses, were mostly bred in Chukúmas. The small mule or hinny with a horse sire and donkey dam was sometimes used for riding, and for playing the game *velilou*, a kind of polo; mules with donkey sire and mare dam worked in harness, hauling, and in the fields. The Train was pulled mostly by mules. They were respected for their intelligence and reliability, and were handsome creatures, but since a mule needs nearly as much room and feed as a horse, the donkey remained the chief work-companion in most towns.

PIGS.

Pigs were not raised in the Valley, possibly as a result of cultural differentiation from the Teudem or Pig People, six or seven small nomadic tribes whose territory included the Ranges of the Valley and the Odoun and Yanyan valleys. The Kesh would barter with these tribes for pigskin, but felt all the prejudice of the householder against the nomad, and also considered that the Pig People went rather too far in identifying themselves as Farrowes of the Great Sow.

DOGS.

Valley dogs were a motley lot. There was not much work for dogs in the towns, and strong feeling against letting dogs breed freely, since the pups must be either tamed or killed to prevent their joining the wild dog packs. Most male pups were gelded, and the principal job of the domesticated dog was as a guard against wild dogs: an ironic and unhappy role, but fortunately dogs do not have much sense of irony. The wild dogs were a real danger to people and livestock in the woods and fields; they ran in family packs of two to six and also in all-male "rogue" packs of fifteen to twenty, and could pull down any creature they hunted. Children who went out herding or gathering were taught to climb the nearest tree at once if they heard or saw wild dogs, and if possible they went out guarded by the household dog—often, in fact, with a whole cortege of hangers-on and trailers-along and wayside-sniffers.

The wild dogs ran rangy and large; the domesticated dogs were smaller, as a rule, but strong and stocky. There were no pure breeds, but the commonest types were the *hechi*, a sturdy, furry, chowlike watchdog, highly intelligent and serious, sharp-eared and bushy-tailed and usually tawny or reddish in color; the *dúf*, a long-legged dog with curly grey or black hair, very useful as a sheepdog; with a high forehead and a grave, sensitive disposition; and the *ou* or hound, short-haired, lop-eared, sociable, lazy, clownish, and keen. Hounds were allowed to run in packs on the hunting side of town, but the hunters kept a sharp eye on them lest they begin to fraternise with the wild dogs. The hounds were hunted with deer and small game only; when a wild dog, boar, or bear hunt was necessary, the *hechi* was the dog taken. Dogs were beloved commensals, but were seldom

allowed indoors; and dogs hanging around among the houses of the town would be driven out by children, who were expected to keep them out of trouble in town as they kept the children out of trouble in the woods. A kind of subvillage of doghouses usually lined the approach to the Left-Hand Side of town, and there the puppies and children played freely.

CATS.

Since they don't foul the ways, cats had the freedom of the towns. The household cat was usually allowed to live indoors as mouser and commensal. Most Valley cats were short-haired, of every conceivable color and marking, though black and tabby were favorites. As they were the main ally against mouse and rat depredations in the house, the granary, and the field, they were allowed to breed freely; if an excess-kitten problem arose it was solved by taking weaned kittens up onto the hunting side to fend for themselves. The forests were therefore well stocked with feral cats as well as the native bobcats (two or three times larger), all competing with the foxes and coyotes for the wood rats and innumerable voles and white-footed mice. Tales about giant crossbred wildcats—jet-black lynxes, monster tabbies—were earnestly vouched for, but never substantiated by actual eye witness. It was always somebody in another town who had seen one lurking near the chicken runs.

SMALL FRY AND BIRDS.

Chickens were always kept for eggs, meat, and company; the smaller towns had coops and runs here and there among the houses, while the big towns kept the smell and bustle of the poultry-yards off near the barns, but there was generally a hen in sight, anywhere in any town. Each town had its peculiar breed of poultry and defended its merits against all others. In Sinsshan and Madidinou, people raised himpi, the little guinea-piglike animal with piebald fur, for meat; elsewhere himpi were kept only as pets, which put Sinsshan and Madidinou at some moral disadvantage. Brush rabbits were sometimes kept and bred and fed with herbs for a finer meat than that of the wild rabbit, but the rabbit was a game animal, and rabbit-breeding was looked on as a kind of cheating, a bit contemptible. It appears that at some periods pigeons, geese, and ducks were kept in large flocks, and times when this practice was rare; sometimes, therefore, these birds lived in the First House as domestic animals, and sometimes in the Second House as wild game. But also, since most pigeons, ducks, and geese were neither hunted nor domesticated, but shared the woods and waters of the Valley in their immense flocks with the human inhabitants, and since they are not ground-dwelling birds, they were not considered to belong to any of the Five Houses but rather to the Sky and the Wilderness. Because of these crossings and anomalies, the wild goose and the grey pigeon were the favorite pictorial image of the soul going from House to House, between Earth and Sky.

between waking and dream or vision, between life and death. The vast migrations of the geese, when the River became "a river of wings and the shadows of wings," and the skeins of the geese crossing the sky daylong, were the beloved image of the passage and renewal of life. The wild goose, duck, and swan were drawn in the shape of the heyya-if, and so was the flight-skein; the sounds of the geese calling as they flew, creaking and honking across the wind, were used in music.



PETS.

The word *commensal* has been used to avoid the condescending, patronising overtones of the word *pet*, and because it better translates the Valley term, which means people living together.

By the standards of the animal breeding and slaughtering industries of our society, all domesticated animals of the Valley were "pets," but those standards are questionable in every sense. At any rate, children and many adults "lived together" with various beasts beside the useful domestic companions: mice, wood rats, feral hamsters (a pest in the grainfields), crickets, toads, frogs, stagbeetles, and so on. Kingsnakes were not kept in the house, but were a much honored dweller beneath the house or barn, since they keep rattlesnakes away. The rare ringtail or "miners' cat" tamed easily and was sometimes kept as a treasured and sacred inhabitant of the Blue Clay heyymas. The young of the larger wild animals, game animals, most

wild birds, and fish were never domesticated or made pets of. If a hunter in error shot a doe with nursing fawns, he killed the fawns, and then went through a ceremony in the Hunters Lodge to clear himself of guilt. A deer might consent to be killed and to be eaten, but not to be tamed. Deer shared the Second House of Life with human beings—not the First House, where the domestic animals lived. To coax or force them to live in a House not their own would be inappropriate or perverse.

THE HOUSE OF OBSIDIAN.

As the Kesh saw it, the domestic animals consented to live and to die with human beings in the First House of Life. The mysteries of animal-human interdependence and cooperation and the mystery of sacrifice were the central preoccupation of the animal rituals of the House of Obsidian. Such rites and teachings were also connected with those of the Blood Lodge. This lodge, into which all girls were initiated at puberty and to which all women belonged, was under Obsidian auspices: "All women live in the First House." The identification of woman and animal went deep throughout the sexual and intellectual teaching of the Blood Lodge (and where in our male-dominated culture that identification is used to devalue, this must not be assumed to hold for the Kesh; rather the opposite). Blood Lodge ritual and learning was passed on by the breath, not written down; but many of the women's songs of the Moon and Grass Dances grew out of it, and a whole body of mystical, satirical, erotic poetry—unfortunately, like most metaphysical poetry, very hard to translate—used its symbols and themes: the ewe, milk, blood sacrifice, orgasm as death spasm, impregnation as rebirth, and the mystery of consent.



II. Animals of the Blue Clay

In the world-view of the Valley people, all wild animals were Sky People, living in the Four Houses of Death, Dream, Wilderness, and Eternity; but those who allowed themselves to be hunted, who responded to the hunter's singing and came to meet the arrow or enter the snare, had consented to come across into the Second of the Earth Houses, the Blue Clay, in order to die. They had taken on mortality sacrificially and sacramentally.

By its mortality, the individual deer was related physically, materially, with human beings, and all other beings on earth; while "deeriness" or The

Deer was related metaphysically with the human soul and the eternal universe of being. This distinction of the individual and the type was fundamental in Valley thought, and even in the syntax of the language.

Most wild animals, most of the time, stayed over in the Wilderness: ground squirrel, wood rat, badger, jackrabbit, wildcat, songbird, buzzard, toad, beetle, fly, and all the rest, however familiar, beloved, or pestiferous, did not share a House of Life with human beings. The relationship is based essentially on who eats whom. Those whom we do not eat, or who eat us, are not related to us in the same way as those whom we eat.

On the northwest wall of a Blue Clay heymas the figure of the deer was painted, on the southwest wall the brush rabbit, on the ceiling near the ladderway the quail. These were the Keepers of that House.

Only the deer, the brush rabbit, and the wild pig were regularly hunted by adults for food or for fur and hides and to control high population. All three species were numerous in the area, and in peak years were very troublesome to farmers, gardeners, and vintners. Pigs were a particularly fierce and persistent competitor for acorns, a valued gathering-crop. They were also dangerous, and so were always considered fair game.

The only other true game animal was wild cattle. Herds sometimes travelled down the grassy slopes west of the Inland Sea, and hunters went out after them, mostly for adventure and sport, since the Valley people had little taste for beef. The meat was treated like venison, and mostly dried for jerky.

Wild-dog packs were extremely dangerous to people and to domestic animals, and when a pack moved into the Ranges of the Valley it was systematically hunted down, usually by a group sent out from the Hunters Lodge, but the feral dogs were not usually spoken of as game. Nor were bears. The bear, the Rain Dancer, the Brother of Death, was the Keeper of his own House, the Sixth House. But when an individual bear began acting "crazy" or "lost," hanging around the pastures and fields near a town, or intimidating and stealing food from people in summerhouses up in the hills, then it was said to have "come into the House of Blue Clay," and might be hunted and killed, and its flesh eaten.

As for birds, quail was always called a game bird, and was a favorite figure in Blue Clay imagery and poetry, but in fact only young children ever seemed to hunt quail, though some people kept quail penned and fattened them to eat, or ate the eggs. Chukar and pheasant were especially prized for their feathers. Wild duck, wild goose, and several kinds of pigeon lived in and migrated through the Valley of the Na, especially the marshes of the lower river, in vast numbers. They were hunted and snared for food, and were also domesticated (see "Animals of the Obsidian").

The freshwater fish of the Na and the creeks were small and coarse, but since they were prized as food, along with crayfish and frogs, they were considered to live in the Second House. Ocean fish were more often traded for than caught, since few people of the Valley wanted much to do with boats or deep water. The Fishers Lodges of the Lower Valley sometimes

gathered shellfish on the sea beaches, but the Pacific "red tides" plus residual pollution of the oceans made mussel-eating a risky business.

Fish were supposed to be prejudiced against men: "For her I rise, from him I hide." A good deal of the fishing in the Na and its tributaries was done, with hook and line and handnet, by old women.

Rules concerning hunting weapons in the Hunters Lodge were strict: guns might be used hunting bear, wild dog, and pig; otherwise the tools of the trade were bow and arrow, snare, and slingshot. Hunting was called "the art of silence."

Hunting for food and skins was primarily an occupation for children. All young children, and adolescent boys in the Bay Laurel Lodge, were allowed to hunt rabbit, possum, squirrel, wild humpi and other small game, and deer, and were praised for their successes. They were forbidden to hunt ground squirrel (still a carrier of bubonic plague), and only the older boys were given guns and allowed to join an exterminatory hunt of feral dogs or pigs. When girls became adolescent and joined the Blood Lodge, they stopped hunting. Women living in isolated sumethouses or the recluses called "forest-living" women might shoot or snare rabbit and deer for food, but they were exceptions to a norm. A man who spent much time hunting after he had outgrown the Bay Laurel Lodge and was of marrying age was looked upon as either childish or shiftless. Hunting, in general, was not seen as appropriate behavior for an adult.

All hunters were answerable to the Hunters Lodge and were subject to severe and continuous supervision. If a hunter—child or man—did not clean and skin his catch properly, distribute the meat, hide, etc., appropriately, and dispose of the waste, he would be lectured at or ridiculed as an incompetent. If a hunter killed excessively, or without a pretty good excuse of wanting food, hide, or furs, he would be in danger of getting a reputation as a psychotic, a "crazy" man, a "lost" man, like a dangerous bear. The Hunters Lodge exerted heavy social pressure upon individuals who overstepped these ethical restraints.

At the same time, since a certain degree of shame attached to hunting as an adult pursuit, the hunter got his reward of real understanding and admiration only within the Hunters Lodge, and, if he was a Blue Clay man, in his heyimas. For there the association of the House with the hunter and the hunted was not shameful, but sacramental.

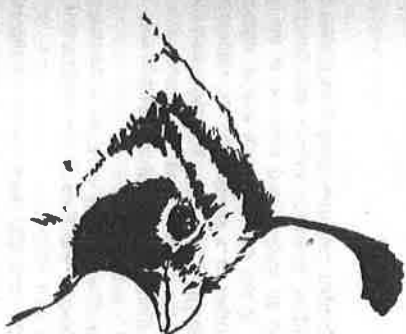
Quail and Deer were celebrated over and over in the poetry, dancing, and art of the Blue Clay heyimas, and were identified with far more closely than any other animals, beloved in a way that even the domestic animals were not. It was a different intimacy. The game animals were the link between the Wilderness and the human soul; and the hunter, just in that he was somewhat less than fully human, was, with the animal he killed, both accomplice and sacrifice in a truly mysterious act. The meaning of the sacred as the dangerous, the holy as transgression, was implicit in Blue Clay animal dancing and in the hunters' songs.

The walls of this House
are of blue clay,
clay mixed with water,
clay mixed with blood,
blood of the rabbit,
blood of the deer.

Beating, beating,
this spring is red.
Red is this spring,
beating, beating.
You drink from it,
you start from it,
Woman of this House,
you start, Deer Woman!

I give you my arrow, my knife, my mind, my hands.
You give me your flesh, your blood, your skin, your feet.
You are my life. I am your death.
We drink from this spring together.

(There are more examples of hunting and fishing songs in the section "How to Die in the Valley.")



Kinfolk

There were four kinds of relatives in the Valley:

People who lived in one's House: one of the five great divisions of the human and other beings of the Valley, the Obsidian, Blue Clay, Serpentine, Red and Yellow Adobes. The relationship was called *maai*.
 People who were related by blood (*consanguines*)—*chan*
 People who were related by marriage (*affines*)—*giyamoudan*
 People who were related by choice—*goestun*

The interrelationships of these four kinds of kinship could evidently get very complex; but there was no lack of time and interested people to figure them all out and keep them in order.

HOUSE KINSHIP.

Relatives within the House included creatures other than human beings: the chief ones being, in the Obsidian, domestic animals and the moon; in the Blue Clay, game animals and all springs and streams; in the Serpentine, stones and many wild plants; in the Adobes, earth and all domestic plants. To call an olive tree grandmother or a sheep sister, to address a half-acre field of dirt plowed for corn as "my brother," is behavior easily dismissed as *primitive*, or as *symbolic*. To the Kesh, it was the person who could not understand or admit such relationship whose intelligence was in a primitive condition and whose thinking was unrealistic.

The human groups in the Five Houses were, in anthropological language, matrilineal and exogamous: descent was through the mother, and you could not marry another member of your House.

The charts on pages 428 and 429 show some of the complicated interlinking of House and blood relationship. For instance, your mother's mother would always be of your House, and your father's father might be,

but your father, his mother, and your mother's father could not be. Going down the generations, one might notice that a man is cut off from House relation with his own children. A woman's children were of her House, but a man's were not; nor were his grandchildren through his daughter, though his son's children might be. The two patterns interwove, not so much contradicting as complicating and enriching each other.

CONSANGUINEOUS KINSHIP.

The household, *marai*, typically consisted of a mother and her daughter(s), their husbands and children, and unmarried sons or other relatives on her side, living together in one set of rooms and sharing work as an economic unit.

When a household got too crowded, a daughter would move out with her husband and children and set up in a different set of rooms as a new unit, and thereafter the relationship between the two households was most importantly that of the House affiliation. But blood relationship was kept close track of, and the obligations of blood kinship were taken seriously. On the mother's side this ensured a double bond; on the father's side it could easily turn into a double bind.

Blood kinship was reckoned generally as it is in English, with some finer distinctions. These are the commonest kinship terms:

mother: *manou*
 father: *bata*, *ta*, *tat*
 grandmother: *homa*
 mother's mother: *ama*
 mother's father: *tavama*
 grandfather: *hotat*
 father's mother: *tavama*
 father's father: *tatvrat*
 daughter: *sou*
 son: *dúcha*
 grandchild: *shepin*
 sibling: *kosh*
 sister: *kekosh* (*i.e.*, my mother's daughter, or the daughter of both my parents)
 brother: *takosh* (my mother's, or my parents', son)
 half-sister: *hwikkosh* (my father's but not my mother's daughter)
 half-brother: *hwikkosha* (my father's but not my mother's son)
 aunt (my mother's sister): *madi* or *amason*
 aunt (my father's sister): *takekosh*
 uncle (my mother's brother): *matai*
 uncle (my father's brother): *tatakosh*
 (For great-aunt, etc., the word *old*, *ho*, is prefixed to these words.)

niece (mother's sister's daughter): madison
 nephew (daughter of mother's brother or of father's sibling): ketro
 nephew (mother's sister's son): madidu
 nephew (son of mother's brother or of father's sibling): keta
 cousin (in maternal line, or of my House): machedi
 cousin (in paternal line or of a different House): choud

There are other terms, which varied from the Upper to the Lower Valley, for the complicated relationships resulting from second or third marriages. Terms of pure House relationship, used to a person not necessarily related by blood, were made by prefixing *ma* (and the possessive adjective) to the term: *matwúcha*, son of my House; *makekosh*, House-sister, and so on. Terms of both blood and House kinship were in continual use as salutations and endearments.

KINSHIP BY MARRIAGE.

The Kesh were matrilocal: a couple marrying were expected to live at least for a while in the bride's mother's household (which might involve some other relatives moving out). The custom was not rigid, and very commonly a young couple set up their own household in the same house or a different one or in a different town if their work took them there. The Kesh considered themselves as firmly rooted as trees and hills, but it was my observation that in fact many of them moved around for a great part of their grown life from one town to another.

When a marriage ended, the woman might stay in her mothers' household, or go back to it, but by no means was this a rule. The divorced man almost always went back to his mothers' household to live "as a son," *handúcha*. Children of divorced parents usually stayed with the mother, but if the father wanted to stay with them more than the mother did, he would go on living in his children's mother's mothers' household, bringing them up in that House.

The words *giyamoud*, married person; *giyoudo*, wife; *giyouda*, husband, were reserved for those who had publicly undertaken marriage at the Wedding Ceremony of the annual World Dance. For people who were living together unmarried, the term *-hai*, now, came in handy; *habí*, "now-dear," was a temporary spouse; *dúchahai*, "son-now," a transitory son-in-law, and so on. Homosexual marriage was recognised, and homosexual spouses were distinguished, when such distinction was relevant, as *hanahé* and *hankehe*, (living) in a man's or a woman's manner. There was no term for ex-spouse, nor any equivalent of our words *bachelor* and *spinster*. Marriage-relationship terms were, like the terms of House and blood kinship, much used in conversation; one addressed a relative by marriage as my aunt's husband, *madiv giyouda*, or my brother's wife, *takoshiv giyoudo*, for instance, or just called them *giyamoudan*, in-law.

KINSHIP BY CHOICE: GOESTUN.

Two people might agree to undertake the obligations and privileges of relationship closer than House and descent gave them. Often this was simply adoption: an orphaned child at once became somebody's *goestun* child, always within the child's House. A baby of course had no choice in the matter, but an older child might; and sometimes children who were not orphaned opted to be the *goestun* child of another household (again within their House). *Goestun* siblings were usually friends of the same sex who wanted to assert and bind their friendship, rather like "broodbrotherhood", and sometimes friends of the same House but opposite sex undertook to be *goestun* brother and sister, asserting affection but reinforcing the incest ban. The *goestun* relationship was taken very seriously, and defaulting on it was held a most contemptible betrayal.

In Stone Telling's story, the man she calls her side-grandfather, *amhotat*, was a *magostun* or stand-in grandfather. The House provided these stand-in relatives for people who lacked them—in this case, Stone Telling lacked any male relatives in her own House, the Blue Clay, having no maternal uncle, and no kin at all on the father's side, and so an older man of the Blue Clay asked to take that responsibility.

INCEST PROHIBITIONS.

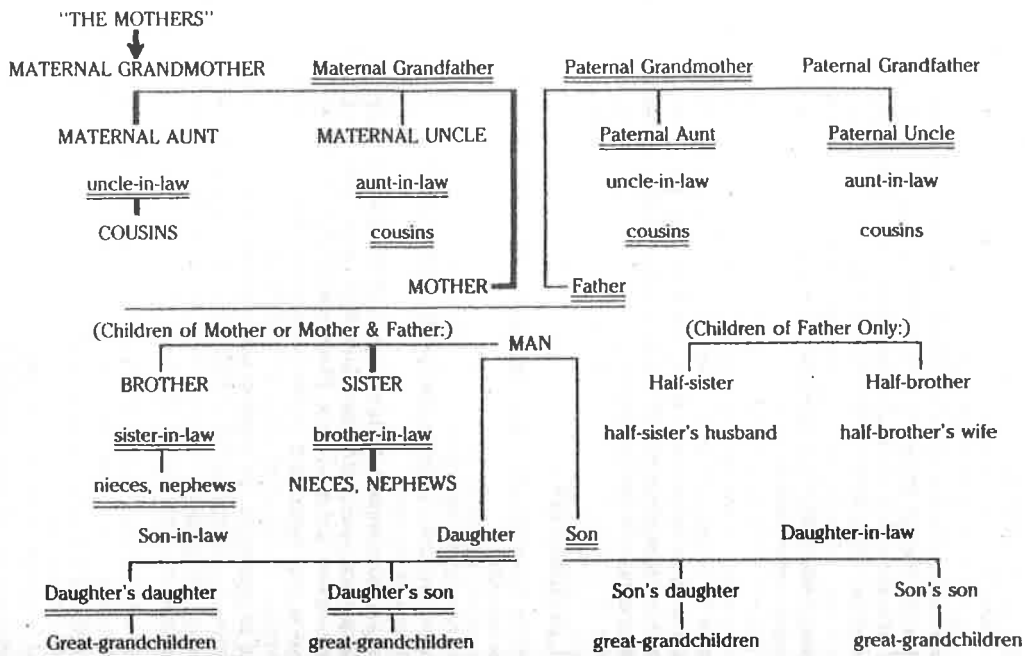
Sexual relationship with any of the following was considered to be incestuous and was forbidden:

Any member of one's House
 Anyone currently related by marriage to a blood relation
 Any *goestun* relation
 And the following blood relations: parent/child; grandparent/grandchild; sibling; uncle and aunt/nephew and niece; great-uncle and great-aunt/great-nephew and great-niece. First-cousin marriage was permitted with cousins and half-cousins on the father's side, but if a paternal uncle married a woman of my House his children would be my House siblings and so proscribed. My maternal aunt's children were of course of my House; my maternal uncle's children were not, but marriage with these cousins was unusual—"It is too close to the mothers." Second-cousin marriage was restricted only by House affiliation.

The Kesh gave no reason or justification whatever for incest prohibitions, neither religious, nor genetic, nor social, nor ethical. They said, "That is the way people are: that is how human people behave."

