JOSEPH CAMPBELL

THE WAY OF THE ANIMAL POWERS

VOLUME 1

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF WORLD MYTHOLOGY

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FRONTISPIECE

1. The God and his animal messengers. The god's feet rest on the beaks of a pair of birds portrayed upside down. Bronze plaque known as the Lafone Iuevedo Disk. Diameter, 4¼ inches; thickness, about ⅛ inch. La Aguada culture, Catamarca, northwest Argentina, C. A.D. 650 to 750. Thought by some to represent the pre-Incan divinity Viracocha with his servants, Imaymana and Tocapu.



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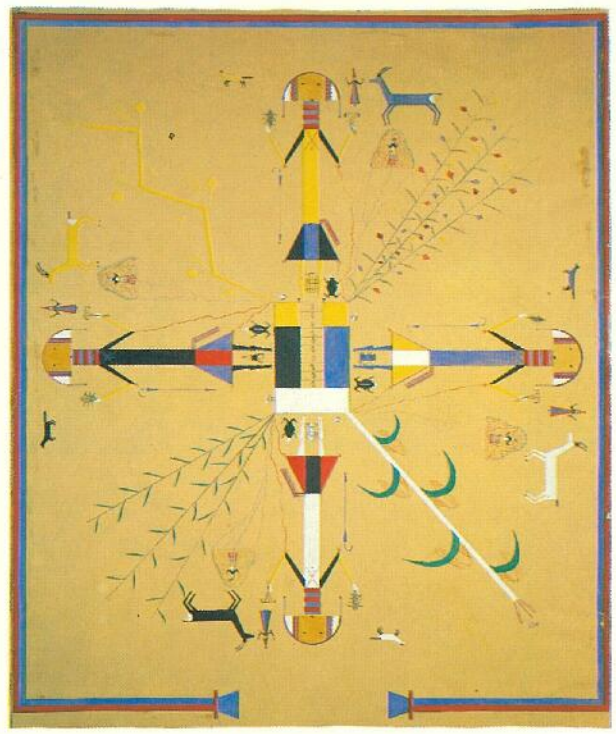
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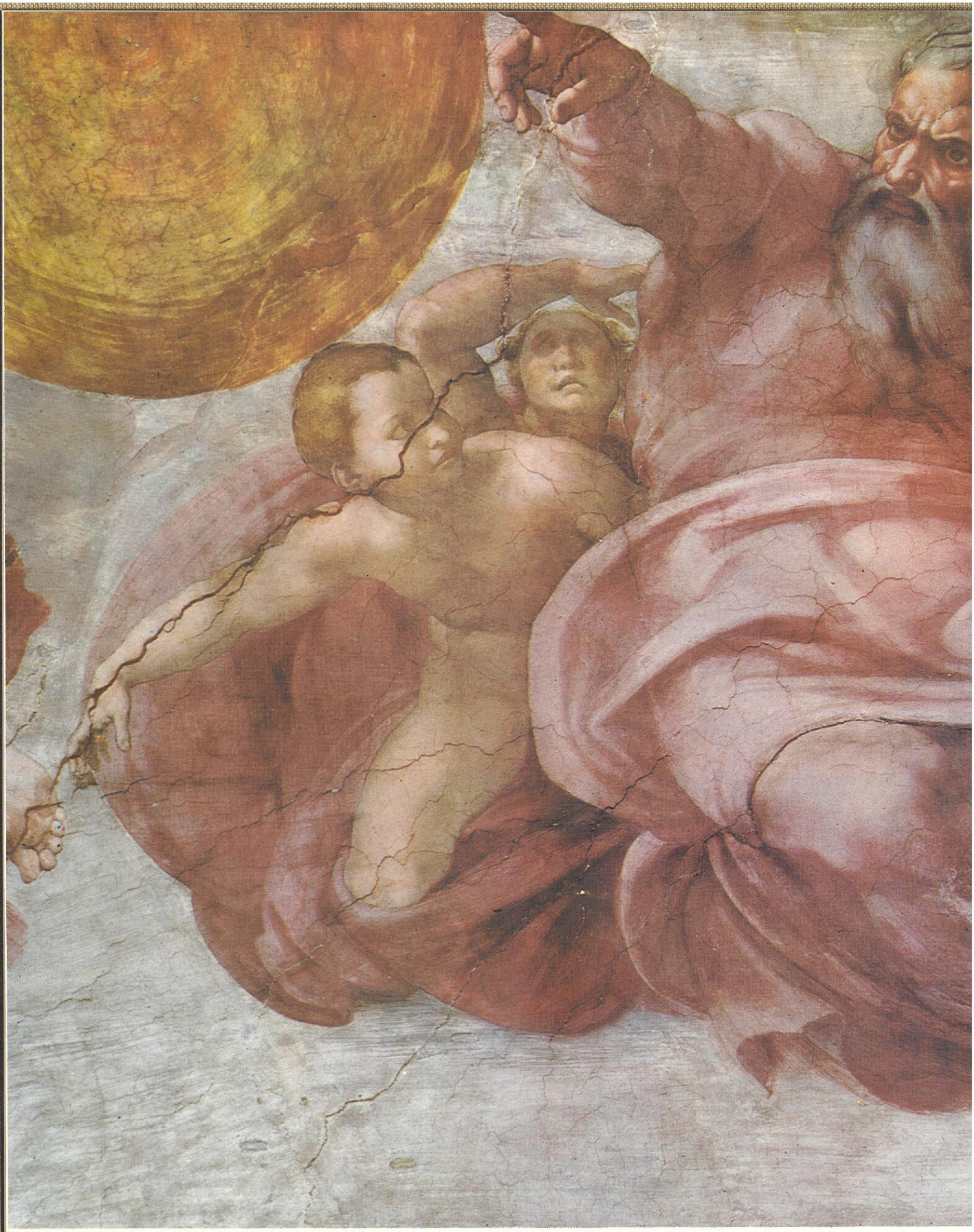
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PROLOGUE

"In the beginning,
when the King's will began
to take effect,
He engraved signs
into the heavenly sphere."

(*Zohar* 1:15)

2. Michelangelo, *The Creation*, ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the Vatican, Rome. Detail. Painted 1508 to 1512.

In the beginning of all things,
wisdom and knowledge were with the animals;
for Tirawa, the One Above, did not speak directly
to man. He sent certain animals to tell men that he showed
himself through the beasts, and that from them,
and from the stars and the sun and the moon,
man should learn. Tirawa
spoke to man through
his works.

CHIEF LETAKOTS-LESA OF THE PAWNEE TRIBE TO NATALIE CURTIS, c. 1904.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

We live, today, in a terminal moraine of myths and mythic symbols, fragments large and small of traditions that formerly inspired and gave rise to civilizations. Our prevailing, Newtonian world view is of a three-dimensional space, "always similar and immovable," within which changes occur through a dimension of time that is also continuous, absolute, and enduring. Here material bodies, drawn and held together by a mysterious force called "gravity," are moved according to mechanical laws of cause and effect, the cause of the world itself being represented as the act of a deity generally envisioned as an anthropomorphic "spiritual" body, intangible, yet capable of functioning physically as a "First Cause"—much as we see such a deity in Michelangelo's representation on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. As Newton himself wrote of this imagined act:

"It seems probable to me that God in the beginning formed matter in solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, movable particles, of such sizes and figures, and with such properties, and in such proportion to space, as most conduced to the end for which he formed them; and that these primitive particles being solids, are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard, as never to wear or break in pieces; no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation."[1]

But this hard-and-fast mythology is now itself breaking in pieces. Newton's "impenetrable particles" have exploded, and in the realm of subatomic physics that is opening to the mind's eye—beyond reach of direct scrutiny and to be known only by way of observed dynamic effects—the entire universe appears (to quote one recent interpreter) "as a dynamic web of inseparable energy patterns" that always includes the observer in an essential way.[2] This is to say that in what we think we know of the interior of the atom, as well as of the exploding stars in millions of spinning galaxies throughout an expanding space that is no longer, as in Newton's view, "always similar and immovable," the old notion of a once-upon-a-time First Cause has given way to something more like an immanent ground of being, transcendent of conceptualization, which is in a continuous act of creation now.

The first function of a mythology is to waken and maintain in the individual a sense of wonder and participation in the mystery of this finally inscrutable universe, whether understood in Michelangelo's way as an effect of the will of an anthropomorphic creator, or in the way of our modern physical scientists—and of many of the leading Oriental religious and philosophical systems—as the continuously created dynamic display of an absolutely transcendent, yet universally immanent, *mysterium tremendum et fascinans,* which is the ground at once of the whole spectacle and of oneself.

The second function of a mythology, then, is to fill every particle and quarter of the current cosmological image with its measure of this mystical import; and in this regard, mythologies differ as the horizons, landscapes, sciences, and technologies of their civilizations differ. Such a hunting tribe as the Pawnee of the North American plains, for example, would have known a world very different from that of the mid-Pacific Polynesians; nor can any of the experiences of such nonliterate, hunting, planting, and fishing folk compare with those of the peoples of the Roman, Achaemenid, and Chinese empires.

Adolf Bastian, a world traveler as well as a major ethnologist of the nineteenth century, recognized

in the myths and ceremonial customs of mankind a significant number of essential themes and motifs that were apparently universal. He termed these *Elementargedanken*, "elementary ideas." But he perceived, also, that in their appearances they were clothed always in local forms, which he termed *Völkergedanken*, "ethnic ideas." One determinant of the folk inflections was, as just remarked, the landscape. Another, no less influential, was the local moral order; for, if the first function of a mythology is the mystical, as just described, and a second the cosmological—that of converting every feature of the locally envisioned order of nature into, as it were, an icon or figure revelatory of Yahweh, Tirawa, Shiva, Huracan, or the Tao—a third function, no less important, is the sociological one of validating and maintaining whatever moral system and manner of life-customs may be peculiar to the local culture. Indeed, one of the most striking features of mythologies everywhere is their reference to mythological beginnings even of such indifferent customs as, for example, the shape of a hat, color of the border of a shawl, or way of parting one's hair.

A fourth, and final, essential function of mythologies, then, is the pedagogical one of conducting individuals in harmony through the passages of human life, from the stage of dependency in childhood to the responsibilities of maturity, and on to old age and the ultimate passage of the dark gate. And it is in its service to this function that the most evident of its elementary ideas, or universal themes and motifs, are to be recognized; for a human life, after all, whether in the Andaman Islands or in the city of New York, will have to pass from infancy to engagement in the world and on to disengagement in old age, after which the mystery occurs of death, the ultimate term to the no less tremendous *mysterium* of birth—between which terms there will have been so many minor cycles of sleep (with dreams) and waking.

The principal method of mythology is the poetic, that of analogy; in the words of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, it is "the representation of a reality on a certain level of reference by a corresponding reality on another:"[3] death by sleep, for example, or vice versa; and the experiences of sleep, then, as the (supposed) experiences of death; the light of the sun as of consciousness; the darkness of caves, or of the ocean depth, as of death, or of the womb; the waning and waxing moon as a sign celestial of death and rebirth; and the serpent's sloughing of its skin as an earthly sign with the same sense. There are many analogies of this kind that are recognized everywhere in the world. Others, however, are local or culturally specific: the majesty of the elephant as an earthbound cloud, for example, or the seven days of a seven-day week as the days of the Creation and God's Rest.

The history and geography of the rise and diffusion of specific myths and mythological systems can be readily reviewed in broad lines today and represented in such a way as to convert the rubble of the great moraine that is about us into a laboratory of revelations. For we have present in our libraries a prodigious literature of information, explication, and interpretation, as well as, still among us, living representatives of many of the most typical or imposing of the rapidly disintegrating traditions of belief: popes, lamas, and other learned churchmen; sheiks, shamans, rishis, rabbis, roshis, and rimpoches; even Stone Age tribesmen like the Tasaday of the Philippines, the Bushmen of the Kalahari, and the Nambikwara of Brazil.

The first and most important historical distinction to be recognized is that between literate and nonliterate orders, and among the latter, that between primary and regressed mythologies, that is, those of isolated tribes, uninfluenced by literate neighbors, and those, on the other hand, of tribes whose myths and customs have been derived in large measure from the Bronze or Iron Age or even later high-culture systems. Geographically, an important distinction is to be seen, furthermore, between the mythologies of Old Stone Age tribes inhabiting the great animal plains of postglacial Europe, Siberia, and North America, and those of the jungles of the tropical equatorial belt, where plants, not animals, have been the chief source of sustenance, and women, not men, the dominant providers.

The landscape of the "Great Hunt," typically, was of a spreading plain, cleanly bounded by a circular horizon, with the great blue dome of an exalting heaven above, where hawks and eagles hovered and the blazing sun passed daily; becoming dark by night, star-filled, and with the moon there, waning and waxing. The essential food supply was of the multitudinous grazing herds, brought in by the males of the community following dangerous physical encounters. And the ceremonial life was addressed largely to the ends of a covenant with the animals, of reconciliation, veneration, and assurance that in return for the beasts' unremitting offering of themselves as willing victims, their life-blood should be given back in a sacred way to the earth, the mother of all, for rebirth.

In contrast, the environment of jungle tribes is of a dense and mighty foliage, the trunks and branches of prodigious trees; no horizon; no dome of the sky; but above, a ceiling of leaves populated by screech-

ing birds, and underfoot a rough leafage, beneath which may lurk scorpions and lethal fangs. Out of the rot of fallen wood and leaves, fresh sprouts arise—from which the lesson learned appears to have been that from death springs life, out of death, new birth; and the grim conclusion drawn was that the way to increase life is to increase death. Accordingly, there has been endemic to the entire equatorial belt of this globe what can be described only as a frenzy of sacrifice, vegetable, animal, and human: from the African Guinea Coast and the Congo, across and throughout India, Southeast Asia, and Oceania, to Middle America and the jungles of Brazil. Moreover, in variously modified forms, the influence of this order of primitive rites entered and inspired much of the mythology of the higher cultures, where it survives in myths and rituals of sacrifice and communion with which many of us, of whatever religious affiliation, have been long familiar.

The beginnings of the world development toward higher, literate, and monumental civilizations are now generally recognized as having had as their seeding ground the fertile mudlands of the lower Tigris-Euphrates valleys. A mysterious people of unknown provenance known to scholarship as the Sumerians began settling there in the earlier part of the fourth millennium B.C., and by 3500 B.C. had established a cluster of little, brick-built city-states, organized around monumental temple compounds: Ur, Kish, Lagash, Shuruppak, Uruk, Ubaid, Nippur, and the rest, the first cities of their kind in the world. Moreover, it was by the priests of these temple compounds, ever increasing in size, that the arts of writing and mathematical reckoning were invented, together with an early science of exact astronomical observation, which had been made possible by recorded notations. The measured movements of the seven visible celestial spheres—Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn—along an apparently circular way through the constellations, led to the realization, altogether new to the world, of a cosmos *mathematically* ordered; and with this awareness, the focus of mythic concern radically shifted from the earlier animal and plant messengers to the night sky and its mathematics, with the ever dying and self-resurrecting moon as its lord and the five visible planets as the dominant members of a court. This cosmic order, illustrated in the heavens, was to be imitated on earth, where the festivals of the religious year still follow the seasonal signs of sun and moon, kings and queens wear radiant celestial crowns, and to the God whose glory the heavens proclaim, there is daily lifted the Christian prayer: "Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." The idea was carried to Egypt and appears there with the First Dynasty, circa 2850 B.C.; to Crete and eastward to the Indus Valley, around 2000 B.C.; to China with the Shang Dynasty, circa 1500 B.C.; and to Mexico, some four or five centuries later.

Today, as already remarked, the focal center has again shifted—to the patterns, not of the planetary courses, but of subatomic energy traces—with mathematics still providing the key to the reading of the messages. Yet, mankind is no closer to the mastery of that golden key than were the Indians of the North American plains to immediate knowledge of that One Above, who, "in the beginning," as the Pawnee chieftain Letakots-Lesa told Natalie Curtis in the first years of the present century, "did not speak directly to man, but sent certain animals to tell man that he showed himself through the beasts, and that from them, and from the stars and the sun and the moon, man should learn. . . . For all things speak of Tirawa." [4]

It has always been the business of the great seers (known to India as "rishis," in biblical terms as "prophets," to primitive folk as "shamans," and in our own day as "poets" and "artists") to perform the work of the first and second functions of a mythology by recognizing through the veil of nature, as viewed in the science of their times, the radiance, terrible yet gentle, of the dark, unspeakable light beyond, and through their words and images to reveal the sense of the vast silence that is the ground of us all and of all beings. Gods that are dead are simply those that no longer speak to the science or the moral order of the day—like Michelangelo's and Newton's God, for example, whose hypothetical act of creation occurred at some moment in an imagined past no longer recognized. And the formulae of a science remain dead unless there is someone like Letakots-Lesa around to read them as tokens, not only of practical information, but also of life's mystery: our biological schedule of the evolution of all living things, for example, to be viewed (as the atom is now being viewed) as denoting some kind of "dynamic web of inseparable energy patterns," in which all of us, whether knowingly or unknowingly, are included.

The unfolding through time of all things from one is the simple message, finally, of every one of the creation myths reproduced in the pages of these volumes—including that of our contemporary biological view, which becomes an effective mythic image the moment we recognize its own inner mystery. By the same magic, every god that is dead can be conjured again to life, as any fragment of rock from a hillside, set respectfully in a garden, will arrest the eye. This *Historical Atlas of World Mythology* is to be as a garden of thus reanimated gods.



3. Visionary mask from Spiro Mound, Leflore County, Oklahoma. Wood, 11½ by 7 inches, c. A.D. 1200 to 1600. The surface of the face was originally painted; shell inlays have been lost from the earlobes.

"Let There Be Light!"

(Genesis 1:1 to 2:4)

The Bible opens with two distinct creation myths: that of Genesis 1:1 to 2:4 (here given), and that of the Garden of Eden and Man's Fall, verses 2:4 to 3:24. The myth of Eden dates from the period (930 to 721 B.C.) of the Two Kingdoms, Israel and Judah; this of the Seven Days of Creation, on the other hand, is from the period of the Second Temple. It is a work of the Priestly School, of the prophet Ezra's time, fourth century B.C., and, with its assignment of the seventh day to God's rest, confirms the institution of the Sabbath. The earlier myth knew nothing of this institution and described a different order of creation: first, man; then, a garden for him to cultivate; next, the animals for his entertainment; and finally, woman, from his rib; after which, the Fall.

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters.

And God said, "Let there be light"; and there was light. And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day.

And God said, "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters." And God made the firmament and separated the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament. And it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.

And God said, "Let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. And God saw that it was good. And God said, "Let the earth put forth vegetation, plants yielding seed, and fruit trees bearing fruit in which is their seed, each according to its kind, upon the earth." And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation, plants yielding seed according to their own kinds, and trees bearing fruit in which is their seed, each according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.

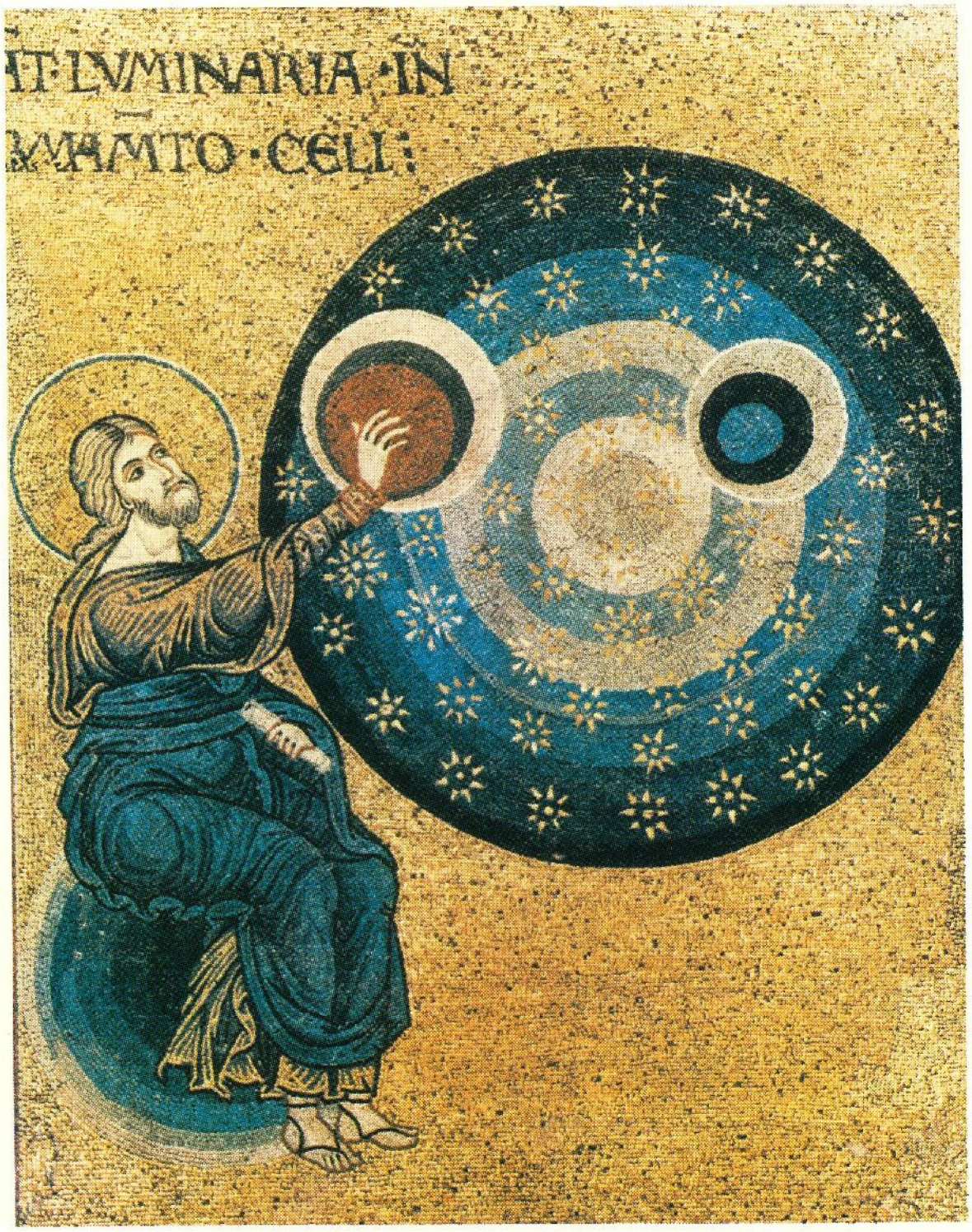
And God said, "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heavens to separate the day from the night; and let them be for signs and for seasons and for days and years, and let them be lights in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth." And it was so. And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to give light upon the earth, to rule over the day and over the night, and to separate the light from the darkness. And God saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

And God said, "Let the waters bring forth swarms of living creatures, and let birds fly above the earth across the firmament of the heavens." So God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves, with which the waters swarm, according to their kinds, and every winged bird according to its kind. And God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters in the seas, and let birds multiply on the earth." And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

And God said, "Let the earth bring forth living creatures according to their kinds." And it was so. And God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds, and the cattle according to their kinds, and everything that creeps upon the ground according to its kind. And God saw that it was good.

Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the earth." And God said, "Behold, I have given you every plant yielding seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit; you shall have them for food. And to every beast of the earth, and to every bird of the air, and to everything that creeps on the earth, everything that has the breath of life, I have given every green plant for food." And it was so. And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, a sixth day.

Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God finished his work which he had done. So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested from all his work which he had done in creation.[5]



4. Mosaic of the Fourth Day of Creation, from the cathedral of Monreale, built by the Norman King William II ("the Good") of Sicily, last quarter of the twelfth century A.D.



5. This serene triadic image of *Shiva Maheshvara, "The Great Lord"*—23 feet high, 19½ feet across, carved in the eighth century A.D. on the back wall of an immense hand-hewn cave on an island in the harbor of Bombay—is symbolic of the immanent ground of all being and becoming. The profile at the beholder's left is male, that at the right, female; the presence in the center is the mask of Eternity, the ever-creating *mysterium*, out of which all pairs of opposites proceed: female and male, love and war, creation and annihilation. Though beheld externally, this mystery is to be known internally, as the indwelling Source and End of all that has been or is to be. "Not female nor yet male is it; neither is it neuter. Whatever body it assumes, through that body it is served." *(Shvetashvatara Upanishad 5.10)*

Out Of One, The Many

(Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, 1.4.1–5)

The following text is from the earliest of the Upanishads, the *Brihadaranyaka*, which is of a date somewhere about the ninth century B.C., and thus about contemporary with the biblical legend in Genesis 2 of God producing Eve from Adam's rib.

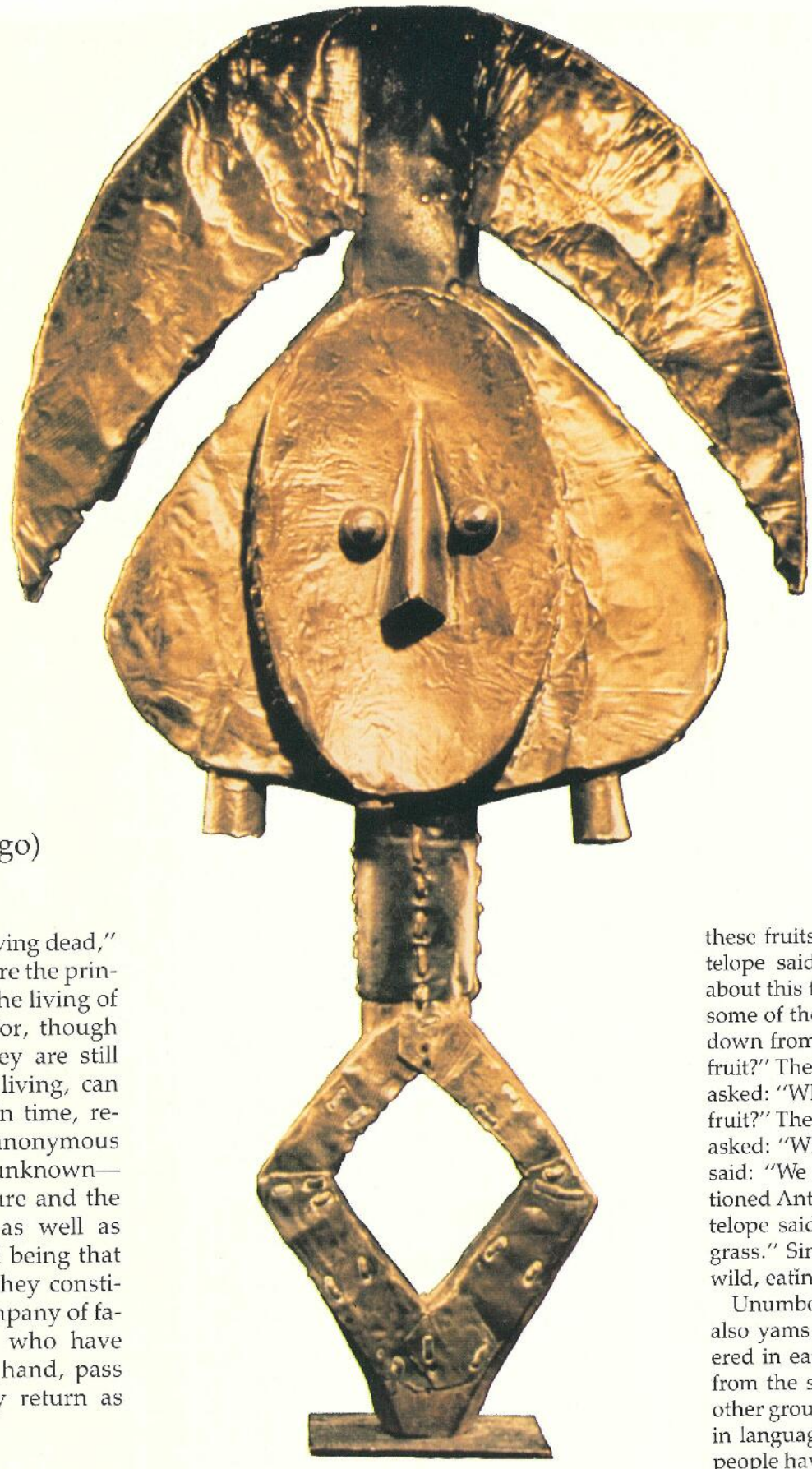
In the beginning, there was only the Great Self in the form of a Person. Reflecting, it found nothing but itself. Then its first word was: "This am I!" whence arose the name "I." Which is why, to this day, when one is addressed one first says, "I," then tells whatever other name one may have. . . .

That one was afraid. Therefore anyone alone is afraid. "If there is nothing but myself," it thought, "of what, then, am I afraid?" Whereupon the fear departed. For what was there to fear? Surely, it is only from a second that fear derives.

That Person was no longer happy. Therefore, people are not happy when alone. It desired a mate. It became as large as a woman and man in close embrace; then caused that Self to fall in two: from which a husband and wife arose. (Therefore, as the sage Yajñavalkya used to say, this body is but half of oneself, like the half of a split pea; which is why this space is filled by a wife.) He united with her; and from that human beings were born.

She thought: "How can he unite with me, after producing me from himself? Well, let me hide." She became a cow, he a bull, and united with her. From that cattle were born. She became a mare, he a stallion; she a she-ass, he a he-ass; and united with her. From that one-hoofed beasts were born. She became a she-goat, he a he-goat; she became a ewe, he a ram; and he united with her. From that goats and sheep were born. In this way he projected all things existing in pairs, down to the ants.

Then he realized: "I, indeed, am this creation; for I have poured it forth from myself." In that way he became this creation. And verily, he who knows this becomes in this creation a creator.[6]



Forbidden Fruit
(A Bassari Legend, Togo)

Throughout Black Africa the "living dead," that is the remembered dead, are the principal intermediaries between the living of the tribe and the Invisibles. For, though themselves now invisible, they are still engaged in the world of the living, can even be expected to return, in time, reborn, and so, against the anonymous background of the absolutely unknown—the distant unforeseeable future and the long-forgotten distant past, as well as those mysteries of nature and being that lie beyond comprehension—they constitute an enclosing, familiar company of favoring powers. Those dead who have been forgotten, on the other hand, pass into the unknown, and may return as dangerous spirits.

Generally an anthropomorphic Creator God is recognized—"Without father or mother, wife or children," say the Kenya Kukuyu. He once walked on earth, like the God of Genesis 2–3, but is now the ultimate Invisible, surrounding and including all.[7] The following legend is of the Bassari tribe of northern Togo.

Unumbotte made a human being. Its name was Man. Unumbotte next made an antelope, named Antelope. Unumbotte made a snake, named Snake. At the time these three were made there were no trees but one, a palm. Nor had the earth been pounded smooth. All three were sitting on the rough ground, and Unumbotte said to them: "The earth has not yet been pounded. You must pound the ground smooth where you are sitting." Unumbotte gave them seeds of all kinds, and said: "Go plant these." Then Unumbotte went away.

Unumbotte came back. He saw that the three had not yet pounded the earth. They had, however, planted the seeds. One of the seeds had sprouted and grown. It was a tree. It had grown tall and was bearing fruit, red fruit. Every seven days Unumbotte would return and pluck one of the red fruits.

One day Snake said: "We too should eat these fruits. Why must we go hungry?" Antelope said: "But we don't know anything about this fruit." Then Man and his wife took some of the fruit and ate it. Unumbotte came down from the sky and asked: "Who ate the fruit?" They answered: "We did." Unumbotte asked: "Who told you that you could eat that fruit?" They replied: "Snake did." Unumbotte asked: "Why did you listen to Snake?" They said: "We were hungry." Unumbotte questioned Antelope: "Are you hungry, too?" Antelope said: "Yes, I get hungry. I like to eat grass." Since then, Antelope has lived in the wild, eating grass.

Unumbotte then gave sorghum to Man, also yams and millet. And the people gathered in eating groups that would always eat from the same bowl, never the bowls of the other groups. It was from this that differences in language arose. And ever since then, the people have ruled the land.

But Snake was given by Unumbotte a medicine with which to bite people.

6. Ancestral Figure of the Bakoa of Gabon. Wood covered with copper strips.

"It is important to know," states Leo Frobenius, from whose *Volksdichtungen aus Oberguinea* this legend has been taken, "that as far as we know there has been no penetration of missionary influence to the Bassari. . . . Many Bassari knew the tale, and it was always described to me as a piece of the old tribal heritage. I have heard it told by a number of people at various times and have never been able to detect any significant variations. I have therefore to reject absolutely the suggestion that a recent missionary influence may lie behind this tale."[8]

The Light Within

(A Polynesian Chant, Society Islands)

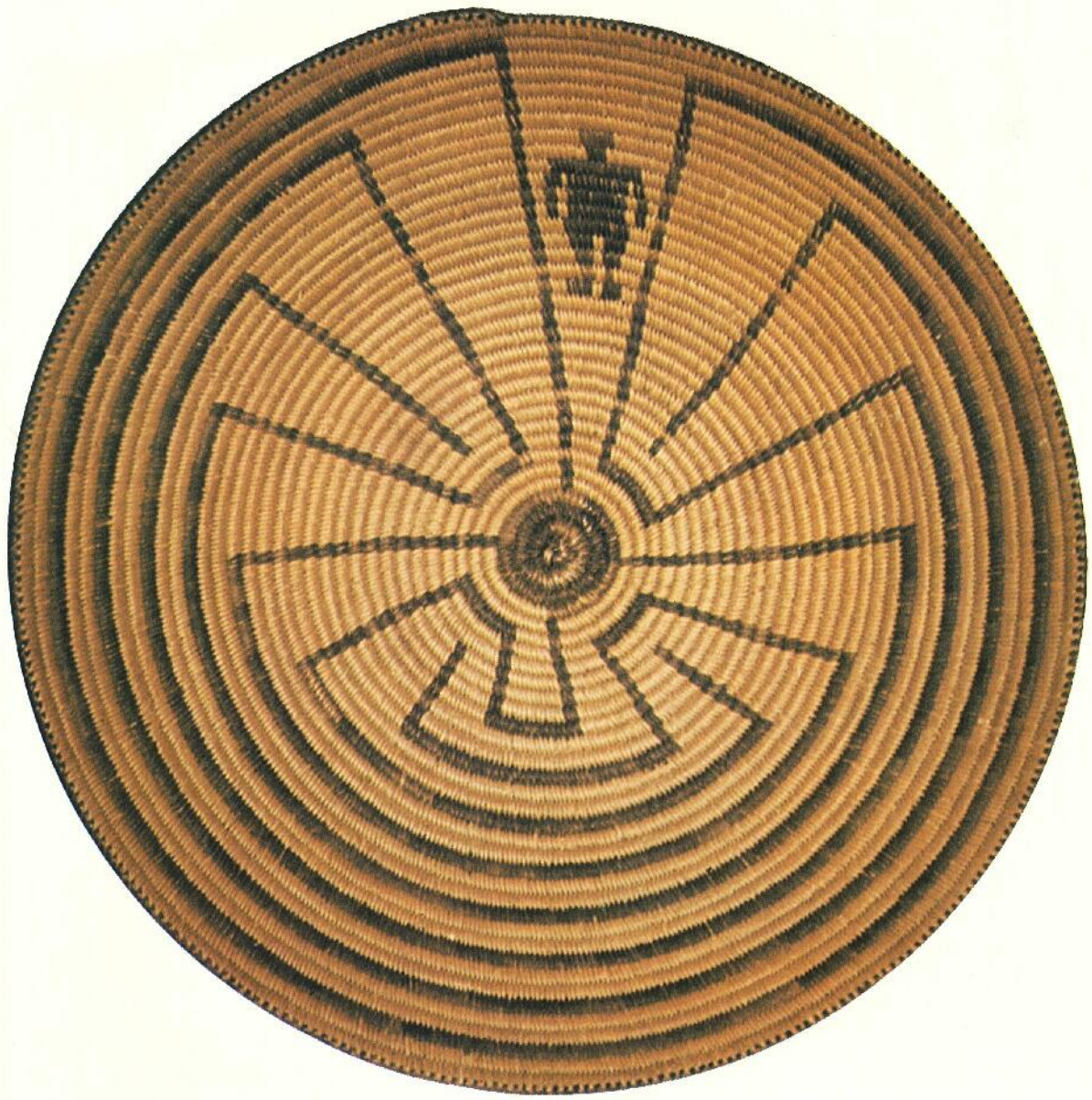
Two types of creation myth are known from Polynesia: one in which the universe emanates in stages from the void; the other in which the world-generating divine power is personified, as it is here in the sea-god known in the Society Islands as Taaroa, Tangaroa in the Austral Group, Tanaoa in the Marquesas, and Kanaloa in Hawaii. The "land of Hawaii," named at the close of the Society Island chant here quoted, is not the geographical Hawaii, but an imagined, ideal sourceland of the Polynesian race after which the island chain has been named.

He existed, Taaroa was his name,
In the immensity.
There was no earth, there was no sky,
There was no sea, there was no man.
Taaroa calls, but nothing answers.
Existing alone, he became the universe.
Taaroa is the root, the rocks.
Taaroa is the sands.
It is thus that he is named.
Taaroa is the light. Taaroa is within.
Taaroa is the germ. Taaroa is the support.
Taaroa is enduring. Taaroa is wise.
He erected the land of Hawaii,
Hawaii, the great and sacred,
As a body or shell for Taaroa.
The earth is moving.
O, Foundations, Rocks,
O, Sands, hither, hither,
Brought hither, pressed together the earth.
Press, press again. They do not unite.
Stretch out the seven heavens, let
ignorance cease.
Create the heavens, let darkness cease.
Let immobility cease.
Let the period of messengers cease.

It is the time of the speaker.
Completed the foundations.
Completed the rocks.
Completed the sands.
The heavens are enclosing.
The heavens are raised.
In the depths is finished the land of
Hawaii.[9]



7. *Tangaroa Generating Gods and Men.* Wooden image from a temple on Rurutu Island of the Austral Group. One of the very few Polynesian figures to have survived the nineteenth-century destruction of images, the figure, 44½ inches high, is now in the British Museum.



8. Pima basketry tray from Sacaton, Arizona. Diameter, 9½ inches. A.D. 1900 to 1905. The figure entering the maze is Siuhu, Elder Brother, a character from the creation myth here recounted. When the world had been created, he emerged from the center of the earth and later led his people from under the ground. But they turned against him, killing him several times, once even pulverizing him; yet, he always returned to life and at last departed. The maze design is called *Siuku Ki*, "Siuhu's House." It shows him going far into the mountains where the trails became so confused no one could follow.

Song of the World
(A Pima Legend, Arizona)

From Hovering Hawk, an old chief of the Pima tribe of southern Arizona, Natalie Curtis received this song and its myth, about the year 1904. "I will sing an old, old song," he told her, "a song sung by the Creator at the beginning of the world."[10]

In the beginning there was only darkness everywhere—darkness and water. And the darkness gathered thick in places, crowding together and then separating, crowding and separating until at last out of one of the places where the darkness had crowded there came forth a man. This man wandered through the darkness until he began to think; then he knew himself and that he was a man; he knew that he was there for some purpose.

He put his hand over his heart and drew forth a large stick. He used the stick to help him through the darkness, and when he was weary he rested upon it. Then he made for himself little ants; he brought them from his body and put them on the stick. Everything that he made he drew from his own body even as he had drawn the stick from his heart. The stick was of greasewood, and of the gum of the wood the ants made a round ball upon the stick. Then the man took the ball from the stick and put it down in the darkness under his foot, and as he stood upon the ball he rolled it under his foot and sang:

I make the world, and lo!
The world is finished.
Thus I make the world, and lo!
The world is finished.

So he sang, calling himself the maker of the world. He sang slowly, and all the while the ball grew larger as he rolled it, till at the end of his song, behold, it was the world. Then he sang more quickly:

Let it go, let it go,
Let it go, start it forth!

So the world was made. And now the man brought from himself a rock and divided it into little pieces. Of these he made stars, and put them in the sky to light the darkness. But the stars were not bright enough.

So he made Tau-muk, the Milky Way. Yet Tau-muk was not bright enough. Then he made the moon. All these he made of rocks drawn forth from himself. But even the moon was not bright enough. So he began to wonder what next he could do. He could bring nothing from himself that could lighten the darkness.

Then he thought. And from himself he made two large bowls, and he filled the one with water and covered it with the other. He sat and watched the bowls, and while he watched he wished that what he wanted to make in very truth would come to be. And it was even as he wished. For the water in the bowl turned into the sun and shone out in rays through the cracks where the bowls joined.

When the sun was made, the man lifted off the top bowl and took out the sun and threw it to the east. But the sun did not touch the ground; it stayed in the sky where he threw it and never moved. Then in the same way he threw the sun to the north and to the west and to the south. But each time it only stayed in the sky, motionless, for it never touched the ground. Then he threw it once more to the east, and this time it touched the ground and bounced and started upward. Since then the sun has never ceased to move. It goes around the world in a day, but every morning it must bounce anew in the east.[11]

SIUHU'S SONG

Here I have come to the center of the earth;
Here I have come to the center of the earth.
I see the central mountain;
I see the central mountain.

"Let It Thus Be Done!"
(The Popol Vuh, Guatemala)

The *Popol Vuh*, the Sacred Book of the Quiché, a people of the Mayan race of Guatemala, was copied, c. A.D. 1701 to 1703, from an original manuscript (now lost), by Father Francisco Ximénez, who was at that time pastor of the little parish of Santo Tomás of Chichicastenango. The original had been written in the Quiché tongue in the Latin script, c. A.D. 1550, some years after the holocaust of 1524, when the Conquistador Alvarado razed to the ground the Quiché capital, Utatlán, executed its princes, and scattered its people, some of whom arrived in Chichicastenango.

And it was apparently a princely priest of these refugees, already become Christian, who composed this precious, sole surviving document of a mythology otherwise lost. Father Ximénez's copy and translation remained unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg acquired it from "a noble Indian of Rabinal" and, in 1861, published the full Quiché text with a French translation. Ximénez's manuscript now reposes in the Edward E. Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

All was in suspense: calm, silent, motionless, and at peace: empty, the immensity of the sky. There was as yet neither man nor beast. There were no birds, fish, crabs, trees, rocks, caves, ravines, meadows, or woods: there was only sky. Not yet to be seen was the face of the earth; only the peaceful sea and a vast emptiness of sky. Nothing was yet formed into a body, nothing joined to anything else. There was nothing moving, nothing rustling, not a sound in the sky. There was nothing upright; nothing but the peaceful waters of the sea, quiet and alone within its bounds. For nothing as yet existed. In the darkness, in the night, there were immobility and silence. but also, the Creator and the Maker, Tepeu and Gucumatz: those that engender, those that give being, alone in the waters, like an increasing light.

They are enveloped in feathers, green and blue: hence the name, the Feathered Serpent, Gucumatz. Great wisdom is their being. Behold the sky, how it exists! how, also, the Heart of Heaven exists! For such is the name of God. 'Tis thus He is called.



THE END OF AN EON

9. Last page of the pre-Columbian "Dresden Codex" of the Maya. Along the top of the page are two rows of "serpent numbers," signs representing the prodigious sums of the Mayan astronomical cycles: the *kinchiltun* of 1,152,000,000 days, for example, or the *alautun*, of 23,040,000,000 days. Below, the rain-serpent sends a deluge. The old goddess, patroness of floods, with a snake crowning her head and crossbones decorating her skirt, overturns the bowl of the heavenly waters. And at the bottom of the scene the black god crouches, an owl screeching from his head, and with downpointed spears.[1]

This marks the end of such a cycle of time as that described in its beginning in the *Popol Vuh*.

And it was then that the word came. Tepeu and Gucumatz talked together in the darkness, in the night. They consulted, deliberated, meditated, matching words and counsels. And it was then, as they reflected, that they understood that when dawn broke man should appear. They planned creation: the growth of trees, of lianas, life, humanity. Thus it was arranged—in the darkness, in the night—by the Heart of Heaven, who is called Huracán. The first sign of Huracán is lightning; the second sign is the short flash of lightning; the third sign is the long flash. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

Together, Tepeu and Gucumatz deliberated, considering life and light: what to do to bring about light and dawn; who should furnish food and sustenance. "Let it thus be done! Be filled!" they said. "Let the waters recede and cease to obstruct! Let the earth appear and harden! Let the dawn illuminate sky and earth; for neither glory nor honor will be ours in all that we shall have created and formed until a human creature exists, the creature with reason endowed!" It was thus that they spoke while the earth was taking form through them. It was thus, truly, that creation took place and the earth came into being. "Earth!" they said; and immediately it was formed. Like a mist, a cloud, a gathering of dust, was this creation when the mountains appeared from the waters. In an instant there were great mountains. Only a marvelous power and magic could have brought about this formation of mountains and valleys with forests of cypresses and pines instantly upon them.

And Gucumatz was then filled with joy. "Welcome, O Heart of Heaven! And you, Huracán! And you, Short Flash and Long Flash!" "This that we have created and formed," they replied, "shall be finished."

Thus were first formed the earth, the mountains and the plains. And the watercourses were divided, rivulets running serpentine through the mountains, when the high mountains were unveiled. Just so was the earth created, when it was formed by those who are the Heart of Heaven and Heart of Earth: for so are those called who first made fruitful the sky suspended and the earth from the midst of the waters. Such was its fecundation, when they gave it life while meditating on its composition and completion.[12]

THE LIVING GROUND

The Universe, The Earth, and Earth's Life

The initial condition of the universe, according to one modern theory, was of a supercondensate of primeval hydrogen, which exploded 10 billion years ago with a "big bang." This produced an expanding hydrogen cloud within which galaxies condensed myriadfold while flying apart, as they must fly forever. A second theory has it that this state of expansion will be followed by a contraction, which in turn will end in a vast collision, again such an explosion, with galaxies then condensing anew while again flying to all sides. Nor will this cosmogonic oscillation of diastole and systole, in cycles of some 60 billion years, ever end; neither had it a beginning. A third view is of a steady state universe where there is occurring, throughout space, a continuous creation of hydrogen atoms, out of which new galaxies are condensing as the old, continuing to fly apart, pass out of range of astronomical observation.

Whether life exists within any galaxy but our own, or on any planet within our own solar system other than this earth, is a question unresolved. The earth, along with the other planets and moons, became solid some $4^1/_2$ billion years ago, and the earliest signs of life appeared in its oceans at least $3^1/_2$ billion years ago in the form of threads and spheres of one-celled, blue-green algae and bacteria.[13] The question of the origin of these earliest signs has been approached by experiments showing that when a sample atmosphere such as initially enveloped our planet—a mixture of hydrogen, ammonia, water vapor, and methane—is subjected to electric discharges and ultraviolet light, large numbers of organic compounds are obtained: fatty acids and amino acids, which are the building blocks of proteins. It is thought that phosphates, enzymes, and nucleic acids could have been formed in this way on the primeval earth under ultraviolet light energy. Enzymes catalyze the synthesis of compounds out of simple substances, and nucleic acids replicate. These being the fundamental processes of life, it is supposed that the earliest condition of life on this planet must have been as a watery "soup" of prebiological organic compounds, which became differentiated when quantities became enclosed in membranes, forming cells. It is all enormously mysterious and already wonderfully alive. The primordial, one-celled threads and spheres of blue-green algae and bacteria then produced the oxygen of our atmosphere as a byproduct of their living on the carbon dioxide and methane of their environment; and out of them all the known forms of life on earth to this day have evolved along the courses represented in our chart.

Millions of Years Ago: 4000 3000 2000 1000 900 800 700 600 550 500

Warmer / Present Mean Annual Temperature / Cooler

Continental Drift



1 End of Permian



2 End of Triassic



3 End of Jurassic



4 Mid Cretaceous



5 Circa Mid Cenozoic

Key

Animals

Hypothetical paths of origin

Intervals of subordinate importance

Intervals of dominance and diversity

Intervals of survival as "living fossils"

Plants

Primitive chordates

Echinoderms

Brachiopods

Bryozoa

Arthropods

Molluscs

Vermiformes

jellyfish

Coelenterates

Porifera

euglena

Protozoa

Thallophytes

algal stromatolites

bacteria

- Age of moon and meteorites
- Oldest known igneous rocks
- Oldest known sedimentary rocks
- Chemical evolution culminating in first anaerobic bacteria
- Photosynthetic anaerobic bacteria
- Continents begin to differentiate; 60% of all granites emplaced
- Aerobic photosynthesis and release of oxygen by primitive algae
- Oxygen breathing bacteria
- First eukaryotes (differentiated cells)
- Multicellular plants and animals
- Plate tectonics begin (crust average T° = 550 C°)
- Pangaea 1 (all continents joined)
- Pangaea 1 rifts begin to open
- Invertebrates develop shells

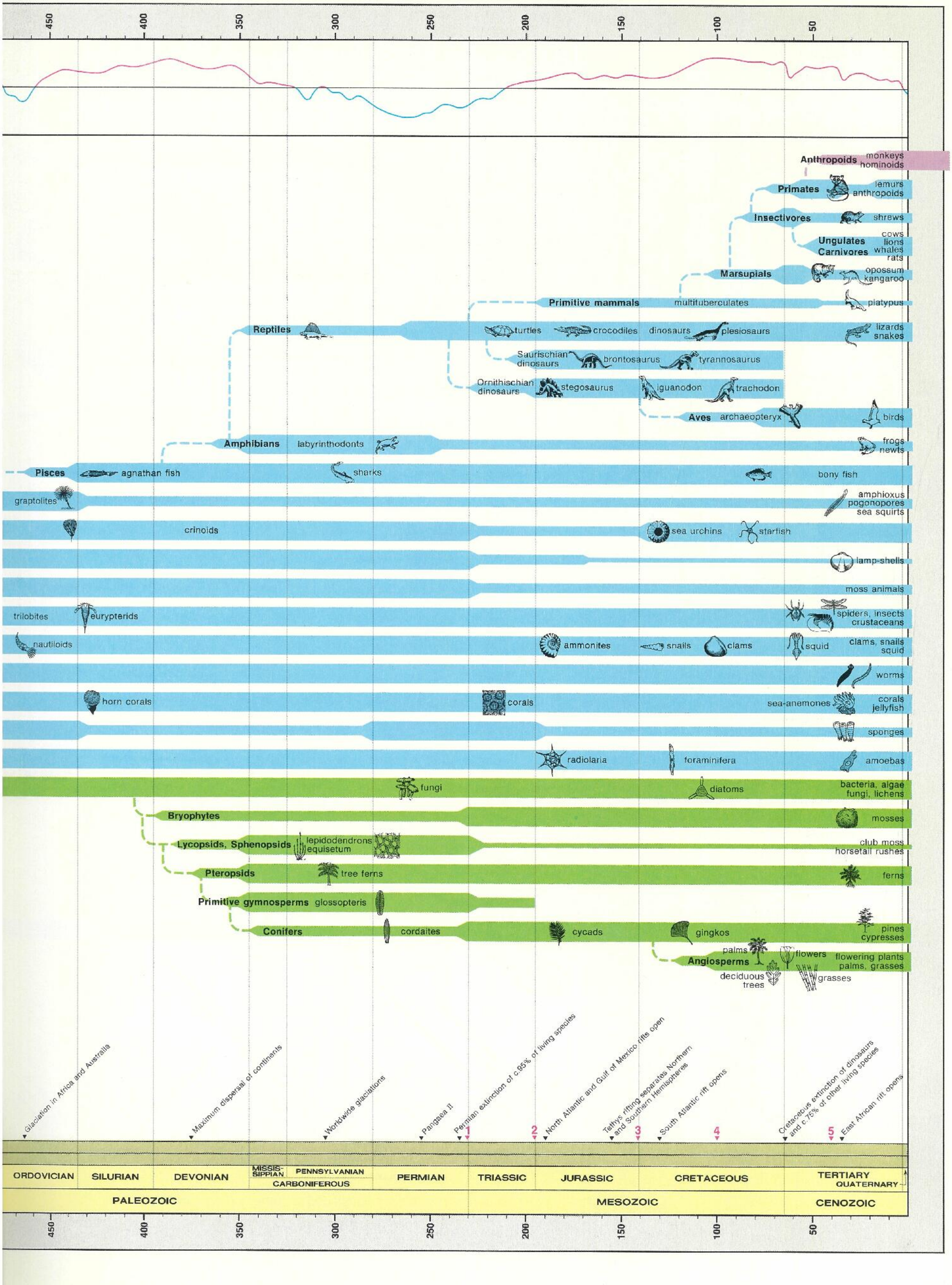
Oxygen in Atmosphere

Oxygen in Sea

Period: PRE-CAMBRIAN | CAMBRIAN

Era: ARCHEOZOIC | PROTEROZOIC

Millions of Years Ago: 4000 3000 2000 1000 900 800 700 600 550 500


450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
Anthropoids
monkeys
hominoids
Primates
lemurs
anthropoids
Insectivores
shrews
Ungulates
Carnivores
cows
lions
whales
rats
Marsupials
opossum
kangaroo
Primitive mammals
multituberculates
platypus
Reptiles
turtles
crocodiles
dinosaurs
plesiosaurs
lizards
snakes
Saurischian dinosaurs
brontosaurus
tyrannosaurus
Ornithischian dinosaurs
stegosaurus
iguanodon
trachodon
Aves
archaeopteryx
birds
Amphibians
labyrinthodonts
frogs
newts
Pisces
agnathan fish
sharks
bony fish
graptolites
amphioxus
pogonopores
sea squirts
crinoids
sea urchins
starfish
lamp-shells
moss animals
trilobites
eurypterids
spiders, insects
crustaceans
nautiloids
ammonites
snails
clams
squid
clams, snails
squid
worms
horn corals
corals
sea-anemones
corals
jellyfish
sponges
radiolaria
foraminifera
amoebas
fungi
diatoms
bacteria, algae
fungi, lichens
Bryophytes
mosses
Lycopsids, Sphenopsids
lepidodendrons
equisetum
club moss
horsetail rushes
Pteropsids
tree ferns
ferns
Primitive gymnosperms
glossopteris
Conifers
cordaites
cycads
gingkos
pines
cypresses
palms
flowers
Angiosperms
flowering plants
palms, grasses
deciduous trees
grasses
Glaciation in Africa and Australia
Maximum dispersal of continents
Worldwide glaciations
Pangaea II
Permian extinction of c.95% of living species
1
2
North Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico rifts open
Tethys rifting separates Northern and Southern Hemispheres
3
South Atlantic rift opens
4
Cretaceous extinction of dinosaurs and c.75% of other living species
5
East African rift opens
ORDOVICIAN
SILURIAN
DEVONIAN
MISSIS-SIPPIAN
PENNSYLVANIAN
CARBONIFEROUS
PERMIAN
TRIASSIC
JURASSIC
CRETACEOUS
TERTIARY
QUATERNARY
PALEOZOIC
MESOZOIC
CENOZOIC
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50

45.0 40.0 35.0 30.0 25.0 20.0 15.0 10.0 5.0 4.0 3.0 2.5

Anthropoids

Hominoids

Cercopithecoids

Aegyptopithecus

Proconsul

Kenyapithecus

Xenopithecus

Dryopithecus

Gigantopithecus

Sivapithecus

Ouranopithecus

Australopithecus afarensis

Australopithecus africanu

Dendropithecus

Pliopithecus

Limnopithecus

Oreopithecus

Victoriapithecus

Africa begins to move north across Tethys Sea; Italy and Balkans collide with Northern Europe

Antarctic glaciation, temporary landbridges exposed worldwide, first carnivores enter Africa

Closure of Tethys Sea by collision of Afro-Arabia and Eurasia in Persian Gulf area

Emigration of hominoids to Eurasia across Armenian landbridge

Worldwide expansion of grasslands

Antarctic glaciation, Mediterranean cut off and briefly evaporated due to glaciers withdrawing water from world ocean

Beginning of modern uplift of Alps

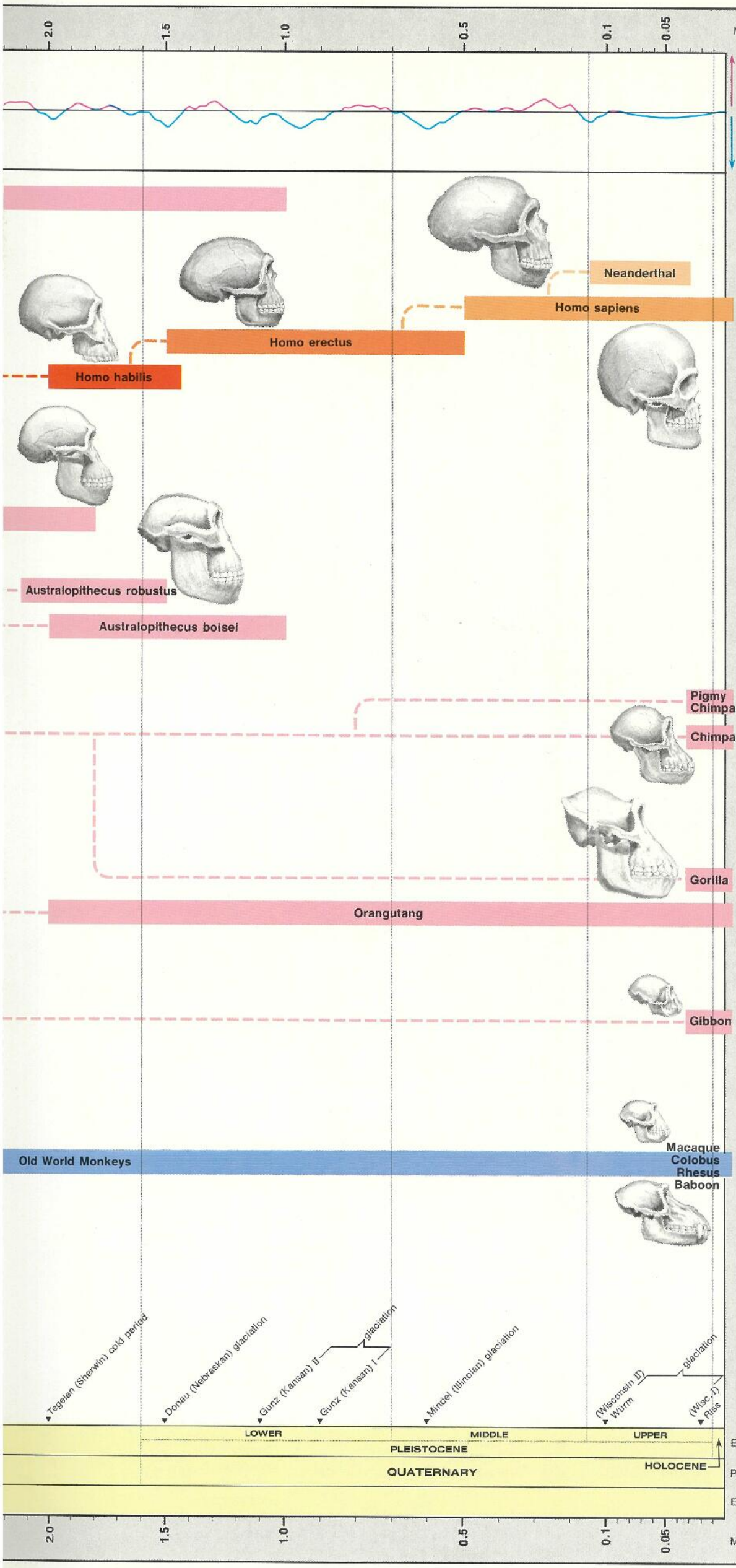
Biber (Bull La… cold period … Arctic ic…

EOCENE | OLIGOCENE | MIOCENE | PLIOCENE

TERTIARY

CENOZOIC

45.0 40.0 35.0 30.0 25.0 20.0 15.0 10.0 5.0 4.0 3.0 2.5



The Primate Connection

At the end of the Oligocene, Eurasia was separated from Afro-Arabia by a west-to-east seaway, the Tethys, of which the Mediterranean is the remainder. During the early Miocene, these land masses drifted together; major mountain systems arose (the Alps, Tauros, Zagros, and Himalayas); later, a cooling of climates occurred, with tropical jungles yielding to seasonal woodlands, grasslands, and savannahs; and as always happens with ecological transformations of such magnitude, new animals and plants appeared, new carnivores to prey upon herbivores adapted to new vegetation, and, among the primates, species adapted to a terrestial, instead of arboreal, manner of existence.[14]

The skull labeled *Proconsul* represents the extinct dryopithecine group now regarded as the probable ancestor of both man and the apes. Dryopithecines were "probably medium-sized arboreal apes (weighing 30 to 50 pounds), with fore- and hindlimbs of approximately equal length, relatively short stout trunks, broad shallow thoraxes, and shoulder girdles adapted to suspensatory posturing and arm swinging."[15] Following the juncture of the land masses, this group spread from Africa (*Kenyapithecus*) to northwest India (*Sivapithecus*) and Europe (*Ouranopithecus*), and their mandibles and teeth began to show features symptomatic of a turn to terrestrial feeding and habitation. Roughly grouped as ramapithecines, specimens of this later kind are known from India, Pakistan, Greece, Austria, Hungary, China, and Kenya.

In Africa, *Kenyapithecus* descendents evolved into the earliest fully bipedal primates, the australopithecines, and were ancestral, not only to *Australopithecus afarensis*, (in Ethiopia and Tanzania, the earliest known species) and the later australopithecines (*A. africanus* and *A. robustus* of South Africa, *A. boisei* of Tanzania), but also to the meat-eating genus *Homo*—for which, then, three successive species of increasing cranial capacities are recognized: *habilis, erectus,* and *sapiens*. The vegetarian or omnivorous australopithecines never evolved beyond the cranial capacity of a gorilla, and by a million years ago they were extinct.

In trans-Himalayan Asia, meanwhile, there had evolved from the dryopithecines a large bipedal ape, *Gigantopithecus;* adapted to open country, it seems not to have survived the Ice Ages, yet may somehow be responsible for the legends from that area of the Yeti, or Abominable Snowman.

The two lineages at the bottom of the chart represent hypothetical sequences from African origins: the one above leading to the Indonesian gibbon and siamang, and that below, to all Old World monkeys. *Dendropithecus* and *Limnopithecus* were lightweight, tree-dwelling, African dryopithecines that were apparently replaced by the evolving monkeys.

Men and Tools of the Old Stone Age

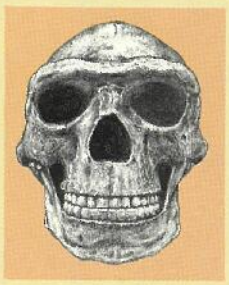
HOMO HABILIS 5,000,000(?) to 1,600,000 B.P.*



10. Skull from Lake Turkana site, northern Kenya, c. 2,000,-000 B.P. Cranial capacity c. 800 cc. *H. habilis* range: 480 to 800 cc. The earliest known stone tools (from Hadar in Ethiopia) were the work of *H. habilis*.

14. Mankind's earliest stone tools, "pebble tools" and "choppers," first made by *Homo habilis*, 2,750,000 or more B.P., continued in use in China and Southeast Asia to the end of the Paleolithic. Similar tools are today being used in the Philippines by the Tasaday. They are simply water-worn cobbles crudely flaked on one side to form a jagged cutting edge and may be hafted to a stick.

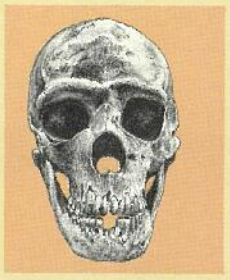
HOMO ERECTUS 1,600,000 to 75,000 B.P.



11. Sinanthropus ("Peking Man"), from Choukoutien, near Peking (Beijing), c. 360,000 B.P. Capacities of four "Peking" skulls: 1015 to 1225 cc. *H. erectus* range: 774 to 1250 cc. One relic, from Vértesszöllös, Hungary: 1400 cc. +.

15. Bifacial hand axes, shaped by thinning down nodules on two faces to form an edge, are of two orders: the Abbevillian (earlier forms) and the Acheulian (more finished). Early specimens of both appeared 750,000 to 430,000 B.P. Though named for the European sites where first found, the industries are well known, with little or no change, in Africa, Northwest India, and the Near East—indicating a broad diffusion of learned skills.

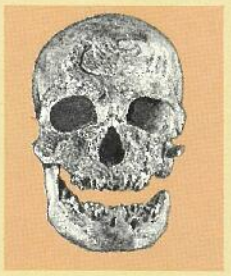
Archaic HOMO SAPIENS 500,000 to 40,000 B.P.



12. *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* (Neanderthal), from Shanidar, Iraq, 60,000 B.P. Cranial capacity: 1700 cc. Neanderthal ranges: ♀ 1300 to 1425 cc., ♂ 1525 to 1700 cc.; mean heights: ♀ 4 feet 10 inches, ♂ 5 feet 5 inches.

16. Levalloisian flake tools, in contrast to bifacial hand axes, were struck from nuclear cores, then "retouched" to various uses. The Mousterian, flake-tool industry distinguished by fine retouching, originated possibly c. 240,000 B.P., but became associated with *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*. It is found distributed from western Europe through the Near East. In some areas Levalloisian techniques combined with it to constitute a mixed Levalloiso-Mousterian style, which spread down East Africa to the Cape. In Northwest Africa, a local flake culture, the Aterian, followed the Acheulian.

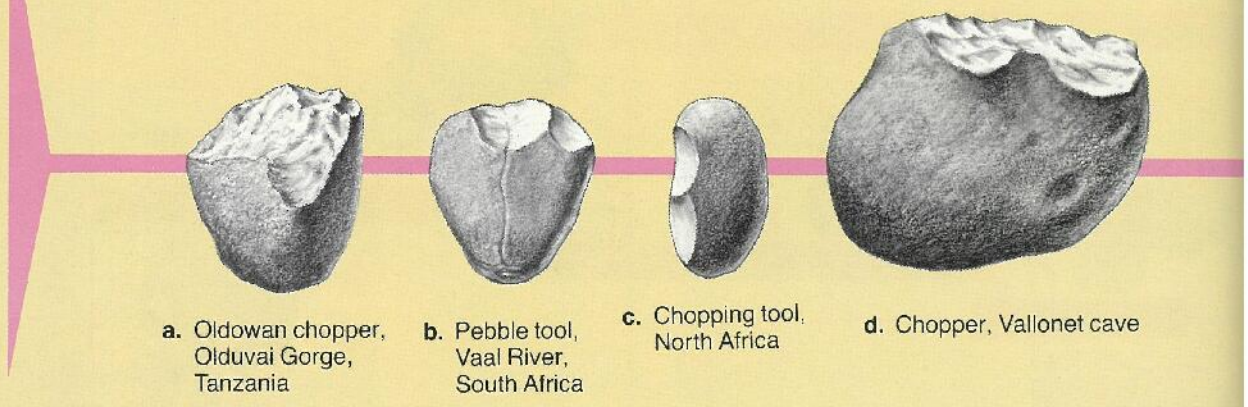
Modern HOMO SAPIENS from 40,000 B.P.

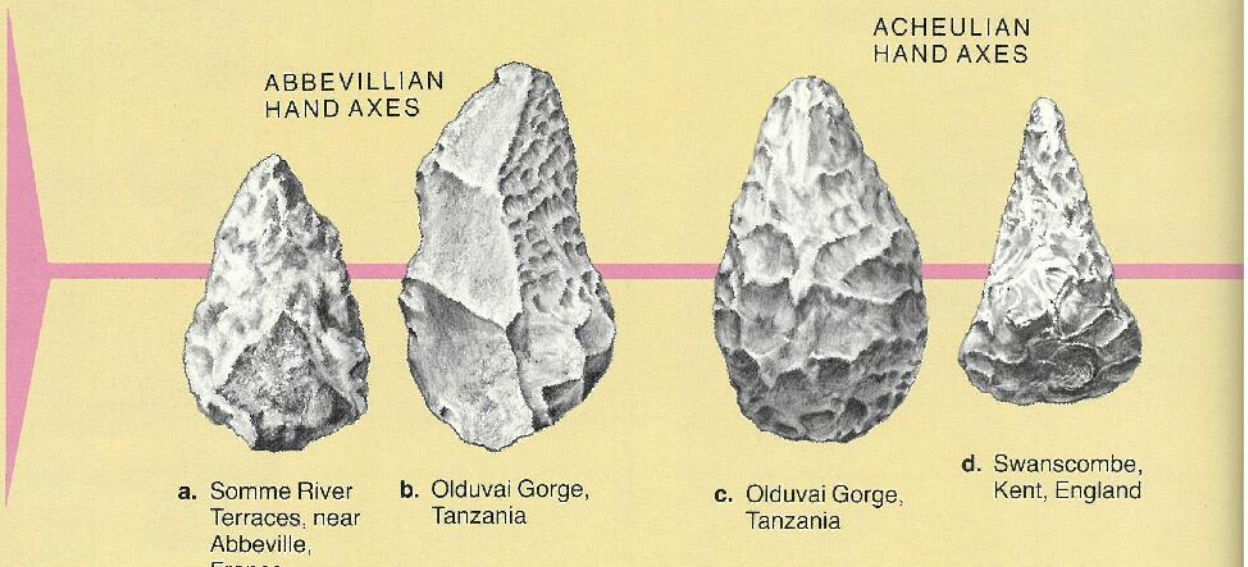


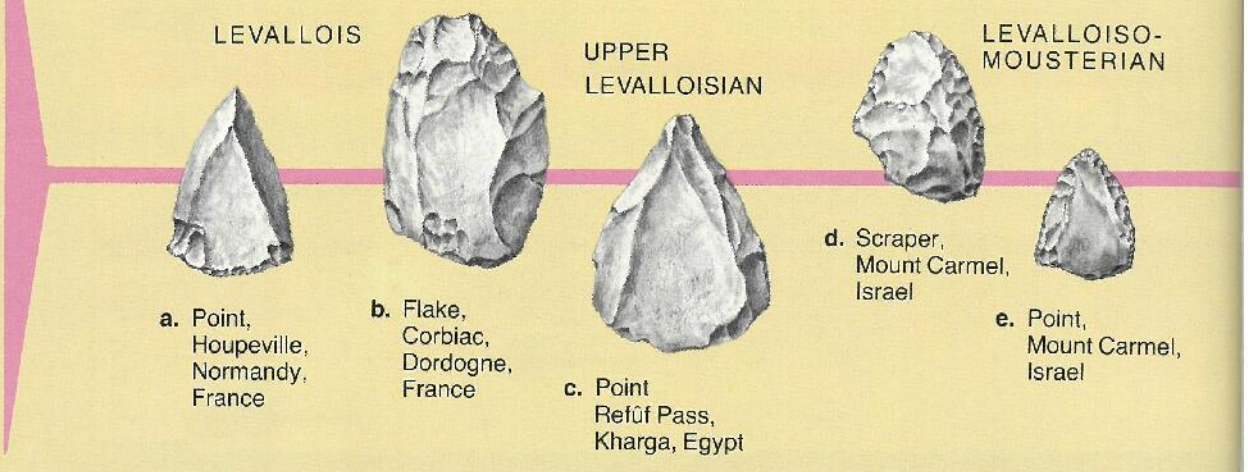
13. *Homo sapiens sapiens* (Cro-Magnon Man) from Dordogne, France, c. 20,000 B.P. Cranial capacity: 1580 cc. Fossil-*sapiens* means: ♀ 1370 cc., ♂ 1580 cc.; mean heights: ♀ 5 feet 1 inch, ♂ 5 feet 3 inches to 6 feet.