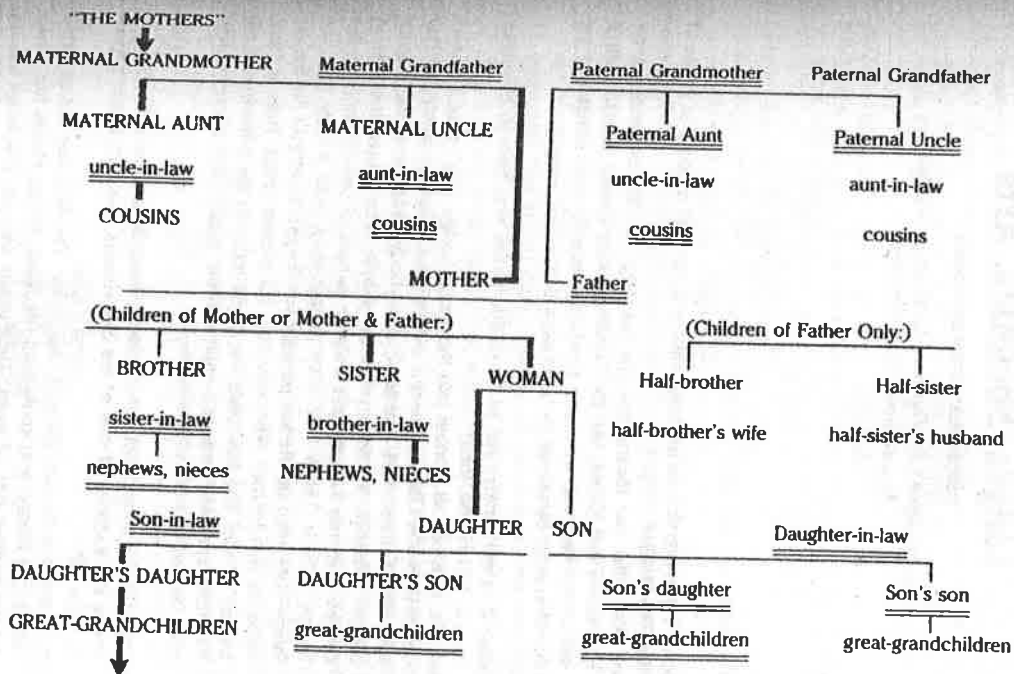


CHARTS OF KINFOLK



The principal relations of a Man by House, Blood, and Marriage

A relationship that must be in the man's House is CAPITALISED; a relationship that cannot be in his House is underlined. The other relationships may or may not be in his House.



The principal relations of a Woman by Blood, House, and Marriage

A relationship that must be in the woman's House is CAPITALISED; a relationship that cannot be in her House is underlined. The other relationships may or may not be in her House.

Lodges, Societies, Arts

As explained by Thorn of Sinshan in response to questions from Pandora.

PANDORA: I don't think I understand when you say that a Lodge is in one of the Five Houses.

THORN: Well, that just means that the meetings of the Lodge are in the heyimas of that House, like the Planting Lodge always meets in one of the Adobe heyimas. Or that if the Lodge people need things they ask that House for them, like Doctors using Serpentine songs.

PANDORA: It doesn't mean that to be in that Lodge you have to have been born in that House, then?

THORN: No. After all, all women join the Blood Lodge, don't they, it doesn't matter if they're Obsidian people or not. And men who aren't Blue Clay join the Hunters. And practically everybody belongs to the Planting Lodge. Although it's mostly Adobe people who dance the Planting dances. The only Lodge that's only for people of one House is the Salt Lodge, I think. That's Blue Clay people only. And it only does one thing—they keep up the salt ponds down by the Mouths of the Na, and make the Salt Journey every year, and learn those songs. Have you seen the salt ponds? The new ones are bright red with the brine shrimp and the older ones are turquoise blue with the algae and I always wonder how the salt comes out pure white.

PANDORA: I hope to go down there soon. Now, how does a Lodge come under the auspices of one of the Sky Houses, that don't have heyimas to meet in?

THORN: It meets in its own place, a built lodge. The Madrone has an archive building, a library, you know, and the Black Adobe always has a lodge on the hunting side of town. The Finders can use that lodge too, and the Bay Laurel boys meet there when it rains. They're supposed to meet

outdoors on the hunting side, in the open; but when it rains they always go to the Black Adobe earth lodge.

PANDORA: Are the Societies the same thing as the Lodges?

THORN: Well, not exactly. They're smaller, for one thing. And usually their speakers are people of the House they're connected with. But people of other Houses can join them. Except the male Clowns. Blood Clowns, you know, are women from any house, not just the Obsidian. But the White Clowns are Obsidian men, and the Green Clowns are Adobe men.

PANDORA: How does a person get to be a Clown?

THORN: You learn how. From the people who are Clowns already, in secret. It can take a long time.

PANDORA: What do the Societies do?

THORN: People in the Societies sing and learn. Each one has certain songs, certain ways of being, certain gifts.

PANDORA: They . . . learn with each other? [In English I would have asked, Are they schools?]

THORN: Some of them teach secrets. And the Oak Society is different from the others, it's got a lot of people in it, and it works with the Book Art and Madrone Lodge and the libraries in all the heyimas. The Oak is really more like an Art than a Society—it teaches reading and writing and bookmaking and inkmaking and copying and printing and all the skills that have to do with written words.

PANDORA: And the Arts, how closely are they connected with the Five Houses?

THORN: I don't really know how it's supposed to be. Here in Sinshan, women are likely to join one of the Arts that belongs to their House, but the men don't. And in the big towns I've noticed that the women don't either. An Art doesn't usually meet in the heyimas of its House, it usually meets in the workshop. But if something goes wrong, you know, some work isn't done, or is badly done, then the House takes responsibility for getting it right. And a person working in an Art can go to the House of that Art for help, if there's some kind of trouble. One reason it's dangerous to be a Miller is that the Millers Art doesn't have an Earth House—they are under the Sky. So if a Miller does anything wrong she gets everybody mad at her and hasn't got a roof over her head, as they say.



CHART OF LODGES, SOCIETIES, AND ARTS

THE FIVE HOUSES OF EARTH

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
OBSIDIAN	BLUE CLAY	SERPENTINE	YELLOW ADOBE	RED ADOBE
<i>Blood Lodge</i> § (ritual and social)	<i>Hunters Lodge</i> § <i>Fishers Lodge</i> § <i>Salt Lodge</i> §	<i>Doctors Lodge</i> § (medicine and ritual)	<i>Planting Lodge</i> § (agriculture and ritual)	
<i>Blood Cloun Society</i> § <i>White Cloun Society</i> § <i>Lamb Society</i> § (cult)		<i>Oak Society</i> § (writing, books)	<i>Green Cloun Society</i> § <i>Olive Society</i> § (cult)	
<i>Glass Art:</i> windows, vessels, instruments <i>Tanning Art:</i> butchering, leather goods <i>Cloth Art:</i> spinning, weaving, dyeing, knitting	<i>Potting Art:</i> utensils, tiles, pipes <i>Water Art:</i> wells, aquifers, irrigation, sewage, storage	<i>Book Art:</i> paper, ink, bindings, paints	<i>Wood Art:</i> carpentry, architecture <i>Drum Art:</i> musical instruments	<i>Wine Art:</i> viticulture, oenology <i>Smith Art:</i> mining, smelting, metallurgy, tools, wire

Lodges Belonging to All Five Houses:

Boy Laurel Lodge §
(adolescent boys: scouting, athletic prowess, border-guarding, hunting, ritual, and social)
Finders Lodge §
(exploration and trade outside the Valley)

THE FOUR HOUSES OF SKY

Sixth	Seventh	Eighth	Ninth
RAIN	CLOUD	WIND	AIR
<i>Black Adobe Lodge</i> § (Earth lodge outside town. Funeral rites and burial)			
	<i>Madrone Lodge</i> § (archives, records, history)	<i>Toyon Society</i> (cult)	<i>Mole Society</i> (cult)
	<i>Dancers of the Inner Sun</i> §		
	<i>Milling Art:</i> windmills, water mills, turbines, electric power sources and motors, solar collectors, lighting, heating, refrigeration		

What They Wore in the Valley



Indoors, a baby wore a napkin or diaper; outdoors in the dry season, nothing. Little children wore clothing only for protection from the sun or the cold, or as ornament; what they wore was sketchy, usually cut down from somebody else's clothes or old bedlinen or what have you.

As they got older, in their "clearwater" and "sprouting" years, children generally put on some kind of modesty bit, a kilt or skirt, and they began to long for the kind of clothing adolescents wore; but if they put it on too soon they would be ridiculed by their agramates and scolded by their household and heyimas.

Having reached puberty, the young adolescent was given a ceremony in the heyimas and a party at home, and a whole set of new clothes of a particular kind. The boys wore a heavy kilt to the knee, of white buckskin or white cotton or dark wool, and a white cotton shirt (cut like a kurt; sometimes collared and cuffed). In cold weather they might wear stockings and sandals, and in rough country, leather shoes. The girls wore a similar kilt or a gathered skirt, below the knee and above the ankle, of undyed cream, grey, or dark wool, an overblouse or shirt of white cotton, and stockings, sandals, or shoes like the boys. Both boys and girls might wear a fitted vest. Coats and shawls and knitted sweaters for cold weather were of no prescribed style, but they were never dyed. No dye color was used in any of these clothes for people "living on the Coast." They were made with care and of good material, often by their wearer, anxious to have everything about them exactly right. The lack of color gave them an austere elegance; young people living on the Coast stood out in any Valley crowd.

After they took a sexual partner—"came inland"—young women and men often went on wearing the kilts and shirts of their time on the Coast, but they dyed them or wore colors with them.

As for the "native costume" of the Valley, it is rather hard to describe, because it varied so much according to time, place, and wearer. There were definitely styles, fashions; in wall paintings one could see figures dressed in clothes of a quite different cut than any being currently worn. For both

women and men, shirts, full-cut overshirts, belted and unbelted shifts, kilts, and rather loose trousers were among the options; women sometimes added the gathered skirt. Underclothes were worn for warmth. Adults did not usually go naked in town, except men at the time of the Moon Dance, but everybody swam naked in the holding tanks, and in the household and at the summer-house older people often went about without clothes. Coats for cold weather were made of sheepskin with the fleece, and of canvas; but people working outdoors in the rain often undressed rather than dressed for it, their theory being, "Skin dries quick."

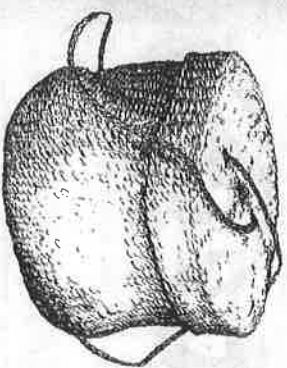
The dancing clothes, costumes worn for the wakwa, were of course of conservative style and often of great beauty. The characteristic ceremonial garment was the sleeveless vest. Going down into the heyimas for singing or socialising or teaching or anything else, people generally put on a short, unbuttoned vest of fine make and finely decorated, kept for this purpose both by individuals and in the heyimas; and the men who danced the Moon, and both male and female dancers of the Summer, Wine, and Grass, wore magnificently ornate vests, some of them many generations old.

The principal materials of clothing were wool, cotton, linen, and leather. Wool was entirely from Valley sheep. The most prized wool came from the Chumo flocks and was spun in Chumo and Telfina-na.

Cotton was raised in patches in the Valley, but most of it came from the southern shores of the Inland Sea. Wine was sent down annually on the Train to the port at Sed to be shipped in exchange for the cotton sent up from the south (see "Trouble with the Cotton People").

Flax was grown in the Valley, and more extensively north of the Mountain, in the Clear Lake region. It was bartered for with wine, olives, olive oil, lemons, and glassware, carried over the Mountain on the Train or by wagon and pack teams using the Line as a road.

Leather was made locally, using hides of cows, horses, sheep, goats, deer, rabbits, moles, himpi, and other small animals. Birdskins were tanned for ceremonial wear, and feather robes and vests were made as great gifts to the heyimas. Leatherworking was a very highly developed technology, and leathers of great variety were available for clothing, shoes, and other uses.



Raw fibers were mostly treated and prepared at the town workshop or manufactory under the direction of the Cloth Art. An individual might take a shearing from the family sheep or a quantity of homegrown flax or cotton to the workshop to clean, card, and dye; or a group might share the labor, or the individual or group might give the fleece or the bale to the Cloth Art to prepare. Much spinning was done on the powered machines at the workshop, and bulk weaving and broadloom was done on the big power looms by Cloth Art professionals, but most fine or ceremonial stuffs were homespun on wheels or with the drop spindle and woven at home. Wool was the great ceremonial material; it made the beautiful rugs of Chumo and Chikimas, and was knitted at home by men and women for stockings, shawls, and so on. Linsey-woolsey mixture was a favorite material for skirts, kilts, and trousers. Cotton and linen were also mixed for summer fabrics, both woven and knitted. The most prized material for everyday wear was cotton, and the technology was exquisitely refined; cotton fabrics ranged from massive canvases through soft heavy knits to gossamer voiles so fine they "let the moonlight through."

The Tanning Art looked after butchering, as well as the leather technologies of curing, tanning, and making harness, shoes, furnishings, clothing, etc., and the Cloth Art managed the preparation of raw fibers, including cleaning, carding, dyeing, and spinning, the technologies of fabric manufacture including weaving and powered knitting, and the production of some items—stockings, sheets, blankets, rugs—that were made in quantity and stockpiled. Important elements of the economy of each town and the Valley as a whole, the two Arts worked closely together. The tannery was always outside town, along with the slaughterhouse, but finished leather was brought in to the Cloth Art workshops to be made into shoes and clothing. Tanners and Clothiers were as a rule solid, prosperous, respectable people, who lived in the same house for generations, and considered themselves with complacency as pillars of the community.



Embroidery

What They Ate

There is no word in Kesh for famine.

Hunting-and-gathering is supposed to be a mode of subsistence incompatible with farming; when people learn to herd and farm they stop hunting and gathering, as a rule. The Kesh disobeyed the rule.

Their hunting was of very little real importance to their food supply; most of it was done, and most game was eaten, by children. (It may be asked how important hunting has ever been as a principal source of human food, except where there are no other sources of protein readily available; the intense symbolic value of hunting, especially to men, has disguised its practical triviality, so that "Man the Hunter" romantically dominates the scene, while the women who actually provide and prepare the food he lives on are not discussed.) As to us, hunting to the Kesh was a mixture of sport, religion, self-discipline, and self-indulgence. Gathering, however, was a major source of food. They gathered wild produce—acorns, greens, roots, herbs, berries, and many kinds of seeds, some requiring great patience to collect and process, and did so not at whim but methodically, going yearly in due season to the family's trees, the town's seed-meadows or cattail-beds. The question *Why?* might fairly, I think, be countered by the question *Why not?* The natural food supply was very rich, and they liked the taste and quality; and since large families, a large private food-supply, and a competitive attitude were all socially disapproved, there was no need or motivation to give up gathering for heavy farming. The essential factor is probably population size and growth, whether considered as cause or as effect. The city—the "opposite" of the farm—does not occur unless or until the land is heavily used for farming. Population explosions of any species depend upon excess food; the furrow ends in the street. The Kesh lived half in town and half in the wilderness. They had no streets, and their farms were, by our standards, gardens.

These were not particularly neat gardens, since a great many different people worked in them, with animal rather than machine assistants, or as assistants to animals rather than machines, and the patches and plots (except

for the great vineyards of the Valley floor) were small and various. Indeed what they planted and prepared as food was various—surprisingly so for a people many of whose cultural styles were limited, resistant to borrowing and "pure." For example, corn (maize) was the nearest thing to a staple grain they had, but they also gathered acorns, raised wheat, barley, and oats, and traded for rice. Rice and barley were mostly hulled and boiled whole; the other grains were variously prepared as groats, meal, or flour, and boiled, baked leavened, baked unleavened, and so on—giving a great variety of grain dishes, porridges, and breads.

In sum, the Kesh took or found or raised or grew food wherever convenient, and cooked and ate it with interest, respect, and pleasure. They were not a thin people. Small-boned, they tended towards the round rather than the angular, the easy rather than the lean.

Food is not something that lends itself to discussion in the abstract; it seems more sensible to give some recipes.



LIRIV METADI, OR VALLEY SUCCOTASH

Wash about two cups of small red beans (the Valley metadi is very like the Mexican friole), and cook till done (a couple of hours) with half an onion, three or four garlic cloves, and a bay leaf.

Simmer about a cup and a half of parched corn until thoroughly cooked, and drain (or in season use fresh corn cut off the cob, uncooked).

Simmer a handful of dried black mushrooms for half an hour or so, and keep them in their cooking broth.

When all these ingredients are done combine them, along with: the juice and pulp of a lemon, or some preserved tamarrind pulp

an onion chopped and fried in oil with some finely chopped garlic and a spoonful of cumin seeds

a large, mild green chile of the chile verde type, or a small, hot green chile (but *not* bell pepper), seeded and chopped fine

three or four tomatoes peeled and chopped coarsely add, as seasoning, oregano, winter savory, and more lemon to taste

add dried red chile if you want it hot
To thicken the sauce, one dried tomato-paste ball was added; our equivalent would be two or three tablespoons of thick tomato paste. (If fresh tomatoes are not in season, double or triple the quantity of tomato paste.)

All this simmers for about an hour.

Serve with chopped raw onion to garnish, and a sour sauce or chutney made of green tomatoes or tomatillos, flavored with fresh or dry coriander leaf.

This dish, "too heavy for rice," was accompanied by cornbreads, either of the hoe-cake or the tortilla type.

HOTUKO, "OLD HEN," A RICE AND CHICKEN DINNER

Simmer a big, old, tough chicken with bay leaf, rosemary, and some wine until done. (Since most of us cannot get big, old, tough chickens, simmer a little, young, tough one.) Cool, and take the meat off the bones.

Save enough of the stock to cook the rice in; cook the rest down if it is thin, and then simmer in it, for five to fifteen minutes, until just barely done, some or any of the following:

a handful of blanched whole almonds
sliced celery, carrots, radishes, yellow or green squash, onions, etc.

a few leaves of spinach, Chinese cabbage, or other greens whole mushrooms, fresh or dried

Add the chicken meat cut up, some chopped parsley, chopped fresh coriander or dry coriander leaf, and chopped green onions; season with cumin seed, coriander seed, a little ground red pepper, and salt or lemon. Let it sit all day or overnight for the flavors to "get used to one another."

Reheat gently and serve with rice cooked in the stock.

Serve any or all of the following as accompaniments:

chopped hardboiled eggs

toasted tarweed or chia seeds

chopped coriander leaves

green onions

green tomato or tomatillo sauce or sour pickle

hot red pepper chutney or pickle

currant jelly

dried currants or chopped raisins

These would be arranged in little dishes around the main dish.

Most of the rice that came to the Valley was from the peoples of the River of the Marshes, and was short-grained, cooking up rather sticky. They prized and would trade their best wines for the rarer, long-grained, very fine-flavored "sasi" rice grown farther south and east of the Inland Sea.



PRAGASIV FAS—SUMMER SOUP

A hot-weather aftermath to a lamb feast.

Cook up in a piece of butter about egg-yolk-size, about half that much cornstarch (corn flour), and one egg yolk, stirring gently to make a thickening paste or roux. Cool this and stir in about a cup of yogurt and about two cups of cold lamb broth (made from the bones, cleared of all fat). Flavor to taste with lemon juice and/or dry white wine. Serve topped with chopped mint leaves.

(For a hot soup, add cooked barley while heating gently, and use parsley or chervil instead of mint.)

DŪR M DREVĪ, "RED AND GREEN," A VEGETABLE DINNER

Peel one large or several small eggplants and slice "about as thick as my finger is." Sprinkle the slices with lemon juice and coarse salt, and let them sit while you prepare the rest for cooking:

slice a couple of fair-sized zucchini squash (unpeeled) the same way, and also sprinkle with lemon juice
a handful of parsley, the stems cut off
a couple of garlic cloves, chopped fine
a double handful of mushrooms—any delicate kind—fresh

Make a sauce of two cloves of garlic thoroughly mashed in a mortar or press, about two tablespoons of good olive oil, and a dash of ground red pepper, all stirred into two cups of yogurt until smooth and creamy.

Fry the zucchini fast and hot in light oil in an iron pan until the edges brown; pile it on one end of a platter. Using less oil, fry the eggplant very fast and hot till it turns vivid red-brown. Pile it on the other end of the platter. Stir-fry the mushrooms, garlic, and parsley gently and quickly just till the parsley wilts, and pile it in the center of the platter. Serve at once, along with potatoes boiled in their jackets. The yogurt sauce accompanies both the vegetables and the potatoes, poured over them or used as a dip.

Sliced tomatoes and black olives go well with this dish.



HWOVWON, "OAK-EGGS"

Acorn meal compares interestingly with corn meal and wheat flour. Before cooking, corn and wheat average 1 to 2 percent fat, 10 percent protein, and 75 percent carbohydrate. Acorn meal averages 21 percent fat, 5 percent protein, and 60 percent carbohydrate. Acorn meal was of course a staple food of the original human inhabitants of the area, though its use was abandoned by later people from cultures in which acorns were fed only to swine.

The Kesh planted oaks in and around their towns, and tended "gathering trees" in the woods and fields. The area was very rich in both species and numbers of oaks, and in a normal year there were vastly more acorns available than the human population could use. The Kesh favored the acorns from the Valley Oak and Tanoak. Gathering and processing were a communal activity under the supervision of the Serpentine, though of course a family that wanted an extra supply could provide it for themselves. After sorting and hulling, the acorns were ground, the millers using special stones, "acorn stones." Excess oil was saved for numerous uses. The meal, coarse or fine, was leached by submersion in cold or hot waters for a few hours up to several days, depending on the tannic acid content and the flavor desired. The meal or flour was usually parched or toasted before storage or just before use, to "sweeten" and bring up the nutty flavor.

Acorn meal soup, thick and variously flavored, was a daily winter food in many households. They called it *doumtas*, brown soup; it was often an infant's first food other than breast milk. Coarser meal was boiled to make a porridge or batter, which was eaten like polenta or rice, or baked as a heavy, dry, rich bread. Acorn flour was combined with honey and toasted seeds and wheat flour and baked as sweet cakes and wafers. Being oily, the flavor of acorn meal deteriorated in storage, and generally what was left after half a year or so was shared out to animals.

TJS: HONEY

The Kesh were fond of sweets, and there were sugar-beet fields below Ournalini; but they found the cultivation and processing of that crop arduous, and most of their sweetening came from honey. Like game animals, bees were considered to be visitors from the Sky Houses who consented to come into the Houses of the Earth, and indeed to live in the small houses provided for them there. Most bee-keepers were of the Red Adobe, and that House looked after the preparation, storage, and distribution of the honey. "Bee-towns," sets of hives, were numerous throughout the planting side of each human township. The hives were of wood, and the bee-keepers used removable wooden frames for the honeycombs, so that combs could be removed without destroying the hive or even dismaying the bees. Enough honey was made in the Upper Valley towns that it was used in trade with peoples to the north and east who were, apparently, less methodical in their bee-husbandry.

FATFAT—"CLOWN-CLOWN," A DESSERT

Clean about a quart of green gooseberries, red currants, or red huckleberries, with elder, madrone, or manzanita berries ad lib—any tart ripe berry—and stew gently. Stir up with honey to taste. Flavor with lemon rind or chopped kumquat if desired. Cool.

Scald one to two pints very heavy cream and beat until cooled and thickened. Mix with the fruit.

The scalded cream has a rich texture very different from our fluffy whipped cream, but you have to start with a heavier cream than we are likely to have available.

LUTE: AMOLE

People in Chumo stewed amole (or soaproot—*Chlorogalum pomeridianum*) with a little honey and ate it as a delicacy. People in the other eight towns used it as shampoo. The Kesh version of *De gustibus non disputandum* is, "He washes his hair with her dinner."



TABLE MANNERS.

They set the table with plates, dishes, bowls, cups, drinking glasses, and so on, often beautiful and in considerable variety, but not in great profusion, since dishes, after all, have to be washed. For soups and sloppy dishes they had spoons of china, wood, horn, and metal; otherwise they ate with their fingers. There was no *tabu* or "sinister" hand; it was presumed that you came to table with clean hands, and you could eat right-handed, left-handed, or with both hands—neatly. The various kinds of bread served as containers, supporters, and soppers. Meat was sliced or cut before serving, poultry was jointed. The table might be set bare or on a tablecloth or on mats of cloth or platted reed, bamboo, cattail, or grass; there was a bowl or two of water to wash the fingers in, and often a large cloth napkin was passed around at the end of the meal.