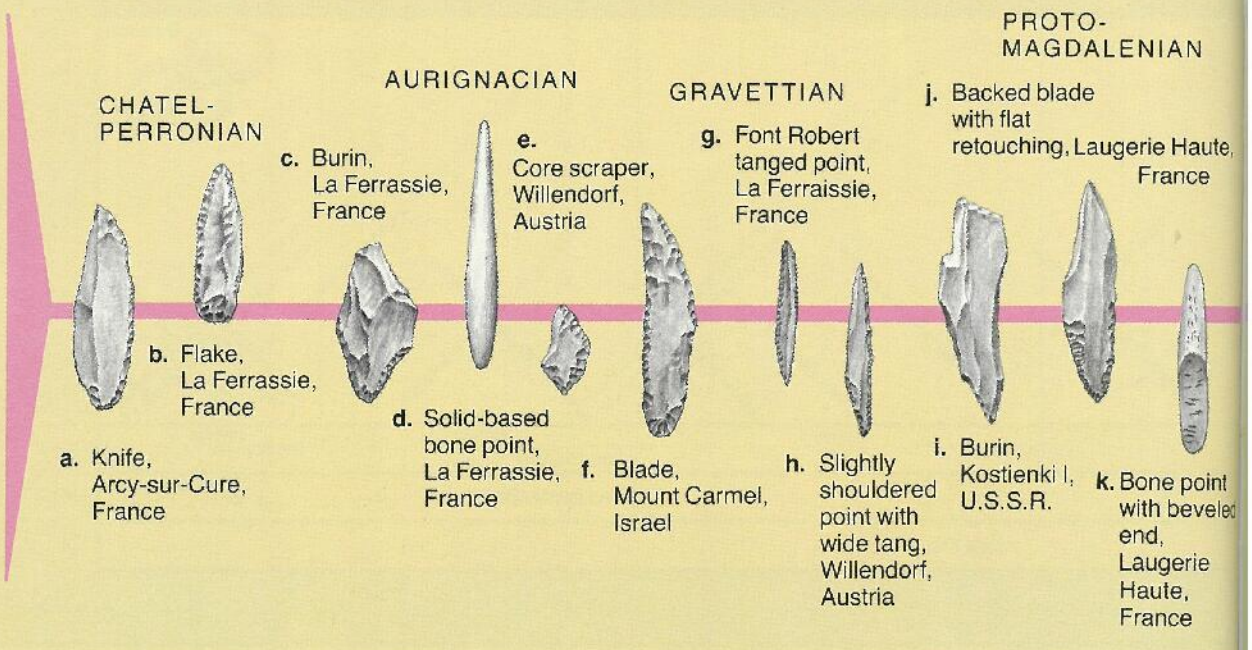
17. Blade industries first appeared with modern *Homo sapiens*. From prepared cores of obsidian or flint, parallel-sided strips were struck and shaped to specialized uses. Originating in the Near East, the technique spread, both north into Asia and west into Europe, whence, turning south to Northwest Africa in two waves (Mouillian and Capsian), it was carried eastward to the Nilotic zone and southward to the Cape. Blade industries are of many styles and display a spectacular assortment of new tools and hunting weapons of bone, horn, and stone.

*before present











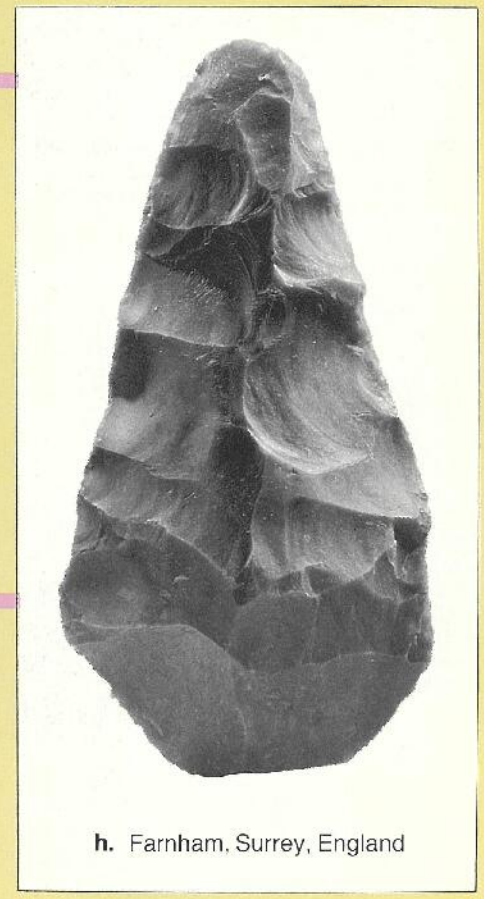
e. Chopper, Vértesszöllös, Hungary



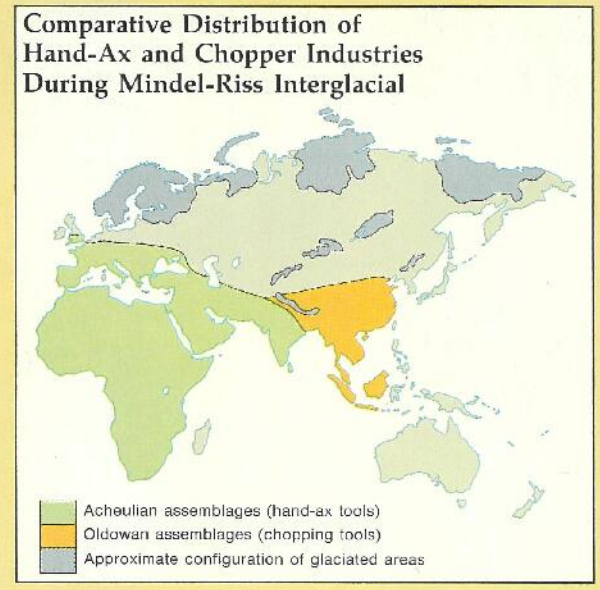
f. Chopper, Soan, India



g. Chopping tool, Choukoutien, China



h. Farnham, Surrey, England



FINAL ACHEULIAN



e. L'atelier Commont, France



f. Satani-Dár, Armenia, U.S.S.R.



g. Hand ax, Mount Carmel, Israel

THE DISCOVERY OF BEAUTY

The fashioning of tools beautifully symmetrical beyond the requirements of mere use marks the beginning of the history of art already in the period of *Homo erectus*. The pebble tools of *Homo habilis* and choppers found at Choukoutien can be explained—like the occasional tools of apes—in economic terms. Such an implement as the Acheulean hand axe (**15h**), however, gives evidence of a grade of consciousness equal to satisfactions beyond the economic. Its size and the undamaged surface suggest an application to a symbolic function. Such an object of "divinely superfluous beauty" (Robinson Jeffers' phrase) may have served a ceremonial function. If so, the beginnings of ritual, as well as of art, must together be assigned (in Europe, at least) to the era of *Homo erectus*.

MOUSTERIAN



f. Point, Le Moustier, France



g. Point, Ehringsdorf, Germany



h. Scraper, San Pietro, Italy



i. Scraper, Asprochaliko, Greece



j. Point, Staroselé, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.



k. Classical bifacial scraper, Combe-Grenal, Dordogne, France



l. Classical El Guettar, Tunisia

ATERIAN



m. Circular tanged scraper, Tiouririne-Erg Tihodaine, Sahara



n. Tanged point, El Djouf, Algeria



o. Tanged point, Tazadite, Sahara



p. Advanced bifacial point, Tit Mellil, Morocco

SOLUTRIAN



l. Point à face plane, Laugerie Haute, France



m. "Laurel leaf" point, Parpalló, Spain



n. Shouldered point, Laugerie Haute, France

MAGDALINIAN



o. Burin, Parpallo, Spain



p. Needle, Parpallo, Spain



q. Bone point with single beveled base



r. Harpoon, Pekarna, Moravia





t. Harpoon, Limeuil, Dordogne, France

CAPSIAN



s. Burin, Tunisia



u. Backed blade, Tunisia

v. Decorated baton, La Madeleine, France

ADVANCED CAPSIAN



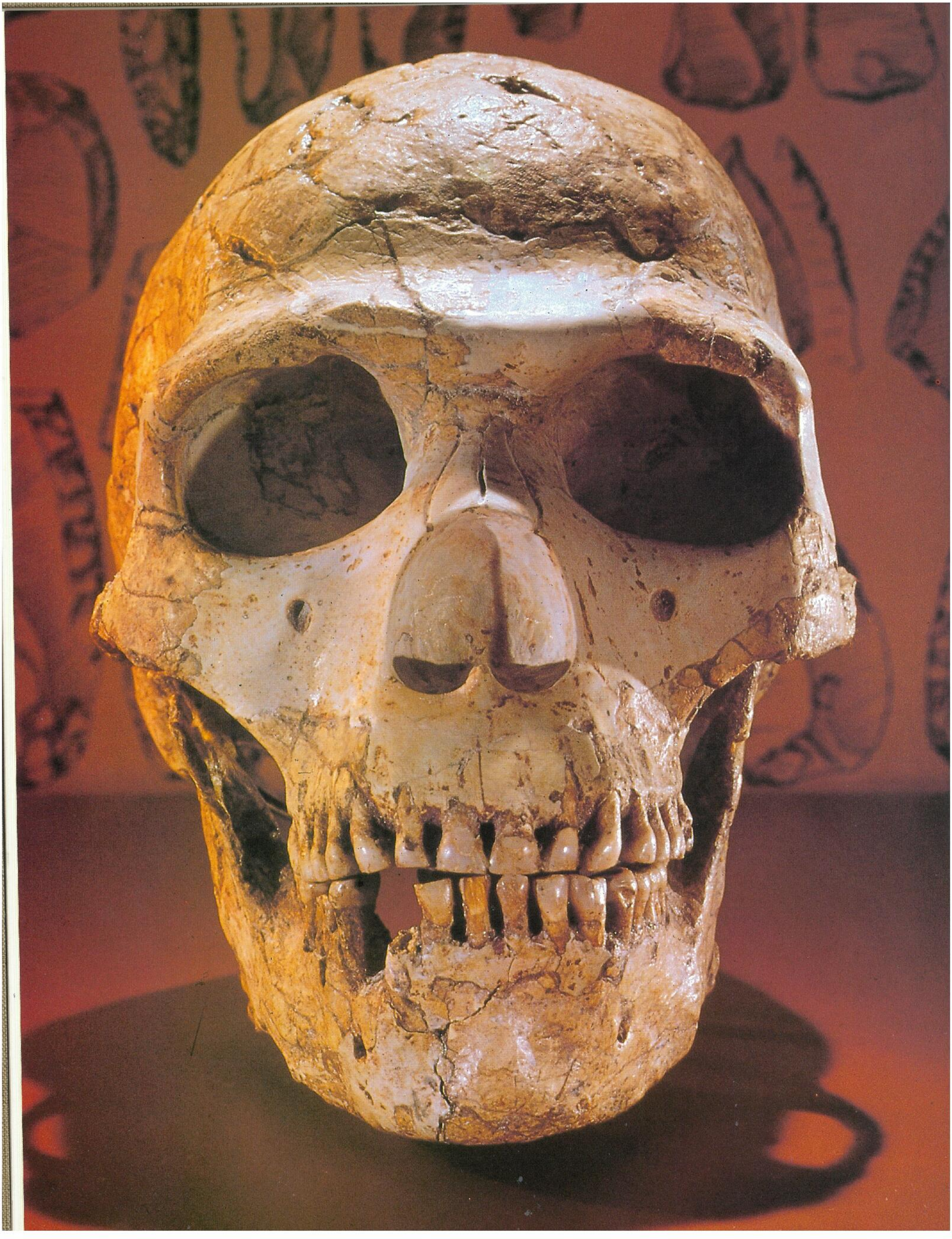
x. Bone Awl



y. Bone Awl



w. Spear thrower, La Madeleine, France



THE AWAKENING OF AWE

Man is the only being that knows death;
all others become old, but with a
consciousness wholly limited
to the moment, which must
seem to them eternal.
They see death, not
knowing anything
about it.

OSWALD SPENGLER, *The Decline of the West*

"In a child," says Spengler, continuing this thought, "the awakening of the inner life is often associated with the death of some relation. The child *suddenly* grasps the lifeless corpse for what it is, something that has become wholly matter, wholly space, and at the same moment it feels itself as an individual *being* in an alien extended world." And he quotes Tolstoi to this point: "From the child of five to myself is but a step. But from the new-born baby to the child of five is an appalling distance."[16]

We have to ask: When was it in the long course of the evolution of our genus that this awakening to the knowledge of death set man apart from the beasts and plants? From the moment of life's first appearances, some 3½ billion years ago, in the briny oceans of our planet, the innocence of Eden had prevailed until, at some point in time, the eyes which along the lines of animal life had evolved as agents of the quest for nourishment were opened to a dimension within, beyond, and behind what in India is termed "the sheath of food," the tangible, visible forms of phenomenality. At that instant the consciousness of man fell in two, separated in the awakened mind from the innocence, not only of the beasts without, but also of the beast within, by which the body is shaped, plantlike, in the mother womb, and through which it has maintained itself for millenia by killing, eating, and digesting other living things.

"When a man sought to know how he should live," Natalie Curtis was told by the Pawnee chief Letakots-Lesa, "he went into solitude and cried until in vision some animal brought wisdom to him. It was Tirawa, in truth, who sent his message through the animal. He never spoke to man himself, but gave his command to beast or bird, and this one came to some chosen man and taught him holy things. Thus were the sacred songs and ceremonial dances given the Pawnees through the animals.

"So it was in the beginning."[17]

In the relatively short period of mankind's attempts to reconcile what may be termed our "second mind," that of our knowledge and fear of death, with the "first," that of our animal innocence, there have been stages, the earliest of which was of such animal messengers—encountered both in life and in dream—as those of which Letakots-Lesa told. For the life structuring force cannot safely be disregarded of that primal tide which for the past 3½ billion years has been evolving forms of ever-increasing complexity and beauty, such as have lately culminated in those "two noble appearances" (as Goethe terms them in his *Morphology of Plants*) of the tree and the human body.

It can only have been at some unrecorded moment in the course of the last 3½ *million* years of these developments that in the human line the crisis occurred of that awakening to the mystery of death, and therewith of life, which—more than any physical transformation—elevated man above the level of the beasts, "that live but know nothing of life, and that die and see death," as Spengler remarks, "without knowing anything about it."[18]

The brains of the australopithecines, according to Carleton S. Coon, were "a little larger for their body size than the brains of the living great apes, but not enough larger to indicate, without supplementary evidence, a substantial difference in intelligence. It is unlikely that they could speak."[19] The cranial capacities of the higher apes range from about 325 to 685 cc; those of the australopithecines, from about 435 to 700 cc; and those of *Homo habilis*, from about 643 to 800 cc.[20] But size is not the whole story. What structures of the brain do we find?

Konrad Lorenz makes the point that humans, in contrast to apes, can think beyond an immediate need and use when fashioning a tool. It is one thing to pick up a stick or a stone, or even to shape it to a present end, and quite another to let the stone or stick itself suggest procedures, or to fashion a tool for the fashioning of tools. "When a man goes to work on something," Lorenz writes, "he takes into account, continuously, *during* his performance, the 'responses' of the object, and by these governs the following acts. For example, in driving a nail every blow of the hammer has to be made to compensate for the imperceptible bend given the nail by the stroke before it. . . . Indeed," he adds, "it appears that this very close tie between action and perception, *praxis* and *gnosis*, depends upon the existence of a special central organ, which only man possesses, in the *Gyrus supramarginalis* of the left inferior temporal lobe of the brain. Injury to this part, in which, significantly, the 'speech center' is seated, leads in man, not only to speech disturbances, but also to certain malfunctions in both action and perception, *apraxia* and *agnosia*; and it has not as yet been possible to identify in apes comparable centers or to produce in them any such malfunctions."[21] Richard Leakey reports evidence of the existence of this organ in a *Homo habilis* skull.[22]

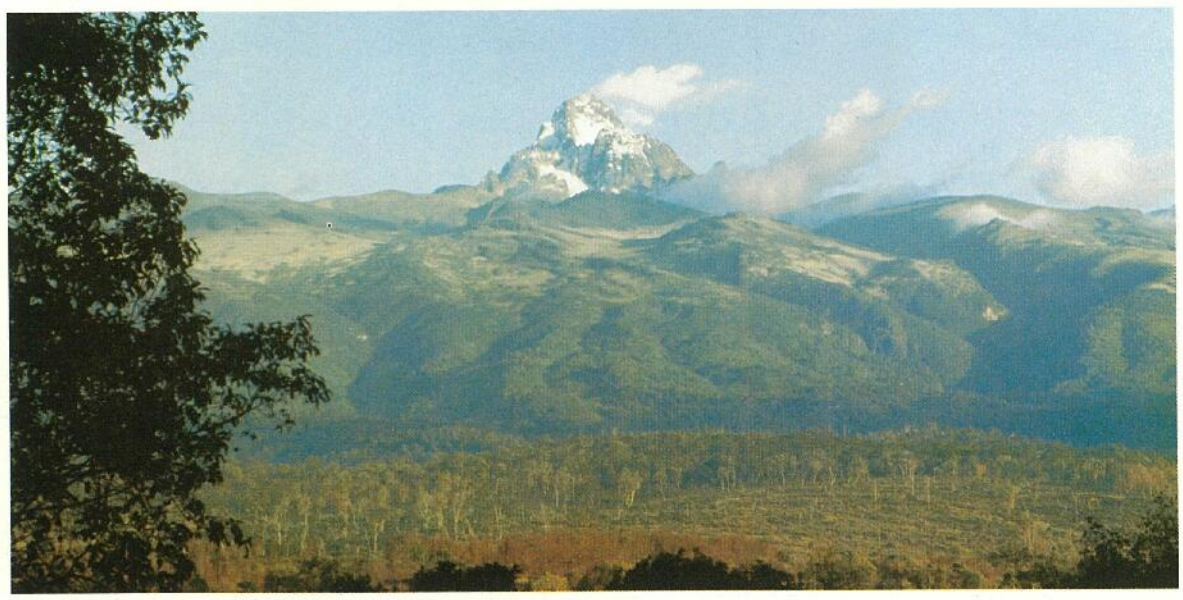
We know that *Homo habilis* made tools—"pebble tools" of the simplest kind—and that australopithecines did not. We do not know what *Homo habilis* used them for; nor do we have evidence from his campsites of any ritual practices, amulets, or even ornaments. Leakey believes that his successor in the evolutionary series, *Homo erectus*, had a brain and vocal apparatus that "would have enabled him to speak in a slow and rather 'clumsy' fashion."[23] And indeed, the evidence of *Homo erectus*'s finest tools suggests an order of consciousness approaching the *Homo sapiens* range. However, it is not until the period of Neanderthal Man in Europe, toward the close of the great Ice Ages, during the Riss-Würm interglacial, that the first indubitable signs appear anywhere—namely, in burials of the dead and in reliquary shrines to the animals slain—of that recognition of the *mysterium* which marks the waking of the mythologically inspired "second mind."

18. Neanderthal skull.

THE PEOPLING OF THE EARTH

Africa and Eurasia

The first long season of human habitation of the earth was of tribes moving apart, losing contact with each other, entering new territories, and there coming to know as neighbors only the local animals and plants, waters, rocks, valleys and hills, all experienced as living presences with powers and interests of their own. The motherland had been the beautiful high plain of equatorial East Africa, Mount Kenya on the horizon, northward to Ethiopia and southward to the Cape,



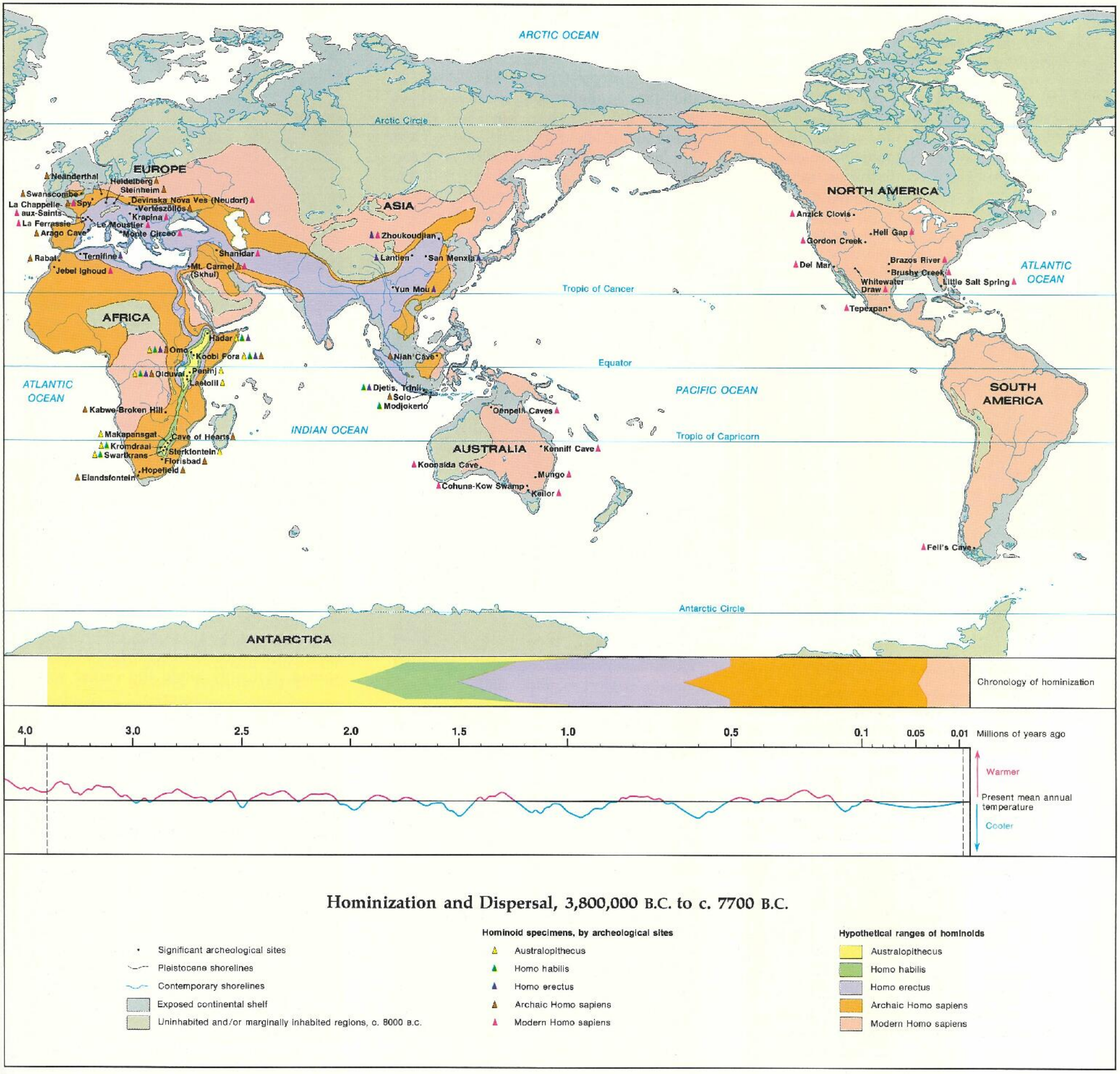
19. The high East African plain; in the background, Mt. Kenya, sacred peak of the gods of the Kikuyu tribe, 17,058 feet high.

where, as early as 4 to 5 million years ago, there were at large among the grazing herds an increasing number of manlike/apelike bipeds: some, in the way of beasts of prey, running down and tearing apart their quadrupedal neighbors; others, vegetarians themselves, wearing down their teeth on gathered roots, nuts, fruits, and leaves.

Among the remains of from 2 to 3 million years ago the crudest possible, deliberately-shaped stone tools begin to appear, fit for the preparation by cutting and pounding of meat and vegetable foods: possibly, also, for the preparation of skins for clothing, blankets, or the coverings of crude shelters.[24] At the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological Sciences, held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1956, the original discoverer of the first australopithecine relic, Raymond Dart of Witwatersrand University, Johannesberg, South Africa, exhibited a series of slides showing what were obviously implements, not of stone, but of bone and of horn: the lower jaws of large antelopes cut in half to be used as saws or knives; knob at the upper end of the humulus of an ungulate, the leg bone of a gazelle.[25]

It is now generally agreed that all such primitive implements, whether of stone, of bone, or of horn, were not of the vegetarian bipeds, the australopithecines (*Australopithecus afarensis, A. africanus, A. boisei*, and such), but of the earliest species of man, "able, handy, or competent man," *Homo habilis*. The australopithecines were the larger breed, up to 150 pounds, about the size of a gorilla, whereas the remains of *Homo habilis* are of a race of hardly 60 pounds, no larger than a pygmy chimpanzee, some 4 to 4½ feet tall. But the cranial capacities of even the largest australopithecines never surpassed 500 cc, the maximum of the largest now-living apes; whereas the capacities of *Homo habilis* skulls range to as high as 800 cc.

"Man," as Spengler has reminded us, "is a beast of prey,"[26] or, as is more usually said, "a hunter." L. S. B. Leakey, who was the first to unearth and identify a *Homo habilis* relic (at Olduvai, 1960), recognized through a contrast-study of its teeth with those of an australopithecine skull which his wife had discovered the year before (*Zinjanthropus*, known today as *Australopithecus boisei*) that, whereas that other had been a herbivore, his new find was of an omnivore, a meat-eater and hunter. In other words, just as there are, throughout the natural world, among the insects and the fishes, the reptiles and the birds, as well as among mammals, genera shaped to feed on plants and others to feed on the eaters of plants, so at the opening moment of the primate mutation to human rank, two contrasting genera were let loose on the African plain: the one to eat plants and to flee when threatened, the other to pursue, to attack, and to kill. And is it not remarkable, that, although both *Homo habilis* and the australopithecines had forelimbs and hands released from quadrupedal bondage to the earth, it was only the hands of *Homo habilis* that took charge of the pebbles of the earth to break them into tools? Between the instinctive attitude toward the environment of a creature whose body and nervous system are programmed to alarm and flight, and that of one who lives, on the contrary, by stalking and attacking, there is an irreducible contrast. All the eyes, nostrils, and ears of the great herds on the Serengeti Plain of Tanzania today are ever on the alert for the first sight, scent, or signal of the lion at whose roar they will scatter. The lion's eyes are focussed forward. Those of the grazing cattle are at the sides of their heads, to right and to left, on the watch all around, their ears ever turning to catch the first sound, and their nostrils scenting the wind. The broad plain is for them a refuge; for the lion, a banquet table. The attitude of mastery and attack, which in the animal kingdom is the first life-principle of all carnivores, became in the human hunter extended and addressed to the whole environment. Chimpanzees can pick up, hurl, or make use of occasional sticks and stones for immediate purposes, as both Wolfgang Köhler in *The Mentality of Apes* and Jane Goodall in her *In the Shadow of Man* have shown with many examples.[27] Indeed, one of Köhler's capital examples, an especially clever male named Sultan, on finding that he could not reach with his hand a banana placed as bait outside his cage, walked about searchingly, and finally turning to a shoe-



Hominization and Dispersal, 3,800,000 B.C. to c. 7700 B.C.

Map 7. Chronology of the evolution, and geographic ranges of the global expansion, of the genus *Homo,* to about 7700 B.C., in five stages: (1) from about 3,800,000 B.C., evidences in Africa of Australopithecus (immediate forebear of the genus *Homo*); (2) range of *Homo habilis,* to about 1,250,000 B.C.; (3) extended range of *Homo erectus,* to about 500,000 B.C.; (4) additional extensions by "archaic" *Homo sapiens* (Neanderthal Man in Europe and the Near East; "Solo Man" in Java; and, in Africa, specimens indicated, variously named), to about 40,000 B.C.; and (5) from about 50,000 B.C., occupation of the habitable earth by "modern" *Homo sapiens (Homo sapiens sapiens).*

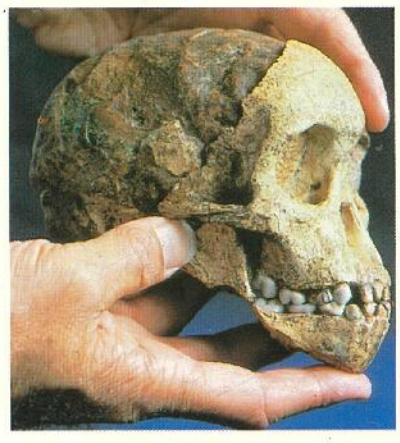
Noteworthy is the coincidence of periods of accelerated evolution with glacial advances (indicated on temperature curve by blue valleys): about 1,500,000 B.C., *Homo habilis* to *Homo erectus* during the Donau–Nebraskan glacial peak; about 600,000 B.C., *Homo erectus* to archaic *Homo sapiens* during the Mindel–Illinoian peak; and about 50,000 B.C., archaic to modern *Homo sapiens* during the Riss–Würm–Wisconsin peak. The double naming of each glacial period correlates standard Old and New World glacial nomenclature. Map and scale after data provided by John A. Van Couvering of the American Museum of Natural History on evidence available March, 1983.

scraper made of iron bars in a wooden frame, worked at it until he had pulled out one of the bars, and with this then made for the object of his zeal to draw it to within reach.[28] A female ape named Chica, chasing another in a mock fight, saw a stone, stopped to pick it up, and when it did not immediately come away, scratched and dragged until it broke loose, then resumed the chase and flung the stone at her playmate.[29] We can perhaps credit as much to the australopithecines. But such an object, employed briefly as a tool and dropped, is not properly comparable to even the crudest industry of stones intentionally shaped for repeated use, which, moreover, in the



20. Fragments, possibly 4 million years old, of an australopithecine skull and femur discovered, 1981, in the valley of the Awash River in Ethiopia. We are here very close to the moment of separation of the hominid line of descent from that of the African pongidae or apes.

hands of *Homo habilis* represented the first condition of a hominid technology that, without interruption through the next 2 million years, was to advance and expand to an age of rockets to the moon, computerized information banks, and oil drills 20,000 feet into the earth. "Technology," as Spengler perceived, "is the very strategy of life: the essential form of action in

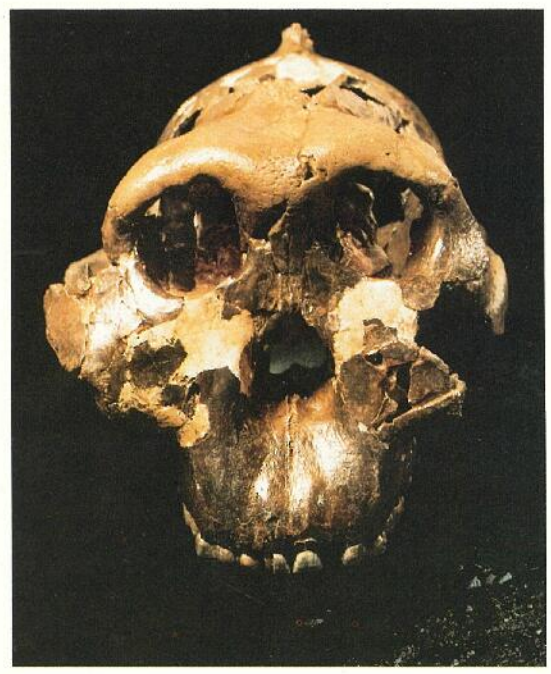


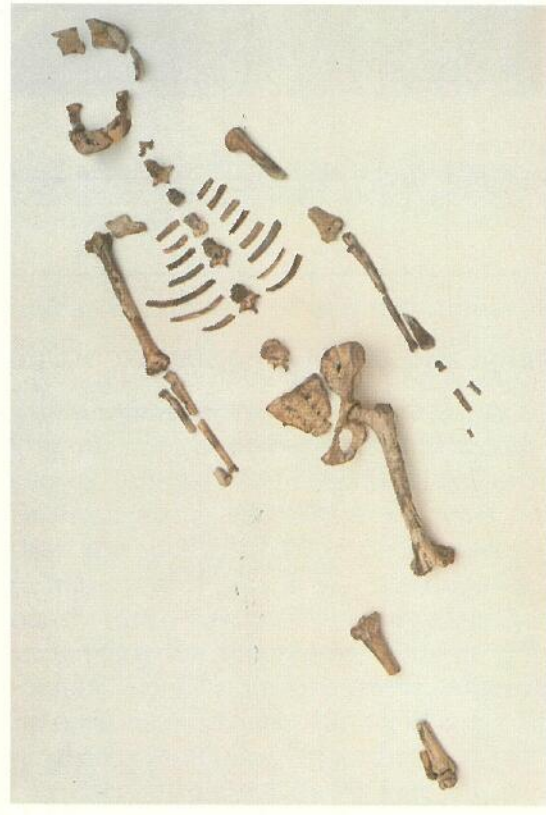
21. This famous skull of an australopithecine child (*Australopithecus africanus*)—found in Taung, South Africa, in 1924—was one of the first recognized australopithecine discoveries. Its milk dentition is complete and the upper and lower first permanent molars are in process of eruption. The dating is disputed, ranging from 3 to 0.87 million years ago.

the battle that is life itself."[30] And in the history of the genus *Homo*, which made its first appearance as the little beast of prey, *Homo habilis*, the peculiar form of action was of the indirect attack, not immediately on the intended aim, but mediately, through the fashioning of a tool.

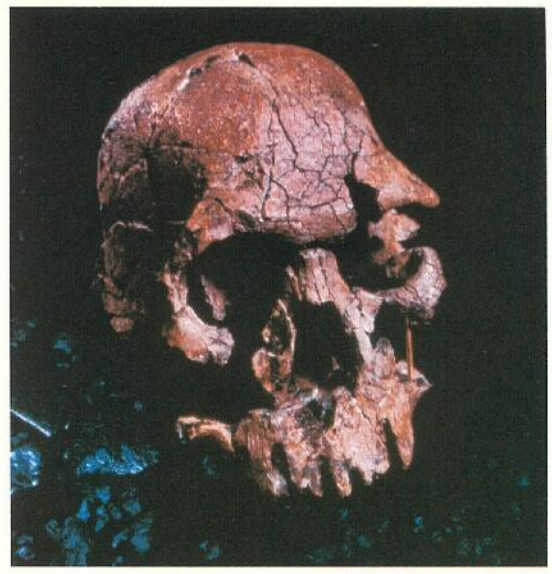
No relics of *Australopithecus* have been found outside of Africa, and by 1.4 million years ago the genus was extinct. Remains identified as probably of *Homo habilis*, on the other hand, possibly from as early as 3 to 4 million years ago, have been recognized as far afield as Java,[31] the evident implication being that, already in its earliest years, the species *Homo habilis* enlarged its range to include not only Africa, but the entire Old-World equatorial belt.

22. An adult skull of *Australopithecus boisei*, formerly called *Zinjanthropus*. Discovered, 1959, in the Olduvai Gorge of Tanzania, c.1.8 million years old.



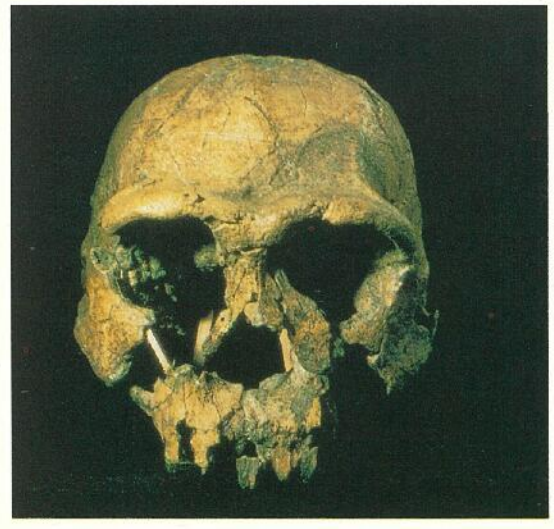


23. The possessor of this little female skeleton walked fully erect, 4 feet tall, some 3.5 million years ago in the Hadar region of Ethiopia. Of the species *Australopithecus afarensis*, which some regard as ancestral to all the later hominids, she is known affectionately as Lucy, was discovered in 1974, and can be thought of by those still interested in coordinating science and the Bible as the great-great-great-great grandmother of Eve.



24. Classified as *Homo habilis*, yet more than 2.8 million years old, this earliest relic ancestral to mankind, known simply as "skull number 1470," was unearthed in 1972 at Lake Turkana in northern Kenya.

Homo habilis disappeared with the glacial advances of the first Ice Age, when even in equatorial Africa the snow line descended to below 9000 feet and misty, cold, cloud-saturated forests spread from the highlands to all but a few protected enclaves on the coastal plains. By the time the clouds had lifted and the chill receded, members of the second human species, *Homo erectus*, were encamped on the shores of Lake Turkana (in Kenya), where formerly *Homo habilis* had lived alongside the last of the australopithecines. Indeed, by that time, other members of this second species had already spread, not only along the earlier way



25. The prominent brow ridges of this typical *Homo erectus* skull (from China, c. 700,000 B.C.?) are characteristic over the whole domain and throughout the more than million years of the unknown history of this Glacial-Age pre-*sapiens* race.

to Java, but also north into both China and southern Europe.

The season of *Homo erectus* endured for nearly a million years—a longer stretch of time than that between its close (at the peak of the Mindel glaciation) and today. Furthermore, it was during that long season that the differentiation of Paleolithic industries (illustrated in Map 6, page 23) occurred, the eastern races continuing with pebble and chopper tools (comple-

mented, no doubt, by implements of bamboo and other perishable materials), while in the west the hand ax came into use. Invented in Africa about a million years ago, the manufacture of this versatile bifacial core-tool spread both north into Europe and eastward into India, beyond which it never passed. In its earlier, cruder forms (called Abbevillean), and in the later, more craftsmanly (Acheulean), it remained the principal stone implement of western Paleolithic mankind until about the middle of the Riss-Würm glacial age, when the Mousterian flake technique was introduced.

Cranial Capacity and Tool Manufacture

The apparent relationship of the quality of stone-tool manufacture to cranial capacity is interesting. Cranial variations are considerable, of course, over the wide range and during the long season of the second species of our genus. The earliest African, Lake Turkana specimens (twenty or more at last count), dating from c. 1.6 to 1.3 million years ago, are of volumes around 900 cc, while from nearby Olduvai (Bed II), c. 1.2 million years ago, a specimen known as Chellean-3 Man has turned up, which already registers 1150 cc. Java Man (the original *Pithecanthropus erectus*, Figure 39, page 34), now dated to c. 1 million years ago, had a cranial capacity still at the 900 cc level, and Peking Man (*Homo erectus sinensis*, known also as *Sinanthropus*), who is represented by six skulls from c. 700,000 years ago, shows a range from 780 to 1225 cc, with a mean of 1020 cc; whereas, from eastern Europe, at that time, from Vértesszöllös (near Budapest), we have an occipital fragment judged to represent a cranial capacity exceeding 1400 cc.

We are here at the brink or threshold of the evolutionary transit from *Homo erectus* to "archaic" *Homo sapiens* and the large hand ax of Figure 15h (page 23), from the banks of the river Thames, testifies to the quality of mind, as well as to the skill of hand, of the inhabitants of that region at that time. It is a consummate example of the Acheulean bifaced hand ax. The only known relevant cranial specimens—besides the extraordinary Vértesszöllös fragment of c. 700,000 years ago—are two female skulls: one from Steinheim (near Stuttgart), of around 1175 cc; the other from Swanscombe (Kent, above Gravesend, unearthed near the Thames), around 1325 cc. The dates given for these two specimens range from c. 300,000 to c. 150,000 years ago.

Outside of Europe, comparable volumes at such dates have been identified only in Africa and Java; notably: at Jebel Ighoud (Morocco), an undated skull of 1480 cc; from the Omo River (Ethiopia), a cranial vault of roughly 130,000 years ago and about 1435 cc; from Kabwe (Broken Hill) in Zaire (Rhodesia), 125,000 years ago (formerly dated 40,000), a much-studied skull, now in the British Museum, of 1280 cc; and from Elandsfontein (Hopefield, South Africa), a cranial vault of uncertain age, 1200 to 1250 cc. The Javanese examples are eleven mutilated skulls, placed by some authorities at 400,000 years ago and by others at about 40,000, which were found together at Ngandong, a site on the Solo River, and have been variously classified either as *Homo erectus* or as *Homo sapiens*, their volumes ranging from 1035 to 1255 cc.

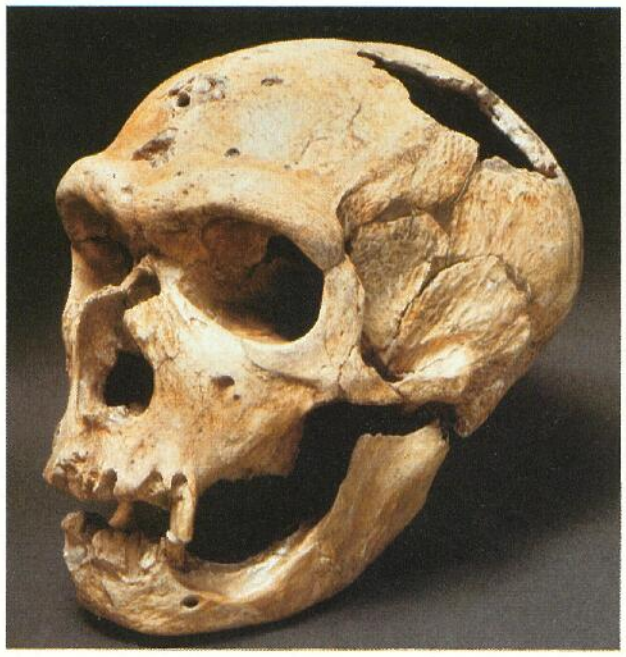
The appearance in northern Europe of the Mousterian flake technique during the middle of the Riss-Würm glacial age was directly associated with the appearance in that frigid region at that time of *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*—a physically prodigiously powerful, local archaic *sapiens* race, which entered the prehistoric scene about 150,000 years ago. The cranial capacities of this distinctive race ranged from c. 1400 to 1600 cc; and since the average range of European man today is from 1450 to 1500 cc, it is evident that *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis* could not have been the half-brained ape-man of popular belief. Indeed, it now seems to have been in some province within the range of his dominion that the next major advance of the genus *Homo* occurred, namely, to the status of *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

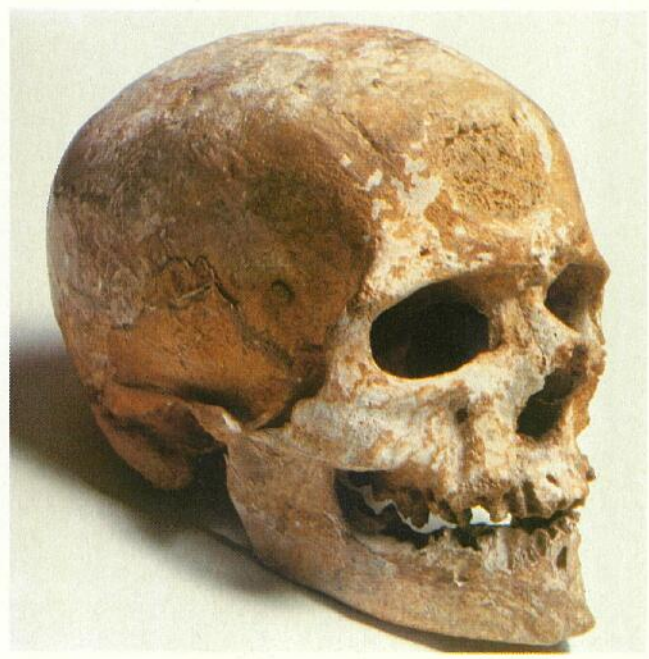
A Locus for Eden

The question is still under debate, but the evidence is accumulating in favor of northeast Africa and the Near East as the critical area of what David Pilbeam has described as the likely "Garden of Eden" out of which "modern" *Homo sapiens* went forth between 50,000 and 30,000 years ago and "through a process of swamping and replacing older and more archaic subspecies of *Homo sapiens* . . . inherited the earth."[32]

A number of notable finds have been lately made that seem to have about settled the argument. Their datings fall between 60,000 and 40,000 years ago. The racial affinities are Neanderthaloid, and the tool kits, Mousteroid. The most interesting is the male skeleton of the now-famous "suttee and flower burial" at Shanidar in northern Iraq, which is discussed on page 53. The date is c. 60,000 years ago, which marks it as one of the earliest ceremonial burials on record. Two other important specimens are from sites at Mount Carmel, Israel, which have been variously dated betweeen 47,000 and 40,000 years ago: the earlier, from Mugharet et Tabun, a skull with a capacity of 1271 cc, and the later, from Mugharet et Skhul, a skull of from 1450 to 1518 cc.

The argued implications are that it was here, in the Near East, in the period of the Riss-Würm interglacial, that the evolutionary passage was accomplished from archaic *sapiens* rank to modern; and along with this, a dramatic advance in technology from the Mousteroid flake to the Aurignacoid blade tool technology. The cranial capacities, then, of those earliest representatives of our own proud stage of the evolutionary course, as typified in Cro-Magnon Man (the artist of the great Paleolithic painted caves of southern France and northern Spain), was between 1500 and 1800 cc.





26. Neanderthal Man, *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*, now known also as "archaic" *Homo sapiens*, is here represented in a skull from the last phase of his hundred-thousand year existence. Taken from the cave burial at La Chapelle-aux-Saints (described on page 51), it has been roughly dated c. 45,000 to 35,000 B.C.

27. *Homo sapiens sapiens*, fully modern paleolithic man (with a brain capacity, however, somewhat larger than that of fully modern twentieth-century man) is supremely represented by the artists of the great Cro-Magnon caves of southern France and northern Spain. This noble skull from the Dordogne, c. 40,000 B.C., is of the same terminal glacial period as the "archaic"-*sapiens* skull of Figure 26.

Old Melanesia

In the period of the entry of Cro-Magnon Man into Europe, at the height of the Würm glaciation, so much of the earth's water was locked in ice that the ocean levels were from 200 to 400 feet lower than today, and lands now under wave were high and dry. Animals and their hunters passed from Siberia to Alaska across a landbridge as broad as the nation of France (see Maps 9 to 12, pages 34–35), while in the south the Asian mainland was joined by the exposed continental Sunda shelf to what are now the separate islands of Hainan, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and Bali (see Map 8). Beyond Bali the ocean floor drops abruptly; but beyond this break (known as the Wallace line, or Wallacea) there is another shallow called the Sahul shelf, by which New Guinea was at that time joined to the augmented continent of Australia, with land where there is now the Great Barrier Reef and in the south a landbridge to Tasmania.

Thus, wherever the homeland—the Garden of Eden—may have been of *Homo sapiens sapiens*, it is at least evident that already before the end of the last Ice Age, members of this fourth species of the genus *Homo* were moving, not only out of the Near East into Europe, but also, at the other two extremities of the Asian continent, across Beringland into Alaska, and across Sundaland to the Wallacean brink, there to gaze across shark-infested waters toward the appealing islands beyond.



Map 8.

The earliest tangible evidence of the presence in Sundaland of a modern *Homo sapiens* population is in the form of a shattered skull that was unearthed in 1959 from a depth of 8 feet 4 inches beneath the floor of the great Niah cave in Sarawak, Borneo (Figure 32 and Map 8, site 2). Radiocarbon dated to 37,600 ± 1000 B.C., below it were culture-bearing deposits going back to at least 50,000 B.C. Chopping tools and coarse flakes were the characteristic artifacts all the way down, suggesting, as William Howells, Curator of Somatology at the Peabody Museum, Harvard, has remarked, that in this part of the world, "wood was the real basis of implements and weapons, the stone flakes serving only to scrape and sharpen wood javelins, or bamboo points to be hafted with thongs, or digging sticks, and so on. If we remember," he continues, "the simple but dangerous javelins of the Tasmanians; the copious use by Australian aboriginals of equally simple spears, as well as completely barbed ones, made entirely of wood; similar things in recent Melanesia; and the bamboo-pointed arrows of some Negrito groups in the Philippines, then the idea is appealing."[33]

The racial type of the Niah skull is recognized by both Carleton Coon and Howells as suggesting the modern Tasmanian Negrito.[34] In a related find, in the Tabon Cave on the western shore of the Philippine island of Pelawan (see Map 8), there were unearthed in 1966 a frontal bone and an almost toothless jaw, likewise of Negrito or Tasmanian type; and although their dating is c. 20,000 B.C., these remains were associated with the same crude type of chopping tool as had been found with the Niah skull of a date 20,000 years earlier. Howells has named the remarkably conservative Old Stone Age assemblage represented in these two related finds, the Old Melanesian Culture, with a dating from c. 50,000 to between 8000 and 5000 B.C.—by which time the seas, augmented by the melting of the glaciers, had risen to their present levels; so that, not only had Sundaland dissolved into the Indonesian archipelago, but the continent of Sahulland had separated into Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea.

Then in 1971, still another 20,000 years after the period of the Tabon skull, in a high mountain jungle on the neighboring Philippine island of Mindanao, there were discovered the now-famous "gentle Tasadays," still using the samé Stone Age tools and, as reported, "wearing only orchid-leaf g-strings when they appeared at the mouth of their cave." In the words of the leader of the discovering expedition, "It was almost unbelievable—a shock—like suddenly going back into time thousands of years."[35]

Indeed, no more spectacular demonstration of the conservatism of an Old Stone Age people could have been desired. "Our fathers and grandfathers told us," said a Tasaday male about twenty years old, "that we could go out into the forest in daytime, but must always return to the caves at night."[36] And the words ring true: one hears their like in every part

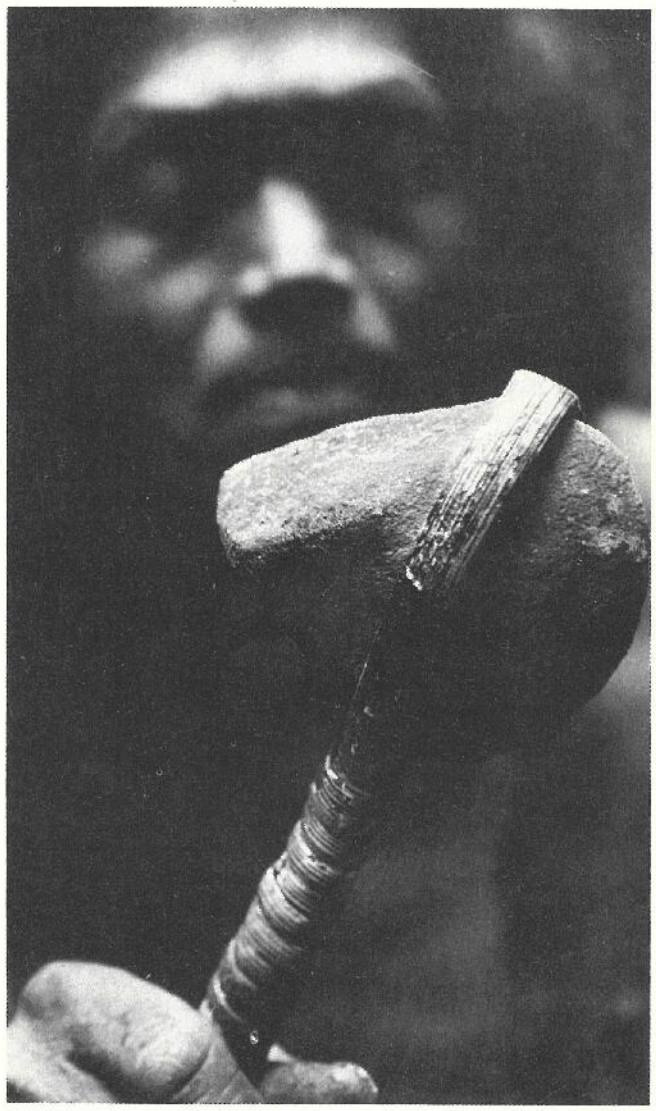


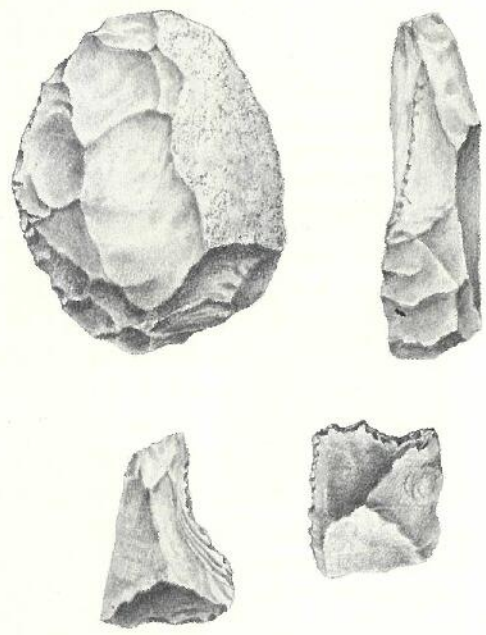
28/29. The "gentle Tasaday," discovered in 1971 still dwelling in their ancestral caves, readily fashioned whatever stone tools they required from pebbles taken from a nearby stream, some of which were fixed with rattan wrappings to crude handles.

of the primitive world, where the ancestors of an imagined past are revered as having established, once and for all, the norms and forms for life in a timeless present. Any change in the ways of life, or even in the shape of a tool is fraught with danger. The Tasaday were food gatherers, not hunters, surviving on palm piths and various flowers and fruits foraged from their mountain. They declared that they loved their place in the forest and never wanted to leave. "They are extremely gentle," was the finding of the first report, "and move through the jungle with what to outsiders is extraordinary ease—leaping from tree to tree, sliding down vines, bounding down grassy trails." In other parts of the same high mountain retreat, some 4000 feet above sea level, there were other, more numerous, and more advanced peoples, practicing horticulture. Nevertheless, this little cluster of old-timers, no more than twenty-four individuals when discovered, had held onto the ways, not only of their fathers and grandfathers, but also of their ancestors back for at least 50,000 years.

The Fossilized Past

One of the most interesting features of the richly fascinating lands and islands now remaining above water of the once-united





30. Examples of an advanced pebble tool industry, dating possibly as early as 15,000 B.C., from Kenniff Cave, Queensland, Australia (see Map 8).

FOSSIL RACES OF OLD MELANESIA

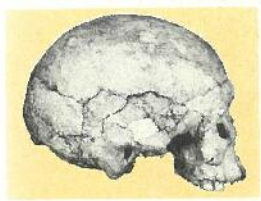
The fossils of this region reveal abrupt population changes through the greatest reaches of time. That there were already pre-*sapiens* inhabitants of Java we know from specimens recently found there of *Homo habilis*, 3 to 4 million years ago, as well as from the nineteenth-century finds of Java Man *(Pithecanthropus erectus)*, who is now thought to have lived 2 million years ago (Figure 39, page 34).



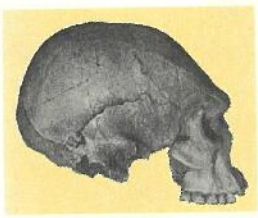
31. A composite reconstruction of the skull of a people on the *H. erectus/sapiens* cusp as represented in a cluster of eleven skulls uncovered at Ngandong on the Solo River (see Map 8), which are now dated to c. 500,000 years ago—the period of the Vértesszöllös, Swanscombe, and Steinheim skulls of Europe (see page 29). The Solo-skull cranial volumes range from 1035 to 1225 cc.



32. The earliest *H. sapiens* relic yet unearthed in Old Melanesia is the skull "of a youth," and to quote Carleton Coon, "between fifteen and seventeen years old, probably female, definitely *sapiens*, and equally definitely Australoid."[2] It was found in 1959 in pieces beneath the floor of the huge Niah Cave in Sarawak on the northwest coast of Borneo (see Map 8). The reconstructed skull, according to Coon's judgment, most closely resembles the skulls of the (recently extinct) aborigines of Tasmania. The cranial capacity is undetermined. Its date, between 39,500 and 37,600 B.C., exactly matches that of Cro-Magnon Man's appearance in Europe.



33. From a site at the opposite, southern extreme of the Old Melanesian subcontinent, at Keilor, Victoria, Australia, in the valley of the Marybyrnong River, (see Map 8), a skull, likewise of Tasmanian/Negrito type, variously dated as of 13,000 B.C. or of 11,000 B.C., testifies to the presence throughout the area for a season of some 30,000 years of a people ancestral to the aborigines of both Tasmania and New Guinea. The cranial capacity of this specimen is variously estimated at 1464 to 1593 cc.



34. A very different skull, from the Cohuna-Kow Swamp which is also in Victoria (see Map 8), shows a sloping forehead, prominent brow (reminiscent of the Solo skulls), and extreme prognathism. The cranial capacity is 1450 cc.; the date, c. 7000 B.C.; and the racial type, Australian.

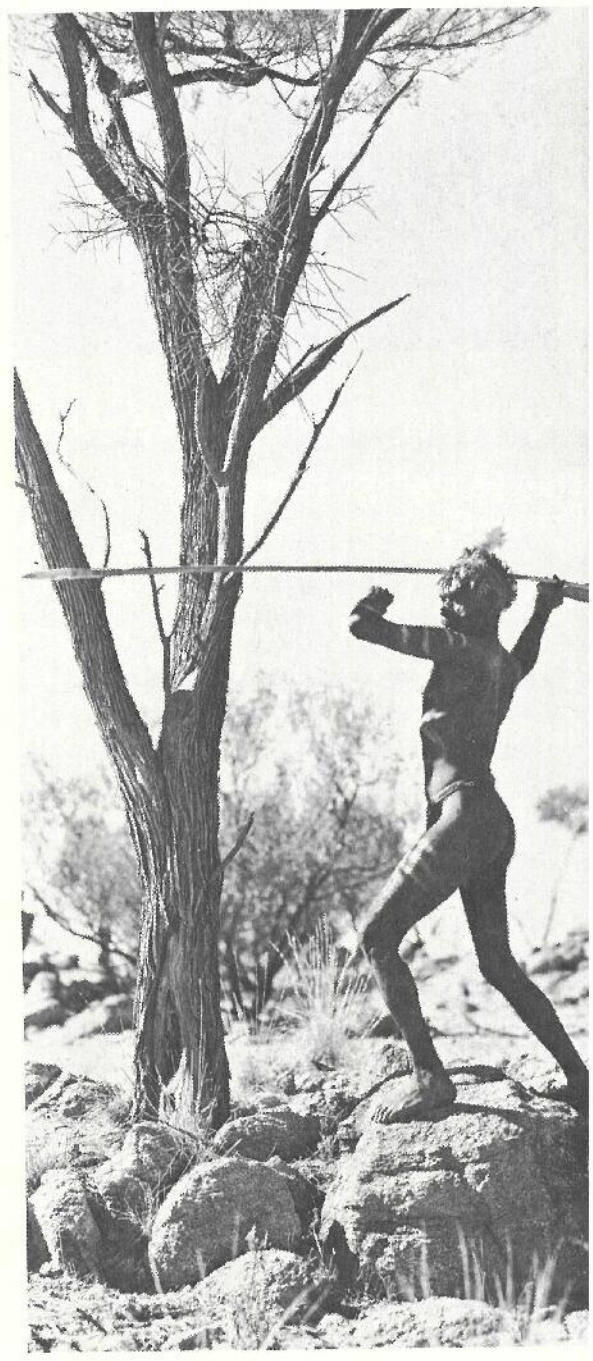
world of Old Melanesia is their harborage, here and there, not only of living peoples, such as the Tasaday, who have carried into the present ancestral forms dating from Old Stone Age times, but also, in the same territories, the bones and tools of those very ancestors who first brought the preserved forms from elsewhere to these parts of the earth.

Judging from the findings in the Niah Cave, Howells dates the arrival of *Homo sapiens* in old Sundaland to 38,000 B.C. at the latest, and estimates that the crossing, then, of the deep-water trench beyond Bali into Sahulland—by way of Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, and Timor—must have occurred no later than 30,000 B.C.; and the findings of human remains at two very early sites in southernmost Australia support him in this judgment. The first, at a place called Keilor, in the valley of the Marybyrnong River, yielded for a scattering of crude stone tools the somewhat questionable date of c. 70,000 B.C., and for a second deposit, on a later level, the less questionable date of c. 30,000 B.C. After which there followed two skulls, an earlier, classed as Tasmanian, c. 13,000 B.C.(Figure 33) and a later, strikingly similar to the first, of c. 4500 B.C.[37]

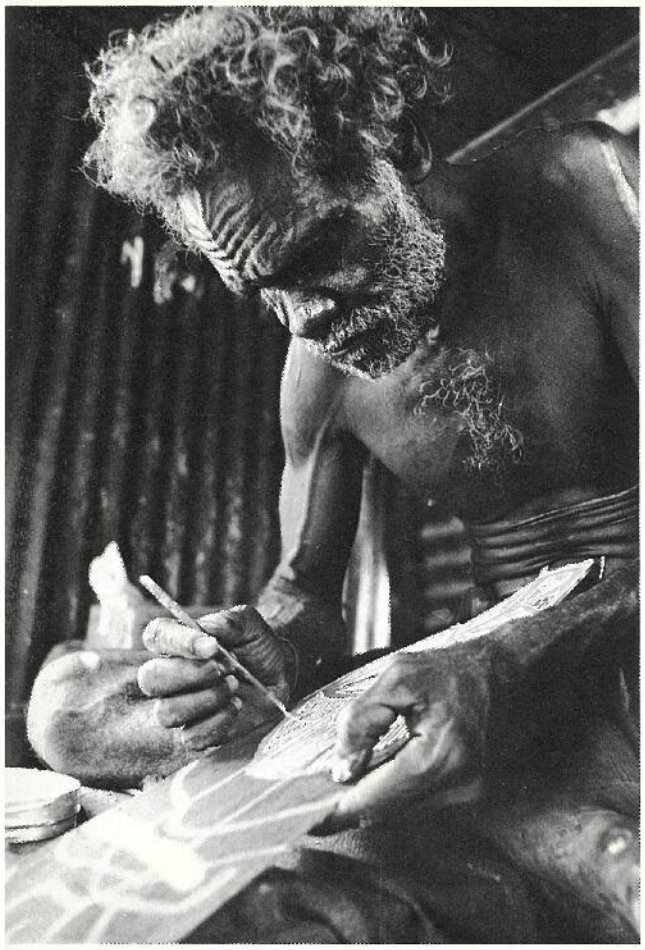
At the second of these early sites, on the Lake Mungo plain east of Darling in New South Wales, there were found not only fire hearths from 30,000 to 22,000 B.C., but also a cremated skeleton of c. 14,000 B.C., the charred bones and skull of which had been buried in a shallow depression in a way still practiced by Tasmanians until their extinction in the middle of the nineteenth century.[38]

From a number of other finds of roughly comparable age, one in eastern New Guinea and the others in various, widely separated parts of Australia, crude pebble, flake, and chopper-type tools have been found that bear testimony to the same general order of culture for old Sahulland that we have already seen represented, not only in the Sundaland caves, but also in the hands of the living Tasaday. The date for the New Guinea site, known as Kosipe, high in the Papuan Highlands (see Map 8), is c. 25,000 B.C. Representative Australian stations are the Koonalda Cave on the Nullarbor Plain and the Burrill Lake Cave near Sydney, the Kenniff Cave in Queensland, and the Oenpelli Caves in Arnhem Land (all to be found on Map 8). Judging from the evidence of the uniformly Tasmanian character of the Mungo and Keilor skeletal finds, and comparing these with the physical traits of the modern aborigines of both New Guinea and Tasmania, Howells and others have concluded that the first inhabitants of Old Melanesia must have been of this racial strain.[39]

But then, from a date of c. 10,000 B.C.—when the seas had mounted and Old Melanesia had been drowned—there appeared on the continent of Australia a new people, whose skeletal remains, from two widely separate stations, are clearly different from those of the earlier, Keilor-Mungo, Tasmanoid race, and more like the modern Australian. From Talgai, west of Brisbane, came the first of these finds: the flattish, heavily constructed cranium of a youth with a cranial capacity of about 1300 cc, which is hardly greater than that of a Solo skull, and with a large palate showing a straight line of front teeth, in the way of a pithecanthropoid jaw.[40] A second skull of the kind was unearthed in 1925 at the Cohuna-Kow Swamp in Victoria. (See Map 8, site 4, and Figure 34.) Since then a researching team in the area has uncovered no less than forty burials in which the specimens, according to the reports of their discoverers, are all clearly different in structure from the Keilor and Mungo skulls, and of



35. Australian, hurling a javelin with the aid of an atlatl, or spearthrower: an instrument already in use during the Late Stone Age of Europe, Magdalenian period, c. 15,000 B.C.



36. Bark painter, Arnhem Land, Australia, rendering a legendary design.



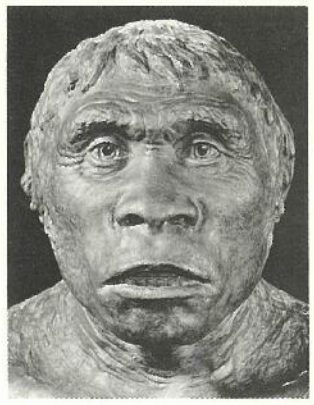
37. Arnhem Land bark painting, showing an imagined scene from the mythical isle, Bralku, to which souls go after death. Two spirits are welcoming an arrival. A fire has been lighted and four snakes are to be cooked in celebration. Two dingos attend. Jabirus and spoonbills dance.

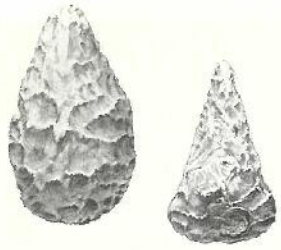
radiocarbon datings between 8000 and 6000 B.C.[41] Howells suggests that a company of late Tasmanian-like immigrants may have mixed with a strain of Solo descendants and so produced this subrace, which then became the dominant people of Australia.

In any case, no matter what the genealogical backgrounds of these Talgai-Cohuna people may have been, Tasmania had already been populated by tribes of the earlier Keilor-Mungo race. So also had New Guinea. And when, then, with the rising of the waters, Sahulland became separated into three distinct islands, the Tasmanians were cut off with no more than the primitive equipment of that time, only pointed wooden javelins, no hafted tools, no stone-tipped spears, no spear throwers or boomerangs, no dogs and, worst of all, no boats. They could only collect shellfish humbly along the shores, not even venturing to catch fish.

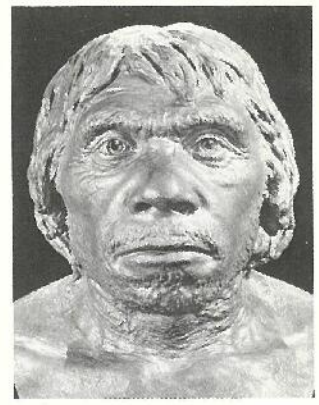
In Australia, however, after a dateline of c. 5000 B.C., a variety of dog, the dingo, appeared, of which the closest known relative is an Indian wolf; and simultaneously came spear throwers, boomerangs and shields, fine pressure flaking, unifacial and bifacial points, microliths, and blades. Notable sites of these later industries are at Devon Downs and Fromm's Landing, both on the Murray River, while at Kenniff Cave and the Tombs Shelter, in Queensland, stenciled hands and other painted motifs are to be seen, depicting the use of boomerangs, spear throwers, and shields.[42]

There can be no doubt that this whole new industry had arrived from elsewhere, probably from India, because, as Howells has remarked, "only God can make a dingo." To which, then, the question arises as to why the practice of horticulture, which in due time became of such importance in New Guinea and throughout the island world of New Melanesia, never put down a single taproot in Australia. Westward, in the neighboring islands of Indonesia which had been left above the waters when Sundaland submerged, not only horticulture after 8000 B.C., but also full rice culture (after 5000 B.C.) were practiced, along with significant developments in the seafaring arts. A new people of Mongolian race, with a developing civilization from the north, was at that time moving down massively into those islands; and yet, in Australia, as though in a museum, the arts and ways of the "fathers and grandfathers" of an epi-Paleolithic hunting age have remained preserved to the present day.