As the Kesh seldom used chairs, the tables were low. People sat on the floor, with the legs straight out, curled to the side, or crossed tailor-fashion, or they sat on the low chest-bench that ran along two or three sides of most rooms, and pulled a little stool-table up before them to eat from.

They counted three meals a day: breakfast, often of milk, bread or mush, fresh or dry fruit, a lunch of leftovers or uncooked food; and dinner, usually after sunset, hence early in winter and quite late in summer. They were, however, inclined to eat small amounts when hungry rather than to stuff in a great deal of food at a set time. This may be because food was both plentiful and handy; because no person was particularly privileged/obligated to prepare, dispense, or withhold food; and finally because heavy eating was considered embarrassing and gorging shameful, but greed could be satisfied more or less invisibly by casual but persistent snacking. As I remarked above, the Kesh were not a thin people.

Kesh Musical Instruments



The instruments discussed here may all be heard on the sound recording that accompanies this book.

Instruments of professional quality, or for ceremonial use, were made by members of the Drum Art under the auspices of the Yellow Adobe House.

HOUNBÚTA.

The hounbúta or great horn was played in both theatrical and sacred music. Most scrupulous care was taken in selecting the madrone wood for the seven-foot-long conical body of the instrument, and each detail of the curing, shaping, and carving was essential to the capacity of the wood to gather, shape, and focus the sound of the breath. The funnel-like mouthpiece made of deer antler should be "like a lily that receives the warm rays of the sun," though only five inches long. It was proportioned as a mirror image of the body and bell of the horn. The nine thin madrone slats forming the body were pitch-sealed and fiber-wrapped. The bell, nearly two feet long, was made of electrum, and was joined to the wooden body with pitch and fiber wrapping.



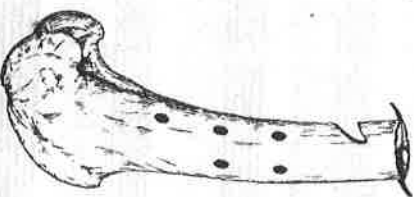
DOUBURE BINGA.

The name—"many vibrations"—described a set of nine brass bowls, kept in a box which opened out to form a platform on which the player arranged

them in the heyiya-it pattern, five to the left and four to the right. The bowls varied in diameter from four to eleven inches, and their musical pitches spanned a major ninth. Tonal quality depended on the type of mallet—hard wood, soft wood, or cloth-covered—the part of the bowl struck, and the strength of the stroke. Seldom used solo, the instrument provided a rhythmic shimmering flow of tones which one musician described as "like the shining of the sun on running water, moving forward yet turning back...."

YOYIDE.

This single-stringed instrument was about four feet long, and looked from the front like a sinuous teardrop. The beautifully recurved bow was about two feet long, and strung with a combination of horsehair and human hair, which was believed to give the instrument its singularly sensitive tone.



WEÓSAI MEDOUD TEYAH.

Every Kesh child knew how to make a flute, and there seemed to be endless kinds of flute in the Valley, endblown and sideblown, with or without reeds, made of wood, metal, bone, and soapstone. The bone reed flute was one of the oddest: five or six inches long, it was made from the thighbone of a deer or lamb. The bore began at the smaller end of the bone, descended to the larger end, then returned upward to the reed-holder: a cattail reed mounted between willow-wood fittings. The sound escaped from a bore in the side of the bone. By applying subtle pressure to the reed-holder the player could create stunning microtonal glides, and by sliding the fingers on and off the five holes could produce strange, piercing, wailing, birdlike tones. Tabit of the Madrone and Yellow Adobe of Wakwaha, who demonstrated the instrument to us, said that he had to keep it away from his cat, "who kept trying to get the bird out of it."

THE WILLOWS

Wé-ye - wéy hé-yí - yá a
na - - am na - am

ge-nak - wa sur ye - hé - yí - yá na - - am na - am

o - na - am wi - sú-yú wi - sú-yú wi - sú - yú

we - hé-yí - yá o - na-am o - na-am o - na-am

sur am am am

QUAIL SONG

fé - ho - chan am ná pa - rad - tun am ná fé-ho-chan am ná

pa - ra - dan am ná kailí-kú ge-le hú ge-le hú kailí-kú

hú kailí-kú dí-ú hú kailí-kú ge-le dí-ú kailí-kú hú

pa - rad - tun am ná fé - ho - chan am ná

pa - rad-tun am ná fé-ho-chan am ná pa - ra-dan am ná

kailí-kú ge-le hú ge-le hú kailí-kú hú kailí-kú dí - ú

hú kailí-kú ge-le dí-ú kailí-kú hú pa - rad-tun am ná



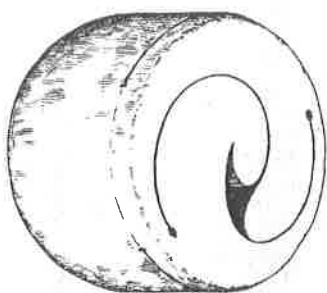
TÓWANDOU.

This nine-stringed hammer dulcimer was actually two instruments in one. The larger, half-moon-shaped, about five feet long, had five strings; the smaller, with four strings, faced it. They shared the soundboard of cherry wood. The canoe-shaped body was of finely carved and polished myrtle (Oxy laur). The longest string of the larger dulcimer, the "hinge string," was unbridged. The walnut bridge of the other strings formed a gentle heyiya-i curve. The tówandou was much used to provide music for dancing and plays, and its sound meant festival in the Valley. The finest instruments were kept by the Yellow Adobe heyimas in each town; travelling players or troupes used those or carried a smaller, portable version of the instrument.

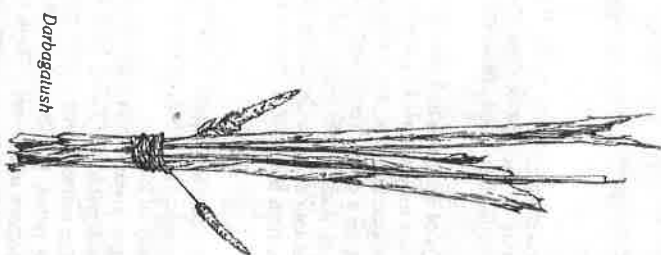
BOUD.

Everybody in the Valley played some kind of drum—usually a small one with a wooden or stretched-hide head tapped softly with the fingers or whole hand or with a rawhide-wrapped stick. The drum accompanied singing, dancing, meditating, and thinking. It was played many together or all alone. It was "the other heart" to the Kesh.

Drums played by professional musicians were often large and elaborate in construction. The wehosóboud, wood drum, might have up to nine tongues or bars of different tone carved into its top, and a set of a dozen different pairs of sticks and mallets; such a drum was a melody instrument of considerable expressiveness. Among the stretched-head drums, the ceremonial drum was most impressive: a pair of large kettledrums (up to four or five feet across, one larger than the other in the five to four ratio) were so connected that when struck they rotated around a central pole, which suspended them about three feet above the ground. This majestic rotation controlled the pace of the drumbeat. These instruments, some of them very old, were never brought up from the heyimas; but even in informal aboveground music-making their deep resonance and tempo might be sensed.

**DARBAGATUSH.**

The "handhiter" was an occasional instrument, providing a rhythmic accompaniment to a song or dance. It exploited the tendency of the bark of certain kinds of eucalyptus tree to come off in sheets or strips which curl up into tubes as they dry. Five to nine of these pleasant-smelling pieces, a couple of feet long, were chosen and lashed together with grass-stems at one end, and the bundle was held in one hand and hit against the open palm of the other to make a satisfying rattling clack. If the singing or dancing was by a fire, indoors or out, it was customary to burn the darbogatush when the music was done.



Darbagatush

Maps

The people of the Valley drew maps—mostly of the Valley. They evidently enjoyed laying out and looking at the spatial relationships of places and objects they knew well. The better they knew them, the better they liked to draw and map them.

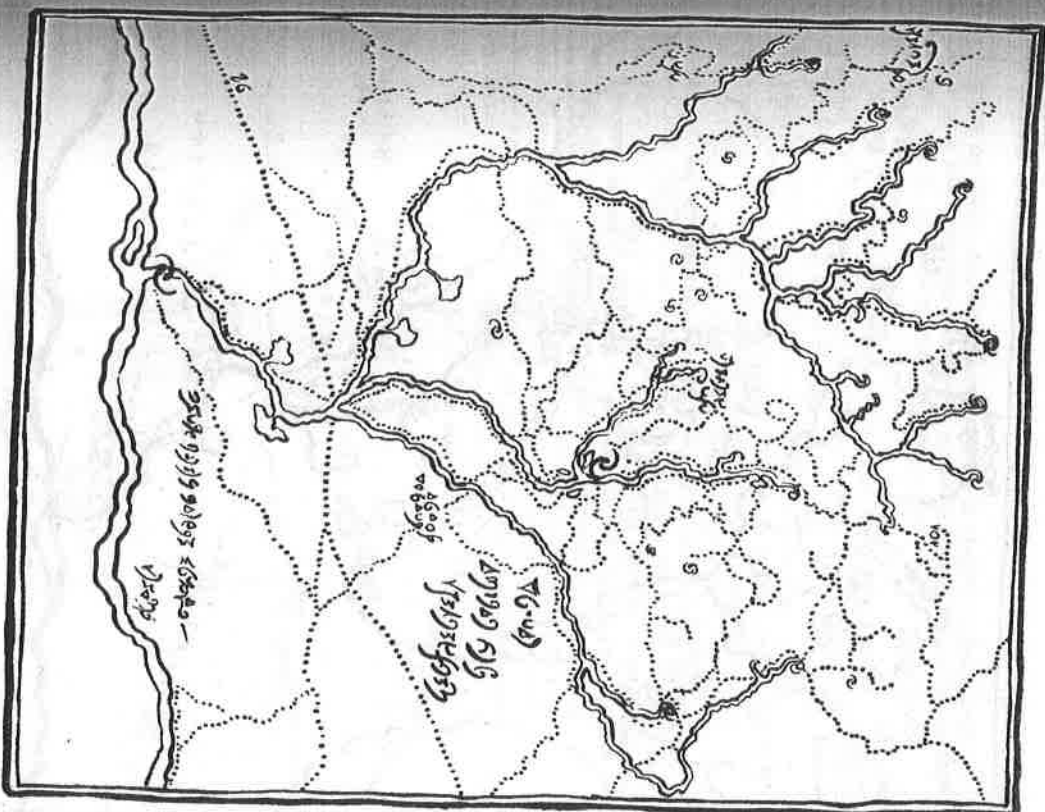
Children often drew maps of the fields and hills about their home town, often in incredible detail—a dot for every rock, a mark for every tree.

Small, schematised, symbolic maps of the Valley or a part of it were often carried by people going on a downriver journey to the ocean or upriver to Wakwaha. As most people knew every feature of the landscape, from mountains to molehills, within four or five miles of their home, and the entire length of the Valley was less than thirty miles, these maps were less guides than talismans.

The larger maps were remarkably accurate, considering that their function was mostly aesthetic or poetic: but then, accuracy was considered a fundamental element or quality of poetry.

Maps of the Valley were always drawn as charts of the Na and its creeks, and maps of areas within the Valley took the principal creek or creek-system as their axis. The source of the stream is at the top of the map. Compass directions may be noted, but the map is oriented to the flow of water, and "down" is the bottom of the page. There is often an element of perspective in the drawing of hills and mountains, but no foreshortening. Towns and other man-made features are usually marked with a symbol (the heyia-i for towns), and the mapmakers did not like to write on their maps, it seems, for some have no lettering at all, and many have only an initial, or the most cryptic, crabbed indications, for the names of the towns, creeks, mountains, and so on. Since practically every feature of any interest or permanence had a name, the mapmakers may have followed a practical course in refusing to try to crowd them all onto the map.

The Finders Lodge made and used maps of regions adjacent to the



"Some of the Pathe around Sinshan Creek"

A Kesh map of the watershed of Sinshan Creek, given to the Editor by Little Bear Woman of Sinshan.

Only Sinshan Mountain, Blue Rock, the Spring of Sinshan Creek, and a few other springs and hills are named on the map.

The note written on the lower right part of the map reads, "Northwestwards fifteen under toyon boulder. Before the Grass." Little Bear Woman had no idea what it referred to, she said the map "had been around the house for a long time."

The World Dance



The World Dance celebrated human participation in the making and unmaking, the renewal and continuity, of the world.

While the people of the Valley danced the Sky Dance for all people and beings of the earth, the Sky People were dancing their part of the ceremony, the Earth Dance. The dead and the unborn danced on the wind and in the sea, birds in the air, the wild animals in secret places in the wilderness. ("Animal dancing is not like our dancing. We do not know their ceremonies. They dance their lives.") The linked spirals of these two cosmic dances formed the sacred image, the *heyya-it*.

The World was danced during the dark of the moon after the equinox of spring. The ceremonies went on for three days, and on the evening of the third day the crescent moon would be first visible at sunset. The Madrone Lodge and the Black Adobe Lodge were in charge of the dance.



THE FIRST DAY OF THE WORLD.

The earthly performance of the World Dance began at daybreak, underground, in the Black Adobe earth lodges. These were underground chambers, always located outside town, on the hunting side. They were not as large as the heyimas of the Five Houses, so the dancers generally went in shifts, coming out after a few hours to make place for others. All the dancers of the First Day of the World were older people, "those whose children have children." As with many of the ceremonies called dances, during long periods no

actual dancing went on: the ceremony in the earth lodge was a long chanting, led by the trained singers of the Black Adobe and Madrone. The deep ceremonial drum underground beat a heartbeat rhythm without break from sunrise to sunset. Old people of the town waited near the lodge in silence, or returned home from the singing in silence; children were cautioned not to speak to their grandparents, who would not reply. The old people dancing lasted all day. They tied feathers in their hair, or wore a cape of thin, dark wool onto which feathers had been sewn: feathers not taken from birds raised or hunted, but found.

None of the words of the songs of the First Day were written down.

As the sun set, the steady drumbeat stopped. People would begin to gather in the dancing place, the open area in the curve of the five heyimas. They brought wood for fires—especially applewood, saved for the occasion: the apple was a tree connected with death.

At dusk the dancers came up from the Black Adobe lodge and into the dancing place. Those who danced this part of the ceremony had trained for it and were dressed for it, wearing black, tight-fitting clothes tied close at wrist and ankle, barefoot, their hair, face, hands, and feet smeared with white and grey ash. They were members of the Black Adobe and Madrone Lodges, and any townspeople who had asked to train with those lodges for the dancing. They came in file, singing. The words were archaic and the songs, complex and somber, using very wide intervals, had an eerie and depressing quality.

The dancers carried applewood torches, unlighted, upside down. When they were all gathered in the dancing place, the Speaker of the Madrone came from the west with a lighted torch: from it the dancers lighted their torches, and with them, dancing, lighted the fire that was laid ready in the dancing place. (If it was raining, high poles bearing a canopy would have been set up over the area; all the heyimas kept such equipment for rainy-season ceremonies.) The fire was not a roaring bonfire, but was kept small and hot. The dancers circled it in a shuffling line, carrying themselves in a kind of crouch, knees bent and arms raised and bent, the hands at about face level, shaking. All the other people attending stood or squatted in an outer ring. Most of the people of the town (or of that arm of the big towns) were there; all those who had lost a relative or friend to death since the last World Dance were there.

The Dead Singers kept up the shaking dance and kept the chant going, gradually increasing the tempo and raising the pitch, until suddenly one of who had died during the past year. Others repeated the name in the rhythm of the chanting. The dancers picked it up. The name was repeated over and over, and all the various names the dead person had had were spoken and repeated, until the Dead Singers suddenly gathered in around the fire, chanting loud and fast and rocking their bent arms as if throwing or pushing something into the flames; and as suddenly ceased to sing, and crouched down, head bowed to earth and body trembling. And the mourners did the

same. Then slowly and softly the insistent beat of the dance was taken up by one voice and another, the dancers got up and danced, the chanting increased in pitch and tempo, until another name was "thrown on the fire."

In the little towns of the Lower Valley there were years when nobody died, when there were no names to throw on the fire. The Ceremony of Mourning would be held, but only the dancers who had trained for it participated; the others sat in silence in the outer ring; the ceremony lasted only a couple of hours at most. In the big towns there were always deaths to be mourned, and there the ceremony became increasingly participatory and emotional as it went on. The first names thrown on the fire were usually those of older people; late in the ceremony it was the names of dead children that were spoken, and those born dead, who were all named at their burial, so that they might be mourned at the Mourning. As the ceremony went on, the people in the outer circle joined in the rocking dance motions and in the chanting, and began to cry out as the names of the dead were spoken again and again, and to call to the dead, and to weep aloud. All rocked, all sang, all wept together, and sank back into the grieving silence together, and again were shaken by the growing beat and by the voices crying the names of the dead. The barriers of shame and self-containment were broken down, the fear and anger of loss made public, and these quiet people screamed aloud in their admission of pain.

When the last name had been thrown on the fire, the leaders of the dance began to slow and quiet the tempos, and the character of the chanting changed, the archaic words telling about places the souls of the dead may go in the Four Houses, and becoming a rain chant. The fires were allowed to die. At last the Speaker said, "The names have been spoken." The dancers brought water up from the Blue Clay heyminas and poured it on the fire, then formed in line and in silence and the dark returned to the Black Adobe lodge. The mourners marked their faces with the wet ash of the dead fire before going home. A traditional breakfast of milk, cornbread, and spring greens was eaten before they went to bed, or in the morning. The ashes of the mourning-fires were scattered on the plowlands next day by the dancers of the rite.



THE SECOND DAY OF THE WORLD.

People were likely to be worn out by the intense, passionate ceremonies of the previous night, and nothing got under way until well after noon. The fire heyminas—the Houses of Earth—were in charge of this day's ceremonies of

praise. Processions were made up of people between about seventeen and fifty or sixty years old, and the leaders were older adolescents and young adults who were "living on the Coast"—observing the period of sexual abstinence that was considered appropriate to their age. How many people joined the ceremony, and how elaborate it was, depended pretty much on these young leaders, and varied a great deal from year to year and from town to town; the following description is of a kind of ideal ceremony which was probably never fully performed in all its details.

People from the First House, the Obsidian, were supposed to go to the pastures and barns and poultry runs with songs for and about the domestic animals. These songs might be traditional, or composed by a poet-musician, or improvised on the spot, or a mixture; they were simple description, praise, without petitions for increase or any other demands. Often there was not much singing except for a few traditional choruses such as the Bull Song, which belongs in the category known as Lusty Folksong:

Oh, the bull he rode the cow around
the bull he rode the cow around
the cow she bore the bull around
the cow she bore the bull around
aho ahey the bully bull
Oh, the ram he rode the ewe around
the ram he rode the ewe around
the ewe she bore the ram around
the ewe she bore the ram around
aho ahey the ramrod ram

The processional visit around the barns and pastures often turned into a session of cow-riding, or sheepdog exercises, or donkey races, or an impromptu horse show. Children made collars for favorite animals, woven of grass and pennyroyal, and the livestock might get a sprig of pennyroyal stuck in their halter or their mane or their wool, or have their stalls decorated, or be given a treat such as an extra handful of oats, and the poultry and humpi got an extra feeding.

The Second House, the Blue Clay, sent people along the creeks of the hunting side of town to sing to the game animals. These songs were old and well-known, and it seemed that this procession was never scanted—somebody always went "singing to the deer."

The Third House, the Serpentine, sent people into the woods and hills to the various gathering-places and meadows used by the community. The speaker of the House was supposed to lead a long chant enumerating all the untown crops, all the herbs, seeds, grasses, roots, fruits, barks, nuts, and leaves gathered for food or medicine or other uses by human beings.

The people of the Fourth and Fifth Houses, the Adobes, went into the

orchards with a similar chant of praise to the trees, and into the plowlands to name and praise the sown crops of the town.

By early evening all these groups had returned to town, and people were making ready for the ceremony of the Second Night: the Wedding.

Like the Mourning, this was a community observance of a personal act. Couples who had taken to living together during the year did not call themselves married until they had danced the Wedding Night. Any married couple who wanted to participated also, reaffirming their bond.

The formality of the ceremony was slight. Everybody dancing the Wedding met on the dancing place, where singers from all the heyimas sang the Marriage Song—a very old, rather brief, joyous choral, never reproduced and never sung but in that place on that night—and if the weather was good and the musicians willing, there might be some dancing afterwards: the Marriage Dance was a cheerful affair in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, with couples dancing down the line and under other couples' raised arms, as in our old line and square dances. After that everybody went home to the Wedding Dinner, at which hot wine and dirty jokes were traditional.

Two towns elaborated on this simple festival. In Chukúmas, bridegrooms were given a sedate and ceremonious dinner in their heyimas, and then sung to the house of their bride, where they would live henceforth, and only then was the Wedding Song sung for them. In Wakwaha, after the communal Wedding Song, the two Adobe Houses put on a sacred play, *The Wedding of Awar and Bulekwe*; and music, dancing, and other romantic, erotic, or mystical plays accompanied the ceremonial drama. People said, "You're not really married till you've been married in Wakwaha," and couples undertaking or celebrating a long-lasting marriage often went to dance the World at that town.



THE THIRD DAY OF THE WORLD.

Before dawn, in the darkness, the young adolescents—girls and boys up to fifteen or sixteen years old—got the little children up, and led them out onto the upper-story balconies or the rooftop or any high place they could get onto. There they danced in place, not singing, with seed and deer-hoof rattles to keep the rhythm. The older siblings and cousins carried babies too young to walk, and taught the little ones the simple step-in-place of the dance. They faced southeast; and when the sun rose they greeted it with a whispered chant, the four-times-four heyra. When the sun was clear of the

The World Dance

hills, they went down and scattered out around the town and its gardens, the older children helping the younger ones, until every one had found or had been given a feather and a stone.

Each child holding the stone in the right hand and the feather in the left—a cross-over or "marriage" of the usual ritual position of these two profoundly sacred things, the feather of the Right-Hand Houses and the stone of the Left—they regathered in the dancing place, and came as a procession to the Hinge of the town, between the dancing place and the common place. They halted there, and one little one was chosen to go forward towards the common place and cry out, "Let the children in!"

At this the adults, waiting in their houses, of which the doors must be kept shut till then, could open the doors and welcome in their children.

Breakfast in any household with children was a festival; and the rest of the Last Day of the World was for the children. The elements of reversal were playful: an adult speaking to a child was supposed to bow down or go on all fours, on penalty of being whacked with pine-branches by any child in sight. Green Clowns appeared and played tricks and performed juggleries. The Lower Valley towns staged mock wars, mudball and oakgall battles, which might go on in the fallow fields and around the hunting side all afternoon, and frequently resulted in black eyes and minor bruises. A particular kind of marzipan, ground almonds sweetened with honey, colored and shaped into beasts, birds, flowers, and faces, was handed out by every self-respecting household. The day, often called Honey Day, ended with a Bee Dance and an Ant Dance by the very young children. This had to be concluded before the sun set. As the sun got low above the ridges, adolescents, back up on the roofs and balconies, began to call out heyra, heyra.

Most people then went up to join them, or climbed a nearby hill, some of the older adolescents and adults would have spent the day climbing a nearby mountain. In Wakwaha, many would have gone up to the summits of Ama Kulkun. There they awaited the first sight of the new moon as it followed the sun down into the west. Clouds and rain of course often hid the sky, and the view was not what mattered, so long as one was up high, or looking up, skyward.