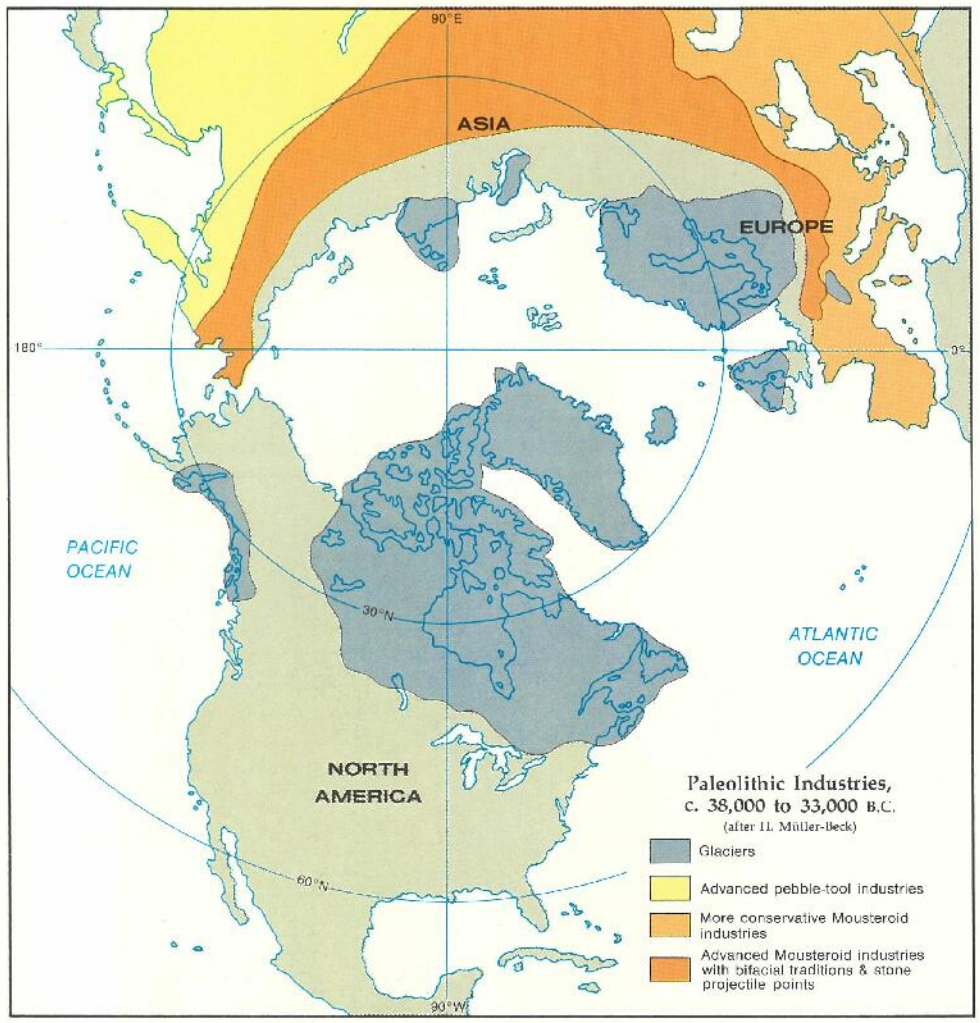


38. Acheulean hand ax representative of the lithic industry of *Homo erectus,* the species of the genus *Homo* first to emigrate into Europe and East Asia. **39.** W. K. Gregory reconstructed this *H. erectus* head based on studies of the skullcap and molars of *Pithecanthropus erectus* found at Trinil, Java, in 1891 (see page 29).

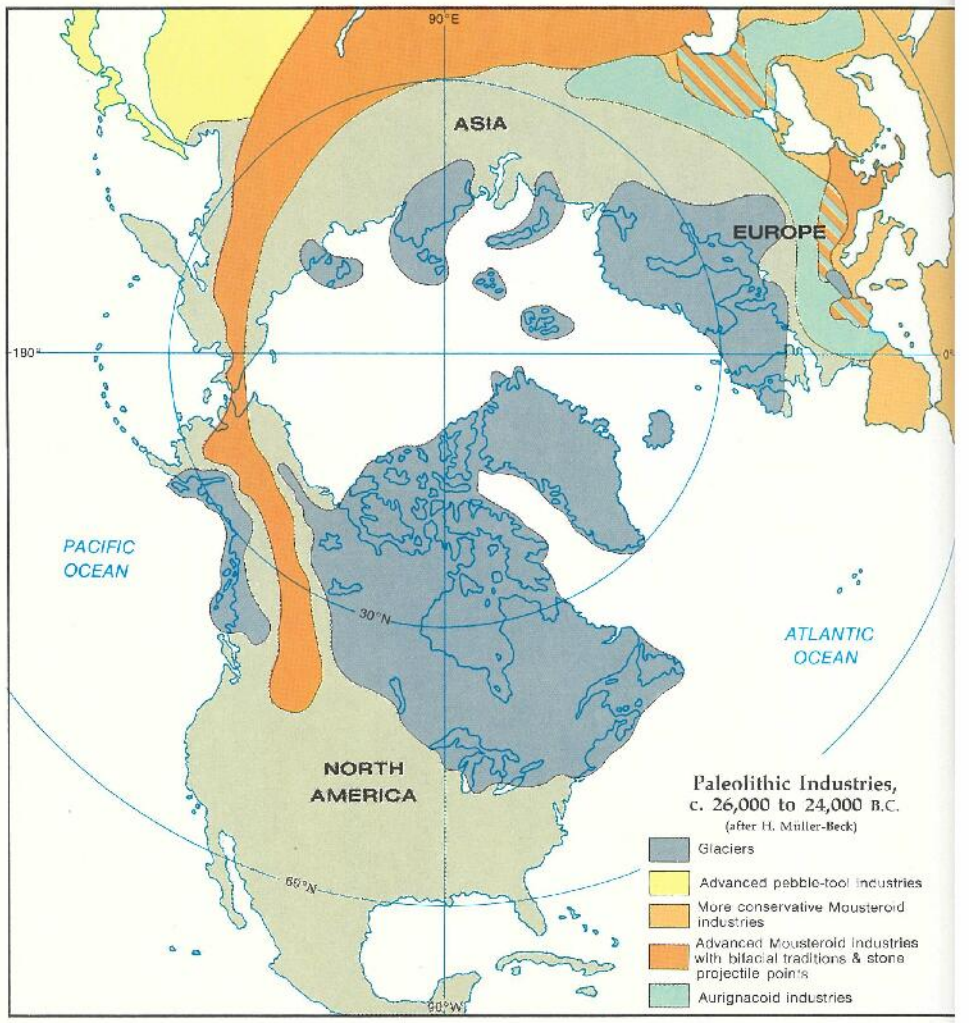




40. Early Mousterian tools of *Homo sapiens neanderthal ensis.* One facet of a core, prepared by flaking, was struck off so that one side of the tool was flat. **41.** W. K. Gregory's reconstruction of Neanderthal Man, based on the original skull cap from Neanderthal (1856) and that of 1908 from La Chapelle-aux Saints (**26** on page 29).



Map 9. Whereas the Eastern peoples held to pebble tools, those in the West advanced to the hand ax. By c. 38,000 B.C., the Mousteroid industry—which had appeared with Neanderthal Man, c. 150,000 B.C.—had been not only enriched and improved, but also carried across the whole of circumpolar Eurasia. When increasing cold once again enlarged the glaciers, impounding water and lowering the sea level to expose the Bering landbridge, a way was opened to the New World.

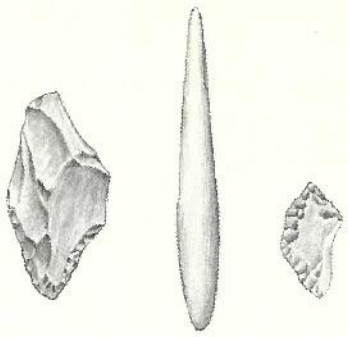


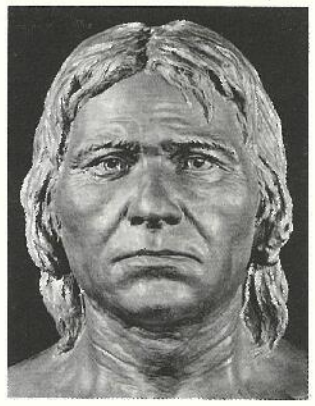
Map 10. Whether archaic *Homo sapiens* entered the Americas is still a question. Since, as geologist William G. Haag notes, animals moved freely across the landbridge during the entire last glaciation, Asiatic man would almost certainly have followed. "Archaeologists need not be too surprised in the future," he suggests, "to discover evidence of man here and there in North America 50,000 years old or even older."[3] The earliest generally recognized possibility is that shown above.

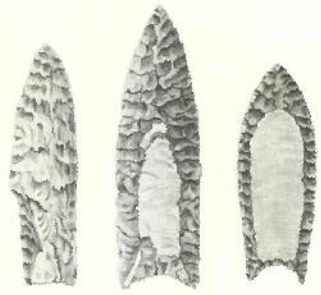
The Americas

The datings of the earliest migrations out of northeast Asia into America roughly match those out of the southeast into Old Melanesia; for, as the ocean levels fell and rose, the landbridges became exposed and submerged. Whereas the stone tools of the southeast were of the old pebble, flake, and chopper types, however, those carried to America were, *first,* of an advanced Mousteroid development and *then,* from c. 8000 B.C., Aurignacoid. Hansjürgen Müller-Beck's schematic maps (above) illustrate the conditions, first, before the appearance of the landbridge; next, from c. 26,000 to c. 24,000 B.C., when there was an open way across Beringland; third, c. 18,000 B.C., when the open way was closed by advancing ice of the Wisconsin glaciation, after which there developed in isolated America from the given Mousteroid base a number of distinctive "Llano industries" (notably, Sandia, Clovis, and Folsom); and then finally, from 10,000 B.C., when the passage again opened and there entered waves of advanced hunting tribes equipped with Aurignacoid blade tools, burins, and harpoons.

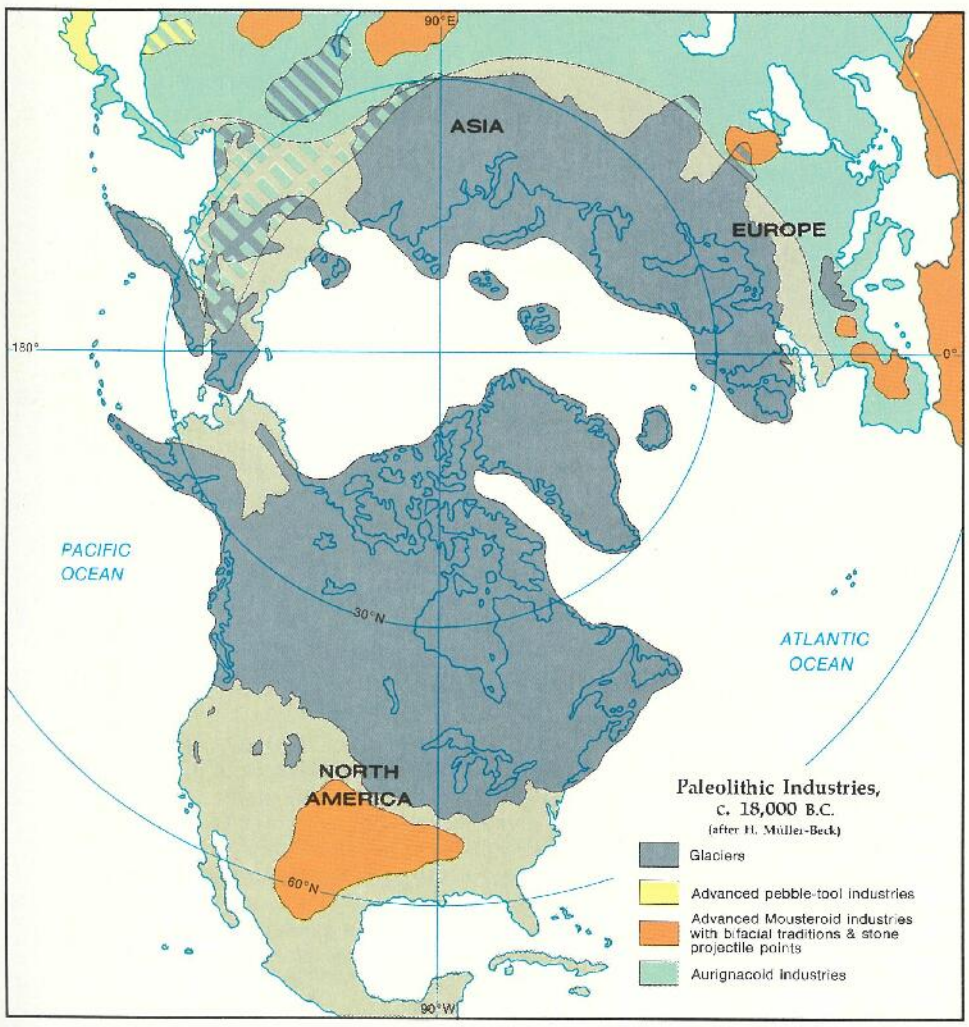
During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Richard S. MacNeish, director of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, excavating in the large Pikimachay Cave near Ayacucho in highland Peru (Map 13, page 37, site 8), identified a series of cultural strata going back to at least 20,000 B.C. Pikimachay is a rock shelter more than 50 yards long and 25 yards deep. Beneath its floor the first deposits unearthed were of a ceramic period of c. 1000 B.C., and beneath these were preceramic floors to c. 7000 B.C., overlying an accumulation of rocks about 6 feet deep (some weighing 3 to 4 tons) that had fallen from the cave roof. "The roof fall," states MacNeish, "which was of the consistency of cement, securely sealed off the earlier deposits from any possible later intrusions."[43] And what the earlier deposits disclosed were: first, a level from terminal glacial times; next, two intermediate strata, radiocarbon-dated to between 11,000 and 14,000 B.C.; and finally, four more strata,



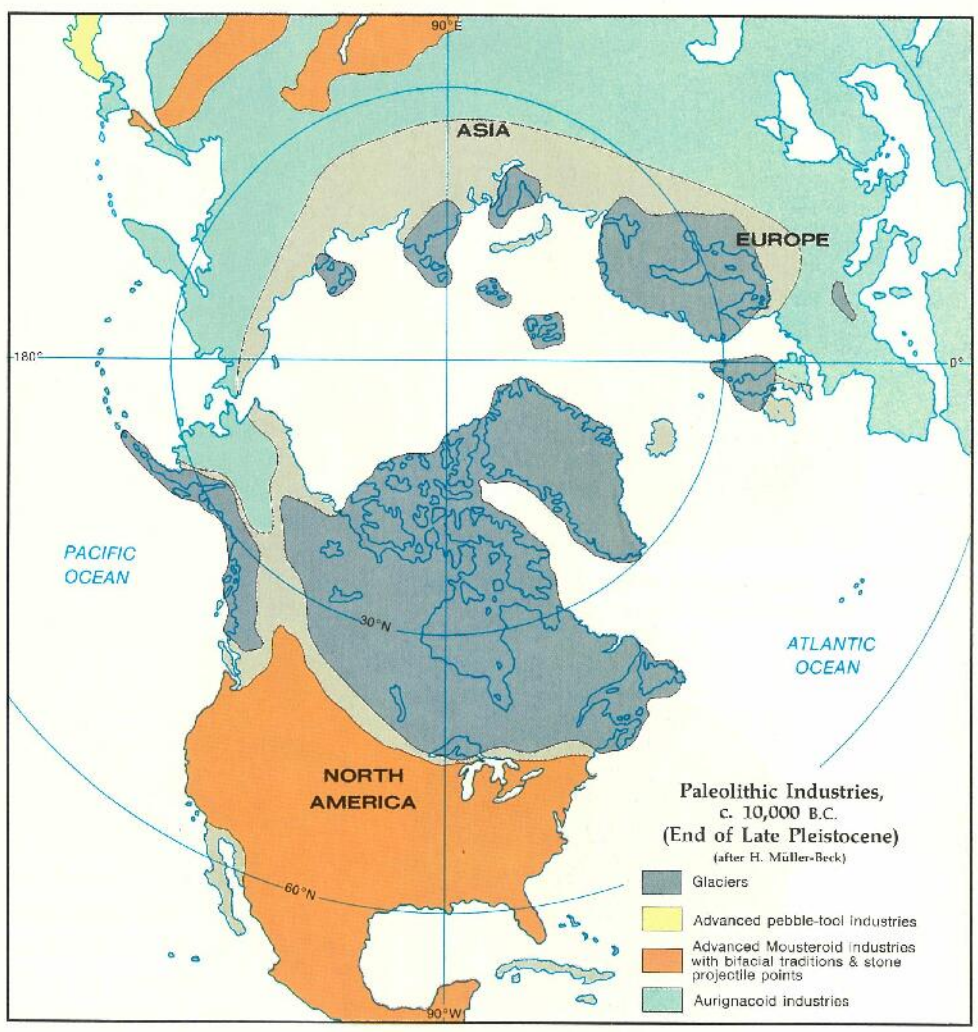




42. Three types of Aurignacian tool—a burin (**a**), a solid-based bone point (**b**), and a blade (**c**)—fashioned by modern *Homo sapiens* in the Old World. **43.** W. K. Gregory's classic reconstruction of Cro-Magnon Man, based on the great skull of the "Old Man of Cro-Magnon," found (1868) near Les Eyzies in the Dordogne: type skull of the Cro-Magnon race, its cranial capacity is ± 1600 cc. **44.** three types of tool of the Llano industry, developed in the New World from an introduced Mousterian base: Sandia (**a**), Clovis (**b**), and Folsom (**c**) points.



Map 11. During the 14,000 years between the time of Map 10 and that of Map 12, western Alaska was culturally a part rather of Asia than of North America. While in the Old World during this season Mousteroid tools were being supplanted by Aurignacoid, in both continents of the New World local refinements were appearing of the inherited Mousteroid tradition. Separated by polar tundra and glacier-covered mountains, the two systems were now developing independently.

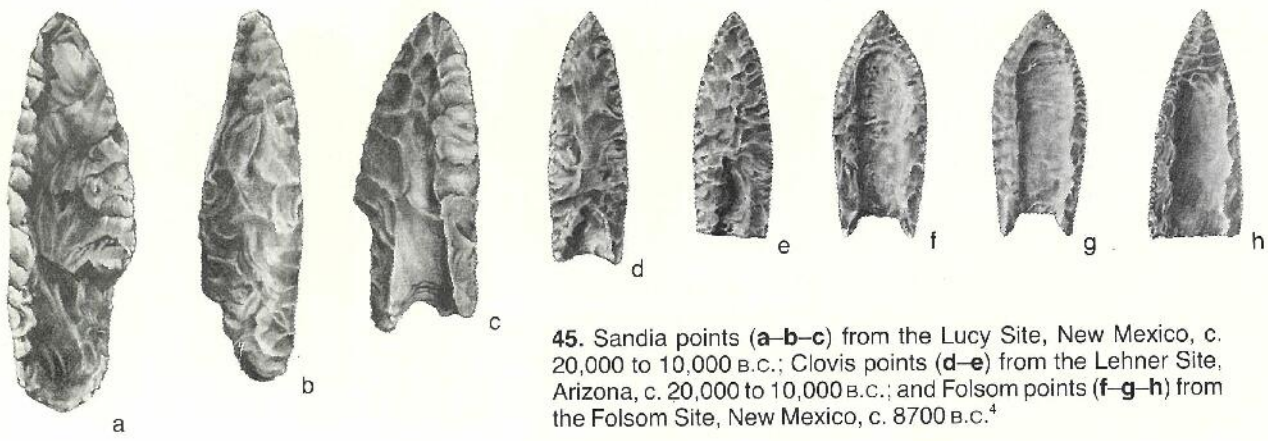


Map 12. When the Yukon corridor again became hospitable, the developed Mousteroid tool and weapon systems of the North American Plain spread north to meet the incoming Aurignacoid from Alaska. Then, finally, Beringland dissolved, and there were left what appeared to be two separate hemispheres—still visible to each other across 56 miles of shallow water, with the islands of St. Lawrence, Big and Little Diomede, and a few lesser landing stops between.

representing a still earlier glacial age and containing no less than eighty artifacts mixed with the remains of extinct species of sloth, horse, deer, and giant cats. Radiocarbon datings for this Paccaicasa Phase range from c. 11,300 to 19,200 B.C., and the artifacts include, in MacNeish's words: "crude large bifacial and slab choppers, cleavers, hammers, scraping planes, and crude concave- and convex-sided unifacial scrapers or spokeshavelike objects, as well as a single pointed flake that could have served on a projectile, and a flake showing blows from a burin. The cave," he adds, "was apparently occupied during brief periods by hunters and their families, who probably attacked the 10- to 15-foot-tall giant sloths in their den and then stayed to butcher and eat the results of their kill."[44]

The most reliable North American find of equivalent antiquity is, in MacNeish's view, that reported in 1958 from a site near Lewisville, Texas (Map 13, page 37, site 4),[45] where a pebble chopper, a stone hammer, and some flakes were discovered in association with hearths and the burned bones of extinct mammals. The hearth charcoals were radiocarbon-dated to c. 38,000 B.C. or earlier. Seven other sites in both North and South America (less securely dated than these, but containing comparable artifacts) have been identified as of the same culture stage: at Alice Boer, in the Rio Claro valley, Brazil,[46] and at Richmond Hill, British Honduras;[47] in Mexico, at Tequixquiac[48] and San Isidro, Nuevo León;[49] at Calico Hills, California;[50] and in Canada, both at Frazer Canyon near Yale, British Columbia,[51] and at Fort Liard, Northwest Territories.[52] (See Map 13, page 37, sites 1 through 9.)

"We may guess," states MacNeish in summary of the findings not only of these nine very early sites, but also of some sixty-odd others of various later dates, "that migrating bands crossed the Bering Strait landbridge some 70,000 ± 30,000 years ago and subsequently moved southward at a very slow rate. What little evidence we have," he continues, "suggests that these people were also unskilled hunters—almost collectors of big game rather than hunters—like the people of the Lower and Middle Paleolithic of Europe and of the chopper-chopping complexes of the Fen-ho industry and upper cave culture of Choukoutien in



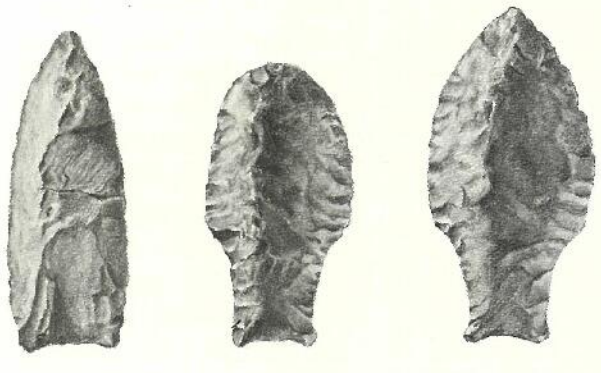
45. Sandia points (**a**–**b**–**c**) from the Lucy Site, New Mexico, c. 20,000 to 10,000 B.C.; Clovis points (**d**–**e**) from the Lehner Site, Arizona, c. 20,000 to 10,000 B.C.; and Folsom points (**f**–**g**–**h**) from the Folsom Site, New Mexico, c. 8700 B.C.[4]



46. Projectile point among the ribs of an extinct subspecies of bison. Folsom, New Mexico, c. 8700 B.C.



47. One of three crude sandstone heads from gravel pits near Malakoff, Texas. Associated Pleistocene faunal remains suggest considerable antiquity, possibly c. 40,000 to 30,000 B.C.[5]



48. Lanceolate and fishtail points from Fells Cave, southern Chile, c. 8700 B.C.[6]

China."[53] They were tribes, that is to say, of the species *Homo erectus*, which must have crossed the strait on a landbridge, possibly during the Riss glaciation.

A second major stage, of more advanced tool fashioning, which MacNeish compares broadly with the Mousterian of Europe and the so-called Ordos industry of Middle Paleolithic China, is documented by artifacts, not only from the Pikimachay Cave just above the Paccaicasa stratum, but also from some fourteen other well-investigated sites in both American continents. The industries, in MacNeish's view, could have arrived by way of the landbridge, but also might have been developed independently in North America itself. His basic dates for this Stage 2 are, for North America, about 38,000 B.C.; for Central America, about 23,000 B.C.; and for South America, perhaps 14,000 to 10,000 B.C..

A Stage 3 then is represented, in his opinion, by finds of bifacial leaf-points, burins, blades, and endscrapers at about a dozen widely scattered sites from Alaska to Venezuela and Peru; and his suggested dates for these are in the range, for North America, of c. 23,000 to 11,000 B.C., and for Middle and South America, c. 13,000 to 8000 B.C. The tribes, in MacNeish's words, were "hunters of big game or herd animals in a wide variety of environments,"[54] and their considerably advanced technology was directly antecedent to the proliferation of expertly fashioned tools of the next development, Stage 4, which he assigns in its beginnings to the end of the last glacial age, c. 11,000 to 8000 B.C.

Some twenty or more distinct industries from sites throughout the Americas have been identified as of this fourth complex. MacNeish believes that these could have been native adaptations and refinements out of the Lower Lithic beginnings of his Stages 1 and 2, whereas Müller-Beck, as we have seen, would interpret them, rather, as products of the Mousteroid migration represented in his second map, the artifacts of MacNeish's Stage 4 then being viewed as local American developments out of the Mousteroid base of Müller-Beck's second map, during the period represented in his third map. In this scholar's own words:

"The Llano complex of North America [Clovis, Sandia, Folsom points, among others, of c. 20,000 to 10,000 B.C.] differs from Aurignacoid industries in numerous aspects and cannot be derived from either an early or a late Aurignacoid technological level. . . . Aurignacoid industries were present on the Siberian plains at least 15,000 years ago. It can be assumed that they would have been present in Alaska beginning at about this same time. The

AT THE UTTERMOST END OF THE EARTH



49. A photograph, taken c. 1899, of a family of the Ona tribe, the tall mountain people of inland Tierra del Fuego. They hunted chiefly guanaco, a species of wild llama, wore robes and head coverings of its fur, and dwelt—in spite of the Fuegian cold—in open wind breaks made of its hide. A second race, the Yahgan (or Yamana), shorter in stature and more squarely built than the Ona, inhabited the southern coasts and the rocky islands southward to Cape Horn. Clothed only in capes of animal hide, these were a beachcombing boat people, living on berries and fungi, birds and shellfish, occasional seals and whales. Their canoes, with sharply raised and pointed ends, carried fireplaces amidships; and it was the nighttime glow of the many little fires on the waters, as well as on land, that suggested to Magellan the name Tierra del Fuego (Land of Fire), when, in 1520 (from October 21 to November 28), he navigated the strait that now bears his name.



Principal Sites Providing Evidence for the Presence of Early Man in the New World

(after R. MacNeish)

Stage 1: c. 100,000 to 40,000 B.C.
(stone choppers, cleavers, hammers and such)

Fort Liard, Northwest Territories, Canada D-4
Frazer Canyon, Yale, British Columbia, Canada D-5
Calico Hills, California D-6
Lewisville, Texas F-6
Malakoff, Texas F-6
San Isidro, Nuevo León, Mexico F-6
Tequixquiác, Central Mexico F-7
Richmond Hill, Belize G-7
Pikimachay, Ayacucho, Peru H-9
Alice Boer, Rio Claro, Brazil I-9

Stage 2: c. 38,000 to 10,000 B.C.
(unifacial tools, burins, and bone tools)

Fort Liard, Northwest Territories, Canada D-4
Santa Rosa Island, California D-6
Levi Rockshelter, Texas F-6
Meadowcroft Rockshelter, Pennsylvania G-5
Valsequillo, Puebla, Mexico F-7
Pikimachay Cave, Ayacucho, Peru H-9
Tagua-Tagua, Chile H-11

Stage 3: c. 23,000 to 8000 B.C.
(burins, blades, well-made end-scrapers, and bifacial leaf points)

Flint Creek—Bedwell Complexes, Yukon Territory, Canada and Alaska C-3
Fort Liard, Northwest Territories, Canada D-4
Wilson Butte Cave, Idaho E-5
Lucy, New Mexico E-6
Lehner, Arizona E-6
Hueyatlaco, Puebla, Mexico F-7
Muaco, Venezuela H-7
Chivateros I, Lima, Peru G-9

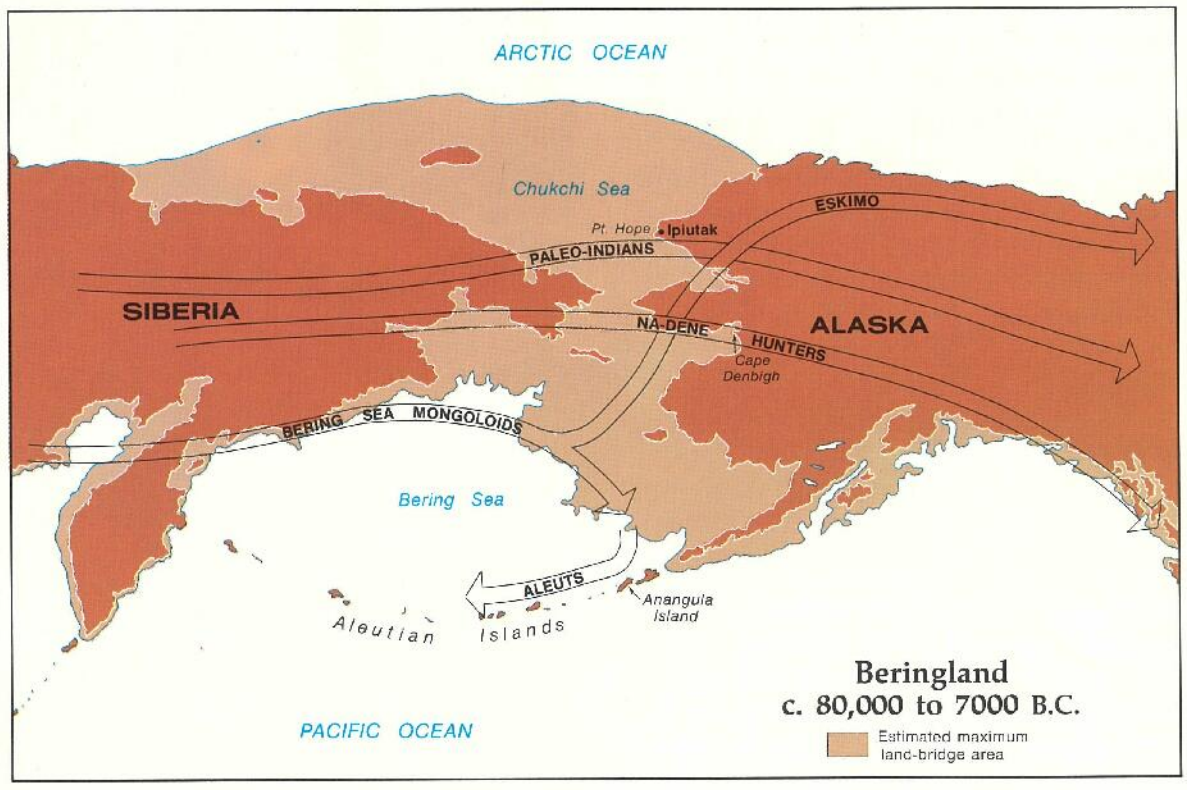
Stage 4: c. 11,000 to 8000 B.C.
(specialized bifacial points, well-made scrapers & knives, and numerous other tools)

Onion Portage, Alaska A-3
Lind Coulee, Washington D-5
Hardaway, North Carolina G-6
Clovis, New Mexico E-6
Folsom, New Mexico E-6
Ajuereado, Tehuacán Valley, Mexico F-7
Tequendama Cave, Bogotá, Colombia H-8
Alice Boer, Rio Claro, Brazil I-9
Fell's Cave, Patagonia, Chile H-12

Forests and woodlands
Plains
Tundra
Other landforms and environments



50. Chinese mask, bronze, eighth century B.C., use unknown. Compare **54.**



Map 14. Some 1300 miles at its widest, the broad tundra plain of Beringland gradually diminished as the waters rose with the melting of the glaciers. Its seacoasts were thereby lengthened, and along this northern arc of the Pacific, the Bering Sea Mongoloids continued their fishing and sea-mammal hunting, while inland, other Mongoloid hunters, equipped with advanced Aurignacoid and Mesolithic weaponry, passed—with the opening of the corridors—into the Canadian forests and North American plains, there to become ancestral to the Athapascan, Algonquian, and possibly other Indian tribes.





56/57. Two examples of Scythian goldwork, showing on the animals' shoulders and hips a distinctive pear-shaped boss that is characteristic of this art of the seventh to third centuries B.C. and apparently passed, by way of Mongolia and/or China, to the fishing villages of Alaska. The Scythians were Central Asian nomads skilled in horsemanship, who founded an empire in southern Russia, north of the Black Sea, and are best known today for the elegance of their craftsmanship in gold.

uninfluenced continuation of the more Mousteroid projectile point tradition represented by the earliest-known Llano industries requires isolation from Late Pleistocene technological developments in Eurasia. Isolation from Aurignacoid influence was clearly impossible in Siberia; isolation in Alaska is highly unlikely, although it cannot be completely ruled out. More probable, however, is an isolation of the ancestors of the Llano complex in interior North America south of the coalescing glaciers of the Canadian Shield and the northern Rocky Mountains."[55]

When the passage through the Canadian Shield then opened, somewhere c. 10,000 to 9000 B.C., various bearers of Aurignacoid weapons and tools began moving south, while behind them the once great landbridge that for centuries had been their home was disappearing.

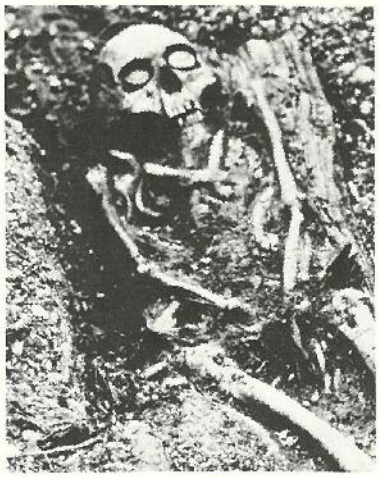
Most of the critical evidence from Beringland itself has, of course, been lost beneath the waters of what is now a strait. However, on Anangula Island in the Aleutians, which was part of its southern coast, a unifacial core and blade industry has been found, of a date c. 7000 B.C., which was clearly an extension of the advanced Aurignacoid of Japan and interior Siberia, which is known to date from c. 11,000 to 7000 B.C. The Japanese preceramic specialist M. Yoshizaki has remarked that its material could fit easily in a context of that period from Hokkaido.[56]

The Anangula settlement was of fishing folk exploiting the waters of a coastline rich in marine life, and, as W. S. Laughlin has remarked, the inhabitants of that coastline were not forced to abandon their manner of life as the waters gradually rose and the shoreline moved back. "In fact," he points out, "the southern perimeter of the Bering Land Bridge expanded greatly in absolute length as well as in proportion to the shrinking land mass." Furthermore: "This increase in coastline favored the numerical expansion of the coastal-adapted ancestors of the Bering Sea Mongoloids—the Aleuts, Eskimos, Chukchi, and Koryak, and possibly some of the Kamchadals."[57]

The hunting peoples of the much colder interior, meanwhile, were being forced to move either eastward or westward as their hunting ground diminished and at last disappeared. These, and not the coastal folk, were then the migrants who would have passed into the American interior. The Indians must be descended, therefore, from earlier and later hunting tribes which at one time or another inhabited and moved across Beringland, whereas the Aleuts and Eskimo are successors of the fishing villagers of the coast.

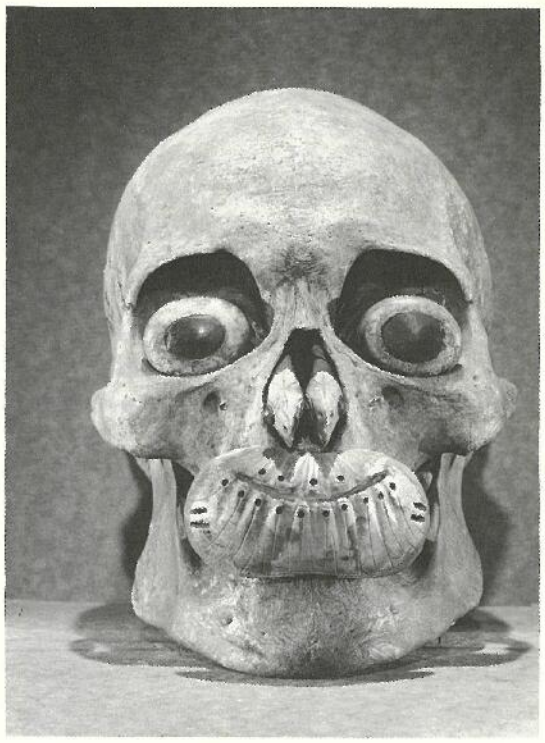
"The Bering Land Bridge," as Laughlin tells, "was an enormous continental area extending nearly 1,500 km from its southern extremity, now the eastern Aleutians, to its northern margin in the Arctic Ocean. It was an area that could accommodate many permanent residents, human and animal, and it endured for a longer time [c. 70,000 years] than that documented for the entire period of human occupancy in America. The southern coastal area was ecologically quite different from the interior regions and provided the basis for the differentiation of the sea-oriented Mongoloids, ancestors of the Aleuts and Eskimos, and the land-oriented big-game hunters of the interior, the ancestors of the American Indians. It is obvious that several generations of occupants, some of them moving slowly eastward and southward, were unaware that most of their territory would eventually be submerged."[58]

The Anangula Island industry of the terminal period of the landbridge, c. 7000

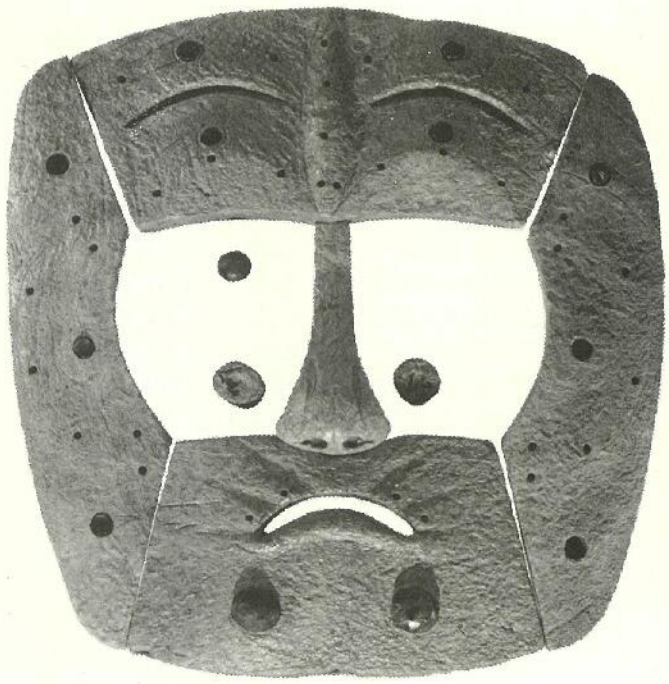




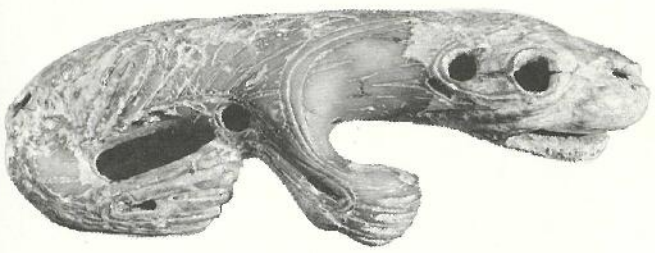
51. Asian influences continued to reach Alaska even after Beringland's disappearance, however, as is evident, both in these microliths of the Denbigh Flint Complex (to 1500), c. 3000, B.C. and in the remarkable Ipiutak ivories from Point Hope, Alaska, of the second to sixth centuries A.D.



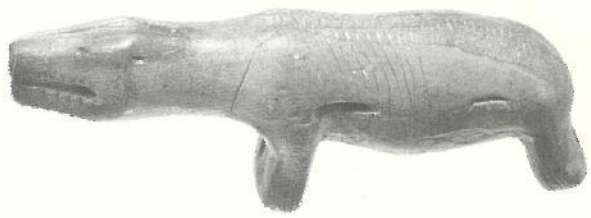
52/53. Ceremonial internment, the burial skull featuring artificial eyes of ivory and jet, an ivory mouth cover, and two nostril plugs, each plug carved to represent the head of some fabulous bird. Skull shown in close-up and in situ. Ipiutak culture, Alaska, probably second to sixth centuries A.D.



54/55. Ivory burial mask. Ipiutak culture, Alaska. Probably second to sixth centuries A.D. Below, the mask in situ, resting partly on the skeleton of a child and partly on the knees of an adult male between whose legs the child was placed. Beneath the mask was a brown paste: the remains of wood in which the ivory sections had apparently been embedded and in which two cheek plugs were embedded still. Two bits of jet (one lost) may have been the pupils of wooden eyes. (Compare the eyes of **53.**)



58. Ivory walrus with exposed ribs and backbone (a shamanic feature). On each hip an imitation Scythian boss (see **56/57.**). In an Ipiutak grave it lay at the skeleton's shoulder, sewn (as where once leg and body holes indicate) to the shamanic costume.



59. Ivory polar bear, with exposed ribs and backbone. On each hip an imitation of the Scythian boss, and a deep slot for suspension running from the chin, along the belly, to the tail. Ipiutak culture, Alaska, probably second to sixth centuries A.D.



B.C., was but the earliest of a number of assemblages testifying to the Asian background of the whaling and fishing communities of the North American Arctic. A second site, some 4000 years later, from c. 3000 to 1500 B.C., when the landbridge had long disappeared, tells of the arrival on the Alaskan coast of the people of the Denbigh Flint Complex, from the remains of whose village on the west side of Cape Denbigh on Norton Sound, some 1500 beautifully worked microflints have been recovered (Figure 51).[59] "The delicacy of the flaking," as one scholar has remarked, "is extraordinary. In one case a specimen about an inch and a quarter long bears more than twenty ribbon-like scars on each face."[60] Some of the burins and blades resemble types from the European Upper Paleolithic; others are similar to later forms from post-Paleolithic Siberia; and there are a few fluted points of Folsom character as well, representing an influence coming north from the Plains as the glaciers retreated and the game animals followed, together with their Indian hunters.

A third site, rich in astonishing signs of both near and remote Asian connections, was discovered and excavated in 1939 on the shore of Point Hope, Alaska, where at some time between the second and sixth centuries A.D. a whale-hunting town, Ipiutak, of no less than 600 semi-subterranean houses arranged in streets along the shore of the Chukchi Sea, had flourished for about a hundred years. As reported by its discoverers, there are "undeniable resemblances," not only between Ipiutak's burial customs and artifacts and those of several cultures of northeast Asia, but also between its ivory death masks and certain works of early Chinese art (Figures 50 and 53).[61] Moreover, signs even of a Scythian influence are evident in the pear-shaped bosses on the haunches of some of the skillfully carved, ivory and antler animal figurines (see Figures 56 to 59). A bear cult, a ghost cult, and shamanism are suggested. Walrus, seals, and the whale were hunted with toggle-headed harpoons; caribou with the bow and arrow. Thus, influences are apparent, both from a general, Pacific, northern maritime tradition in Ipiutak's seal- and whale-hunting techniques, and from the inland cultures of northeast Asia in its shamanic features. Indeed, even elements from southwest Asia had filtered into its art. So that, evidently, the disappearance of Beringland, c. 700 B.C., did not dissolve the North American link with Eurasia.

The Five Basic Races

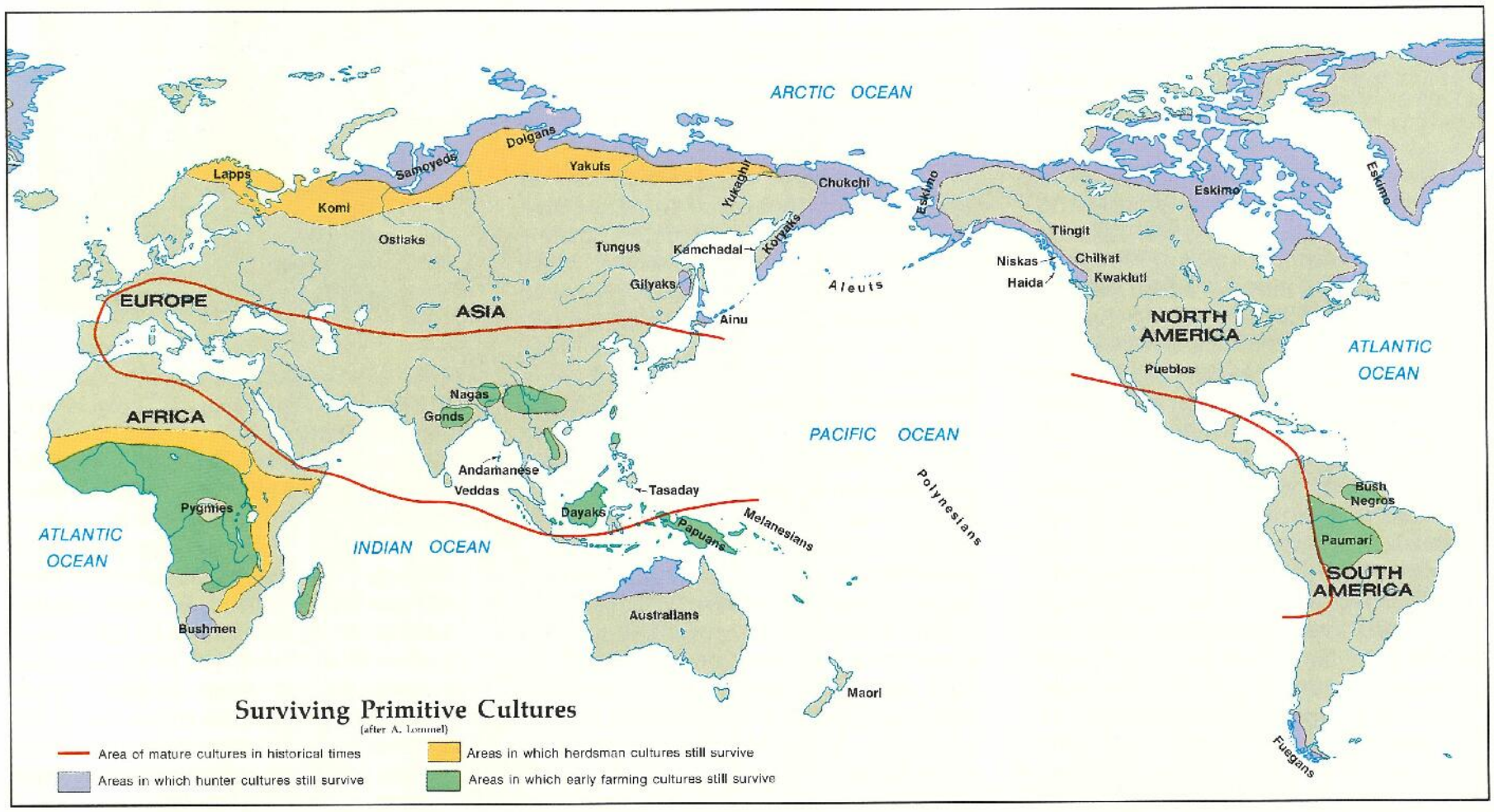
In the light of all these signs of influences moving west to east throughout the Paleolithic with nothing as yet returning, it is evident that the primary creative cultural centers of the period are to be sought neither in America nor in Asia, but in Africa and Europe. Leo Frobenius, in the first years of this century, wrote of the culture-history of those times as marked by a general west-to-east trend,[62] noting further that within the western area itself there were signs of what he thought should be interpreted as an alternation of earlier movements south to north, and then north to south.[63] Subsequent discoveries in Africa of the earliest remains, not only of human life, but also of stone industries that later appeared in Europe, have confirmed this comprehensive insight. But Frobenius had something further to suggest, namely, that the inspiration for the sudden appearance in Europe of those now well-known "Paleolithic Venuses" should perhaps also be attributed to Africa, where the first examples would have been fashioned, not of stone, but of wood.

"Is it not singular," he asks, "that in the Late Paleolithic of Europe, as also in the Neolithic of Egypt, sculptured representations of the human form should have appeared already fully realized and stylistically secure? May it not be that the stone sculpture of the north was born of an art of wood sculpture from the south, and led thereby to a blade culture as well? May it not be that in primeval times the cultural trend was from south to north, as later, from north to south? May the alternation of the west-to-east and then east-to-west pendulations not have had an earlier analogue in movements, south-to-north, and thereafter, north-to-south? It is obvious that everything of wood must have returned, since those times, to the earth, and that only by chance can any specimen have survived—as in arid Egypt. Such disappearances could explain the gap that separates the distributions of southern European and central African assemblages. It is worth keeping this possibility in mind."[64]

The same principle was invoked by William Howells to explain the crudity of the stone tools of Old Melanesia, where again wood must have been the material preferred and most natural. Frobenius described the southern, equatorial, tropical culture, as compared with the northern, temperate culture field, as the realm of the "invisible counterplayers," suggesting that many of the so-called historic developments of the relatively well documented cultures of the north may actually have been, not properly "developments," but responses to undocumented influences coming from the south. In his own words:

"The grandiose high cultures of antiquity occupied, according to our knowledge, no more of the world than a belt reaching from about 20 degrees to about 45 degrees north; that is, they were confined to an area north of the Tropic of Cancer. Over against this demonstration of archaeology, the ethnological branch of our science could not fail forever to recognize that southward of this belt, from West Africa, through India, the Malay Archipelago, and Melanesia, cultures have survived to this day whose traits not only cannot be derived from those of the historical cultures, but also represent a world of their own, which is no less distinct from the other than the plant world from the animal. This domain of *a second kind of culture* is a fact. This second kind is in all and everything so different from the character of the historical cultures that it is not possible to associate it with any historical circumstance; for it offers no external key or clue to its age. Externally regarded, it exhibits only static vistas and perspectives. It appears to have whiled its life away, like the plant world of its homeland, without spring or winter, heights or depths.

Map 15. Expanding influences from centers of the earliest high civilizations progressively drew more and more of the peoples of the earth into the vortex of world history. Pressed to the margins of the continents or into remote jungle retreats were those persisting in the ways of their paleolithic "fathers and grandfathers." Likewise dwelling in timeless zones were others in whose unmeasured past the step from hunting to primitive planting had been taken and whose ancestors had there rested; while in empty regions of tundra, semi-desert, or grass, nomads range, herding reindeer, yaks, sheep, goats, swine, or cattle and, in America, llama and alpaca. New influences from new centers are today reaching even the most secluded of these tribes.



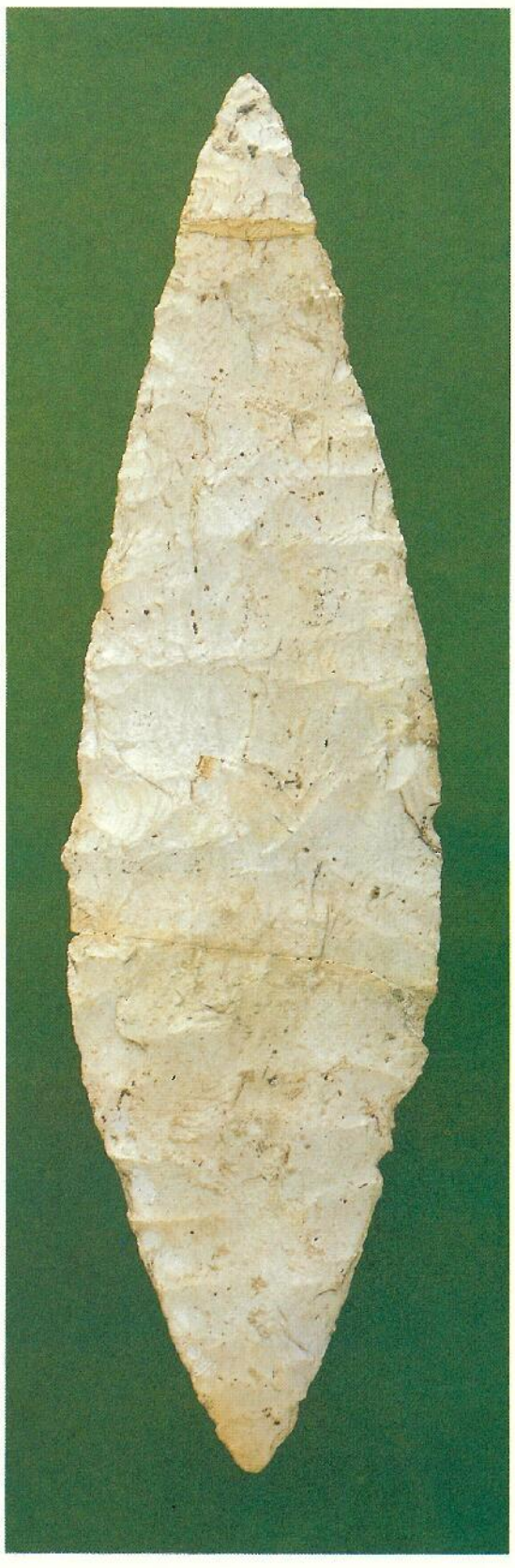
"I would term this great group of cultures 'the invisible counterplayers' (*die unsichtbaren Gegenspieler*) in the history of the cultures of mankind.

"And although its existence is seldom attested in historical documents and so can hardly ever be directly demonstrated, nevertheless I have no doubt that it has worked upon the higher cultures, from the south."[65]

Whatever the immediate inspiration may have been, whether out of an impulse from the south, as here suggested, or directly out of a Mousterian base, the emergence in Professor Pilbeam's "Garden of Eden" (see page 29) of the Eurasian Aurignacian complex of c. 35,000 to 20,000 B.C. exactly coincided not only with the appearance on the scene of a race of modern character, Cro-Magnon Man, *Homo sapiens sapiens*, but also with the final retreat of the glaciers.

The climate of Europe at that time was moist and extremely cold. The landscape was of an arctic tundra, and the animals upon it were the musk ox, woolly rhinoceros, reindeer, and woolly mammoth; also, the arctic fox, hare, wolverine, and ptarmigan.[66] However, with the further retreat of the ice the climate, though remaining cold, became dry, and steppe conditions began to preponderate over tundra. This change brought, in addition to the animals just named, great grazing herds of bison, wild cattle, the steppe horse, ibex, and argali sheep; and as a result the conditions of human life greatly altered. In the earlier period of the mammoth, the hunting stations appear to have been widely scattered but comparatively stationary; in this period of the great herds, a shift to a more continuously ranging style of nomadism took place, at least in the European sector. Farther east, in the colder reaches of Russia and Siberia, the mammoth remained, and with it, a continuation of the earlier style as far as to Lake Baikal, and thence onward, as we have seen, into America. The period is known in Europe as the Solutrean: in America it is approximately that of the third map of Müller-Beck's schedule (page 35). Moreover, in Europe there had arrived, following the animals, a new hunting race from the east, the Brünn, whose particular talent was for the fashioning of beautiful spear points.[67] Their period, comparatively short, was from c. 20,000 to 15,000 B.C.—when there followed another cold, wet period, during which the European steppes gave place to forests and the grazing herds, moving out northeasterly, took with them many of the hunters, some of whose descendants went on to inhabit the landbridge into America. With the forest there had entered Europe, meanwhile, the red deer and the fallow deer, the forest horse and the moose; but the days of the Great Hunt were no more: people were turning for additional fare to the rivers and the sea. Harpoons were being fashioned for the whale and the seal, while across the arctic north, from Finland to Kamchatka, Alaska, and on across Canada to Greenland, adaptations of the Paleolithic orders were developing that have endured to the present hour.

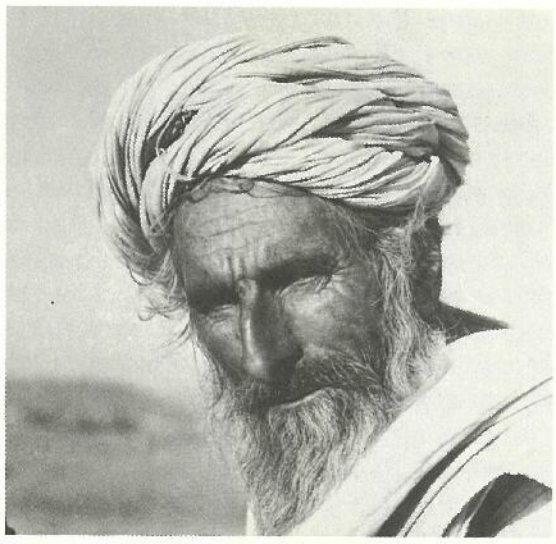
In North Africa, on the other hand, a new arena of the Great Hunt had meanwhile opened; for, as the European ice had been drawing back, the African pluvial line had been moving north, and where now there is desert, there were plains. Moreover, in the rock art of that now-vanished landscape, we see that the bow and arrow had arrived; also, the domesticated dog. The type station is Capsa (Gafsa) in Tunisia, after which the period has been called the Capsian. Its chief art monuments survive in the Sahara Atlas Mountains, the Fezzan, and in southern Spain. The characteristic industry is of microlithic flints, tiny, chiefly trapezoid, rhomboid, and triangular points, with a geographical distribution greatly beyond that of the art—from Morocco to the Vindhya Range of India and from the Cape of Good Hope to the Baltic. We have seen something of its effects in the Denbigh Flints of Alaska (page 39, Figure 51). But of its origins we know practically nothing. It was another undated production of Frobenius's "invisible counterplayers." Its breakthrough into Spain and thence into northern Europe occurred when the glacial retreat was nearly complete, c. 10,000 B.C., and in those parts it has been termed, variously, Fina Capsian, Tardenoisian, Microlithic, Mesolithic, proto-Neolithic, epi-Paleolithic, and Azilian.



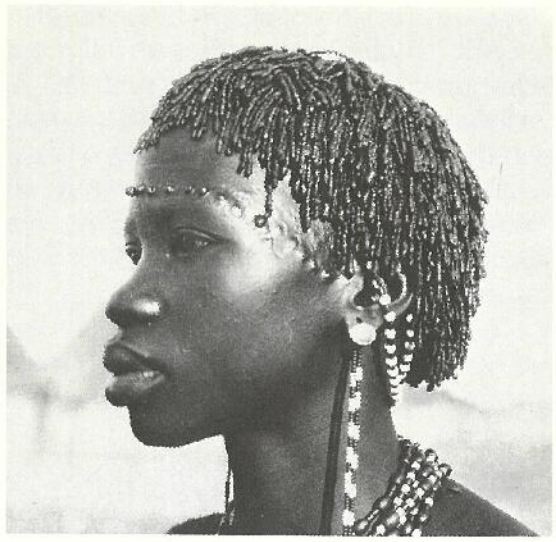
60. Flint working reached a climax in Europe with the arrival of the Solutrean hunters, c. 17,000 B.C. Their characteristic product was the pressure-flaked, bifacial, "laurel leaf" spear-point. This fine example is from the type site of the culture, La Solutré, Dordogne, France.

But then, of course, as formerly in Europe and also now in Africa, the great days were not to last forever. With the continuation of the glacial retreat the pluvial line, too, continued northward, and therewith there ensued, from c. 3000 B.C., a gradual desiccation of the Saharan hunting fields and their transformation into desert. This was answered by a movement southward of both the animals and their hunters, in the way of a north-to-south retreat. So that, just as survivors of the old European epi-Paleolithic hunt carry on to this day along the arctic fringes of Eurasia and North America, so too, in the ultimate refuge zones of Africa, the Kalahari Desert and the deep jungle retreats of the Congo, the Bushmen and the Pygmies continue, as well as they can, as of old.

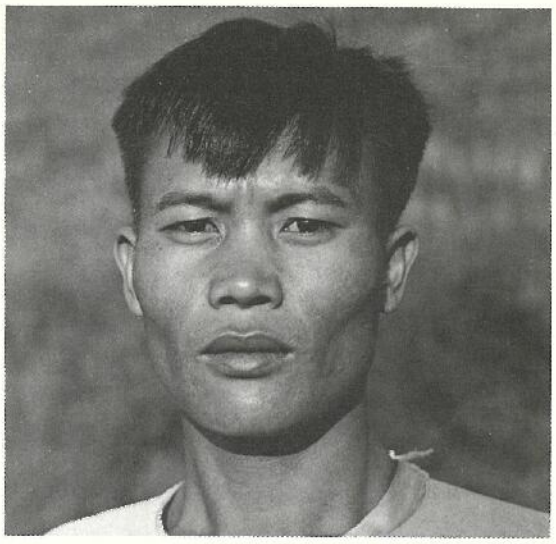
But the Bushmen, though an African race, are not Negroes. Coon has classified them as one of the five races of modern man, which are namely: (1) the Australoid, among whom he reckons "the Australian aborigines, Melanesians, Papuans, some of the tribal folk of India, and the various Negritos of South Asia and Oceania"; (2) the Mongoloid, "most of the East Asiatics, Indonesians, Polynesians, Micronesians, American Indians, and Eskimo"; (3) the Caucasoid, "Europeans and their overseas kinsmen, the Middle Eastern Whites, from Morocco to West Pakistan, and most of the peoples of India, as well as the Ainus of Japan"; (4) the Congoid, "the Negroes and Pygmies of Africa"; and finally, (5) the Capoid, "the Bushmen and Hottentots and other relic



61. A Pathan from the Indian northwest frontier. Caucasoid race: eyes, blue; grey, green, or hazel to dark brown; hair, wavy to straight; yellow, red, auburn, or brown to black; males heavily bearded; complexions very fair to very dark.



62. A Shilluk from the Sudan. Congoid race (Negroes and African Pygmies): statures range from extremely tall and lanky to sturdy and very short; complexions, black to mahogany; features generally prognathoid; lips everted; frizzly hair.



63. A Taiwan aborigine. Mongoloid race: complexions, light yellow to coppery brown; hair, black, lank, can be very long; little body hair, little beard; face, flat; incisors, large, usually "shoveled"; eyes, wide apart, with heavy upper-eyelid fold.

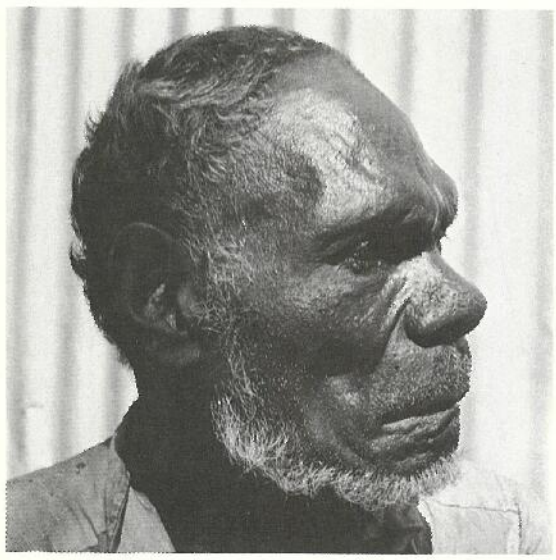
tribes, like the Sandawe of Tanganyika." The last group has been named the Capoid, he explains, after the Cape of Good Hope, near which they live. But since they once—that is, in Capsian times—occupied Morocco, "the cape can be thought of," Coon suggests, "as Cape Spartel."[68]

Thus the Bushmen are the last descendants of the tribesmen of the Capsian Great Hunt, pressed southward, first by an expanding northern Caucasoid population, and then, from c. A.D. 500, by the expanding Congoid Bantu, who had recently acquired, not only a knowledge of iron, but also an improved horticulture based on the introduction from Indonesia of the yam, taro, and a superior banana, which had been brought to Madagascar and the Azanian coast by a migrating wave (east to west, now) of Mongoloid Malayo-Polynesians.[69] Stage by stage retiring before *force majeure*, while persisting, like the Tasaday, in the ways of their timeless "fathers and grandfathers," the harassed and harried Capoids, having abandoned to the invading desert their formerly abundant hunting range, are now, ironically, terminating their years, still as hunters, in a second desert, the southern wastes of the Kalahari. The Congoid Pygmies, who, when the Capoid-Capsian bushmen had been dominant in the plains of the north, had themselves been hunting masters in the Africa south of Sahara, now likewise have retreated to an ultimate sanctuary—and likewise, still as hunters—to survive in scattered vestigial bands through the untamed Congolese jungle, from Gabon and the Cameroons to Uganda and Rwanda-Burundi. As summarized by Basil Davidson:

"By about A.D. 800 . . . the whole of continental Africa had entered a thriving Iron Age but for a few regions in the centre and the south, where Bushmen and their like continued a Late Stone Age kind of life, hunting and gathering food, painting and engraving on rock as the



64. A Bushman boy from the Kalahari. Capoid race: complexion, apricot yellow; hair, black, in thick, tight clusters ("peppercorn"); both sexes steatopygous; male genitalia, normally semi-erect; female, with extended labia minora (the "Hottentot apron").



65. A Tiwi from Melville Island. Australoid race, three varieties: (1) full-sized with straight or wavy hair (Australoid proper); (2) full-sized with kinky hair (Tasmanian and Papuo-Melanesian); and (3) Pygmy-sized with kinky hair (Negrito).

Iron Age Bantu-language peoples seldom or never did: a way of life that has continued, little altered to this day, in remote segments of the Kalahari and among some of the Pygmies of the Congo forestland. Everywhere else populations had greatly multiplied, developed their farming and metal-using technology, worked out their characteristic religions, embarked on new forms of social and political organization ranging from powerful states like ancient Ghana to intricate systems of tribal democracy among a wide range of different peoples, and laid foundations for the growth of their civilization into modern times."[70]

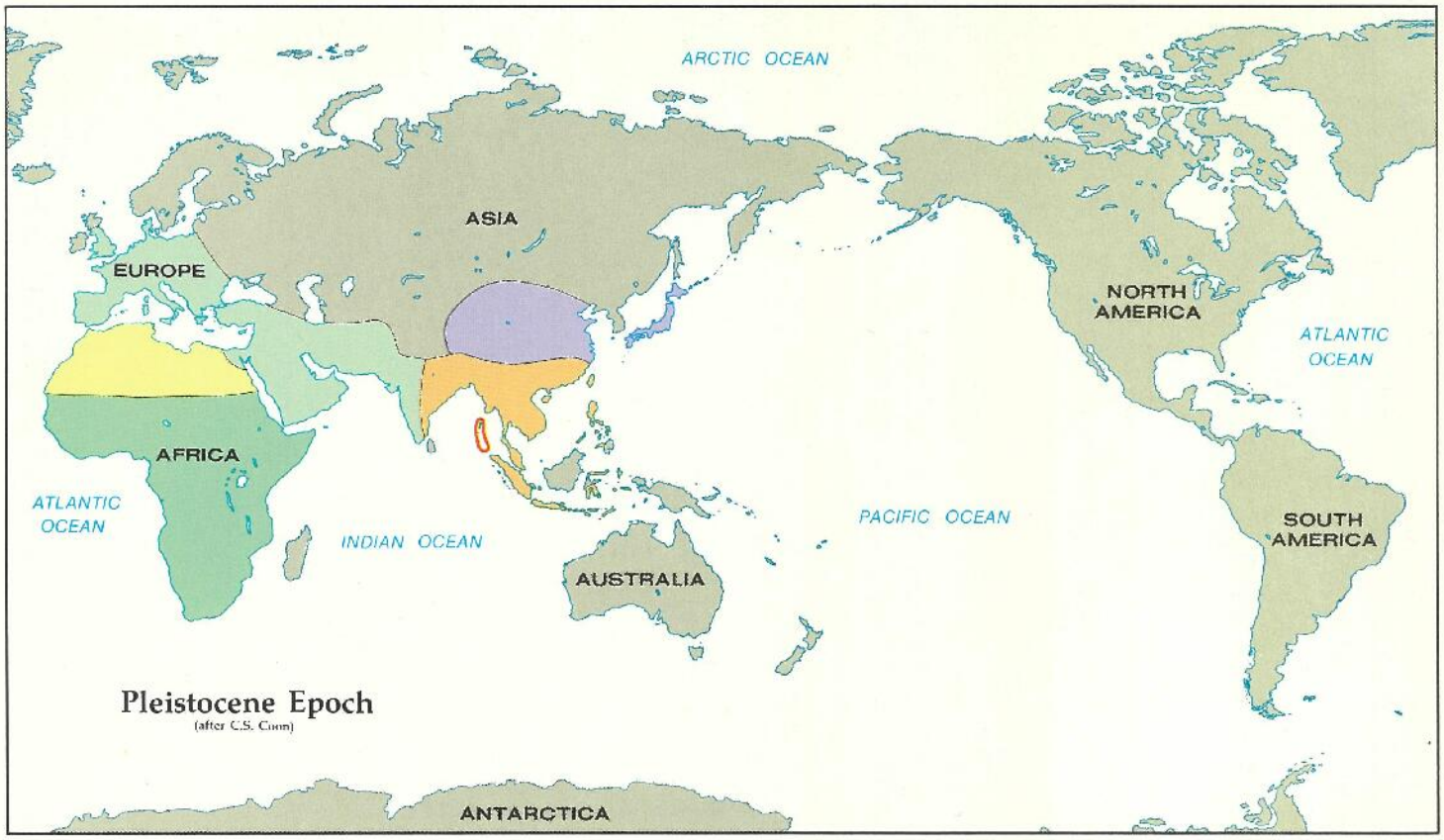
Thus it will have to be among the marginal peoples—mainly at the northernmost and southernmost parts of the continents or in hitherto inaccessible inland forest fastnesses—that we shall have to seek whatever shreds of myth from Paleolithic times may still survive.

Whatever their original forms,ritualized applications, and allegorical interpretations may have been, they will have generally, through the centuries, lost much of their mythic force; and yet, like the fragments of ancient marbles found in the flooring of peasant stables or in the walls of medieval churches, they may still be able to speak to those with eyes and ears attuned to the symbolic signs and syllables of their gospel. Significant differences will be evident between the primary Paleolithic and recent ethnological materials; also, between the mythologies of hunting, foraging, planting, and herding tribes, no less than between those, generally, of the nonliterate and literate traditions. Nevertheless, through all these contrasts, to which it will be our first task to give attention, there will be recognizable, also, a constellation of permanent, archetypal themes and motifs, which are as intrinsic to human life and thought as are the ribs, vertebrae, and cranial parts to our anatomy.