When sun and moon were down, the Speaker of the Obsidian House asked the moon to carry the blessing of earth and the people of earth through the Houses of the Sky. This single voice ended the three days of the World Dance. People might wait in silence for a while in the twilight, "watching for the rainbow people" on the mountain slopes or in the air, walking on the roads of the wind; but before dark they went down, went home, whispering the heyra chant as they entered their own door.



THE DAY AFTER THE WORLD.

The three days of the World Dance involve a kind of time-reversal: the dance goes from mourning after death, through work and marriage, to childhood and infancy. The Day after the World carries this movement one stage further.

Anybody wishing to dance that day went early in the morning to the Black Adobe earth lodge, where the ceremonies had begun three days before. Members of that Lodge led the group—usually not many people—to certain places in side valleys or canyons, near springs or beside water. These places, often only a few paces in extent, and unmarked in any way, represented (reflected) places in the Four Houses, the Right-Hand World—places the reverse of graveyards: birthgrounds, where the unborn wait to be born.

The location and significance of the birthgrounds was part of the teaching of the Black Adobe Lodge.

At one of the birthgrounds, Lodge members would sing and teach to the other celebrants the song *Shining of the Sun*, which in both words and melody is related to the songs of *Going Westward to the Sunrise*, sung to the dying and the newly dead. The "matrix" of the song was the word *hwagepragú*, shining of the sun; the other words might be sung in part, but rarely all together, as printed here (written out for us by Alder of the Black Adobe of Simshan):

You are coming,
hwagepragú.
Surely you are coming.
The way is short.
The way is easy
from town to town.
Come when you want to.
Come into sunlight,
hwagepragú, shining of the sun.

All oceans and sea-beaches were considered to be birthgrounds; the unborn were likely to be there. So there were always jokes when young women went down to the Mouths of the Na—"What did you come back with this time?"

The following teaching-piece is part of the teachings of the Black Adobe Lodges on the Day after the World.

The sands of all the beaches of all the coasts, the grains of sand of all the beaches of all the coasts of all the world, are the lives of all the unborn, who will be born, who may be born. The waves of the sea, the bubbles of foam of the waves that break on the coasts of the seas of the world, all the flashes and gleams of light on the waves of the seas of the world, the flicker of sunlight on waves of the ocean, those are the lives of the Nine Houses of Life without end vanishing without stay forever.

The poem "The Inland Sea," p. 390, is related to these teachings also.

The Sun Dance

Two of the seven annual wakwa hedou, or Great Dances, were danced by all nine Houses. In the World Dance of cosmic renewal at the equinox of spring, Earth and Sky danced at the same time, but not together: people of the Earth Houses offered all earthly things to the use and for the blessing of the Sky people, who, dancing in their own places, received and returned the blessing to Earth. The World ceremonies were referred to by scholars as "parting" or "sorting"—getting everything established, as it were, in its own place. In the ceremonies of the Sun at the solstice of winter, all that was parted was brought back together. All beings of both Earth and Sky, of all planes of being, met and danced the Sun together. This was not an easy business for ordinary mortals. The Sun was considered the most arcane, intense, and dangerous of all dances. Those who wished to participate fully in the mysteries and ceremonies, to dance the Inner Sun, trained for years, of an old person dying, people said, "He's ready to dance the Inner Sun."

Most people participated only in the general ceremonies or Outer Sun, and the extent of their participation was entirely a matter of choice. It was difficult to keep out of a townwide binge such as the Wine Dance, and everyone joined in at least one of the Nights of the World Dance, but the ceremonies of the Sun were particularly attractive to people of introverted or mystical temperament, and might merely be observed from outside by many townsfolk. Children and adolescents had an important part, both active and passive, in the advent period before the solstice, the time called the Twenty-One Days.

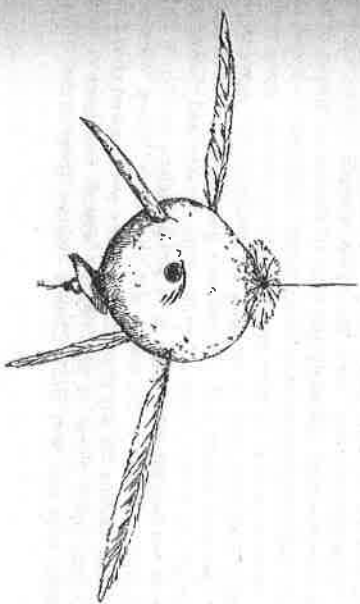
During the Twenty-One Days, little children would find a seedling tree or shrub in the woods, transplant it into a tub or basket, and keep it hidden until, at the Sunrise, the morning of the solstice, they presented it triumphantly to a beloved or admired adult. Older children might do the same, or might have found and nurtured a wild gathering tree (a nut tree or fruit tree or an ink oak) unclaimed in the woods, or might have planted and tended a bearing tree in the town orchards, perhaps for several years, and this they

would present at the Sunrise to an adult they wished to show love and honor to. Often the gift trees were decorated with oakgalls and nutshells painted in bright colors, with blown glass ornaments, and with feathers tied on the branches. These "featherwords" were wonderfully ornate and delicate little works of art.

Children and adolescents also saw to it that the trees growing in the common place and dancing place of the town were decorated, though the rain was often hard on the fine show. Apprentices in the Milling Art in the Lipper Valley towns strung small lights on the trees, making a marvellous colored glimmering display, most splendid on the first night of the Twenty-One, but thinning out and darkening as the ceremonial period went on. Branches of juniper, fir, pine, and evergreen toyon with its bright red berries were put up over balconies and doorways and made into wreaths and garlands for the rooms. Special candles, often colored red and scented with bay laurel or rosemary, were made by the young people, and lighted nightly for the Twenty-One Nights; by the last of the nights they should have burned quite down.

The sacred or intellectual practices held in the five heyimas during the Twenty-One days were concerned with bringing the Left Hand and the Right Hand, the Earth and Sky, closer together until they should meet in the place and time of the solstice dance.

Attention was not focussed on the material and individual manifestations of being—the rocks, plants, animals, persons enumerated and celebrated in the World Dance—but on the generic and the spiritual: the aspect under which even living creatures still already inhabit the Houses of Death, Dream, Wilderness, Eternity. The dead and the unborn were to be invited to the dancing. The people of the rainbow, the images of dream and vision, all wild creatures, the waves of the sea, the sun, and all the other stars, were to be part of that dancing. So the earthly, mortal, human dancers invited that part of their own being which was before and would be after their earthly life: their soul, or their souls. Not the "spirit," the essence of individuality, or not only the spirit; for individuality is mortality; but also the breath-soul, that which is shared with, taken from, given back to the wholeness of being, and the self that is beyond the self.



The practices and exercises of the Inner Sun involved breathing, as does yoga, but the theories and techniques resemble those of yoga only very remotely. The athletic austerity of yoga would not have been very congenial to the general Valley preference for "middling," *ubbu*: a closer parallel might be found in Chinese taoist practices.

The direct way, the royal road to communication or relationship with the Four-House World, was through dream or trance. The indirect but durable connection, the "low road," was through intellectual and physical discipline: the training of the Inner Sun. Inner Sun material was not written down; the teachings were transmitted orally or nonverbally through the long course of training mentioned above. None of that material is contained in the following description; I can discuss only the practices of the Outer Sun, as observed or as explained to me by participants and teachers.

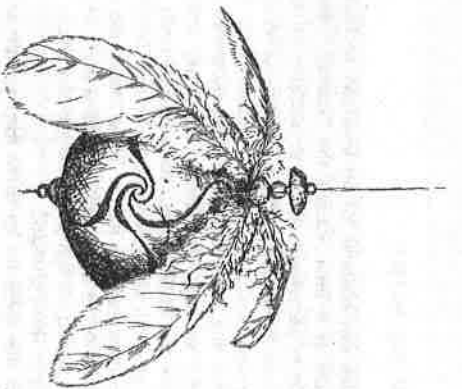
Outer Sun exercises and rituals of the Twenty-One Days, then, were a progression farther and farther into a controlled condition of collective trance.

The means of achieving this condition were fasting, drumming, singing, dancing, and journeying.

Dream-quest journeys of the Sun were not solitary walks on the mountains, but were undertaken by a group of four or five, who went for several days or for the whole three-week period into remote wild regions, over on the "wrong" side of Ana Kulkun or other harsh ridge-and-canyon country outside the usual territory of Valley use. This exceeding of boundaries was an affirmation of the community to which the seekers returned, "as the child returns to the mothers' house, as the souls return from vision." These quests into the wilderness in winter were considered dangerous, not so much physically as morally or socially; as they were often undertaken under a sanction of complete silence, not a word to be spoken during the entire journey, the psychological strain must have been fairly intense.

Danger was also indicated in the "journeys backward," rituals in which the normal limits establishing the safety and decency of daily life were deliberately transgressed. Such transgressions were undertaken only under the guidance and direction of students of the Inner Sun—but rival disciplines arose, such as the Lamb and Warrior Lodges, with their own esoteric rites. The "journeys backward" were not called reversals, *yahwe*, except by the cults. They involved risk-taking and feats of physical endurance of the kind usually and carefully avoided by Valley people: drug-taking—punges, emetics, and hallucinogenics; extreme ascetic practices—fasting, sitting motionless, sensory deprivation; and, in the cults, self-mutilation and animal sacrifice.

The most sinister and extraordinary manifestation of the Twenty-One Days was the White Clown: a horrific figure, masked and cloaked in white, nine or ten feet tall, who singly or in groups stalked children in the woods and fields and even in the streets and ways of the towns. Whether or not the White Clowns did any physical harm, they were spoken of as if they did, and there were plenty of confirmatory legends and tales of the fate of children who met with White Clowns—regular ghost stories: "They found



the child next morning, standing against the trunk of the apple tree. He was as cold as the rain and as stiff as the wood, and his eyes were staring and staring—but the pupils of his eyes had turned dead white."

The children, who had to reconcile their work of herding and gathering and so on, and their care of their gift-trees, with the real terror of these lurking monsters, went out when possible in pairs or groups all during the Twenty-One Days.

The other ceremonies of the period were held in the five *heyimas*, or jointly on the dancing place. Anyone could join the drumming and the dancing, dropping in and out of the group as they chose; the meters and simple steps were traditional. I would describe their character as restless yet monotonous, and curiously attractive; one was drawn in; time was obliterated. The dominant activity was the long singing. The words of a long singing were matrix syllables without rational meaning, with little or no "core" of meaningful words. A leader sang the chant, and those who joined her or him undertook to keep singing as long as the leader did. Such chants, held in one or several of the *heyimas*, might go on for days without a break, the fasting participants singing themselves through trance to total exhaustion. They might rest for four or five days and then repeat the long singing.

This is the text of a long singing held in the Yellow Adobe *heyimas* of Maddinou. It would not ordinarily have been written down, but the singer told me that writing it was considered unnecessary, not inappropriate.

Heya kemeya
ou
imimi
ou-a-ya

A scholar of the Inner Sun was the leader, keeping the beat from time to time on a one-tone wooden drum, and leading the chant. Each of the four

phrases or syllables was chanted for no less than an hour at a time, and often several hours at a time, except the "imimini," which was sung a relatively few times in succession, always in multiples of nine. The ability of the singers to follow the leader in the completely unheralded change to a new syllable or a new musical pattern was uncanny; two of them, evidently less gifted, did not sing, but maintained a barely audible keynote on the syllable *o*, and by spelling each other when they had to take breath maintained, or gave the illusion of maintaining, a perfectly steady unbroken sound, until they gave out after about eleven hours. The whole long singing lasted almost two days and two nights. When the leader's voice gave out, which was only towards the middle of the second night, he kept up the beat on the drum, and moved his lips soundlessly in the chant, whispering aloud only when the matrix word changed.

Long singings that went on for more than a night or two had several leaders, and might continue for four or five days and nights. Most older adolescents and many adults participated in at least one of the long singings.

Most people practiced some degree of fasting and sexual abstinence during the Twenty-One Days, and more did so and to a greater degree as the period went on. The mood of the community grew increasingly tense and somber—"stretched" was their word for it.

On the day before the solstitial sunrise, all the groups of seekers arrived back home, if possible before nightfall, and scattered families reunited, if they could, at the maternal household. Married men often returned to their mothers' house for the Twenty-First Night. The towns drew in as if under siege. At sunset all doors were shut, all windows closed. The power sources had already been shut down, mills stopped, machinery halted; insofar as possible, domestic animals were brought into the pens, barns, and byres; and at sunset all lights and fires were extinguished. A hearthfire or a candle lighted before sunset might be allowed to burn out, but the custom, well reinforced by the children and adolescents, with their passion for tradition, was that no light should be relighted that night. If the fire went out, it stayed out. The longest night of the year was the darkest.

During the afternoon of that day people of the Inner Sun had dug a hole or pit somewhere in the common place of the town, a couple of feet across and fairly deep. After sunset, people came by this small pit or grave, which was called "the absence," and dropped into it a bit of ash from their hearthfire, or a bit of food wrapped in a piece of cloth, or a feather, or a lock of hair, or maybe a ring or a carving or a small roll of paper covered with writing, or some other thing of personal value or significance. Nothing was said or sung. People came by in a casual way to make this small private sacrifice. The silent and irregular procession went on until midnight or so. Each person returned alone in the dark to the dark house, or to the silent heyimas, where one spark of an oil lamp burned in the central room. Late in the night even that was put out. Some time in the dark hours members of the Black Adobe Lodge filled up the "absence" pit and swept over it to obliterate and disguise its place.

Alder of the Black Adobe said: "It is like the memory of the town, there, under the surface where we walk in the common place, in the ground, underfoot there, all the things that have been put there in silence in the dark, all the years, the forgotten things. They are put there to be forgotten. They are sacrificed."

The Twenty-First Night is passed in silence in the dark.

At the first sign of dawn, about cock-crow, one song is sung. Four or five adolescent girls, trained by the Inner Sun, go up onto a high roof, or a tower if the town has one, and there stand to sing the Winter Carol, once only.

Thorn said, "I always meant to stay awake and listen to the Carol when I was a small child, or to wake up and wait for it, but I never did. I begged my mothers to wake me up to hear it, but when they did it was over before I roused up enough to listen. But when I was older, and heard that song for the first time, it seemed I had known it since before I was born."

The words of that song are not written.

Early in the morning, hearthfires and heaters are relighted, and the underground heyimas are illuminated with festival lights until the sunrise—an event which, central as it is to the entire festival, is not formally observed at all.

Alder said, "At the center is the absence. It is so." Speaking, he held his hands facing each other, slightly curved inward, about an inch apart, the left thumb pointing down and the right thumb up.

The only event which might be said to mark the sunrise was a negative one: the disappearance of the White Clowns. At that sacred moment their power was broken, they vanished until next year, and the children were free of the lurking horror. The gift-trees were presented with much informal family ceremony. Some cooking had been done even during the fast in preparation for this morning, and during the Day of the Sunrise really heavy and impressive cooking got under way for the feasting which would be going on for four days in the houses and the heyimas.

In the heyimas, the Morning Dances of the Sun began some time after sunrise and were held each morning for four days (five every fourth year). The singers were people of the Inner Sun. Certain dances were performed by masked Inner Sun dancers; others were danced by anyone who had learned the dance.

Alder said, "If the dances are properly conducted and well danced, the sky people will be there dancing with the earth people. That's why you never take hands dancing the Morning Dances of the Sun. Between each earth person and the next a place is left for a Four-House person to dance. So also the songs leave a silence after every line sung for the other voices to sing, whether we hear them or not; and the drums beat only every second note."

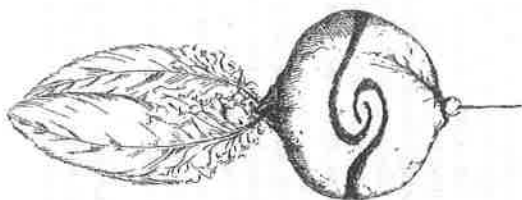
Fifteen-year-old Upstream Fish said, "The Morning Songs of the Sun aren't gloomy like the songs of the Twenty-One Days, they're mysterious, beautiful. They make your heart light, they make it easy to sing, they make

you feel as if everyone singing, the living and the unborn and the dead, were all together in the Valley, that no one was lost, that nothing was wrong."

Thorn said, "Although I know it takes the singers of the Inner Sun years and years to learn and remake the Morning Songs, again, when I hear them sing I know that I know them. I know them as I do the sunlight."

In the afternoons of the four Sun Risen days, clowns came into town—not tall and white, but supernaturally fat, and dressed in green, with no mask, but fanciful beards and whiskers pluming and curling and trailing, made of white wool or tree-moss. The Sun Clowns often led, and tried to ride, billygoats, and they gave all kinds of little presents, mostly sweets, to the younger children. All fasts were broken, and food was set out in every household for visitors. Thorn said, "A lot of people celebrate with grape brandy or hard cider, along with all that eating, so they get drunk, and there's a good deal of fooling around, but nobody gets angry or wild, because the children are having a good time, and because of the Four House people still being with us. You always set aside some of the food you serve or eat for them, and pour out the first draft of anything you drink. And in the hey-mas they're still singing the half-silent songs."

Slowly during this four or five days of the Sun Risen, the two Arms of the World separated, the Four-House beings returning to their plane of existence, earthly people to the daily concerns of mortal life. Thorn said, "Working in the house, cleaning up or cooking, working in the workshops, people sing songs that go along with the rainbow people, as they go away, and keep going slowly farther away, back to their Houses. We sing those songs, and send our breath pathway with them, breathing out." Alder said, "Breathing out, singing, we follow them, walking after them for a while, seeing the world as they see it, with the sun's eyes, that see only light."



About the Train

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The Milling Art and the Finders Lodge worked together on tracklaying, repair, and maintenance. Under professional direction, young people who were not Millers or Finders often worked for a season or two on the "Line" as an adventure. The leaders of these crews and the men and women whose chief work was driving the mule and oxen trains or the engine were notable, romantic, and dangerous" characters.

The train tracks used and maintained by the Kesh ran from Chesteb, a depot south of Clear Lake, over Ama Kulun to Kasioha, down the Valley past Teiña and the great wineries south of it, then east through the Northeast Ranges to the port town of Sed on the Inland Sea coast in the territory of the Amaranth people; probably less than eighty miles in all.

The track was a single line, with short spurs to the lading warehouses and wineries, some twenty-two sidings along its length for passing or for holding cars, and turnaround loops for the engines at Kasioha and at Sed (and at Clear Lake by the town of Stoy, where there were connections to a north-running train line and to road haulage east).

The rails were of oak, heavily treated against decay, termites, and rodents; they were laid on cross-connected redwood sleepers in a creek-cobble roadbed. No metal was used in the rails, which were fastened in short sections by wood-pinned lock joints. The Wood Art, under Yellow Adobe auspices, provided these rails and was in charge of the ceremonial aspects of tracklaying and repair.

No tunnels were built; in hard grades and canyons on Ama Kulun and the Northeast Ranges the looping switchbacks were innumerable. Trestle construction was massive, since it had to support a solid roadbed for animals hauling trains.

The cars or wains ran on hooped oaken wheels, two pair on a swivelled truck at each end of the car; the couplings were braided, laminated leather, sometimes reinforced with chain. Goods wains for heavy cargo were roofed boxcars; those carrying wine were insulated, with clamps and mountings to

anchor the casks. There was one roofed boxcar fitted out with bunks, window panels, and wood stove, for people travelling by train—the height of luxury, according to the author of "Trouble with the Cotton People." Other wains were roofless and of light construction: a flatcar with socketed poles was common, the load lashed on under a canvas covering. No car was over nineteen feet long; axle width (standard since time immemorial on all roads in the region) was two feet nine inches (the Kesh meter or yard—the heist). The wains were so narrow that they somewhat resembled boats, which was what the Kesh called them.

At the period this book is concerned with, two engines were in use in the Valley, one owned by the Kesh and the other by the Amaranth people. Both ran only between Kasióha and Sed. They were woodburning steam engines of (my guess) about 15 to 20 horsepower. The Kesh engine was built, maintained, and operated by members of the Millers Art in cooperation with other Arts and Lodges that used the train in their commerce with neighboring peoples. They called the engine The Grasshopper for its high-angled pistons, its jointed look, and probably for its habit of starting with a flying leap. It was built of pegged and fitted wood and riveted steel iron tubes were rolled up from the flat and seam-welded by hammering over a false core. The firebox and boiler sat up on little bolted legs well away from the carriage, and the high, narrow smokestack was topped with a complicated and unreliable spark baffle. The risk of forest fire in the dry grass and chaparral of the mountains was the main drawback to use of the engines; in dry years they were not run at all between the Water Dance and the beginning of the rains. At such times, and for short runs within the Valley, for single-wain hauls, and for all traffic north from Kasióha over the Mountain, the trains were pulled by oxen or mules: the tracks and roadbed served to make the hauling easier for those who did it.

A signalling system was maintained during periods of frequent operation (that is, more than once every nine or ten days). Linewomen and men operated the signals, and travelling crews kept up the wood and water supplies along the line. The signals were connected to the Exchanges in Wakwaha, Sed, and other towns in the trade network, where schedules of runs and arrangements for shipments were made and posted.



## Some Notes on Medical Practices



Most of the little information I have concerning Kesh medicine was given me in conversation by Alder of the Serpentine and the Doctors Lodge of Chímoo and of Shishan. He said that a doctor did four things—prevent, cure, and kill.

*Preventive* medicine included immunisation, public and personal hygiene, teaching and advice about diet, work habits, work places, and exercise, counselling for psychic strain and distress, and a wide variety of kinds of massage, manipulation, music, and dance—"bodywork" in our terms.

*Care* or alleviation involved treatment of fevers, aches, infections, and communicable diseases, and the care of people suffering from handicaps and incurable disorders.

*Curative* practices included bonesetting, the use of a large and complex pharmacopoeia, therapeutic bodywork, and surgery. I do not have a list of mentioned having performed amputation, curettage, appendectomy, removal of an abdominal tumor, removal of skin cancers, and an operation to close a cleft palate. Anesthesia for a major operation was induced by herbal drugs taken for a period of days before and after surgery, and by "the lances," a system of thin bamboo needles inserted according to a body chart which—to this ignorant eye—looked a good deal like an acupuncture chart. (I did not hear about anything like therapeutic acupuncture.)

As our medicine makes no place for *killing*, considering itself in binary opposition to death, we have only the slightly suspect "euthanasia" to name practices the Kesh considered part of any doctor's work and a serious element of medical theory and morality: castration of animals; human abortion, which was considered neither a minor nor a reprehensible operation; and the killing of monstrous births, both human and animal.

There was no distinction by caste of the "veterinary" from the "doctor," though physicians usually specialised to some extent according to their knack

and the community's need. There seemed to be no dentists as such, probably because most Kesh had good teeth and ate a low-sugar diet.

#### GEDWEAN: BRINGING-IN.

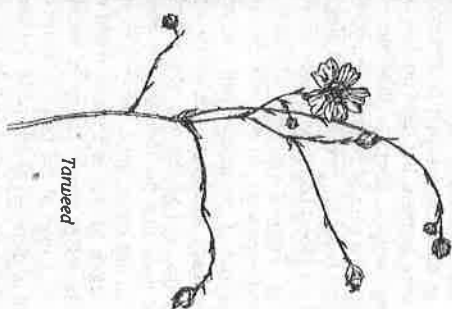
This most characteristic of Kesh medical practices could be called a "healing ceremony" if it's understood that a coronary bypass operation could also be called a "healing ceremony." Current high-technology medical practice in well-equipped hospitals includes the latter. Valley medicine included the former; both are cases of a specialised technology used by trained professionals, reflecting a certain moral stance and embodying certain judgments on the means and ends of medicine. Statistics comparing rates of alleviation, short-term cure, long-term cure, and failure would be interesting, but inappropriate.