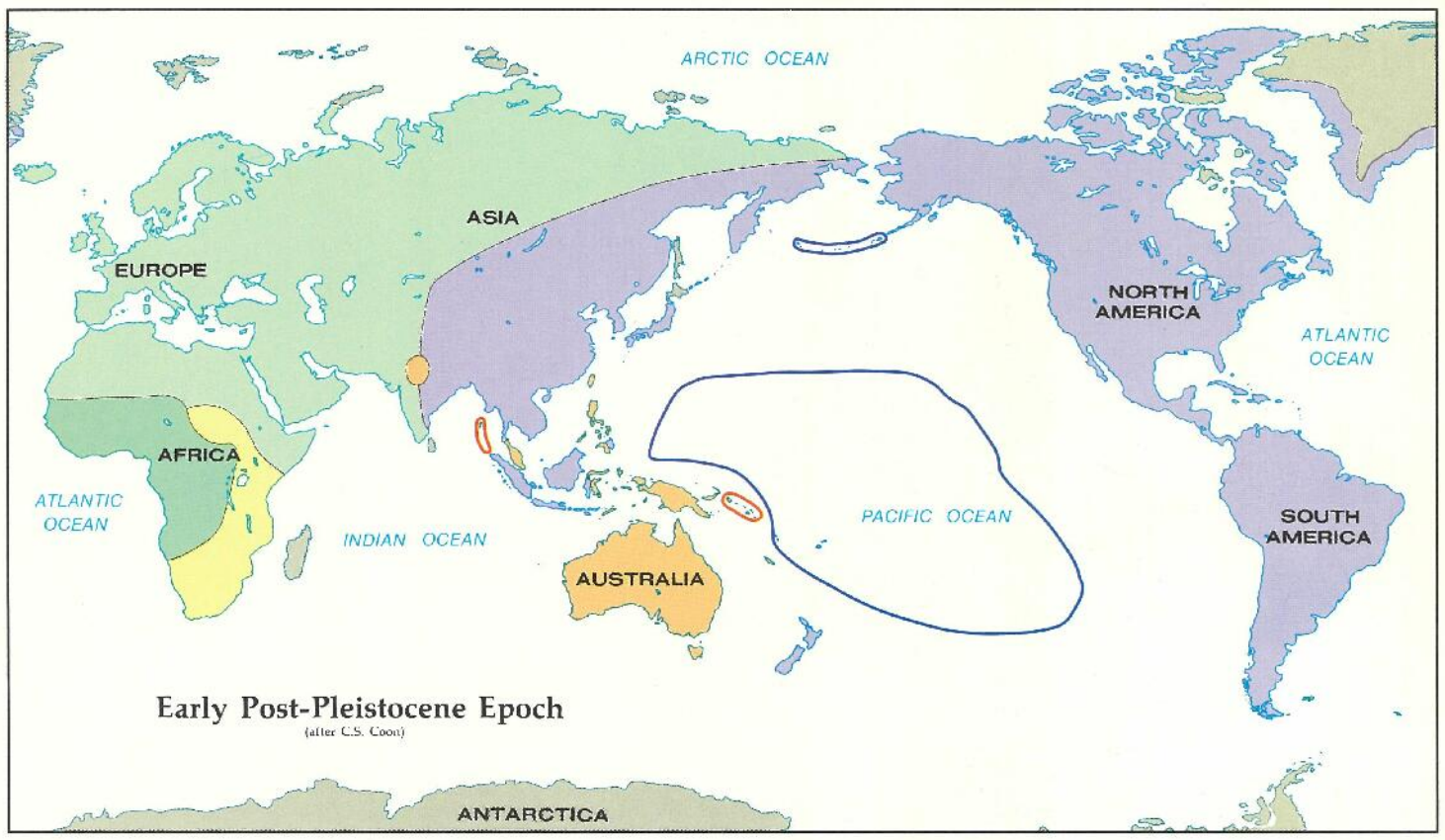
SHIFTS OF THE HUMAN SUBSPECIES FROM PLEISTOCENE TO C. A.D. 1492

Carleton S. Coon has proposed a classification of the living peoples of the earth into five, originally geographical, groups: the Capoid, Congoid, Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Australoid. In the course of the c. 10,000 years since the end of the Pleistocene, the distributions of these five subspecies of *Homo sapiens sapiens* have greatly changed.

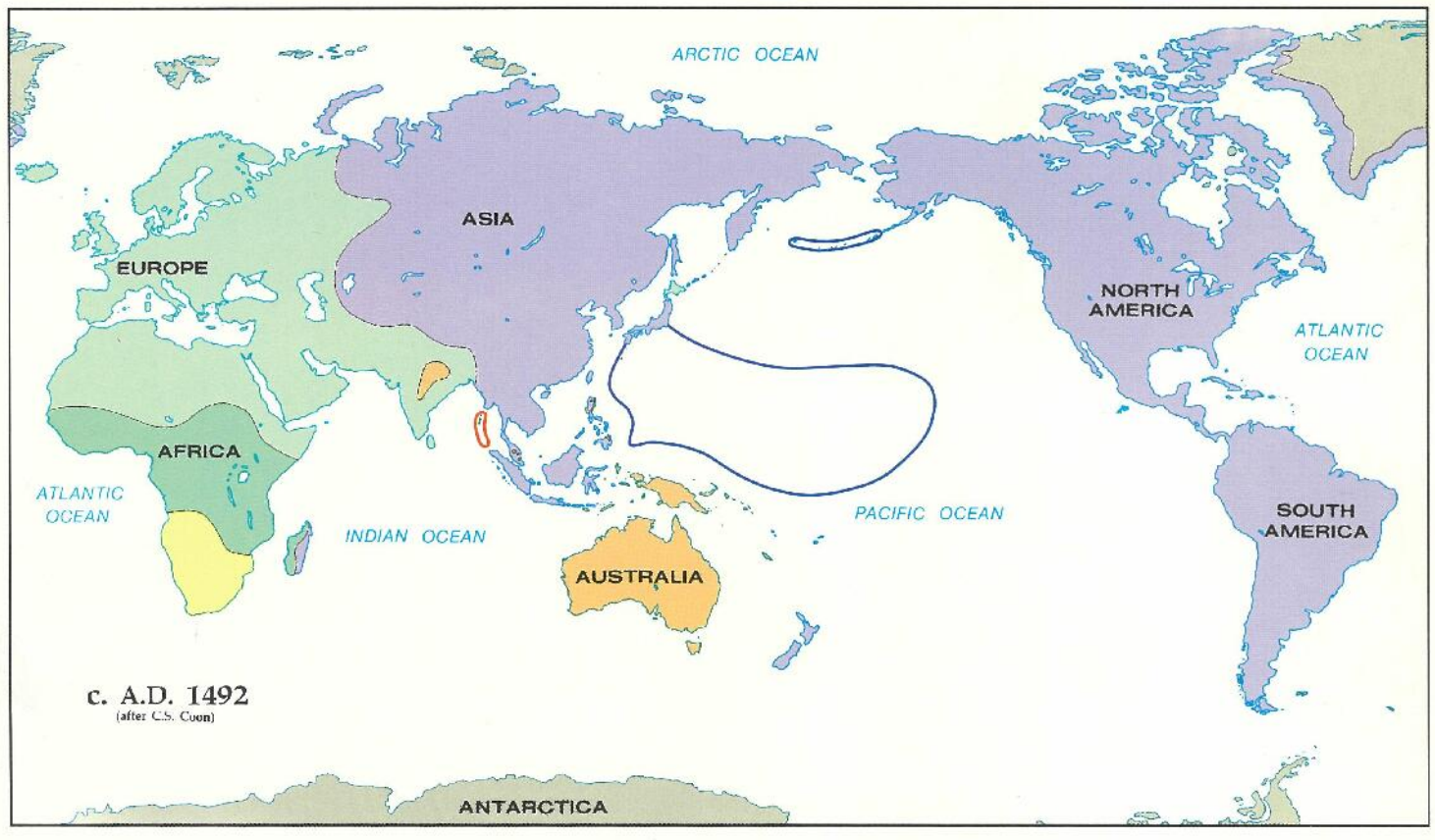
Map 16. "Toward the end of the Pleistocene," states Coon, "after all five geographical races of man had become *sapiens* . . . each race may have contained nearly equal numbers of individuals."[7] Of the five subspecies, the Congoid was the most isolated, in contact with only the Capoid, to the north. Most of Europe and all of the Near East into India were occupied by Caucasoids. Indonesia and southeast Asia, by Australoids. The Mongoloid hearth was China.



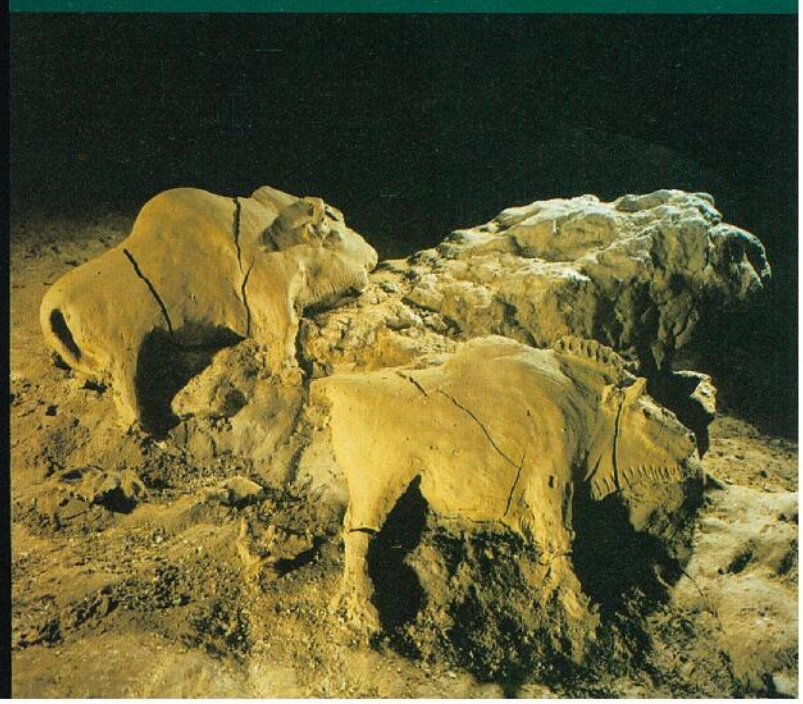
Map 17. With the glacial retreat, the two northerly groups vastly expanded. Mongoloids occupied the Americas and the Pacific isles, and pressing southward, entered areas formerly Australoid. Caucasoids dispossessed the Capoids of North Africa, who, migrating south, took possession of the East and South African plains. The Congoid populations thereby became confined, for a period, to the Congo Basin and Sudan.



Map 18. The most notable expansion during the first centuries A.D. was of the Congoids (specifically, Bantu), following the introduction from Indonesia of the banana and the yam. After 1492, both the Congoid and the Caucasoid expansions were prodigious. The Australoids are today on the decline except among the aboriginal tribes of India, and the Capoids are all but extinct.



MYTHOLOGIES OF THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS AND GATHERERS





I term *collective* all psychic contents
that belong not to one individual
but to many, i.e., to a society,
a people, or to mankind in
general. The antithesis
of collective is
individual.

C. G. JUNG, *Psychological Types*

As the infant is linked to its mother in a profound *participation mystique*, even to such a degree that it will absorb, and thus inherit, her tensions and anxieties, so has mankind been linked to the moods and weathers of its mother Earth. And as the infant yet unfolds according to the laws of growth of its nature, so too has this human race evolved in the way of a single unfolding life through its millions of apparently separate individuals in all quarters of the earth and through all weatherings. Nor has there been any period of the long history when the interaction of these two forces—the inward of organic growth and outward of a shaping fosterage—was more evident than during the last of the glacial ages, when the stage of *Homo sapiens sapiens*, modern man, was attained in all quarters simultaneously, while the mothering earth itself was passing through a season of the greatest transformations.

Biologically, in what theologians call our animal nature, we are as deeply grounded as the animals themselves: moved and motivated from within by energies that have been generating, shaping, and destroying living creatures on earth for hundreds of millions of years. The patterns of impulse and response inherent in nerves and protoplasm have thus a long prehuman history, pointing back through many stages of ascent from the earliest beginnings of life in Paleozoic brine to the present chaos of international affairs; and from first to last, the question has not been "To be, or not to be?" but "To eat, or to be eaten?" of which desire and terror are the effects—as represented in the old creation myth from the *Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad* (page 13) of that primordial Being-of-all-beings who, in the beginning, thought "I" and immediately experienced, first fear, then desire.

The desire in that case was not to eat, however, but to become two, and then to procreate. And in this primal constellation of themes—first, of unity, albeit unconscious; then of a consciousness of selfhood and immediate fear of extinction; next, desire, first for another and then for union with that other—we have a set of "elementary ideas," to use Adolf Bastian's felicitous term (page 9), that has been sounded and inflected, transposed, developed, and sounded again through all the mythologies of mankind through the ages. And as a constant structuring strain underlying the everlasting play of these themes, there is the primal polar tension of a consciousness of duality against an earlier, but lost, knowledge of unity that is pressing still for realization and may indeed break through, under circumstances, in a rapture of self-loss.

Schopenhauer, in his essay "On the Foundation of Morality," asks how it is that one can be so immediately moved by the pain and danger of another that, forgetting one's own well being and safety, one springs to that other's rescue. How is it, he asks, that what has been described as the first law of nature, self-preservation, can be suspended in this way, immediately, spontaneously, and even to the loss of the rescuer's life? To this he replies that this expression of the mystery of compassion is an effect of the experience of an antecedent truth of nature, namely, that "I" and "that other" *are* one. Our sense and experience of separateness is of a secondary order, a mere effect of the way in which lightworld consciousness experiences objects within a conditioning frame of space and time. More deeply, more truly, we are of one life: which, finally, is but the philosopher's way of stating something that in a biological sense becomes irrefutably evident when the mind's eye, running back along the time chart of the branching tree of life, comes to its Paleozoic root (pages 18–21).

The two claims, on one hand, of an individual existence, and on the other, of transpersonal identity, alternate and compete in the lifetimes both of beasts and of men; and whenever the larger force takes over, the individual, forgetting itself in a seizure, acts in manners stereotyped to the species, often with little or no regard for self-preservation. The courtship dances and displays of birds and fish are examples of such performances. Many of the choreographic patterns develop through intermeshing sequences of stereotyped responses to specific signals from the partner, and if any of these fails from either side, the contradance breaks off.

None of the moves in such a display has been learned. All are common to the species, released from within compulsively in response to specific sign stimuli. Among fish, for example (quoting N. Tinbergen in his *Study of Instinct*): "The courting behavior of a male stickleback before a pregnant female is dependent on at least two sign stimuli: the swollen abdomen and the special posturing movement of the female. . . . The female's reaction to the courting male is released by two sign stimuli: the red belly and the male's special movements, the 'zigzag dance'."[1] "As far as available facts go," Tinbergen states, "this dependence on only one or a few sign stimuli seems to be characteristic of innate responses. . . . Conditioned [i.e., learned] reactions are, so far as we know, not usually dependent on a limited set of sign stimuli, but on much more complex stimulus situations."[2] Continuing: "The strict dependence of an innate reaction on a certain set of sign stimuli

66. *Venus of Laussel*, carved limestone block, height 17 inches, from a rock shelter (Laussel) in the Dordogne, France, c. 20,000 to 18,000 B.C.; known also as the *Woman with the Horn* (see pages 66–68). The paleolithic *Venus of Laussel* (**66**) and the dual-faced ceramic statuette (**67**, on page 49) from the Valley of Mexico are here introduced as the muses, respectively, of this volume and the forthcoming volume 2.

leads to the conclusion that there must be a special neuro-sensory mechanism that releases the reaction and is responsible for its selective susceptibility to such a very special combination of sign stimuli. This mechanism we will call the Innate Releasing Mechanism (IRM) . . . in general no two reactions of a species have the same IRM."[3] And finally: "The fact that each reaction has its own releasing mechanism may lead to ambivalent behavior when two sign stimuli belonging to different reactions are present at the same time."[4]

The question arises: Are there any such innate releasing mechanisms in the human nervous system? To which the answer is, yes, of course!—as anyone whose mouth has ever watered when his hungry nose has caught the odor of a kitchen surely must know. However, IRMs are of two sorts. The first is that already noted in the stickleback, whose stereotyped reactions are released by signs effective for the species. Baby chicks just hatched, with fragments of eggshell still adhering to feathers, scamper for shelter if a hawk flies overhead, but not if the bird is a gull, a heron, or a pigeon. Furthermore, if the wooden model of a hawk be drawn along a wire over their coop, they react as though it were alive—unless it be drawn backward, when there is no response. Here we have an extremely precise image, never seen before, yet recognized with reference not merely to its form but also to its form in motion, and linked, besides, to an immediate, unplanned, unlearned, and even unintended system of appropriate action: flight to cover. The image of the inherited enemy is already sleeping in the nervous system, and along with it the well-proven reaction.

Furthermore, even if all the hawks in the world were to vanish, their image would still sleep in the soul of the chick—never to be roused, however, unless by some accident of art; for example, a repetition of the clever experiment of the wooden hawk on a wire. Can it be that in the central nervous system of the species *Homo sapiens*, there sleep any number of such archaic sign stimuli, surviving from his centuries of evolution during periods of the woolly mammoth and the cave bear? "Our birth," wrote the poet Wordsworth:

> *is but a sleep and a forgetting:*
> *The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,*
> *Hath had elsewhere its setting,*
> *And cometh from afar:*
> *Not in entire forgetfulness,*
> *And not in utter nakedness,*
> *But trailing clouds of glory do we come*
> *From God, who is our home:*
> *Heaven lies about us in our infancy!*[5]

Not only of woolly mammoths, but memories—deeper—of some seat of silence, do seem to sleep profoundly in the nerves, which wake at times with a shudder, mysteriously, to some sound or sign of recollection.

As observed among the apes, the birds, and the fish, the gestalt psychologist Wolfgang Köhler has termed such resonating structures "isomorphs." The animal, directed by innate endowment, comes to terms with its natural environment, not as a consequence of any long slow learning through experience, not through trial and error, but immediately and with the certainty of recognition. The sign stimuli that release the responses are immutable and correspond to the inner readiness of the creature as precisely as key to lock; in fact, they are known as "key-tumbler" structures.

However, there also are systems of animal response that are established by particular experiences. In such, the structure of the IRM is described as "open." It is susceptible to "impression" or "imprint." And where these open structures exist, the first imprint is definitive, requires sometimes less than a minute for its completion, and is irrevocable.

Imprinting is not to be compared with conditioned learning, which is not only slow and often tedious, but also, as Tinbergen points out, usually dependent, not on a limited set of sign stimuli, but on much more complex stimulus situations. An imprint occurs instantaneously, at a moment of ripened readiness when, in a critical period of the animal's growth, the innate disposition intended comes to maturity. Most of the IRMs of the human species are of this kind, "open," open to imprinting; and the imprintings are, of course, culture-bound, specific to the time and place of the individual's birth, earliest impressions, and development. They would not be the same for an American Indian born on the Kansan buffalo plains and the child of a Polynesian fisherman watching for sharks. They would be different again for the son of a Hasidic rabbi in the Bronx. Yet, in spite of the very great differences of the sign stimuli thus offered in the various theaters of human life, the innate energies to be released remain the same throughout the species. They are not of the culture, but of nature: innate, transpersonal, pre-rational, and when alerted, compulsive.

The address of mythological symbols is directly to these centers; and the responses proper to their influence are, consequently, neither rational nor under personal control. They overtake one. The symbols function, that is to say, as energy-releasing and -directing signs; and in traditionally structured cultures, they are deliberately imprinted in vividly impressive (often painful) rites, timed to catch the individual at those moments of ripening readiness when, in the critical periods of our human growth, the intended innate dispositions come to maturity.

In this sense, a mythology in its pedagogical functioning might be defined as a corpus of culturally maintained sign stimuli fostering the development and activation of a specific type, or constellation of types, of human life. Its address is not to rationality but to primal centers of the nervous system, "central excitatory mechanisms" (CEMs) and "innate releasing mechanisms" (IRMs), such as motivate the human animal—which, however, is an animal of a very special sort, with developed zones between the ears that are unmatched in any other beast and are open, not only to extraordinary imprintings, but also to possibilities of intentional learning and performance otherwise unknown to the animal world.

Undoubtedly, the increase in size of the human brain during the course of what we now know to have been some 4 million years of development will have had something to do, not only with our ability to learn, but also with the relative proportion of open to closed structures in our cerebrospinal organization. At what stage, one may ask, however, was the critical threshold crossed? Would the increase from, say, the 500 cc of an australopithecine or gorilla to the 800 cc of the first Turkana skull (Figure 21, page 28) have released the subject from what we have termed earlier the "innocence of nature"? Or would this have occurred, rather, at some point between the 900 cc of Java Man and the 1275 cc of Swanscombe? Today, the norm being about 1450 cc, the force of such biologically inherited stereotypes as the image of the hawk in the nervous system of the chick has been largely supplanted by the more variable forms of culturally conditioned imprints.

An important conditioning factor in the shaping and enforcing of these imprints during the first many thousand years of distribution of our species over the continents was the character of whatever landscape was entered and made its own by any of the tribes; and the landscapes were, in the main, of three contrasting sorts: open animal plains; equatorial rain forests; and marginal coastal regions, from which authority over the sea would be gained. The earliest periods of expansion were of peoples afoot, moving apart and settling in slow stages. And wherever they came, the animals of the area, the plants, and the hills became their neighbors and instructors, recognized as already there from of old: mysterious presences which in some sacred way were to be known as messengers and friends. As the Pawnee chief, Letakots-Lesa, explained: "When a man sought to know how he should live he went into solitude and cried until some animal brought wisdom to him. . . . Thus were the sacred

songs and ceremonial dances given the Pawnees through the animals."[6]

In this way, the very mysterious way of the reception of imprintings, there became established between the earliest human communities and their landscapes a profound *participation mystique* which in all truly primitive mythologies comes to every expression, whether among peoples of the broad animal plains, the forests, or the seacoasts.

In certain especially favorable regions, then—apparently out of the initiative rather of the females than of the males—from the activity of plant gathering the idea of gardening developed, and along with that, the domestication of animals. The earliest zone of such innovations now seems to have been Southeast Asia, where there was also developed an art of sea voyaging that not only carried such domesticates as the yam, banana, and coconut to great distances, but also inaugurated an epoch when peoples who had long been apart began rediscovering each other: a movement that today has culminated in our recognition of the one family of man of this planet.

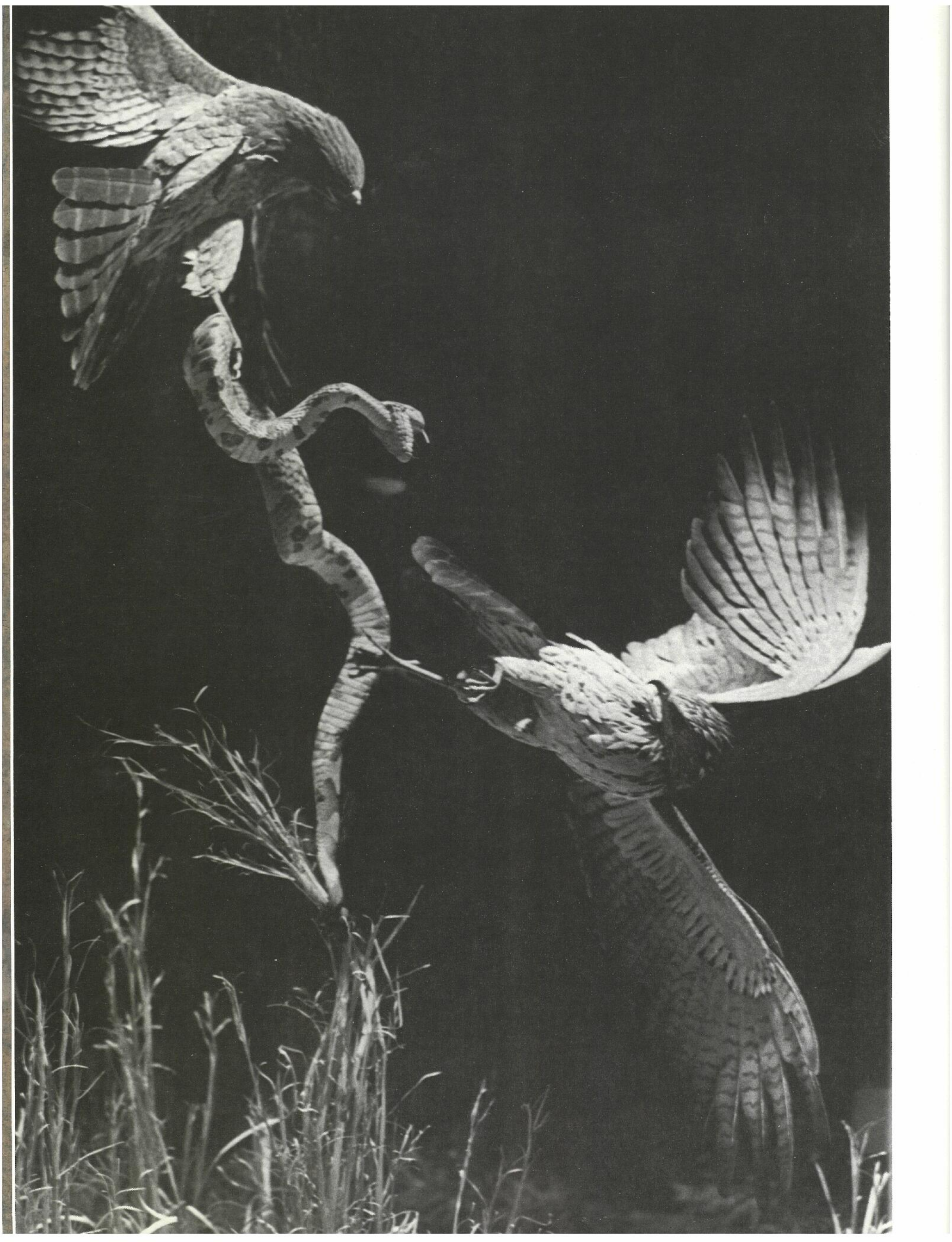
Accordingly, the folkways and mythologies to be explored in the first two volumes of the present work are of two orders: (1) of hunting and gathering tribes, and (2) of the earliest planting cultures. The Paleolithic *Venus of Laussel* (Figure 66, page 47), shown elevating in her right hand a bison horn engraved with thirteen vertical strokes, the other hand on her belly, is from a rock shelter in the Dordogne, southern France, of a date c. 20,000 to 18,000 B.C. She is representative here of the mythologies of the hunt, of which (although no word survives from her time) there is rich evidence in the rock paintings and engravings of a period of magnificent religious art which endured for 300 centuries.

Figure 67, on the other hand, is representative here of the earliest planting culture stage. She is from Tlatilco (a name meaning "where things are hidden"), a village site hardly twenty minutes drive from the heart of Mexico City. There, in the precincts of a brick factory, an astonishing assortment of ceramic figurines came to light during the decade of the 1940s, all from graves of the Mexican Middle Preclassic Period of c. 1200 to 700 B.C. And although nothing is known of the mythologies of that period (for it is still of a preliterate stage of culture), such a figurine as this already suggests a theme well known to the planting cultures of the world, that namely of the dual goddess, the great mothering power of the two worlds: of the dead and of the living, the planted and the sprouting seed.

There is evidence at Tlatilco of influences from the earliest of the native American, monumental, high civilizations: the Olmec of Tabasco and Vera Cruz, c. 1500 to 500 B.C. Thus Tlatilco was a village at the threshold of a development beyond the range of these first two volumes. A third is therefore indicated for the history of those literate high cultures and their religions which suddenly first came to manifestation in the temple towers of ancient Sumer and in the pyramid tombs of Egypt, where there was joined to the timeless earlier mysteries of the animal messengers, sacred mountains, and plant spirits, a new and grander mystery of the circling eons of the heavens. The goddess mother of the alternating tides of life and death, who formerly had been chiefly of this earth, became then equally of the cosmic order in its ever-circling rounds of day and night, creation and dissolution; and under innumerable names—as Inanna, Isis, Hathor and Nut, Anahit, Sati, Mary, and Kwan Yin—she receives worship as the supreme personification of that ambiguous mystery, *tremendum et fascinans*, which is of life in death, as of death in life.



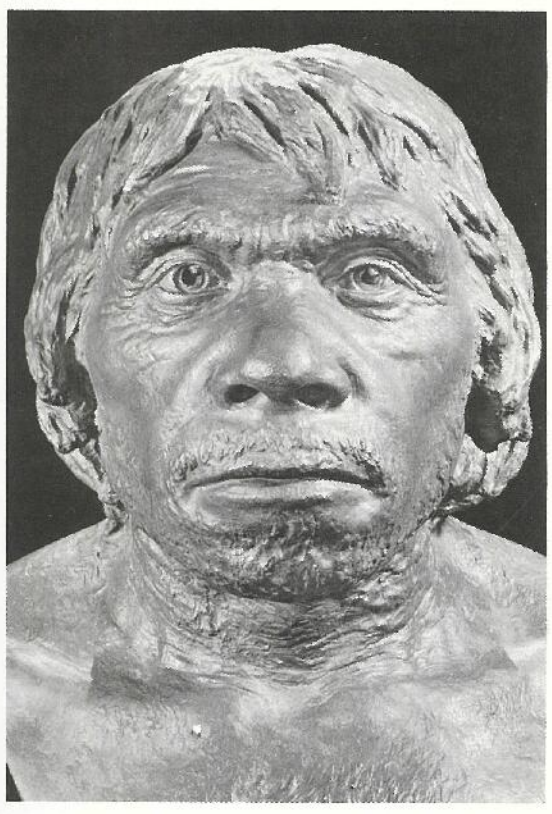
67. Dual-faced *Pretty Lady* figurine in terracotta. Tlatilco, Valley of Mexico, Middle Preclassic Period, c. 1200 to 700 B.C. From more than 200 Tlatilcan graves a rich harvest of figurines of clay has been collected, finely modeled, highly polished, in a varied range of styles. Most are of women with long, slanting eyes, small breasts, short arms, slim waists, and large, bulbous legs; some are standing, some seated; others carry babies on their hips or caress small dogs held in their arms. Most are naked. Others, however, are stylishly dressed in abbreviated skirts of cloth or of grass; their hair is usually painted red, as though dyed or bleached with lime. A few have two heads; another few, as here, two faces. All are charming, and appropriately, they have been called, as a class, *Pretty Lady* figurines. What, however, was their function? "Beyond the fact," states Miguel Covarrubias, who supervised the excavations, "that these figurines were made to be buried with the dead, their purpose remains a mystery."[1] But not, let us add, an irreducible mystery: being buried with the dead, they serve as an assurance of the maternal power of the seeded earth there to receive them.



EARLY HUNTERS OF THE OPEN PLAIN

The Recognition of Death

The first law of life in the animal kingdom—"to eat, or to be eaten"—remained for Early Man, the Hunter, the first structuring law of his own address to the world. This was most emphatically so on those vast, northern animal plains of the Upper Paleolithic Great Hunt, onto which Neanderthal Man (**69**) was apparently the first of humankind to venture. To all appearances, the human species, in those terminal glacial millennia, was an unlikely candidate for survival among the mammals then abounding in possession of the earth. Earlier, the great reptiles had reigned, and from those had evolved both the serpents and the birds. (**68**) It is remarkable that these two related yet contrary forms—one bound to the earth, the other released to the sky—should have been recognized early in the imagination of humankind as signs of the extremes to which the human spirit itself might turn. Seen as archetypal of the powers beneath and

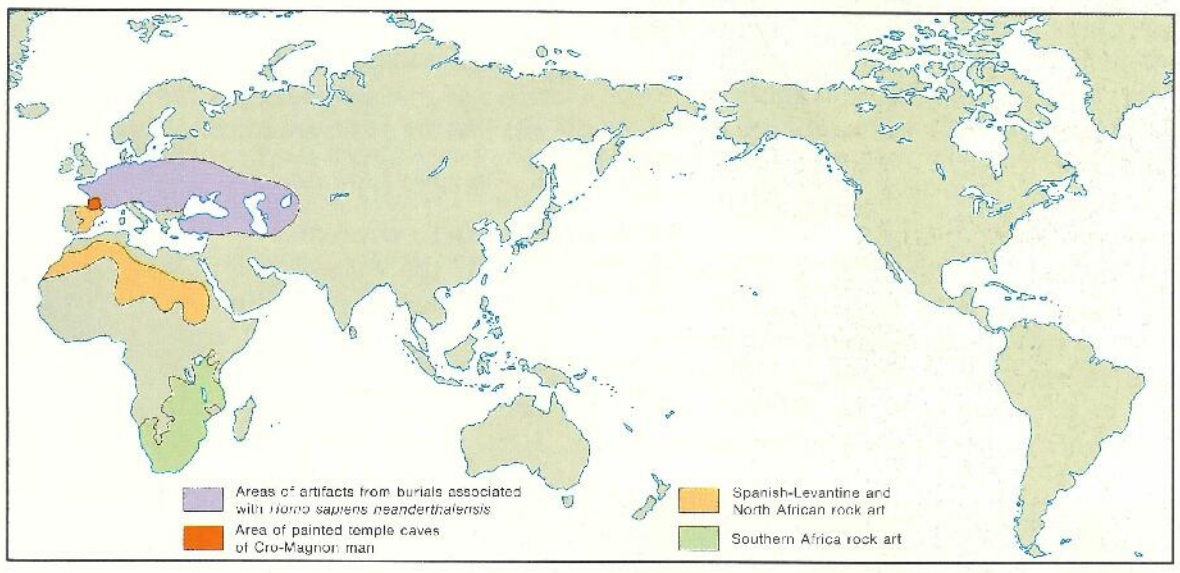


above, it was between them that the later-evolved mammalian species had appeared, of which the human was the latest to come: still bound to the beasts' order of life, but already aware of ambiguities and inventive of symbolic acts by which to neutralize the mind's anxieties, even while continuing the general, primary battle of life, which lives on life.

Through all the remains in stone and bone of the first 4 million years or so of the evolution of our species, the earliest indubitable evidences of ritual, and therewith of mythic inspiration motivating human thought and action, appear toward the close of the Riss-Würm interglacial, in the cave burials of Neanderthal Man, as for example in the burial discovered, in 1908 in France, in the lower grotto of Le Moustier, where the remains of a youth of about sixteen had been left arranged in a sleeping posture, head resting on the right forearm, pillowed on a pile of flints.