Since each bringing-in was created for an individual in particular circumstances of illness or stress by a particular doctor or group of doctors, I can't give a general description; and a description of an actual bringing-in would violate Kesh standards of personal and sacred discretion. In the abstract, then: a bringing-in involved two parties, the goddwe or brought, and the dwesh or bringers. The goddwe—usually one person but sometimes a married couple or a child with a parent or sibling—lived for the four, five, or nine-day period of the gedwean in their heyimas or in the Doctors Lodge building. They were looked after attentively, given a special diet or fasting pattern, and followed a carefully prescribed regime of activity and rest: their body and face were marked or painted, and they wore special clothing, a long, loosely belted shift of wool challis. (Such a garment was the gift of a weaver to the Doctors Lodge in exchange—payment or prepayment—for medical attention. Contrary to the theory and practice of shamanistic and psychiatric curing, where the cost is an essential ingredient of the cure, Kesh doctors charged nothing; their practice was an integral part of the continuous exchange of services and goods that formed the Kesh village economy. The cost of successful practice to the doctor may be glimpsed in what Stone Telling mentions of Alder's patients in Chumo and Shshan.)

The dwesh or bringers, one of whom had to be a "singing doctor," worked out the treatment/ceremony, which might include: drug therapy, use of trance-inducing drugs, hypnosis through drumming and singing, massage, bathing, exercises, the teaching of symbols and figures drawn in sifted dust or painted or marked on the skin, and the discussion of the meaning of such symbols and also of songs, stories, and events in the life of the person being brought in; the performance of rituals, some of them traditional and some the private property of the doctor, obtained in vision or from another doctor as a gift; and the invention and performance of songs, dances, and drum patterns by patient and doctor together. The goddwe left the bringing-in with recommendations for further treatment if necessary and a routine to follow to maintain the healing effects of the gedwean itself.

Alder told me that he believed the beneficial effect of a bringing-in lay to a great extent in *attention*—the attention paid to the goddwe, who was the center of everybody's interest in a supportive, comforting, unstressed environment of warmth, rest, soft drumming and singing; and the attention which the goddwe must pay to his or her life and thinking and the mystical or intellectual or practical insights arrived at by the combined work of the people involved in the bringing-in. It was a pretty good example of what the Kesh meant by *uwōn*, carefulness, taking care.

Some people were brought in many times in a lifetime, others once or never. Some members of the Doctors Lodge would act as dwesh on request, others only in cases they considered serious; and though the former were liked for their response to a need for sympathy, it was the latter who were most respected. All doctors who performed bringings-in also had been goddwe, and were brought in from time to time, as training and as therapy.



DYING.

Fatally ill people, most of them sufferers from *sevai*, *vedet*, or cancer, came to live at the Doctors Lodge in a hospice routine called *huggedwean*, continuous bringing-in. The alleviation of misery was set ahead of the prolongation of life, as a rule. If a patient asked for death and the family and close friends agreed, the issue was discussed by the Lodge. If the judgment was that death was appropriate, four doctors undertook to be present; euthanasia was performed as a ceremony, ritually, as were abortion and the killing of a monstrously defective birth. Euthanasia was performed with poison, given orally or injected; abortion was performed by curettage, preceded and followed by treatment with herbs; monstrous births, if they did not die of their infirmities at once, were starved, being looked after but not fed, until they died.

In response to my questions on this latter subject, Alder gave me this written statement: "People [human and animal] that we kill or let die when they are born are those with two heads or joined bodies, those born diseased [a baby born with advanced scurvy, blind, deaf, and subject to muscle spasm which prevented it from suckling], and those born very terribly misshapen or without brain, without skin, or without another organ necessary to life. Such people born dying are let die. Human people born who cannot live are let die with care and singing the songs of Going Westward with them, and the mother names them so they can be mourned at the Mourning Fires of the Equinox. Animal people of the Obsidian House born unable to live are killed in the proper way with the due words, and the death is burned."

## BIRTHING.

This seemed to be the only area where doctors specialised by sex. In animal practice there were almost as many men expert in attending on a difficult cow or ewe birth as there were women, but men doctors seldom presided at a human birth; and some women doctors—*iatsisho* or "senders,"—specialised pretty exclusively in the care of pregnant and nursing women and as midwives. The complex and beautiful ceremonies of pregnancy and birth were directed by women of the Blood Lodge who were or who worked with women of the Doctors Lodge. Prenatal care and education was thoroughly embodied in ritual and ceremony. At the time of birth, hygiene was extremely strict. If the household of the mother failed to set aside a room for the birth and to have it ready and clean—down to scrubbed, sanded wood, fresh paint, boiled linens, and all the rest of a set of most exacting standards—the lodge might insist that the delivery take place in their own building. The mother stayed in this clean, quiet, dimly lit room with the baby for a formal nine-day rest period; friends and family might come in to visit and sing, a few at a time. The father was in charge of welcoming, filtering and sending away the visitors; a man of the father's House could act in his stead, if the father was absent or divorced or otherwise not given responsibility for the child. He or his stand-in was expected to help the new mother with her work and keep her from overdoing while she was nursing the baby, though in fact her household normally protected or overprotected a young mother until she had to insist upon her freedom to come and go and work as she pleased. Thorn, who was in training as an *iatsisho* with the Doctors of Shishan, said that difficult labor and delivery were unusual, but that many pregnancies ended in unavoidable premature or still birth or in severely defective birth, due, evidently, to genetic damage. The same was true of the large animals; less so of the smaller animals, who in their more rapid generations had discarded the worst injuries resulting from old environmental poisoning and other traumas affecting the gene pool of every species.



## DISEASES.

This list of illnesses is imprecise, incomplete, and probably wrong in many places. I could not identify many of the conditions which Alder tried to describe to me, and we were never perfectly sure we were talking about the same thing. Viral and bacterial mutations will have occurred, changing the nature of many diseases, no doubt, but the main problem was one of vocabulary. Kesh theory of medicine and methods of diagnosis differed profoundly from ours. For example:

Though clearly aware of the role played by bacteria and viruses (the latter of which were utterly invisible to their microscopes) as agents of disease, they did not identify disease, or a disease, as an entity in itself. It was not something that *happened* to a person, but something a person *did*. The closest I could come to translating our word health into Kesh would be the word *gya*—ease or grace—or the word *gestanai*—living well, doing well, with a combination of inborn talent, luck, and skill. To translate our word disease or illness I would have to use the privative forms, *póya*—unease (not so far from the original sense of dis-ease) or difficulty or hardness; and *gegestanai*, living ill, doing badly, unlucky, unskillful. These Kesh words imply that the sick person is not a *patient* but an *agent*, not merely suffering an invasion from outside the body, but doing or being ill/ness. Curiously enough I think this view of illness involves less sense of guilt than does our image of a body victimised by malevolent forces from without. Implicit in it is an acceptance that we don't always do what we would like or hope or ought to do, and that living is not always easy. The practices of the Doctors Lodge were not in the service of an ideal of perfect health, permanent youth, and the eradication of disease; they tried only to ensure that living wasn't any harder than it had to be.

There were Doctors Lodge ceremonies for immunisation of infants at 9, 54, and 81 days old; of children at 2, 4, 5, and 9 years old; and of adults at request or need. Diseases which the Kesh doctors could prevent or mitigate by inoculation or immunisation are mentioned in the following list:

Tetanus, rabies, malaria, bubonic plague are the four diseases I feel I could identify with certainty. Immunisation existed for all these, and was given to infants and children, and to adults at need. Malaria was the scourge of the great inland marshes and estuaries, and though the immunisation was fairly effective it was not so completely so that the Kesh were very happy about travelling in the Great Valley marshlands. But then, they were mostly not very happy about travelling anywhere. Plague was still carried by ground squirrels, which were therefore never hunted and never handled, but no outbreak of plague had occurred in or near the Valley of the Na in living memory.

My inquiries for the symptoms of smallpox and tuberculosis left Alder unable to identify these diseases as such. We did seem to be talking about the same thing when I brought up the diseases or conditions of which the herpes virus is the agent: chickenpox, coldsores, genital herpes, shingles. Alder knew them all and considered them to be related, grouping them

under the name chemherm. Chickenpox was as serious in children as in adults, and immunisation was mandatory and effective.

Veneral diseases—presumably varieties of syphilis and gonorrhoea—were mostly called facksors or foreigners' misery—the latter being fair enough, since none was endemic in the Valley. Another reason for not travelling. Alder knew several treatments but no methods of prevention except hygiene.

The rest of the diseases mentioned are identified only uncertainly:

Infants were immunised against something that sounded like diphtheria, and against a rash which was certainly not measles, but might have been a form of scarlet fever.

What Alder called "wet lung" was certainly some form of pneumonia. Penicillin, or a fungal derivative like it, was effective in treatment. I did not try to understand the immensely complex pharmacopoeia, mostly derived from herbs.

Infectious hepatitis and some form of infectious jaundice were fairly common. Alder said that liver disorders were among the least tractable common illnesses. Hygiene was the principal tactic used against them.

Passionately careful about their use of water and the condition of their streams and wells, the Kesh knew of typhoid only through books and the Exchange.

Cancers of the skin were quite common; other forms of cancer certainly occurred but seem to have been less common than among us, but here the differing approach and understanding may have led me quite astray. Heart diseases, treated with drugs and with gedwean, if not symptomatic of congenital heart defect, seem to have been considered a liability of old age.

The diseases or conditions which burdened the Kesh and their neighboring peoples with a load we don't have to carry were sevai and vedet: congenital, intractable, degenerative disorders of the nervous system. (Forms of both diseases were shared with humanity by all the large domestic animals, and it was said that elk had died out in the whole inland Sea drainage basin long ago because they "were vedet.") As well as I could establish, both diseases expressed genetic (chromosomal) damage caused by long-lasting toxic or radioactive wastes or residues of the military-industrial era, widespread in soil and water, and leaching out uncontrollably from the very highly contaminated areas. Vedet involved personality disorder and dementia, sevai usually led to blindness and other sensory loss, and degeneration of muscle control. Both diseases were painful, crippling, incurable, and fatal. Severity of onset and the length of the course of the illness depended very much on what Alder called the "thoroughness" of the condition: major damage led to nonviability in the womb; minor damage might not show up till late in life.

Late in life, in the Valley, would be over sixty. Life expectancy in our terms—averaged over the whole lifespan—would be short, not over thirty or forty, because so many children were born sevai or with other severe genetic abnormalities, leading to a high mortality in early infancy. But to a Kesh born óya and living gestanal, life generally went on well into the seventies, and old age was taken easily and lived, very often, with considerable skill and grace.

which some knowledge is appropriate and needful to all, so that they are done mindfully, in an appropriate manner.

Coming inwards, those practices are coarse, bright, and strong, which chiefly exchange one thing for another. The practices of barter and exchange allow power to move in an appropriate manner from place to place; they initiate life strongly. The Millers' arts of the uses of the energies of sun, wind, water, electricity, and the combinations of things to make other things are all practices of exchange. They want vigilance and clarity of mind, a bright imagination, modesty, attention to detail and to implication, strength, and courage.

Coming farther inwards, coming directly in, the practices of impregnation, pregnancy, birth, and rearing and nurture bring in the living.

*Innermost:* warm, strong, fine, bright practices bring about living things and the diversity, complexity, power, and beauty of things. A bright imagination, a clear intellect, warmth, readiness, magnanimity, grace, and ease are wanted in the practices of gardening, farming, sharing food, caring for animals, cure, care, healing, and comforting, the arts of making order and cleanliness where people live and work, all dancing and delightful exercises, the arts of making beautiful and useful things, and all the arts and practices of music, of speaking, of writing, and of reading aloud or silently.

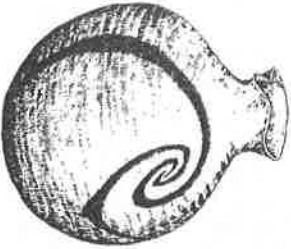
## A Treatise on Practices

From the instructional library of the Red Adobe heyinmas in Sinschan.

*Outermost:* dim, coarse, cold, weak practices bring about a dead body [ruined]. The practices of hunting and of war want patience, alertness, attention to detail, obedience, control, competitive ambition, experience, a dull imagination, a cold intellect. The butchering of animals and killing of plants for food are practices that want patience, alertness, attention to detail, presence of mind, and great carefulness. The danger to the killer is great. If the image of the other's gift is lost the killer's mind is lost, if the image of pain is lost the killer is lost. The image of the other's pain is the center of being human. When by carelessness or willfulness killing is practiced with cruelty, this is beyond the outside, and cannot in any way ever be brought in.

Outermost, the practices of hoarding and usury are intractable, insatiable, and to be compared to cancerous tumors.

Coming inwards, dim, coarse, cold, strong practices prepare a dead body. The milling and shaping of wood and preparation of all plants, roots, and seeds for food, the cutting up and smoking, drying, preserving, and cooking of meat of animal or bird or fish, the burial of dead animals of the town, the burial and funeral of dead human beings, these are practices of



## Playing



Toys made by adults for children were carved or sewn animals and dolls, miniature utensils and furnishings, blocks of shaped and sanded millends, and balls of milkweed rubber, sheep-bladders, or stuffed sewn leather. Everything else children played with they made themselves or borrowed from the house or workshop. Most of their play was story-play, imitative of adult work and activities, including trance-singing, doctoring, death, birth, family quarrels, and all the soap-opera aspects of Kesh life. Children's games with rules included:

Many singing and dancing games, some quite complicated and pretty to watch. One called *Múdúp* (Brush rabbit) was rather like hopscotch, the dancers following one another through a course or maze laid out ahead, and tossing and picking up beads or nutshells at certain points.

Ring-toss was played with a carved ring of light wood, always across a creek, in pairs or groups. Ring-toss songs were sung until somebody missed a catch, at which the song had to be started over. "winning" the game was getting to the end of the song.

Knife-toss or mumbly-peg was played very skilfully. A knife was often a child's most prized possession, "a real steel blade knife from Telmal"

Hish was a kind of badminton played with a feathered rubber-headed birdie (the hish, swallow) and long-handled, small-headed racquets strung with gut. Four people played, two on either side of a string or ribbon. The object of the game was to keep the "swallow" aloft in a regular swift pattern of exchanges. Hish was one of the Summer games, and adolescents and young men often went from town to town to play exhibition games. Grown women and older men seldom played hish, but often used the birdie and racquets to play without rules: in the dry season there was usually a hish court or two set up on the common place.

Horseshoes was played just as we play it.

For bowls, a heavy wooden ball was rolled on a smooth dirt lane towards five rocks placed in a V. Scoring was complicated, necessitating

long, grave discussions. Old people played both bowls and horseshoes more often than most children did.

Archery, darts, and the throwing-stick were of course elements of hunting, but were played as games for their own sake and exhibited as skills in the Summer games. Most children had a small bow made for them and learned to make their own arrows. Their hunting of small animals cannot be called a game, although it did follow strict rules, and was not an indispensable contribution to subsistence.

Hide-and-seek was played a great deal in summer, as was a similar game which resembled Kick-the-Can—to free the prisoners, instead of kicking a can you threw a tall bamboo pole, and where it lit was the new base. Reverse hide-and-seek, or Sardines, was a great favorite with small children indoors in the rainy season.

Shinny or field hockey was played on a fallow field or in a barnyard with a leather ball and wooden sticks. Four teams played at once, of two to five players; the object was to get the ball through four goals in a certain order. A kind of soccer, the ball being kicked only, had similar rules, as well as I could determine. The polo game vetlou was also of this type, but was played without teams, each horse and rider being a team to themselves. In all these games the team or pair which first completed the pattern was the winner, but the game was not over till all players had completed the pattern. Although the games were wildly active and risky, aggressive behavior disrupted them at once and absolutely. Excellence consisted in speed, skill, and teamwork in completing the pattern; the game was a metaphor of society, not of war. This dominance of collaboration over competition was true of all games except the gambling games.

Dice games were much played by older children, adolescents, and many adults. There were two kinds of dice, both six-sided: *apap* or zero-zero was played with a pair, each marked with one through five spots and a blank side; *hwois* was played with four dice, marked with six symbols—leaf, bone, eye, fish, spade, mouth—rolled for various winning combinations, like a more complicated version of our slot-machine fruitbasket. Other dice games, some involving eight-sided long dice, were borrowed from neighboring peoples. Slates were mostly wooden counters or pebbles; playing for objects of real value was not socially countenanced, but was very common, and adults sometimes went on long gambling binges—especially at the summerhouses, where nobody was close by to disapprove. People did not actually own enough private property to be able to ruin themselves by gambling, but they could damage their reputation. So far as I know, gambling meant dice-playing only; the Kesh considered the other games to be matters of skill, not chance, and therefore not appropriate subjects for betting.

Among the sedentary games a favorite with children was jackstraws—a set of fine polished wooden sticks (or real straws, in the fields) dropped in a random heap, which had to be taken apart one by one, the player losing the turn by moving any straw but the first touched. A heavier set of polished

sticks of olivewood was used for a whole group of games of pitch-and-toss, catch-on-the-hand, house-building, and so on, and some children did marvelous sleight of hand with such sticks.

Lettered wooden tablets about the size of dominoes, some of them beautifully made and decorated, served for a series of games the general object of which, like our anagrams, was word-building, or, in the more difficult versions, sentence-building. Such games might go on for hours, sometimes days. The object of the game might be to make a poem, or the players might engage in a "flying" or "capping" series of insults and ripostes. Such contests—without the game pieces, spoken as free oral improvisation—were a feature of the Wine Dance. Direct competition and aggression was typically channelled by the Kesh into verbal expression, which was acceptable so long as it was controlled, and admired so long as it was witty.

Word games played orally included pass-along stories, each person in the circle telling "what happened next" and ending on a cliffhanger which the next person had to deal with and go on from. It seems that riddling as such did not exist in the Valley.

I saw no game like chess or any of the checkerboard games, nor any version of go; and the Kesh had no cards. Board games were of the Snakes-and-ladders or Parcheesi type, very simple and mostly played by young children or adults with young children. In Tachas Touchas children went to the Red Adobe heymas to play a dice-roll game called Going to the Nine Towns the Hard Way, in which the traveller's way around the huge, ancient, wonderfully illustrated board was beset with rattlesnakes, wild dogs, angry milers, fireballs and thunderbolts, supernatural ground squirrels, and other dangers and reverses before they finally reached Wakwaha on the Mountain.



## Some Generative Metaphors

*Provided by the Editor as an exercise in cultural relativism,  
or in a fit of spring cleaning.*

### *The Metaphor: THE WAR.*

*What it generates: STRUGGLE.*

*Universe as war: The triumph of being over nothingness. The battlefield.*

*Society as war: The subjection of weak to strong.*

*Person as warrior: Courage; the hero.*

*Medicine as victory over death.*

*Mind as warrior: Conquistador.*

*Language as control.*

*The relationship of human with other beings in war: Enmity.*

*Images of the War: Victory, defeat, loot, ruin, the army.*

### *The Metaphor: THE LORD.*

*What it generates: POWER.*

*Universe as kingdom: Hierarchy from one god down. Order from chaos.*

*Society as kingdom: Hierarchy from one king down. Order from chaos.*

*Person as lord/subject: Class, caste, place, responsibility.*

*Medicine as power.*

*Mind as lord/subject: Law, Judgment.*

*Language as power.*

*The relationship of human with other beings in the kingdom: Superiority.*

*Images of the Kingdom: The pyramid, the city, the sun.*

### *The Metaphor: THE ANIMAL.*

*What it generates: LIFE.*

*Universe as animal: Organic, indivisible wholeness.*

## ALWAYS COMING HOME

*Society as animal:* Tribe, clan, family.  
*Person as animal:* Kinship.

*Medicine as rest.*

*Mind as animal:* Discovery.

*Language as relationship.*

*The relationship of human with other beings as animals:* Eating, interdependence.

*Images of the Animal:* Birth, mating, dying, the seasons, the tree, the diverse beasts and plants.



## The Metaphor: THE MACHINE.

*What it generates:* WORK.

*Universe as machine:* Clock and clockmaker. Running and running down.

*Society as machine:* Parts, functions, cogs, interrelations; production.

*Person as machine:* Use. Function.

*Medicine as repair.*

*Mind as machine:* Information.

*Language as communication.*

*The relationship of human with other beings as machines:* Exploitation.

*Images of the Machine:* Progress, ineluctability, breakdown, the wheel.



## The Metaphor: THE DANCE.

*What it generates:* MUSIC.

*Universe as dance:* Harmony. Creation/destruction.

*Society as dance:* Participation.

*Person as dancer:* Cooperation.

*Medicine as art.*

*Mind as dancing:* Rhythm, measure.

*Language as connection.*

*The relationship of human with other beings as dance:* Horizontal linkings.

*Images of the Dance:* Steps, gestures, continuity, harmony, the spiral.



## The Metaphor: THE HOUSE.

*What it generates:* STABILITY.

*Universe as house:* Rooms in one mansion.

*Society as household:* Division within unity; inclusion/exclusion.

*Person as householder:* Selfhood.

*Medicine as protection.*

*Mind as householder:* Belonging.

*Language as self-domestication.*

*The relationship of human with other beings in the house:* Inside/Outside.

*Images of the House:* Doors, windows, hearth, home, the town.

## The Metaphor: THE WAY.

*What it generates:* CHANGE.

*Universe as the way:* Mystery; balance in movement.

*Society as the way:* Imitation of the nonhuman; inaction.

*Person as wayfarer:* Caution.

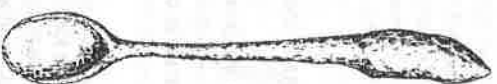
*Medicine as keeping in balance.*

*Mind as wayfarer:* Spontaneity, Sureness.

*Language as inadequate.*

*The relationship of human with other beings on the way:* Unity.

*Images of the Way:* Balance, reversal, journey, return.



## Three Poems by Pandora, Written Sideways from the Valley to the City of Man



### THE HIGH TOWER

Noble the Tower built with stones of Will  
on the rock of Law: eternal that habitation.  
In the House of the One may dwell the multitudes.  
But the heathen are cast out to die as animals.

So we said, very well then,  
and came away from the Kingdom  
to the fields of grass, where we made small houses.  
We build with dirt and wood and water.  
We live with the animals and plants,  
eating and praising them, and die with them;  
their way is our way made mindful,  
a river running over stones and rocks.  
We live in the low places  
like water and shadows.  
Our houses do not last long.  
We have lost sight behind us  
of the spiritual Tower.  
We go on down along the river.

### NEWTON DID NOT SLEEP HERE

I don't care if I am possible.  
What are the bridges between us?  
Wind, the rainbow,  
mist, still air.  
We must learn to step on the rainbow.  
(Even Old Jealousy  
called it a covenant.)  
We must learn how to walk on the wind.  
What links us (O my sister soul)  
is the abyss between us.  
We must learn the fog path.  
What parts us (O my brother flesh)  
is our kinship of one house.  
We must learn to trust thin air.



### NOT BEING SINGLEMINDED

No god no king no One no thing  
that comes one at a time  
no dupli repli multi identification  
prolifer proliferation same after same  
so no city. Sorry.  
Here  
is no away to throw to.  
A way with no away.  
Some people, not very many,  
trying to keep a lot of things in mind,  
going beside the water,  
singing heyra, hey, heyra,  
heyra, heyra.

## Living on the Coast, Energy, and Dancing



### LIVING ON THE COAST.

This was the Kesh term for the period of sexual celibacy expected of all adolescents. For a long time I found this custom anomalous, uncharacteristic of the Valley culture as a whole. These people who sought a realistic and undemanding attitude towards sexuality, avoiding excess both of indulgence and of abstinence, whose style of control and self-control was one of ease, not of rigidity, seeking grace rather than rule, and whose children were at the center of their world—why did such people come down on adolescents with such an extreme demand so sternly enforced?

For a while I explained it to my own satisfaction by connecting it to the Kesh prejudice against early parenthood, which was very strong, as strong as their prejudice against bearing/siring more than two children, and no doubt related to it, rationally enough. Big families start with young parents. Whatever elements of reason lay at its root, however, the attitude was passionate; they considered early parenthood to be unwise, unhealthy, and degrading. Pregnancy in a girl under seventeen or eighteen was always aborted. I was told, and the shame involved concerned the pregnancy, not the abortion. A boy in his teens who fathered a child was treated with such contempt by his townsfolk that he might be driven to exile or suicide.

But still, why celibacy? After all, due to genetic damage from ancient catastrophes, the rate of conception was rather low and the rate of full-term healthy birth very low, by our standards; and contraceptives (condoms, diaphragms, and sponges of milkweed rubber and other materials, and herbal spermicides compounded by the Doctors Lodge) were effective, available, and completely socially approved. Boys and girls by the age of ten knew all the uses of contraceptives, and most of them had used them—for children's sexual play was taken altogether for granted, indulged, and even encouraged. Along around the age of ten, however, the children themselves began to

abandon sexual play, because they wanted to outgrow it, to imitate the celibate adolescents. But why, just as the sexual urge began to declare itself and reach power and potency, this ban, this unnecessary, absolute reversal? When I finally saw the period of celibacy as a reversal I began to see it as fully characteristic of the culture of the Valley.

Explaining this will involve discussing a couple of key words, which were first discussed in the section on the *Serpentine Codex*.

### HEYIVA.

The first element of this word, hey- or heya, is the untranslatable statement of praise/greeting/holiness/being sacred.

The second is the word *iva*. This means a hinge: the piece of hardware or leather that connects a door to the opening it closes and opens. Connotations and metaphors cluster thick to this image. *Iva* is the center of a spiral, the source of a gyring motion; hence a source of change, as well as a connection. *Iva* is the eternal beginning, the process of energy arising and continuing. The word for energy is *ive*.

Energy manifests itself in three principal forms: cosmic, social, and personal.

The cosmos, the universe, was usually referred to rather casually in Kesh as *muwey*, "all this." There was a more formal and philosophical word, *em*, meaning external-duration, or spacetime. Energy in the physicist's sense, the fundamental power interconvertible with matter, was *emive*.

Ostoud described weaving or the weave of a fabric, bringing together, relating, and so was used to mean society, the community of being, the fabric of interdependent existences. The energy of relationship, including both politics and ecology, was *ostoudive*.

Finally personal energy, selfhood of the individual, was *sheive*.

The interplay of these three forms of energy throughout the universe was what the Kesh called "the dancing."

The last of the three, selfhood or personal energy, ramified into another set of concepts, which I shall treat very summarily:

Personal energy was seen as having five main components, relating to sex, mind, movement, work, and play, each with an inward-coming and outward-going aspect.

1. *Lamaye*, sexual energy. *Lamawoyve*, the energy that goes into sex (Freudian *libido*?).
2. *Yaiye*, extraverted thought. *Yaiwoye*, introverted thought.
3. *Daoye* is kinetic energy proper. *Sheydaoye* is energy expressed in athletics, travelling, all bodily skills, labors, activities. *Sheydaowoye*, personal movement, is the body itself.
4. *Ayaye*, playing, learning, teaching. *Ayawoye* seems best translated as "learning without a teacher."
5. *Sheive*, personal energy, considered as work: the basic activities of

staying alive—getting and preparing food, housekeeping, the arts and work of life. Shewoye, work directed inward, work towards personhood or selfhood, might be translated as soulmaking.

To be alive was to choose and use, consciously or not, well or ill, these energies, in a manner appropriate to one's stage of life, state of health, moral ideals, and so on. The *deployment of iye* was really the principal subject of education in the Valley, in the home and in the heyimas, from infancy till death.

Personal energy was of course a personal matter; the individual made the choices, and the choosing, wise or foolish, mindful or careless, was the person. But no choice could be made independent of the superpersonal and impersonal energies, the cosmic/social/self-relatedness of all existences. Another word very important in Kesh thinking, *túuyai*, mindfulness, might be described as the intelligent awareness of this interdependence of energies and beings, a sense of one's place and part in the whole.

Now, finally, as all these abstracts might be applied to an actual life in the Valley: A baby existed more in terms of physical energy and relationship (*emíye*, *ostowdiye*) than as a person. As the child grew, its outward-going personal energy (*sheíye*) got going and began to differentiate, first into moving about and playing and learning (*shewdaoye*, *ayaye*), the proper activities of the young, not to be hindered or pent or, in Blake's term, curbed. More slowly, the energies of sex and mind (*lamaye*, *yaiye*) would develop and find expression, still mostly outward-going, extravered. And in the years called "clearwater" for girls (nine or ten till regular menstruation) and "sprouting" for boys (ten or eleven till full puberty), personal energy proper, the person working, would emerge.

With adolescence all these outgoing, centrifugal, growing energies began to be doubled by the inward-coming, centripetal energies of the mature human being. The adolescent had to learn how to balance out all these forces and so become a whole person, a "person entirely," *yeweyshé*. The means of doing so with economy, intelligence, and grace was the *regulation of energies*. And here we come back round to the rule of celibacy, the reversal.

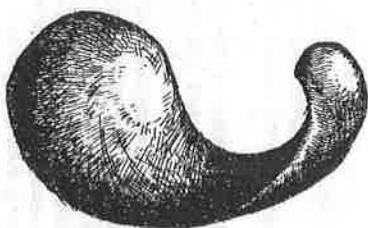
Children were *going towards* sexual potency. Adolescents, as they attained it, *turned from* it. At the time they became able to "work," as sexual beings they ceased to do so—consciously, by choice. All the outgoing energies were now to reverse, to come back in to the center, to work in the service of personhood, at its most vulnerable and crucial stage.

In this reversal the young "person-becoming" went elsewhere, to those inward places where the unborn wait to be born (the image is mental, and physical: what goes on in the head and what goes on in the testes and ovaries are not separable events). They went to live "on the Coast." When they had made that journey, when they had gone there, they were ready to come "inland," to come home.

Of course the understanding, willing choice was an ideal. In practice,

most young people undertook celibacy out of mere social conformity, obediently, and because its rewards were considerable. One started living on the Coast with a celebration at home, a ceremony in the heyimas, and a whole wardrobe of new clothes; and the adolescent in undyed clothing was held in honor and treated with a notable tenderness. One was supported by the entire fabric of relationships, kin, House, bond, lodge, art, and town. And how long one lived on the Coast really was up to the individual. The celibate period might be only a year or so, or might go on into the early twenties. All that was to be avoided was the extreme: early promiscuity or obsessive asceticism.

Lying on the Coast, then, was the beginning of living mindfully. It was a "hinge" act. From it would arise the work of being a person, itself part of the work of relationship, and that part of the universal work, the river flowing, the dancing, the turning of the galaxies. *Weyíya heyíya*—everything hinges, is holy.



WAKWA.

The phrase translated as "regulation of energies," *iyewkwá*, is a technical term—Kesh psychotechnological jargon, *heyimas* language.

In ordinary talk, the element *kwa* turns up only in the word *wakwá*, a very common word and a very complicated one. It can mean: a spring, running water, the rising or the flowing of water, to flow, to dance, dancing, a dance, festival, ceremony, or observation, and a mystery, both in the sense of obscure or unrevealed knowledge, and in the sense of the sacred means by which mysterious being or knowledge may be approached and revealed. As Mica, my teacher, said to me, the word is a small bag to hold so many nuts.

An actual spring or current of water is usually specified as *wakwana*. The town at the headwater and principal spring of the Na River is *Wakwaha: Springway*. This word as an ordinary noun/verb, *wakwaha*, means the course of the water as it leaves a spring, the way it goes: a very potent image and

concept in Kesh thought. It also means "danceway"—the way a dance is danced, the way a ceremony is ordered, the order of happenings in an event, the direction an action tends. The pattern or figure made by an event or process is *wakwaha-if*.

*Wakwa* as mystery takes two forms. *Wegotenhwaya wakwa*, literally sent-behind-*wakwa*, means mystification, the occult: rites or knowledge deliberately hidden or unrevealed. *Gouwakwa*, the dark dance, means mystery itself: the unknown, the unknowable. To the sun rising, the Kesh said, "Heya, heyai" in praise and greeting. To the darkness between the stars they spoke also, saying, "Heya gouwakwa."

## Love

There are six Kesh words which can be translated as "love," or conversely one can say that there is no Kesh word for love, but there are six words for different kinds of love. At first I thought the Kesh distinctions were similar to the Isandian—that subtle and useful trilogy of *ania*, *apia*, *alia*—but the overlap of meaning is only partial. The following list is the best I can do.

1. *wenun*: noun and verb, to want, desire, covet ("I love apples.")
2. *lanawenun*: noun and verb, sexual desire, lust, passion ("I love you")
3. *kuayô* — *woi dad*, heart goes to —: to like, to feel an impulse of warmth toward ("I like him very much.")
4. *unne*: noun and verb, trust, friendship, affection, lasting warmth ("I love my brother." "I love her like a sister.")
5. *iyakwun*: noun and verb, mutual connection, interdependence, filial or parental love, love of place, love of one's people, cosmic love ("I love you, Mother." "I love my country." "God loves me.")
6. *banô*: as a verb, to please, to give pleasure or delight ("I love to dance.")

The principal distinction between 3 and 4 is one of duration—3 is brief, or a beginning, 4 is lasting or continuing. The distinction between 4 and 5 is more difficult. *Unne* implies mutuality, *iyakwun* asserts it; *unne* is loving-kindness, *iyakwun* is passion; *unne* is rational, moderate, social love, *iyakwun* is the love that moves the sun and the other stars.



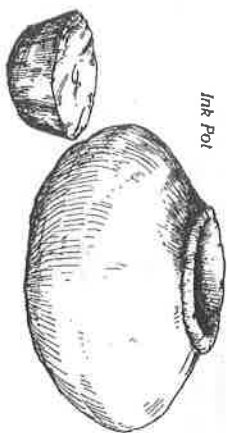
## Written Kesh



Reading and writing were taken to be elements of human social existence as fundamental as speech itself. From the age of three or four a child learned to read and write at home and in the heyimas, and no Kesh was illiterate, except those with brain or vision dysfunction; the latter often compensated for their inability to read by developing their verbal memory to a fantastic degree.

The Kesh were less inclined than we to consider speaking and writing as one activity taking different forms. Anything we speak can be written down, and we seem to feel that it *should* be written down if it is of any importance: writing authenticates speech, and has taken priority over it. We now read what our speechmakers are going to say before they say it. The current uses of computers enhance and enforce this fitting of the word into the visual mode. The Kesh had a few kinds of writing that were never spoken or read aloud, but since they also had some very important kinds of speech that were never written down, they did not identify speaking and writing as forms or aspects of the same thing; to the Kesh they were two kinds of language, either of which might be translated into the other, if it was useful or appropriate to do so.

The alphabet in use while we were in the Valley had been developed several centuries earlier by a group of people in the Madrone Lodge of Wakwaha who were dissatisfied with the alphabet then in use. Either because



Ink Pot

it had been borrowed from another language or because Kesh had changed a good deal in sound, this ornate "fesu" alphabet was cumbersome and arbitrary, using 67 letters to represent the 34 phonemes recognised by the Kesh. The "alpa" (new) alphabet of 29 letters plus the Four-House and Five-House signs was pretty nearly phonetic (discrepancies are noted in the chart below). The design of the letters was severely chastened, and perhaps overrationalised. Scholars learned to read fesu out of antiquarian curiosity, but all documents of interest had long since been retranscribed into alpa writing.

Pen and brush were the writing instruments. A steel pen in a wooden holder was the commonest (the Kastoha ironworks produced steel in quantity sufficient for pen-nibs, sewing needles, knifeblades, razors, and certain other fine tools and small machine parts). In the heyimas quill pens were used, since feathers were themselves considered to be words. The brush, of hair set in bamboo, was an alternative for those who preferred it. Most poets seemed to favor brush calligraphy, perhaps because it enlivened the rather monotonous alpa letters.



Glass-nib Pen



Brush/Pen

Pen ink was made of tannin from oak and walnut galls, ferrous sulphate (vitriol), and indigo, and was bottled in small, broad-based, grey ceramic pots of a pleasing shape. Brush ink, made from the soot of burnt pitch or oil mixed with glue and camphor, was shaped in cakes or sticks, like Chinese ink. Printing ink was a mixture of rosin, linseed oil, a pine tar soap, soot, and indigo.

Paper was made in a fascinating variety of weights and textures, using mixtures of fir and other wood pulp, cotton, linen, cattail and other reeds, milkweed, and practically any other fiber. In the paper workshop of the Book Art in Telina-ria I saw a poem brush-written on a cloudy, filmy, unsized paper which the poet said he had made from dandelion clocks and thistle-down, called. The poem was less memorable than the paper, I thought.

The Book Art and the Oak Lodge of each town made and provided paper and ink, writing materials and printing materials, and the facilities for making and using them.

A poem or a set of poems might be written on one large sheet of paper, and short works were often written on scrolls rolled vertically on wooden rods. Books were made like our books, bound by gluing and sewing one margin of the sheets, and covered with calfskin leather or goatskin parchment

or heavy cloth on paperboard. People who wrote a good deal generally made their own paper and blank books. Fine copies and printed editions of literary pieces were usually the work of copyists and printers in the Book Art, and were called *uwadaddi*, "going back through," rendition, performance—the word used also for an oral recitation, the acting of a written play, or the performance of a piece of music.



## The Kesh Alphabet

| KESH ALPHABET | ENGLISH ALPHABET | INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET           |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|               | k                | [k]                                       |
|               | g                | [g]                                       |
|               | sh               | [ʃ]                                       |
|               | ch               | [tʃ]                                      |
|               | l                | [l], [ɫ] (The two kinds of l in "little") |
|               | n                | [n]                                       |
|               | s                | [s]                                       |
|               | d                | [d], [ɖ], [ð]                             |
|               | t                | [t]                                       |
|               | r                | [r], [r̥], [dr̥], [ð̥] (See note below)   |
|               | f                | [f]                                       |
|               | v                | [v]                                       |
|               | m                | [m]                                       |
|               | b                | [b]                                       |
|               | p                | [p]                                       |
|               | w                | [w], [ʷ]                                  |
|               | hw               | [hʷ] (As in English "what")               |

|  |    |                                             |
|--|----|---------------------------------------------|
|  | y  | [y], [ʏ]                                    |
|  | h  | [h], sometimes [x]                          |
|  | o  | [ɔ] (As in English "off")                   |
|  | ó  | [o] (As in "oat" without glide)             |
|  | ou | [ow] (As in "go")                           |
|  | ú  | [u] (As in "too")                           |
|  | u  | [ɜ], [ʌ] (As in "the"; as in "but," "dumb") |
|  | e  | [e] (As in "yet")                           |
|  | a  | [a] (As in "father")                        |
|  | ai | [aʲ] (as in "tie")                          |
|  | i  | [i] (As in "pit")                           |
|  | í  | [i] (As in "meet")                          |

Five-House sign, pronounced [z] (a suffix to words in the Five House mode, which is not used in most kinds of writing).

Four-House sign (there is no spoken sign)

Doubled letter sign, written over the letter.

Note concerning the Kesh *r*: depending on context it may be a trill, a flap (as in English "steady" or "Betty"), the fricative [ʁ] as in "then," or a stop [dr̥]; and as a final sound it is often very like American English "hard *r*" in "her."



It will be noted that the order of the alpha alphabet was a fairly orderly progression of the consonants from the back of the mouth forward to the lips, back through the semiconsonants from dental to glottal, and forward again through the vowels. The glides *ou* [ow] and *ai* [aɪ] were included as letters in the alphabet, the equally common glides *ei* or *ey* [eɪ] and *oi* or *oy* [ɔɪ] were not, for no reason anybody could cite. The symbol or letter (C) signalling the Five-House or Earth Mode, sounded as [z], the Four-House or Sky Mode sign (C), which represented no sound, and the doubled-letter

sign written above the letter, were not included in the order of the alphabet as written or recited.

Text was written and read left to right, top to bottom; but clowns practiced reverse writing; bottom to top, right to left, the letters reversed.

There were no capital letters; punctuation and spacing separated sentences. Vowels were usually written larger than consonants.

## PUNCTUATION.

In inscriptions and mural writing little punctuation was used except for a slanting stroke to divide sentences. In ordinary and literary writing, punctuation was careful and complex, including indications of expression and tempo which we use only for music. The principal signs were:

- Equivalent to our period
- ⌵ A "double period," roughly equivalent to a paragraph break
- ⌵ Equivalent to our comma, indicating a phrase within a continuing sentence
- ↘ Equivalent to our semicolon, indicating a self-contained phrase within a continuing sentence

These four signs, like our punctuation, were syntactically meaningful and aided clarity. The next five concern dynamics and tempo:

- ⌵ Equivalent to our dash, signifying a pause. Repeated, a long pause; repeated more than once, a longer pause
- word Kesh underlining, just like ours, denotes emphasis or stress
- ⌵ The opposite of underlining: de-emphasis, a soft or even tone
- ⌵ Written over a word, a fermata: prolong the word. Written in the margin: *ralentando*: read this line or these lines slowly
- ↗ Written in the margin: speed up, or resume normal reading pace

## The Modes of Earth and Sky



Much spoken Kesh was in a mode which occurs only once in this book, in a line of dialogue in *Dangerous People*. The Five-House or Earth Mode was indicated by a final z-sound added to the noun/verbs of the sentence, and was used when one was speaking to and of living persons and local places, in one of the present tenses or with the auxiliaries meaning "can," "be able," "must," in everyday informal conversation.

The Four-House or Sky Mode would be used in all discourse concerning Four-House people and places (those unborn, dead, thought, imagined, dreamed, in the wilderness, etc.) and in all past and future tenses, as well as with the auxiliaries of the conditional, optative, subjunctive, etc.; in the negative; in making abstract or general statements; and in all formal discourse and rhetoric and works of literature both written and oral. There was a letter of the alphabet for the [z] phoneme that indicated the Earth Mode, but, evidently, it was very seldom used. People who in real life would use the Earth Mode talking would keep to the Sky Mode in even the most realistic history or novel.

So in an actual conversation one would say, "Pandora, are you living in Sinshan now?"—Pandoraz, Sinshanzan gehóvzes hai óhu—the two proper nouns and the verbal both in the Earth Mode. But the same question in a play or any narrative would be—Pandora, Sinshanan gehóvzes hai óhu. The negative, whether colloquial or formal, would be: Pandora Sinshanan pegéhv hai, "Pandora is not living in Sinshan now." And the past would always be in the Sky Mode: Pandora Sinshanan yinyegehóv ayeha, "Pandora did truly live a little while in Sinshan."

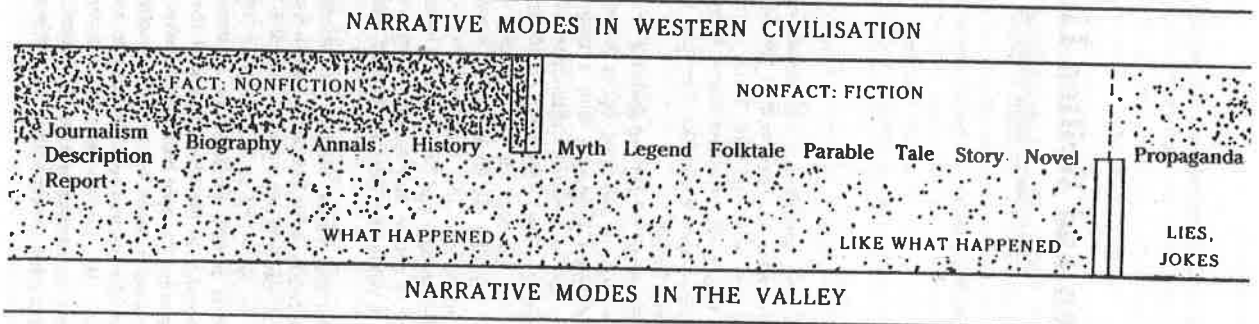
Though my note on the narrative modes shows that the Kesh did not distinguish factual from fictional literature as we do, the precision of their use of these basic modes of the language indicates a clear awareness of the difference between the *actual* and the *imagined*.

## A Note and a Chart Concerning Narrative Modes

The principal mode of our thinking is binary: on/off, hard/soft, true/false, etc. Our categories of narrative follow the pattern. Narrative is either factual (nonfiction) or nonfactual (fiction). The distinction is clear, and the feeble forms such as the "novelised biography" or the "nonfiction novel" that attempt to ignore it only demonstrate its firmness.

In the Valley the distinction is gradual and messy. The kind of narrative that tells "what happened" is never clearly defined by genre, style, or valuation from the kind that tells a story "like what happened." Some of the Romanic Tales certainly recount real events; some of the sober Historical Accounts concern events which we do not admit into the category of the real, or the possible. Here of course is the difference: where you stop, on what grounds you stop, and say, "Reality goes no further."

If fact and fiction are not clearly separated in Kesh literature, truth and falsehood, however, are. A deliberate lie (slander, boast, tall tale) is identified as such and is not considered in the light of literature at all. In this case I find our categories perhaps less clear than theirs. The distinction is one of intent, and we often do not make it at all, since we allow propaganda to be qualified both as journalism and as fiction; while the Kesh dismiss it as a lie. The accompanying chart attempts to show these continuities and discontinuities.



## Spoken and Written Literature



Some Valley texts were unwritten in two senses of the word. In the first place they have not, after all, been written yet. In the second place they never were written: they were oral texts. Those of the second kind included in this book have thus been translated twice, from Kesh into English and from breath into print—and, if you like, they can be translated back from print into breath, your breath.

The Kesh distinguished writing and speaking, the written and the spoken word, not as two versions of one thing, but as different activities with a large area of overlap, different languages with a large but not total area of translatability. They saw as a primary distinction between the oral and the written text the *quality of the relationship* established.

Undoubtedly one can and will say (formally or informally) what one wouldn't write (or wouldn't say knowing that it was being recorded). The writer's solitude might look like maximum freedom, but the immediate relationship between speaker and hearer(s) may increase freedom by increasing trust. (A writer of course may remain anonymous as a speaker cannot, but anonymity or a pen-name, denying the self, denies even the possibility of trust.)

Between writer and reader, the text itself mediates. It may be properly seen as a communication rather than a relation. In Kesh terms, the connection between writer and reader is not a present one: it is made in the nonpresent, in the Houses of the Sky—and so all written narration is in the Four-House Mode. But speaking a text, prepared or improvised, and listening to it constitute a relationship in the Five Houses of the Earth, a connection of present contemporaries, "people breathing together."

The written word is *there*, for *anyone*, at *any time*. It is general and potentially eternal. The spoken word is *here*, to *you*, *now*. It is ephemeral and irreproducible. (We might question the latter word: but mechanical reproduction, even the moving picture with sound, makes an image of but does not reconstitute the occasion, the time, the place, or the people there.)

The trust or confidence that can be established between writer and reader is real, though entirely mental; on both sides it consists in the willingness to animate, to project one's own thinking and feeling into a harmony with a not-yet-existent reader or a not-present and perhaps long-dead writer. It is a miraculous and entirely symbolical transubstantiation.

When the artist and the audience are together, collaboration on the work becomes mundane and actual; the work shapes itself in the speaker's voice and the listeners' response together. This powerful relationship can be, and in politics frequently is, abused: the speaker may appropriate the power to himself, dominating and exploiting the audience. When the power of the relationship is used not abused, when the trust is mutual, as when a parent tells a bedtime story or a teacher shares the treasures of the intellect or a poet speaks both to and for the listeners, real community is achieved; the occasion is sacred.

It would confuse things, however, to make a correlation of oral with sacred, written with secular literature, in the Valley: because the binary opposition sacred/secular was one they didn't make. There were indeed certain songs, dramas, instructions, and other oral texts connected with the great festivals and with sacred occasions or places, which they never wrote down or recorded in any way. For instance the Wedding Song, sung every year at the World Dance, known to every adult in the Valley, remained unwritten; it belonged "to the breath," they said. To reproduce such a text would be, in their view, most inappropriate, not because it was sacrosanct but because its oral/occasional/comunal character was *essential*. (When it was indicated to me that to record or transcribe would be inappropriate, I honored the request. A particular and valuable exception was made for me in the case of the death songs called Going Westward to the Sunrise, printed in the section called "How to Die in the Valley," and discussed again below.)

We mostly seem to feel it appropriate and desirable that all spoken words, even office memoranda, recordings of private conversations, grandmother's tales, be saved on tape, stored in memory banks, transcribed, written, printed, preserved in libraries. Perhaps not many of us could say why we save so many words, why our forests must all be cut to make paper to mark our words on, our rivers dammed to make electricity to power our word processors; we do it obsessively, as if afraid of something, as if compensating for something. Maybe we're afraid of death, afraid to let our words simply be spoken and die, leaving silence for new words to be born in. Maybe we seek community, the lost, the irreproducible.



Kesh poetry might be written down, or might not. It might be improvised, memorised and recited, or read—but when read, even by a reader quite alone in a room, it was read aloud. A good many of the poems and songs in this book were not written down by their authors or performers, but they were pleased to have us do so. When poetry is a form of conversation, you

might not try to record it all, but you do appreciate having your fine points noted. Other poems included here were written down by the author and given to the heyimas, where they would be kept in the treasury or archives for a while, and eventually sorted through and the paper recycled, or the text recopied and taken home by somebody who wanted it, or otherwise dispersed. Still others were performed aloud at Lodge teachings or other ceremonies; some of these were common property, others were given "by the breath" by one individual (author or owner) to another; these were property as gift.

I haven't tried to distinguish lyric poems from song lyrics. When I asked to write down the words of an improvisation or to record a song, the singer usually gave cordial permission, but not always. As a fourteen-year-old boy said when I asked him to repeat an improvisation so that I could tape it, "It was a dragonfly song, you can't make it come back."

When writing down songs with a "matrix" of repeated syllables, the Kesh usually wrote only the syntactically meaningful words and omitted the matrix, which often constituted both the bulk of the song and the most deeply felt or meaningful part of it. But that meaning was, in their view, carried by the music and by the breath, and miscarried by the written letters, I think they were right.

Instructions and descriptions of ritual and the order of a ceremony might be written or not written; I never found any consistent pattern. A hermetic tradition and a strong resistance to hermetic and esoteric practices ran side by side in the Valley. The reverse of the situation of trust I spoke about above is that a secret is after all best kept by the breath; to write a word is to publish it. In her life-story, Stone Telling refers to the mysteries of the Lamb and Warrior cults; though these had all been exposed, spoken aloud long ago, she still could not bring herself to *write* about them.

The songs and instructions of Going Westward to the Sunrise were both esoteric and common, both written and unwritten. The songs, sung by and for a dying person, were held in reverence. They were learned only from a designated teacher, a member of the Black Adobe Lodge; and teaching and learning took place at a certain time of year in a certain place set aside, a house specially built, the typical temenos or holy ground. Yet there was nothing secret about the songs at all. All adults learned them, sooner or later; children heard them sung on the First Night of the World Dance. They were, in the fullest sense of the word, common property. Yet, though a learner might write them down to aid memorisation, or the teacher write them for a person who had difficulty hearing an oral text, such transcriptions were always burned on the last night of the teaching period. The songs were never copied from writing, and never printed. Their publication here is a privilege granted by my teacher of the Lodge Rejoining, Mica of Sinsan, after careful consultation with people of the Black Adobe Lodge of Sinsan and other towns.

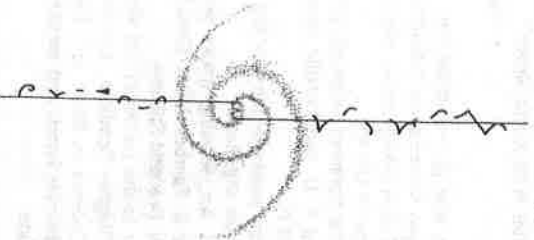
As for narrative fiction, it might be entirely oral story-telling of traditional or extemporised tales; or it might be retold or read aloud from a text—this

was often the method of the librarians, the more or less professional tellers of tales in prose and verse. Some narrative forms were entirely written texts, never performed aloud: biography, autobiography, the Romantic Tales, were transmitted "by the hand" not "by the breath," in manuscript or in print. Their essential character was to be *there* for anyone. The same is true for the great novels of the writers Marsh, Cowardly Dog, and Mole, which are alas far too long to include in this book, though I did get in a chapter of Wordriver's *Dangerous People*.

Much of what I have said about written and spoken words applies, in a general sort of way, to music. The Kesh had an adequate system of musical notation, but they used it mostly for student exercises, as a guide to practice. They did not choose to write down the score of any composition, though they might make a note of a tune, or of certain harmonies, or of matters of technique such as a tongueing or "hinge breathing" etc., as a reminder. Music was transmitted in performance. But, most strikingly, they did not choose ever to record performance. They allowed the Exchange to make and store electronic recordings when it asked to, and we were able to record a certain number of songs and performances; but in this we were doing something which they never did, and often it was tactfully indicated to us that replication of the music—of music—was a mistake, perhaps a mistake concerning the nature of Time.

Or to put it another way, what we consider both desirable and necessary they tended to consider a weakness and a needless risk: replication, multiplication.

"One note once only in the wilderness . . ."



## Pandora No Longer Worrying



Here as the ceremony begins to end and the heyya-if opens out, Pandora takes hands and dances with her friends, and among them beautifully dancing are these:

Bart Jones, who first heard the first songs, the quail and the creek, and sang them to me so that I could hear my people.

Judd Boynton, who told me how to make rubber from milkweed and how to recycle the waste and how to power the washing machine, and who showed me also how a man may dance dying, as Yeats knew:

"Soul clap its hands and sing, and louder sing  
For every tatter in its mortal dress!"

—"Sailing to Byzantium"

And the Other Owners, who gave us those four months.  
Jim Bittner, who provided *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, und andere Dingen.  
Jean Nordhaus of the Folger Poetry Series, who enabled me to hoot and croak in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Mrs. Clara Pearson of the Nehalem Tillamook people, who told the story which Kingsnake stole; and E. D. and Melville Jacobs and Jarold Ramsay, who recorded and reprinted it.

And those who make the music for the dancing: Gregory C. Hayes, who provided the time and the dancing place.

Masters of the Millers Art, working under the auspices of the Four Houses of the Sky, Douglas K. Faerber, Mibi himself, and Kimberley Barr, whom I name Nówelamaha, Beautiful Stillness.

And the singers, listen to the names of the singers: Anne Hodgkinson Beyūnaheo, and Thomas Wagner Tomhoia, and Rebecca Warner Ódabáh Handúshe, Woman Who Delights in Birds; and Patricia O'Scannell, David Marston, Susan Marston, Malcolm Lowe, and Meredith Beck. Híó dadamnes hanýa dóhayaú kounushúde!

## Pandora No Longer Worrying

The Three Who Cared for the Cow, my Virginia, Valerie, Jane, they are at the center, there would be no dance without them.

And behold the Geomancer, whose name measures the Valley, who shaped the hills and helped me sink half California, who went on the Salt Journey, caught the Train, and walked every step with Grey Bull—Heya Heggala, han es im! Amoud gewakwasur, yeshou gewakwasur.



# GLOSSARY

It was my intention in making this glossary to include all the Kesh words which occur in the text of the book or in the songs and poems in the recording that accompanies it. A number of other words were included for the pleasure of my fellow dictionary-readers and adepts of what an illustrious predecessor referred to as the Secret Vice.

## Kesh Numbers

|               |    |                            |      |
|---------------|----|----------------------------|------|
| ap            | 0  | chemchemdai...             | 26   |
| dai           | 1  | dídech...                  | 30   |
| hú            | 2  | dísechem...                | 35   |
| ide           | 3  | bekelchem...               | 40   |
| kle           | 4  | gahóchem...                | 45   |
| chem          | 5  | chúmchem...                | 50   |
| díde          | 6  | chúmchemdai...             | 51   |
| díse          | 7  | chúmchemchem...            | 55   |
| bekel         | 8  | chúmdíde...                | 60   |
| gahó          | 9  | chúmdíse...                | 70   |
| chúm          | 10 | chúmbekel...               | 80   |
| húchemdai     | 11 | chúmgahó...                | 90   |
| húchemhú      | 12 | chúmcíchúm...              | 100  |
| húchemíde     | 13 | chúmchúmhwaíhú...          | 200  |
| húchemkle     | 14 | chúmchúmhwaíde...          | 300  |
| ídech         | 15 | chúmchúmhwaíchúm.          | 1000 |
| ídechm        | 16 |                            |      |
| ídechmdai     | 17 | wedai: first               |      |
| ídechmhú      | 18 | wetú: second, etc.         |      |
| ídechmíde     | 19 |                            |      |
| ídechmkle     | 20 | hwaidai: once              |      |
| klechem       | 21 | hwaihú: twice              |      |
| klechemdai... | 25 | hwaiide: three times, etc. |      |
| chemchem      |    |                            |      |



## A

- a** 1. (prefix or suffix; indicates masculine gender. See also *ta*, *peke*.)  
2. (interjection; indicates vocative)
- ach** redwood (*Sequoia sempervirens*) tree or wood.
- adre** moon. To shine (of, or like, the moon).
- adre wakwa** the Moon Dance. To dance the Moon.
- adeleion** puma, mountain lion (*Felis concolor*).
- adevya** Venus (planet); the morning or evening star.
- adgi** (or) **agdi** wild dog (feral *Canis domesticus*)
- albre** purple, violet color.
- alha** young; new.
- aió** eternity, endlessness, openness. Eternal; endless, open.
- ai** ringtail, miners' cat (*Bassariscus astutus*).
- am** (usually precedes obj.) by, beside, next to, along, alongside; very shortly before or after, at nearly the same time as.
- ama** grandmother, female ancestor in the mother's line.
- amab** acceptance. To accept, to receive.
- amakesh** the Valley of the Na.
- amavaiat** grandfather (mother's father).
- amab** giving, the act of giving; generously; wealth. To give; to be rich, wealthy; to be generous.
- ambadush** giver, rich person, generous person.
- amhú** (usually precedes obj.) between, in between; (as noun) skin, surface, interface; (as verb) to be between, to be what separates or defines.
- amhúade** water skater (insect; see also *taidagam*)
- amoud** (usually precedes obj.) together, together with, in the same time or rhythm with.
- amoud manhóv** (to be) a member of the (same) family, to live together.
- an** (follows obj.) in; into; within.
- anan** (follows obj.) into.
- anassayú** madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*) tree or wood.
- anai** rainbow, spectrum.
- anaiyabe** Rainbow People.
- anyabad** learning (rather "what one needs or ought to know" than "what is to be known"). To learn.
- ao** voice. To voice, give voice, speak, say.
- ap** zero; blank.
- apap** a dice game.
- arba** hand; handling. To use the hands, to handle.
- arban** work, responsibility; to look after, to work with.
- arban hannuvrón** to take good care of, to work carefully.
- arbayai** "handminded," physical work done with intelligence, or the results of such work.
- aregin** coast, shore, beach; margin, edge.
- areginomhóv** "to live on the coast," i.e., to be celibate.
- arra** word. To speak (a language in which there are words).
- arrakon** (or) **arrakoum** (or) **rakoum** poem; poetry; poesis. To make or write a poem, poetry.
- arrakush** poet.
- arsh** (adj., pron., rel. pron.; subject of verb, agent) which; who; that/those which; he/she who.
- asai** (or) **asay** crossing. To cross.
- asalka** coming or to come across from the Five Houses to the Four Houses, or vice versa; hence, to die or to be born.
- ashe** man; male being. Masculine, male.
- asole** opal.
- ast** break, come apart.



**aya** learning; teaching; play; imitation, mimesis. To learn; to teach; to play; to imitate, to participate.

**ayache** manzanita (*Arctostaphylos* spp.) tree, shrub, wood.



**ayash** scholar, learner, teacher.

**aysha** indeed, to be sure, truly.

## B

- badap** gift (in the sense of talent, capacity).
- badó** pleasure, delight. To please, to delight.
- banbe** acceptance, inclusion; insight, understanding; female orgasm. To include; to comprehend; to have orgasm (female).
- barol** (or) **baroy** kind, kindly. To be kind.
- bata** (or) **ta** (or) **tat** father (biological father).
- belai** squash.
- beah** wall; shelter. To stand between, to shelter.
- beathan** indoors.
- beathrou** outdoors.
- beyunale** otter (*Lutra*).
- bi** (suffix; an endearment) dear.
- binve** (suffix) dear little.
- bibi** dear, darling.
- blinín** kitten, young of any species of cat.
- bit** fox (*Urocyon*).
- bitlín** fox cub.
- bod** clay pot, jar.
- bou** (suffix) out; out of, out from (see also *uon*).
- bral** wine.
- hwan** (or) **suinwan** white wine.
- dyuma** rosé wine.
- (About thirty kinds of wine were made in the Valley. The most famous were the red Ganais, Berreia, Tomehey, and Shipa; the rosé Mes made in Oumalin; and the white Tekage from the foothills of the Mountain.)
- bú** great horned owl (*Bubo*).
- búreure** (a plural) many, a great many.
- búta** horn.
- búye** (may precede or follow obj.) near, near to, close to, nearby, in the vicinity of, around the time of; nearby.



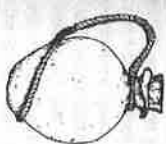
**boled** (precedes obj.) around, about (in spatial or temporal sense).

**boleka** return. To return, come back, turn back.

**bóé** acorn woodpecker (*Melanerpes formicivorus*).

## CH

- chan** relation, relative, family member.
- chandí** wood rat, packrat (*Neotoma fuscipes*).
- chebeshi** lemonade.
- checheni** a people, people living together in a group larger than a household; townsfolk, society; social existence. (People of the household, commonsals, are manhóvond.) To live in a town or village, to live as a social being.
- chemma** the Five Houses of Earth; (as adj.) Five-House, of the Five Houses.
- chemmahóv** to live in the Five Houses; i.e., to be alive, exist, be.



- chemmashé** Five-House being, Earth Person.
- chenats** doctor, expert in medicine, physician.
- geónkamats** singing doctor.
- nochenats** silent doctor.
- gearbarats** handling doctor.
- dweash** bringer-in (see *geduean*).
- chenatsiv hedom** Doctors Lodge.
- chep** (precedes obj.) without (see also *pouf*).
- chewitú** *chukar* (*Alectoris graeca*).
- chey** sharing, mutual ownership. To share, to hold in common.
- gochey** shared, common, mutual, public.
- chini** eggplant.
- chog** leather.
- chomadu** boulder, rock larger than a small goat lying down.
- choum** town, village, place where more than one household lives.
- chunu** flesh, substance of an animal or plant while alive (see *trued*).
- D**
- d, du** (prefix: indicates the word is functioning as a direct object noun.)
- dad** going. To go.
- dadam** going along. To go along.
- dade** touch, the act of touching. To feel, touch, skim, go upon.
- dagga** leg; agent of locomotion on ground (see also *hurgó*).
- dahabai** jackrabbits (*Lepus californicus*).
- dai** one; single, singly, alone.
- dahitúda** walking. To walk (on two feet; used of human beings, animals on their hind legs, and birds such as pigeons that walk).
- halda** to hop on two feet.
- yakleda** to walk on four feet.
- handsdadede** to crawl.
- dadam** to walk or go on more than four or an indeterminate number of feet.
- dam** earth, dirt, soil; the earth.
- damshe** Earth People.
- dama** the world; the cosmos; the Nine Houses.
- daó** moving, motion, action, activity.
- delup** heart (the physical organ). To pulse, throb, beat (like the heart).
- dem** width, breadth; to widen; wide, broad.
- depmchal** (usually precedes obj.) far, far from; away; at a distance, at another time, a long way/time from.
- deet** snake.
- deyón** toyon (*Pinotria arbustifolia*). "California holly."
- didunai** excess, superfluity, too much.
- ditú** little, small (but not brief; see *inye*). A pebble is ditú, not inye.
- dirats** blood. To bleed.
- diú** rising, arising. To rise, rise up, go up.
- diúna** southeast.
- diúnafar** east.
- doók** rock, stone; a rock not too large or heavy to lift.
- don** brindle, brindled, tabby.
- dót** sheep.
- dóto** ewe.
- dóta** ram.
- pedóta** weither.
- mebi, omebi, amebi** lamb.
- don** (usually precedes obj.) up; upon; over (see also *stou*, *lat*, *oun*).
- doubure** (a plural) many, a good many.
- doun** brown, or mixed color of dark, warm tone.
- douniadú olwe** an artificial "dragon" enclosing several dancers, which appeared during the Wine Dance; also called *daniv nodes*, Old Earth Snake. Earthquakes, as well as bodily tremors and feelings, could be ascribed to the movements of the Douniadú olwe underlying all the Coast Ranges.
- drevi** green, or yellowish green.
- dú** (may precede or follow obj.) through; throughout (an area or space).
- diúcha** son.
- diúcharat** half-brother, father's son.
- diúdam** enclosure, enclave, cell, room (usually underground). To enclose, surround, contain.
- diúde** clarity, transparency. To be transparent, clear.
- diú** a breed of sheepdog with very short curly hair.
- diúab (or) beria (or) tuk** poultry; fowl.
- diúme** calculate, figure out.
- diúmi** fill up, reach the limit; attain; win a game or a race.
- dir** red.
- dit** (pronoun, rel. pron., or adj.: object of verb) which, whom; that/those which, whom.
- dúe** bringing. To bring, to fetch.
- E**
- ed** sight, seeing. To see.
- em** extent/duration; space/time.
- emwey (or) emweym** ever, forever, always, everywhere.
- emwom** manifestation. To manifest, to be manifest.
- ene** maybe not. (Often used to mean "No.")
- ene 1.** (precedes obj.) after. 2. (follows obj.) then; next, next after.
- epe** end, halt, stop, interruption. To stop, cease, leave off.
- eppete** death (of living being), cessation, destruction, end (of nonliving being). To cease being, to end; not to be.
- er** northwest.
- eral (or) larer** north.
- erwaha** west.
- eabe** while; during; during the time that.
- etun** choice, option. To choose.
- ewal** Society; so translated in this book.
- A group of people formally organized with a common interest and the activities of such a group, guild, or cult; also the place where they meet or work.
- eye (or) ey** yes.
- farki** ground squirrel (*Citellus*).
- fas** soup, broth, juice.
- fat** clown.
- sutai** White Clown.
- drevifat** Green Clown.
- wedratat** Blood Clown.
- fehnum** incense cedar (*Libocedrus decurrens*).
- fege** tick, wood tick.
- fehoch** field, cultivated land, arable.
- fehochvoud** To farm, to cultivate.
- feitú** a poisonous mushroom (an *Amanita*?).
- fen** cord, string.
- fesent** moving in line, following. To move or go in line, to follow after. One after another.
- fiá** evaporation. To evaporate, to go into or become part of the atmosphere (used of water, smoke, breath, etc.).
- fini** a poetic contest of insults (filting or flying in the oed).
- fiyón** buckeye (*Aesculus californica*), a wild horse-chestnut which blooms in May and loses its leaves in late summer.
- fouré** beginning, start. To begin, to start.
- funú** a substance, apparently a residue of industrial products or byproducts, which occurs in small whitish grains or larger concretions, covering regions of the ocean surface and found on beaches and tidal flats, often to a depth of several feet; useless, indestructible, and poisonous when burning.
- fun** mole.
- G**
- galik** deer (*Odocoileus*? or similar, slightly larger new species).
- ogalik** doe.
- galika** buck.
- galikalha** fawn.

**gal** 1. ready (for), prepared; resolved, resolute, determined. 2. socketed, fixed, settled, tightened.  
**gam** buzzard, turkey-vulture (*Coliartes*).  
**ganai** creek, brook, stream. To run, flow (of a creek, or a small amount of water).

**gat** to hit, strike. Blow.

**gawaise** toad (*Bufo*).

**gebaya** Jupiter (planet).

**gedadha** direction.

**gedwean** bringing-in; a medical treatment, described in the section "Notes on Medical Practices." To bring in.

**gele** running. To run on two legs. (To run on four legs: *yaklegele*, *yakiele*, *leste*.)

**gettop** skunk (*Mephitis*).  
**gettop wevave**: cloudy skunk (the description sounded like the Western Spotted Skunk, *Spilogale*, but the Kesh insisted that the animal danced upon its hands while emitting a sweet perfume that attracted dogs, wild dogs, and coyotes and made them dance too until they died of exhaustion; hence, perhaps, a mythical animal).

**geved hanôya** meditation. To meditate.

**gowotun arben** to plant, to garden.

**gowotun (or)** mane dam gowotun garden, planted plot.

**gey** fire. To burn.

**houmgey** forest fire.

**geyi** tone (in music).

**gi** patient, attentive, waiting; patience; a patient person.

**gochey** shared, common, commonly owned or used.

**gôit** live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*) tree or wood.

**goldun** (*Q. wislizenii*).

**gôra** eating, drinking. To eat, to drink, to consume with the mouth.

**gou** dark, darkness. To be dark, to darken, grow dark.

**goutun (or)** **gedagoutun** twilight of morning.

**gouwoy (or)** **gedagouwoy** twilight of evening.

**grat** slug.

**gunyû** wild pig (domestic swine reverted to feral).

## H

**ha** way; wayfaring, journey. To journey, travel; to go on a way or one's way.

**hai** now.

**hai** bite. To bite.

**haiiron** fear. To fear, to be afraid.

**ham** breath; air. To breathe.

**handûshe** bird.

**han** 1. in a . . . manner, resembling, like. 2. (suffix, indicates use of the word as adverb; may be translated -like or -ly) 3. so.

**Han (es)** Im. So you are here, i.e., Hello.

**hannabeda** stream, flow, flowing, continuous coherent onward motion. To run, flow, pour, stream (of any substance).

**hanô** in such a manner that.

**bat** adobe clay or earth.

**durhatyma** the House of Red Adobe.

**hwanhatyma** the House of Yellow Adobe.

**hechi** a breed of domestic dog resembling a chow.

**he** action. To act, to do.

**hedom** Lodge: so translated in this book. A formally organized group of people learning, teaching, or practicing certain crafts, skills, rituals, bodies of knowledge, etc., and the practices and work of such a group, and the place or building where they meet and work.

**hedou** 1. great, major, important, notable. 2. the California condor (*Gymnogyps californianus*) or a closely similar species, but with a more northerly range and far wider distribution than at present.

**heggel** domestic dog (used when the breed or type is not specified).

**hebbi (or)** wî puppy.

**begon** black.

**hegouda** obsidian (volcanic glass).

**hegoudorma** the House of Obsidian.

**hebiô** a keepsake, treasure, object considered beautiful or sacred.

**hebiô-nô** an object, usually the size to be held in the hand and carried easily in a pouch or pocket, used as an adjunct to meditation or "sitting easily."



**hem, helm** [archaic] soul.

**hemham** breath/soul (one of the varieties of soul).

**heuni** (interrogative) what? what is . . . ?

**herb** 2 feet 9.2 inches: the basic unit of linear measurement in the Valley and in all cultures of the area except the northern Redwood Coast peoples.

The herb was subdivided into fourths, into fifths, into tenths, twelfths, and twenty-fourths, to give various "feet" and "inches," some of which were used preferentially in various professions (*e.g.*, paper was measured in ketei, lumber in eyai, wool fabric in dônehou, cotton in kumpetu).

**hestani** Art: so translated in this book. A guild or society of people learning, teaching, and practicing a skill, craft, or profession, and the practice itself.

**heve (or)** **hevevaho** soul (used as a generic term).

**heyimas** the building (variously evolved from a basic pattern of five-sided underground room with four-sided pyramidal roof) where the activities of one of the Five Houses of Earth took place.

The "Right Arm" of each Valley town consisted of the five heyimas laid out in a curve around the dancing place.

**heyiza** sacred, holy, or important thing, place, time, or event; connection; spiral, gyre, or helix; hinge; center; change. To be sacred, holy, significant; to connect, to move in a spiral, to gyre, to be or to be at the center, to change, to become. Praise: to praise.

**heyiza-if** a figure or image of the heyiza.

**hilla** enough (in, and adj.). To suffice, to be enough.

**himp** a small animal resembling a large guinea pig, domesticated in the Valley; said to occur wild in the Range of Light.



**hiô** (Invariant verbal form used to form imperatives and optatives; may be translated *may*, *would* *that*).

**hiô wôya (es)** may you be easy, i.e., goodbye.

**hiô dadam (es)** hanôya go along easily, i.e., goodbye.

**hiral** homesick, homesickness. To be homesick, to long for home.

**hish** swallow (*Tachycineta*).

**ho** age, old age, old. To be old.

**hoo** old woman.

**aho, hota** old man.

**hobevour** spirit, deity, supernatural or non-natural object; god. To be divine, spiritual, supernatural.

**bonne** rootlet, fine fiber.

**hosô** wood; timber.

**houdada** growth; bigness; swelling. To grow (in size), to increase, swell, swell up, get big.

**houlwo** Valley oak (*Quercus lobata*).



**houm** big, large, long and wide, long-lasting.

**hôn** staying, dwelling, living (in a place). To stay, dwell, inhabit.

**manhôn** to live in a house, or in a House (hence to be).

**hóvinye** to visit, stay a while, be a guest, or visitor.  
**hoyfít** raccoon (*Procyon lotor*).  
**but** two.  
**húge** division, separation, split, parting.  
**húgele** to run (on two legs).  
**húgele** two-legged being or person; human being, human. To be human.  
**huppalá** hop, jump with two feet.  
**húr** support, foundation; vehicle, that which carries. To hold up, carry, take, sustain.  
**hurga** leg (of chair, table, etc.); pedestal, support.

## HW

**hwa** sun. To shine (of, or like, the sun).  
**hwaáíha** south.  
**hwaba** southwest.  
**hwal** time (time of day, at which an event occurs, a point in time, a length of time). To time, to measure time.  
**hwan** yellow, golden.  
**hwapeweyo** the dry season (approx. May–October).  
**hwaqedíu** morning, forenoon.  
**hwaqgodíu** noon.  
**hwaqgenaló** afternoon.  
**hwaqgenaló** sunset, evening.  
**hwe** 1. (precedes obj.) in front of, before (in place or time). 2. (after a verb) forward, forth.  
**hwelesent** train, the Train.  
**hwerin** horse.  
**ohwerin** mare.  
**tahwerin** hwerin, stallion.  
**pehwerin** gelding.  
**klin** foal.  
**hwette** scrub oak (*Quercus dumosa*).



(Spelled **Whette** as a name, to conform to English spelling, in the text.)  
**hwette** *stidrevídoun* *Q. durva*.  
**hwik** half. To have.  
**hwikodoy** mule; ste-mule.  
**tahwik** he-mule.  
**two** oak (tree or wood).  
**hwoyon** acorn.  
**hwoi** help, assistance. To help, aid, assist.  
**hwoi** outbreath. To blow, to puff.  
**hwois** a dice game.  
**hwa** an industrial residue, occurring as fragmentary or fibrous matter, mostly in earth and as a water pollutant.  
**hwun** olive tree, wood, or fruit.  
**hwya** 1. (follows obj.) behind, in back of. 2. (after verb) back, backwards.  
**hwyahwe** reversal. To reverse.  
**wehwyahwe** reversed, backward (adj.).

## I

**im** here.  
**ime** lip.  
**imehu** lips.  
**imhal** here now, here and now.  
**iru** imhalan in this place at this time.  
**in** (diminutive prefix. Little . . .)  
**hwe** little, small, brief. (See also *diñá*. Most small living creatures would be *hwe*, not *diñá*, except perhaps a tortoise, or something small but notable for longevity.)  
**iral** home; being home. To be home, at home.  
**iraiwoi** dad to go home.  
**iríwín** Valley hawk, redwing or red-shouldered hawk (*Buteo*).  
**ishavé** wilderness, wild places, wild. To be wild.  
**ishavóien** feral cat (*Felis domesticus* gone wild).  
**iatut** wild tis (*Iris spp.*)  
**íigó** zenith, heights.  
**iya** hinge, connection; gyre; source, beginning, center. To connect, to originate.  
**inate**.

**iyakwun** love, mutual love, interdependence; love of people, place, cosmic love.  
**iyé** energy, power to work. To work.

## K

**ka** coming. To come.  
**kach** city (not used of Kesh towns).  
**kada** wave. To come and go, to move as or like a wave or waves.  
**kallítú** Valley quail (*Lophortyx californicus*).



**kaiya** turn, turning. To turn, turn round.  
**kakaga** dry streambed; arroyo. (The bed of a running stream is *genakaga* or *nahetva*.)  
**kai** the act of entering, coming in. To enter, come in.  
**kandra** duck (wild or domestic).  
**kien** leaving, coming out, exit. To leave, to come out.  
**kural** homecoming. To come home.  
**ke** (usually prefixed) female, woman, feminine gender.  
**kekosh** sister (see *kosh*).  
**kemel** Mas (plane).  
**kesh** 1. valley, esp. the Valley of the Na River; variants of the latter: *kesh-haya*, *amakesh*, *mukesh*, *keshnav*. 2. person, people, inhabitant of the Valley of the Na; variant: *keshivshe*. 3. the language of the human inhabitants of the Valley of the Na; variants: *arra-keshiv*, *arrawekesh*.  
**keshie**, **kesho** woman, female person or being.  
**kayem** sandal.  
**kima** war. To make war.  
**kinash** warrior.  
**kinashide** the Warriors (Society).  
**kíel**, **kíey** four-legged being or person; animal.  
**kima** the Four Houses of the Sky, (as

adj.) Four-House, of the Four Houses. **kienahón**, **kienashe** inhabitant of the Four Houses. To inhabit the Four Houses; hence, to be or to exist as such; hence also, in some cases, to be dead, to be not yet born, to be unreal, to be mythological, fictional, historical, or eternal. **kienashe** is usually translated as Sky Person in the text.  
**kilitú** chamise (*Adenostoma*).  
**kod** corn, maize.  
**koosh** sibling. The terms for biological siblings:  
**kekosh** womb-sister.  
**takosh** womb-brother.  
**souma** half-sister, father's but not mother's daughter.  
**dúchatai** half-brother, father's but not mother's son.  
The terms for siblings of one's House (not necessarily related biologically):  
**makosh** House brother or sister.  
**makekosh** House sister.  
**matakosh** House brother.  
(See the section "Kinfolk" in the text.)  
**koum** craft, creation, making. To make, to shape, to form.  
**gokoum** (n.) shape, form.  
**kulkun** mountain. (Ama **Kulkun**, Grandmother Mountain, is the dormant volcano at the head of the Valley of the Na.)  
**kwalýé** heart, in the metaphorical sense: emotional being, sensibility, feeling, feelings; intellect in the feeling mode, cognition informed by the senses, bodily knowledge. To think and feel, to know bodily or with mind and heart.  
**kwalýó** —woi dad to like.

## L

**labe** sleep. To sleep.  
**lama** intercourse, fucking. To fuck.  
**lamawenan** sexual passion or desire or love. To love, lust, desire.  
**lenaba** beauty. To be beautiful.

**leni** cat (*Felis domesticus*).  
**olen** tabby.  
**lena tom**.  
**binbin** kitten.  
**leste** to run on four feet (especially of small animals).  
**llm** hair.  
**lir** dream; vision. To dream, to have a vision.  
**lirsh** visionary.  
**lryl** like, seeming, seemingly.  
**lonel** bobcat (*Lynx rufus*).  
**louawa** sinking. To sink, to drain.  
**lde** amole (*Chlorogalum pomoid-ianum*).

M

**m, me** and; also, as well as.  
**ma** house (dwelling place). House (social/cosmic principle).  
**machumat** towhee (*Pipilo spp.*).  
**mal** hill, knoll.  
**maidou** ascent; uphill, upward. To ascend, to go up, to climb.  
**maio** descent; downhill, downward. To descend, to go down.  
**manou** mother (biological).  
**mane** (usually a partitive adj.) some; not all; a portion of.  
**manhuv** the act or condition of living in a house or a House. To live in a house or House; to inhabit, to dwell.  
**manhovoud** community, commensality.  
**maerl** household (the place and the people).  
**med** catails; bed of catails or reeds.  
**meddelit** left; Left-Hand (of the heyrya if figure).  
**mehol** to listen, pay attention (to).  
**memen** semen.  
**mip** mouse (when the species is unknown or unspecified).  
**aregimip** saltmarsh mouse (*Reithrodontomys*).  
**mibi** fieldmouse or meadow vole (*Microtus spp.*).  
**uti** deer mouse (*Peromyscus*).

**mo** cow, cattle.  
**amo** cow.  
**momota** bull.  
**mudi** ox, steer.  
**alhama, alhama** cal.  
**mudumada** muttering, buzz. To mutter, to buzz, to simmer.  
**mudup** brush rabbit (*Sylvilagus*).  
**mun** clay.  
**simum** blue or potters clay.

N

**na** river, esp. the River flowing through the Valley where the Kesh people live. To flow as or like a river.  
**nabal** freedom. To be free.  
**nabe** water.  
**nen** for.  
**no** stillness, meditation. To be still, unmoving, to be quiet.

O

**o** (prefix or suffix indicating feminine gender)  
**o, ok** (usually preceding or prefixed to obj.) under; beneath; below; down.  
**ob** (precedes obj.) to, toward (see also *woi*).  
**ogo** nadir, depths.  
**ohu** (interrogative, indicating the statement is a question; most often at the beginning, but may be anywhere in the sentence)  
**ohuhan** how much? how many? how? in what way?  
**olo** heron (*Ardea*).  
**olun** bay laurel, myrtlewood (*Unbetularia californica*) tree, shrub, wood, fruit, or leaves (used as condiment).  
  
**om** there; in that place.  
**rai om, rai om pehan** then and there, in that place at that time (a narrative formula).  
**one** maybe, perhaps.

**ohayú** music. To be or to make music.  
**ohkama** song. To sing.  
**onoy** donkey.  
**opal** frog (*Rana spp.*).  
**osai** bone.  
**ou** hound dog. To howl.  
**oud** (usually suffixed to obj.) with, along with.  
**outan** (usually suffixed to obj.) with; within; among; amidst.  
**oukaiit** night; on or of the Right Arm.  
**oun** (follows or suffixed to obj.) on, onto.  
**oya** ease. To be easy, to be at ease.  
**woya** easily.  
**hanoya** easily, with ease.  
**geved hanoya** sitting easily, i.e., meditation, mediating.

P

**p, pe** (prefix indicating negative or privative)  
**peo** achievement; sowing; ejaculation, male orgasm. To attain, achieve; to sow grain; to ejaculate, have orgasm (male).  
**parad** meadow, uncultivated field, fallow.  
**pawon** to hold, to carry in the hands or arms or next to the body.  
**petal** then (not now; at another time. Sequential *then*, next in order of events, is *ense*).  
**pehan** unbreathing, nonliving, dead.  
**pele** (usually prefix) male, of masculine gender.  
**petesh** foreigner, person not of the Valley.  
**peteshe** man, male being.  
**peua** foreigner, person without a House.  
**petru** other, the other, another.  
**petukesh** valley (other than the Valley of the Na).  
**pehal** drought.  
**peweyo** piece, portion; region, area, place era, time span.  
**wakway peweyo** dancing place, sacred area.

R

**rahem** souls (the various souls of one being, or the souls of many beings).  
**rava** speech, language, tongue. To speak, with or without words, to talk (see *arot*).  
**recha** hunt, hunting. To hunt.  
**rechude, rechudiv hedon** Hunters Lodge.  
**reysh** line; anything very long, thin, and straight.  
**hureysh** the line, tracks of the train.  
**rip** rib, spoke, bar.  
**ro** (reflexive pronoun) self.  
**ron** care. To care; to take care, be careful.  
**uvron** careful.  
**roy** courage. To be valiant, brave.  
**oweroy** valiant (woman), a name.  
**rai** (dem. adj. or pronoun) that.  
**tru** (dem. adj. or pronoun) this.  
**trutouyo** (or) **trunenyo** because; because of; on account of.  
**truwey** cosmos, universe.

S

**sa** sky. Sky.  
**saham** atmosphere.  
**sahamado** wind. To blow, of or like wind.  
**sahamno** still air, windlessness.  
**sas** (or) **desas** rattlesnake (*Crotalus*).  
**saya** (may precede or follow obj.) across.  
**sayaten** to send a message, to communicate.

sayagoten message.

she sayageten, sayatensh messenger.

sei lantern flower (*Calochortus spp.*).

sense (may precede or follow obj.) following, succeeding; after, behind; later than.

sepi fence lizard (*Sceloporus*).

set level, even, plane, smooth. To smooth, to plane, level off.

setalk (precedes obj.) preceding; in front of; before; earlier than.

sev grass, grasses.

seval 1. sheath, case, envelope. To sheath, to envelop. 2. a fatal degenerative illness. To be affected by this illness.

seyed eye.

huseyed eyes.

(SH listings follow S listings)

sishidu winter, cold weather.

sebe conduct, behavior. To behave, conduct oneself.

sode tree. To grow or form a shape or pattern like a tree.

sosode wood, woods, forest, wooded country.

soun hummingbird (*Calypte anna*).



stad danger, peril, risk.

stanai art, skill, craft; to do or practice something with skill, to do (something) well.

stehab to offer.

gostechab offering, thing offered.

stik falcon, sharpwinged hawk.

yesitik peregrine (*Falco peregrinus*).

inyesti sparrowhawk (*F. sparverius*).

stou, dou (usually precedes or prefixed to obj.) over, up, up across, upon.

stie, siestre California jay, scrub jay (*Aphelocoma coerulescens*).

su white; colorless. Whiteness. To be white.

su blue; blue-violet. Blueness. To be blue.

sudevidio serpentine (rock).

sudevidio the Serpentine House.

suum head; top, summit.

suum blue clay, potter's clay.

suumhyma the Blue Clay House.

susha grey, or a mixed color of light or cold tone; pale.

SH

sh (suffix, indicating agency; may be translated -er)

sha grey, or a mixed color of dark, cold tone.

shahu ocean.

shai malov shahu the Pacific Ocean.

shai rain. To rain, to fall like rain.

shaipeweyo rainy season (approx. Nov.-April).

shansa (a plural) some, some few, a few.

shasode digger pine (*Pinus sabiniana*).



she person; persons, people; being; self. To be a person, to exist (as a person or being).

shelve work, business, doing, industry. To work, to do, to act, to be active.

shestanal artist, craftsman, maker.

shewey everyone, everybody; every-thing; (as a plural) all, every.

sho as.

shoto 1. flicker (a woodpecker, *Colaptes*). 2. repeated multiple motions; sparkling, glimmering. To move or dance (of many people or objects) to sparkle, to glimmer or flicker.

shou large, big. (But not necessarily long-enduring; see *houm*. A mountain would be *houm*; a big cloud would be

shou. Most living creatures would be shou not *houm*.)

shun (suffix) at.

T

ta (prefix or suffix) male, of masculine gender, man.

tadeipah a miniature drama (a genre of oral literature).

tal (prefix or suffix) above; upon.

tadagam waterstrider (insect; also *am-hudade*).

tal (precedes obj.) before; preceding; in front of.

tar end, ending. To end, to finish, to come to the/an end.

tal (or) bada father (biological).

talvach City of Man, i.e., civilization.

ten to send.

telawo bat (*Myotis* or *Pipistrellus*).

tilro kingsnake (*Lampropeltis*).

tidwa blue-green, turquoise color.

ti honey.

to circle; wheel. To form or turn in a circle, to circle, to wheel or turn as a wheel. (If the figure or motion is broken or spiral, the word used will be *loudou* or *heyivo*.)

tox (not a Kesh word) a computer language taught to all human programmers by the Exchanges of the City of Mind and used in spoken and/or written form as a lingua franca among human beings of different languages.

tom ball, sphere, roundness; round.

tomol completion, fulfillment, satisfaction; to complete, fulfill, satisfy; complete.

top to keep.

topush keeper.

top hoard, treasure. To hoard.

ton (prefix signifying the noun is the subject of the verb; also signifying the agent in a passive construction, where it may be translated as *by*)

tondou an open or broken circle or ring; a circling motion that does not return entirely upon itself. The motion of a millwheel is described by the

word to (see above), but the motion of the water in and through the wheel is described by *loudou*.

tramad death, killing. To die; to cause to die; to kill.

treagalvarra wild geese in flight-skein.

trun bear (*Ursus americanus*? Pictures and descriptions indicated a larger animal, but this might well be exaggeration; it was spoken of as always black or dark but with white or grey underparts.)

truned substance of a living creature after death—meat, corpse, wood, straw, etc.; body in the sense of dead body (living body is *chun*).

tu through (a substance, hole, passage; see *di*).

tun (suffix) from.

tupade (a plural) some, more than a few, a good many.

U

ubbu middle; middling. To be in the middle.

ubbi owl (usually the screech-owl, *Otus asio*).

ubishi barn owl (*Tyto alba*).

ud, ude (prefix signifying the noun is the indirect object of the verb)

uddam womb. To be pregnant with.

uddamten, uddamuntun birth. To bear, to give birth.

uddangoten born, to have been born.

uddangotenshe one having been born, (hence) to be (of) animate beings only).

ude 1. (a plural) a group of, a number of. 2. (affix signifying a group, grouping, herd, etc.; thus *kinashide*, Warriors Society; *galikade*, a herd of deer)

udin Saturn (planet).

udou open; opening. To open.

u if.

um empty, hollow, void. To empty,

**úmi** bee, honeybee.  
**unne** love, trust, friendship, affection, loving kindness. To love, trust, to be a friend.  
**úrtle** dragonfly.  
**unahd** murder. To kill unjustifiably, without reason, in the wrong way, place, or time; to murder.  
**út** deerhouse (see *mip*).  
**uv** (prefix signifying use of the word as adv.; may be translated *characterised by, apt or able to, -ful, etc.*)  
**uvlemaba** beautiful.  
**uvyal** mindful.  
**uyuma** rose (*Rosa californica*).

V

**v**, **lv** (suffix signifying the possessive; may be translated *of, belonging to, or with the possessive 's, s'; also with the sense made of, consisting of, etc.*. Thus *noheuna*: river of water, *nanuche*: water of the river, river-water.)  
**vahab** salt.  
**vaherha** the Salt Journey.  
**vaherhedon** the Salt Lodge.  
**vana** not yet; almost; not quite; nearly.  
**vave** cloud, especially cumulus and cirrus types of cloud.  
**ved** seat. To sit; to seat.  
**geved** hanoya sitting easily, *i.e.*, meditating, meditation.  
**vedet** a severe congenital disease.  
**ven** (suffix) to (especially to a place).  
**veron** quartz.  
**veahave** fog, mist, low cloud, cloudiness. To cloud, to fog, to be foggy, misty, overcast.  
**vestidon** a game played on horseback, with a wicker ball and scoops.  
**veya** (a plural) some, a couple, more than one but not many.  
**videt** weakness. To be weak.  
**vodam** inland.  
**kavodam** to come inland, *i.e.*, to cease being celibate.  
**vón** shadow. To cast a shadow, to shadow.

**von** (suffix) outside, beyond; out, out of (see *bou*).  
**vúre** sand, sands.

W

**wakwa** spring, source of water, ceremony, festival, rite, ritual, observance; dance, mystery. To spring, flow from a source, arise; to hold or participate in a ceremony or festival or observance; to dance, to be mysterious, to participate in mystery.  
**wakwana** spring of water, headwaters, source of stream.  
**we** (prefix signifying use of the word as adv.; may be translated by *y, -ish, -ion, etc.*)  
**wenba** to find, to discover.  
**wenhash** finder. Finder (plural: *wenháde*).  
**wenhav** hedon the Finders Lodge.  
**wennu** desire, want. To want, desire, covet, like, love.  
**weshole** mean, poor, stingy, wretched.  
**wey** all; whole, wholeness; entire, entirety.  
**weywey** everything, all times and places.  
**wisáya** willow (*Salix*) tree and wood.  
**wo** seed. To be a seed, seeds.  
**wol, woy** (suffix) to, towards (see also *do*).  
**won** egg. To be an egg, eggs.  
**wotun** increase, maturation. To grow, mature, increase in being (for growth in size, enlargement, see *houddo*).  
**wu, wud** (prefix) again (signifies repeated action; may be translated *re*).  
**wudun** exchange, transference, some forms of barter. To exchange. The Exchange (computer terminal[s] of the City of Mind).  
**wukalya** return, repetition. To return, to repeat.  
**wurral** story; fiction; invention; telling. To tell, tell a story, make up, invent.  
**wurtrap** recitation; report; telling. To tell, repeat, report, make a report, recite.

**wural** reflection. To reflect; to return an image; to ponder.

Y

**ya** (precedes obj. or prefix) by; by means of.  
**yabre** vine.  
**braiv yabre** grapevine (*Vitis vinifera*).  
**soder yabre** wild grape (*Vitis californicus*), used as root stock for the wine-grape grafts.



**yai** mind; thought; thinking. To think, to give mind to.  
**yaiwach** the City of Mind, an autonomous computer network or organisation of artificial intelligence, represented in human communities by the terminals called *wudun*, Exchanges.

**yakle, yaklede** to walk or go on four feet.

**yalegele, yaklele** to run on four feet.

**yambad** (literally, *generously*) please. (Signifies the imperative mode when used with a verb, usually with *hió*.)

**ye** (prefix signifying use of the word as adv.; may be translated *-ly*)

**yebabe** to yield; to oblige.

**yem** shore, bank of stream or river.

**yí** note (in music).

**geyí** tone, played note

**yik** boat. To boat, to go on water in a boat.

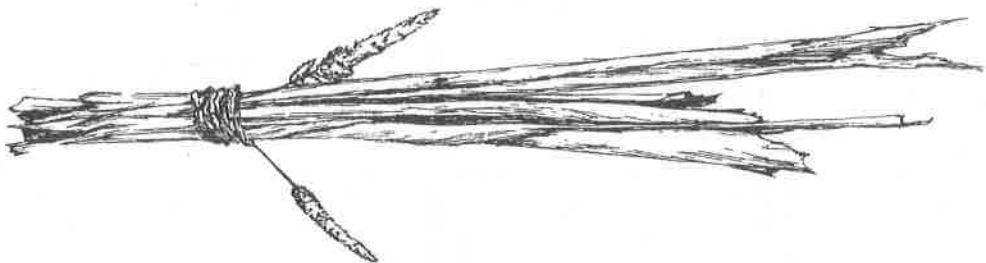
**yó, yówul** in order to; in order that; so that.

**yówal** coyote (*Canis latrans*)

**yówayo** Coyote.



**z** (suffix, signifying that the word is in the Five-House Mode, used only in colloquial speech)



## Stammersong

*From the Library at Wakuwcha.*

I have a different way, I have a different will,  
I have a different word to say.

I am coming back by the road around the side,  
by the outside way, from the other direction.

There is a valley, there are no hills around it.

There is a river, it has no banks.

There are people, they have no bodies,  
dancing by the river in the valley.

I have drunk the water of that river.

I am drunk my life long, my tongue is thick,  
and when I dance I stumble and fall over.

When I die I will come back by the outside road  
and drink the water of this river and be sober.

There is a valley, high hills around it.

There is a river, willows on its shores.

There are people, their feet are beautiful,  
dancing by the river in the valley.