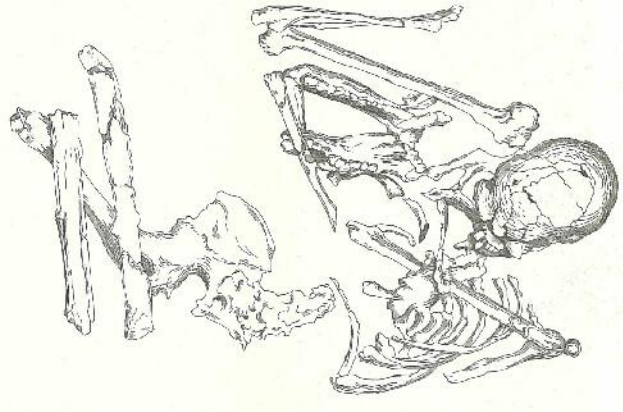


70. Dazed and bewildered, a mother chimpanzee holds her new baby, four weeks old, dead of poliomyelitis. Still dazed, she carried it into the wilderness and returned alone to Jane Goodall's research camp.[2]

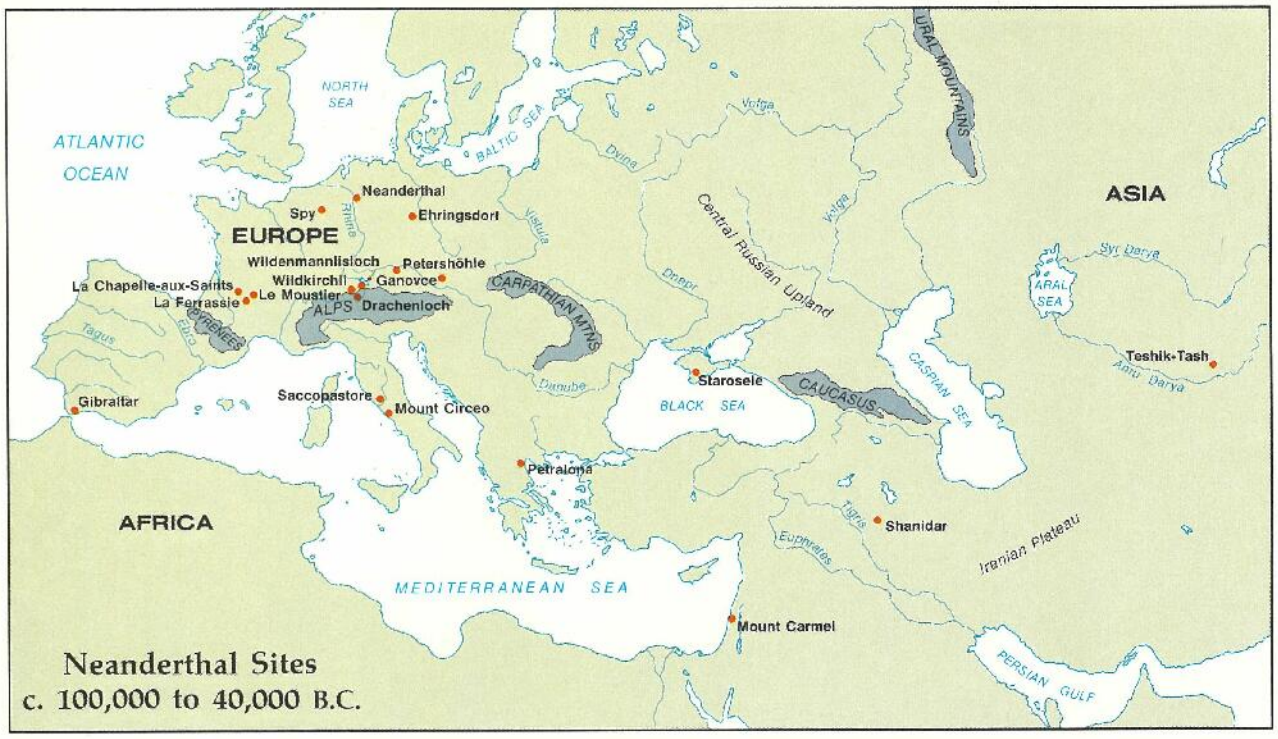


Map 19. With *Homo sapiens neanderthalensis*, the first of the human species to bury the dead with offerings, the history of mythology begins. With the painted cave temples of Cro-Magnon Man, a second chapter opens with a pictorial tradition, which then, passing—north to south—through Spain to Africa, culminates in the visionary rock art of the Bushmen.

At one hand lay an exceptionally fine Late Acheulean hand ax, and round about were the charred split bones of sacrificed wild cattle.[7] A few miles eastward of this site, in the grotto of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, there was also found that year the remarkably well preserved skeleton of a male of about fifty (Figure 26, page 29), carefully laid out in a west-east orientation, surrounded by shells, Mousterian flints, and the remains of reindeer, horse, bison, and a woolly rhinoceros. A hole nearby contained a single bison horn, and there was another in which the large bones of the animal had been stowed.[8] More recently, at Mount Carmel in Israel, a cemetery was excavated of no less than ten Neanderthal burials, where, by the right hand of one of the adult males, the jawbone had been placed of a large wild boar (Figure 71).[9]



71. The jawbone of a large wild boar is visible at the right shoulder of this skeleton from a Neanderthal cave-burial at Mount Carmel, Israel.



Map 20.

The analogy of death and sleep and the associated thought of a waking are clearly suggested in these finds, while the west-east orientation may have implied some sort of reference to the setting and rising of the sun. The buried bison horn has not been interpreted, nor has the scattering of shells. Neither do we know what, if any, the mythic reference might have been of that jawbone of a boar in the Mount Carmel grave. One thinks of later mythological figures of the Near East, slain by a boar, who yet rose again: Adonis, for example. However, associations of this kind, over a span of 60,000 years or more, are dubious, and not possible either to demonstrate or to refute.

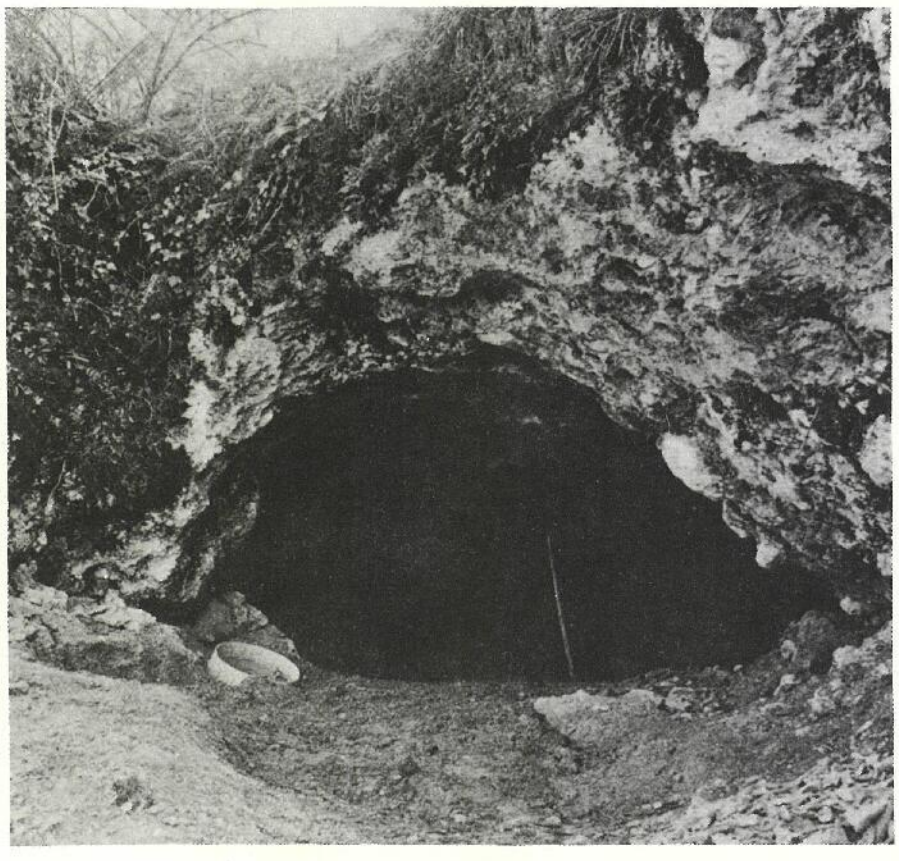
Then again in France, in 1909, in a cave at La Ferrassie, there were found the skeletons of two adults, a male and a female, head to head, together with four children, two of whom were at the female's feet, the others a little apart. The woman had been buried in a shallow depression, arms folded, legs drawn up hard to the belly and bound, apparently with thongs. The male (Figure 73), again with legs hard-flexed, lay on his back, his head and shoulders protected by stone slabs. The children, supine, were in shallow graves, in one of which scraping tools had been laid; and close by was a hole containing the ashes and bones of a wild ox.[10]

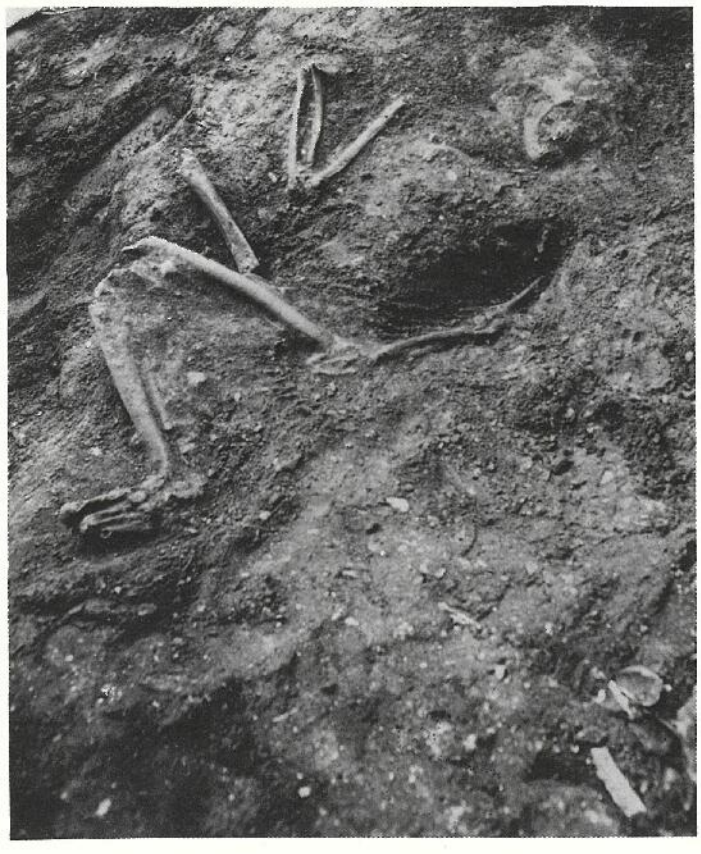
Whatever the specific myths may have been that inspired these primeval burials, there is one general idea represented in all: that of a continuation of life beyond death, whether in this world or some other. Oswald Spengler, in *The Decline of the West*, wrote of a "Recognition of Death" (*Blick auf den Tod*) [11] as the initiating moment of every high, mythologically inspired culture style; and here we already have it in the first awakening of consciousness to its powers at the stage of *Homo sapiens*. Some of the higher animals exhibit profound grief when bereaved, but have no way to resolve it (Figure 70). How *Homo erectus* may have dealt with the experience, no one knows. But the earliest answer of *Homo sapiens* comes out clearly in these burial caves: "There is no such thing as death; there is but a passing on."

Furthermore, the confrontation with the mystery has in every case been ritualized in represented analogies of death as a kind of sleep; and in one case, possibly also as comparable with a sunset to be followed by a sunrise. Whether caves were selected to suggest a return to the womb for rebirth is a question that has been argued; so is the question of whether such flexed positions as those at La Ferrassie can have been meant to suggest the fetal posture. A second suggested possibility is that the legs may have been flexed and bound to keep the ghosts from walking and breaking into people's dreams.

One of the largest and most important, as well as surprising, burial chambers of all has been reported from the Zagros Mountains of northern Iraq, at Shanidar, 250 miles north of Baghdad. Here there is a huge cave, 132 feet deep with a mouth 175 feet wide, in which to this day nomadic Kurds winter with their flocks.









Within, excavations have opened a succession of levels to a depth of 45 feet, representing an accumulation of approximately 100,000 years, and at a depth dated c. 8600 B.C. twenty-six skeletons of a proto-Neolithic period were unearthed, beneath which, at various levels, the remains were found of seven Neanderthal burials. That of c. 40,000 B.C. was of a one-armed male, crippled from childhood, whose right arm and shoulder had never developed (Figure 75). He had been about forty years old when killed by a roof-fall in the cave, and at some time in his life the arm below the elbow had been amputated. The fact that he had survived to that age, cared for by his fellows to whom he could hardly have been of much practical help, tells something of Old Stone Age man not formerly suspected.

The most significant find, however, came to light at a level of c. 60,000 B.C. It consisted of the skeleton, with a badly crushed skull, of a male about 5 feet 8 inches tall, which for a Neanderthaler was large. The body had been laid to rest on a litter of evergreen boughs heaped with flowers (Figure 76), of which the surviving pollens have been identified by microscopic analysis. An infant had been placed first in the grave, two women above the infant, and then finally, as Ralph S. Solecki, the excavator, states, "room was made for the male, who was evidently an important man."[12]

The flowers of this burial were of eight species or more, relatives mainly of the grape, hyacinth, bachelor's button, hollyhock, and a yellow-flowering groundsel, seven of the eight being known today in Iraq as medicinal herbs. "These flower pollens," Solecki observes, "were not accidentally introduced into the grave, and hence must represent bouquets or clumps of flowers purposely laid down with the Shanidar IV burial [the technical name for the male skeleton of this quadruple grave]. The hollyhock is especially indicative of this since it grows in separate individual stands, and cannot be grasped in bunches like the others. Some person or persons once ranged the mountainside collecting these flowers one by one."[13]

Specifically, the critical plants of this earliest known (though now invisible) funereal bouquet were (1) a sort of yarrow (*Achilles santolina*) with insect-repellent properties, whose leaves are useful against intestinal disorders, colic, dysentery, and as a general tonic; (2) a variety of cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*), which is now used as a diuretic, an emmenagogue, a tonic, a stimulant, an astringent, a pectoral, a febrifuge, and a collyrium; (3) St. Barnaby's thistle *(Cenaurea solstitialis)*, which is collected by the peasants of Iraq today for herbal remedies; (4) a groundsel or ragwort *(Senecio vernalis)*, which possesses diuretic, emetic, and purgative properties; (5) the grape hyacinth *(Muscari)*, of the hiliaceal family, the bulb of which is poisonous, but which also is collected for its stimulant and diuretic properties; (6) a variety of woody horsetail *(Ephedra altissima)*, which is a cardiac stimulant and may be used as a cure for asthma and epidemic dropsy; and finally (7) the hollyhock, or *Althaea* (which name is from the Greek αλΘαινω, "to heal"), from the roots, leaves, flowers, and seeds of which a variety of medicines of a great many uses can be made. "It may be simply coincidence," Solecki concedes, "that the flowers have medicinal or economic value (at least in our present knowledge), but the coincidence does raise speculation about the extent of human spirit in Neanderthals. . . . One may speculate," he continues, "that Shanidar IV was not only a very important man, a leader, but also may have been a kind of medicine man or shaman in his group."[14]

One is moved to wonder, also, about

A recognition of the mystery of death, and therewith, of life, marks the spiritual separation of man from the beasts.

72. The entrance to the grotto of La Chapelle-aux-Saints where the skeleton of a mature Neanderthaler lay surrounded by grave offerings.

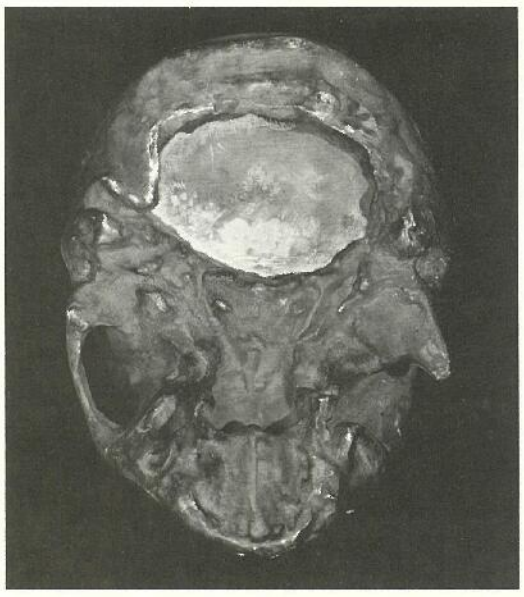
73/74. This skeleton lying on its back with its legs flexed is the male in the multiple burial at La Ferrassie.

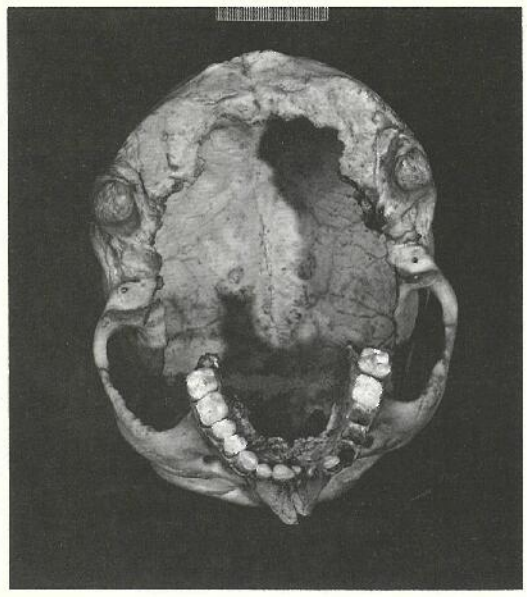
75. From the great Shanidar cave in Iraq, this one-armed male known as Shanidar I was apparently killed by a rock-fall c. 40,000 B.C.

76. The now-famous flower burial known as Shanidar IV, of c. 60,000 B.C. The body was placed on its left side, head to the south, facing west.[3]









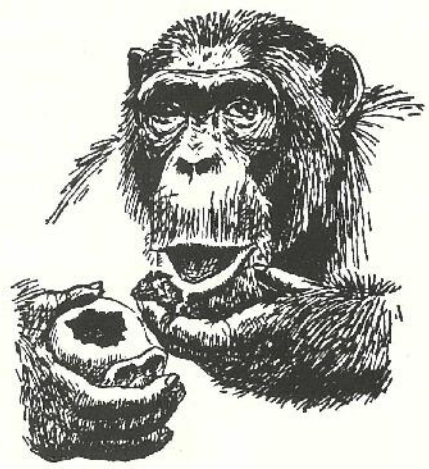
Two skulls broken open to facilitate the eating of the brains: **77.** An opened Neanderthal skull from Monte Circeo, Italy. **78.** A skull from Melanesia.

the multiple burial at La Ferrassie; for, as observed by the nineteenth-century master anthropologist, Edward Tylor: "Men do not stop short at the persuasion that death releases the soul to a free and active existence, but they quite logically proceed to assist nature, by slaying men in order to liberate their souls for ghostly uses. Thus there arises one of the most widespread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion—that of funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead. When a man of rank dies and his soul departs to its own place, wherever and whatever that place may be, it is a rational inference of early philosophy that the souls of attendants, slaves, and wives, put to death at his funeral, will make the same journey and continue their service in the next life, and the argument is frequently stretched further, to include the souls of new victims sacrificed in order that they may enter upon the same ghostly servitude."[15]

In a five-chambered grotto on the Italian coast at Monte Circeo, some 80 miles southeast of Rome, a single Neanderthal skull, set in the midst of a roughly circular heap of stones, has been found. Receptacles round about contained the remains of sacrificed animals, and the skull itself was broken open at the base (Figure 77), as were all of those of Solo Man discovered at Ngandong (page 29). The headhunters of Borneo still open skulls that way in order to eat the brains, and there were a number similarly opened in the caves of Peking Man. Jane Goodall has told of one of her chimpanzees enioying the brains of a young baboon from its freshly taken head, broken open at the crown (Figure 79).[16] Apparently, primates like the taste of each other's brains. However, the formal arrangements of the Solo skulls, and the way in which that of Monte Circeo had been set upon its pile of stones, suggest not simply cannibalism, but a ritual communion of some kind.

Of interest is the fact that on the summit of Monte Circeo the ruins stand of a Roman temple dedicated to the nymph Circe, who introduced Odysseus to the

79. A chimpanzee uses a leaf sponge to wipe the remnants of brain from the skull of a baboon.[4]



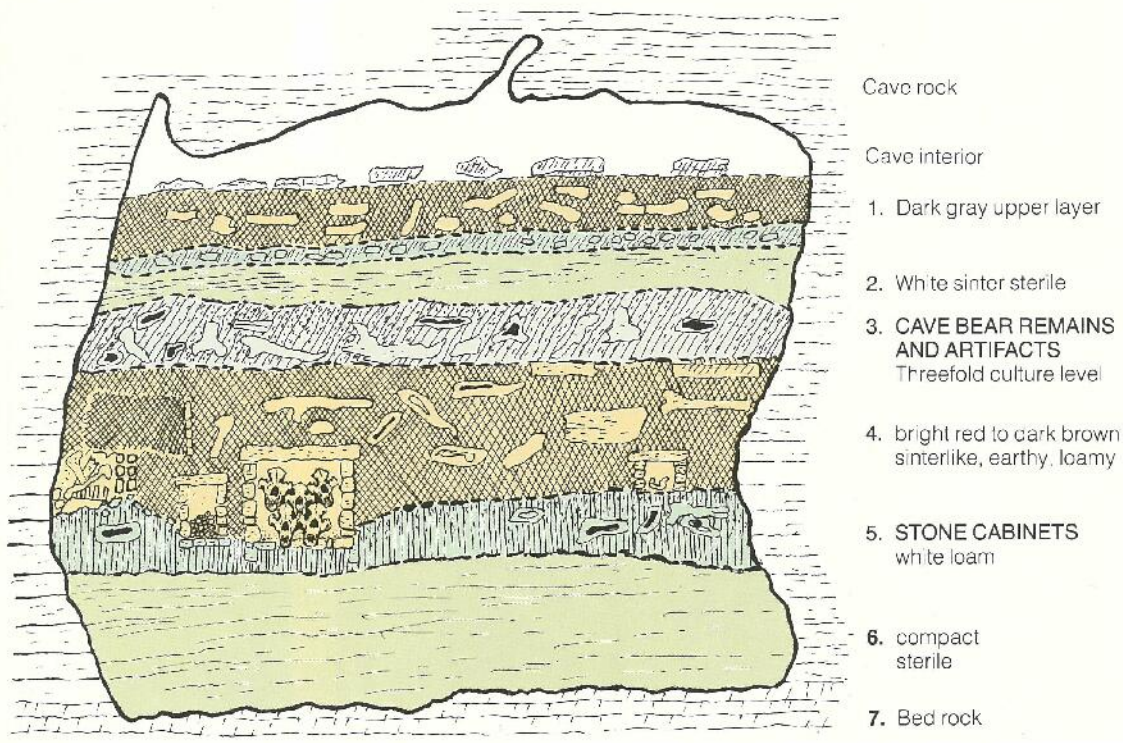
entrance to the Land of the Dead. In the folk tradition, this headland with its many caves, nearly surrounded by the wine-dark sea, has long been identified as Circe's Isle.

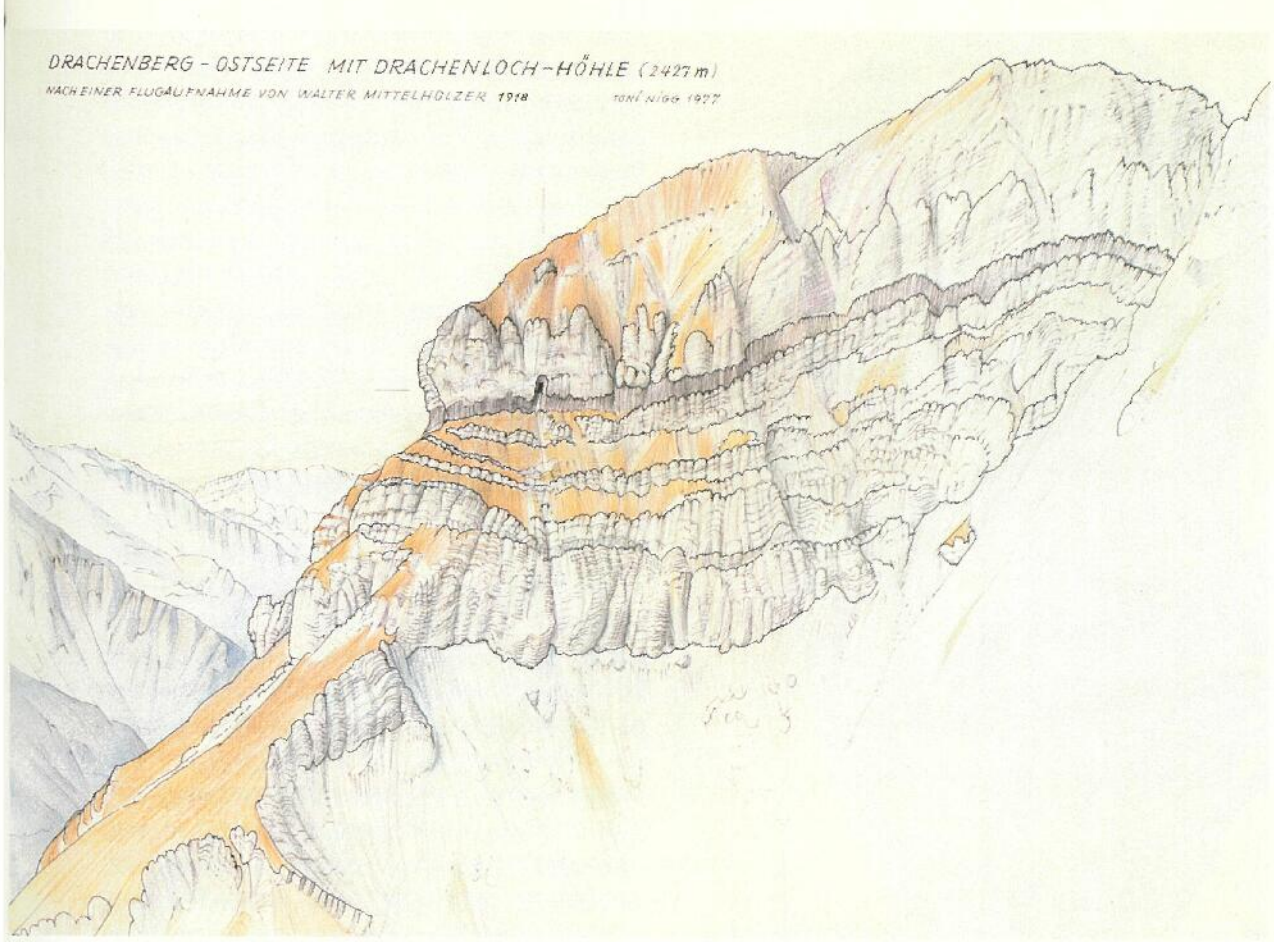
The Master Bear

A second body of evidence testifying to the force of the mythic imagination in the ordering of life in Neanderthal times came to light in the first decades of the present century, when a series of high mountain grottoes was discovered within which cave-bear skulls had been stored: Wildkirchli, Drachenloch, and Wildenmannlisloch in Switzerland, and in Germany, Petershöhle in Middle Franconia, near Velden. All were at least 7000 feet above sea level, Drachenloch nearly 8000. Hence, none could have been entered during the period of the glaciers, and their remains have been judged, consequently, to belong to the late Riss-Würm interglacial. This estimate is supported not only by the early and pre-Mousterian tools found within them, but also by the faunal remains, which include three large interglacial species: the cave panther, cave lion, and huge cave bear, the principal animal hunted in that time and accordingly revered. For it has been observed that in hunting societies, generally, the principal food animal is the normal pivotal figure of the religious cult.

In Drachenloch, the Dragon's Den, high on a peak overlooking the village of Vättis (Figure 81), Emil Bächler in the spring of 1917 commenced excavations which he continued into 1922; and what he uncovered and charted were seven distinct layers, dating back to interglacial times. The first two were relatively recent and of no archeological interest, but at Level 3, cave-bear remains appeared along

80. Profile of the excavation at Drachenloch based on a sketch by the excavator, Emil Bächler, September, 1920.





81. Eastern slope of the Drachenberg (Dragon Mount) in the Engadine, from an air photo made in 1918; height, 2427 meters (7963 feet). Drachenloch (the Dragon's Den), within which in 1917 the remains were found of a cave-bear-skull sanctuary, can be seen high upper left.

82. A cave bear skull from a stone tabernacle in Drachenloch, with a longbone (its own?) placed in its mouth as though in offering, "himself to Himself." Compare the Ainu bear sacrifice, pages 150–152.

83. In Wildkirchli (the Wilderness Chapel), another Alpine sanctuary dedicated to rituals associated with the hunt, these stone worktables and benches were the furniture of a workshop for the fashioning chiefly of handaxes, but also of implements of bone.





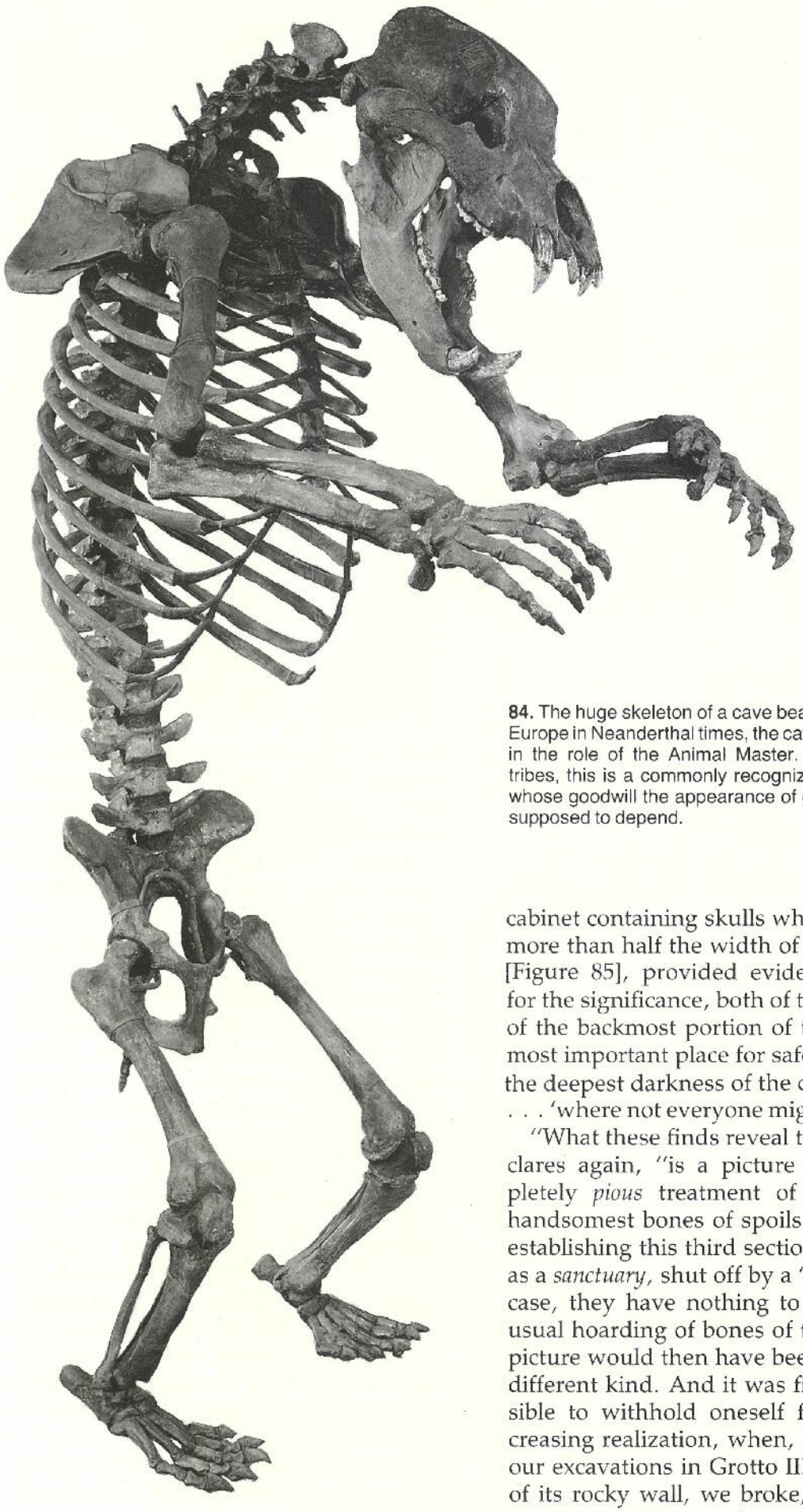
with Paleolithic artifacts. At Level 4, there were massive accumulations of cave-bear remains, again associated with artifacts; and at Level 5, stone cabinets made of slabs were found, containing cave-bear skulls, remarkably well preserved. Some years earlier, from 1903 to 1908, at Wildkirchli, the Wilderness Chapel, Bächler had conducted a similar operation, and there had unearthed an actual Paleolithic workshop with stone tables and benches (Figure 83). Large quartzite nuggets lay about, brought in to be fashioned into tools, while a superior hand ax and a scattering of implements, both of stone and of bone, gave evidence of the craftsmanship of the shop. And then from 1923 to 1927, in Wildenmannlisloch, the Wild Man's Den, Bächler completed his investigations, and in 1940 wrote, in summary:

"The purposeful collection and arranged preservation of the cave-bear skulls and long bones behind dry walls *(Trockenmauern)* set up along the sides of the caves; and more especially, the hermetic sealing away of the skulls, either in crudely built stone cabinets, protected by slab coverings, or in repositories walled with flagging, allow for no other conclusion, after the realistic consideration of every possibility, but that we have here to do with some sort of Bear Cult, specifically a Bone-offering Cult, inspired by the mystical thoughts and feelings of an Old Paleolithic population; thoughts involving transcendental, super-sensual ideas. Many ethnological parallels testify to a broad distribution of bone-offering cults in the historic period, especially among the hunting peoples of the north. And so, it seems we may be confronting here what is truly a First, in the elder Paleolithic: the original offering cult, namely, of mankind."[17]

Doubts concerning this interpretation have been expressed by the distinguished French authority André Leroi-Gourhan, who suggests that the reported arrangements may have been the work, not of Neanderthalers, but of the later Magdalenians, who ranked the bear, along with the rhinoceros and large felines (lions, leopards, and panthers), high among the symbolic beasts of their mythological cycles. The cave bear no longer existed in their time, yet they might have recognized the large skulls and bones as representing gigantic members of the species, and, in reverence, then have arranged and stored them as they were found. Or some of the reported dispositions might even have been the work simply of chance, when bears, on entering the caves to hibernate, nuzzled and nestled among the bones of earlier members of their kind that had died there.[18]

It is not easy to imagine, however, how the people of the postglacial Magdalenian period could have set up storage bins, worktables, and other equipment in strata three to four and five levels below the earth floors of their day. And with respect to the movements of hibernating bears: Drachenloch and Wildenmannlisloch were, in Bächler's words, "never the resorts and deathbeds of cave bears, but the dwellings of the cave bear hunters."[19]

"At the excavations in Drachenloch and Wildenmannlisloch," he continues, "those parts of the caves nearest the entrances proved to be all but barren of both animal and prehistoric remains. One could speak



84. The huge skeleton of a cave bear. Apparently, in Europe in Neanderthal times, the cave bear was cast in the role of the Animal Master. Among hunting tribes, this is a commonly recognized power, upon whose goodwill the appearance of game animals is supposed to depend.

only of 'scatterings.' But the picture immediately changed the moment one entered Grotto II of a cave and came to those parts that had served its human inhabitants as dwelling, work, and sleeping quarters—made evident not only by the masses of animal bones but also by the worktools bearing witness to the labors of the one-time occupants. . . .

"The striking, intentionally arranged, partial shutting off of Grotto III at Drachenloch by a screened fire hearth beneath the entrance, as well as by a large stone cabinet containing skulls which occupied more than half the width of the chamber [Figure 85], provided evidence enough for the significance, both of this area, and of the backmost portion of the cave: the most important place for safe keeping, in the deepest darkness of the cavern depth . . . 'where not everyone might enter.' "[20]

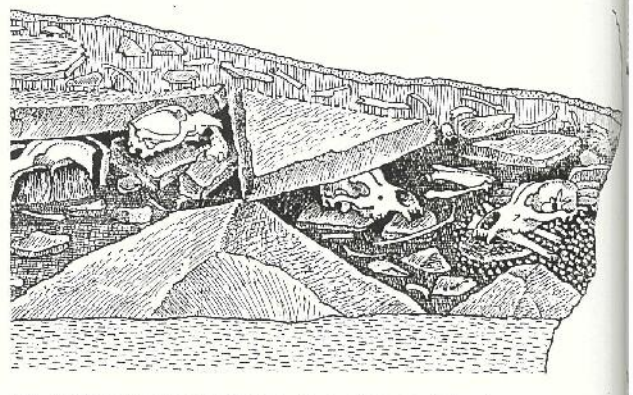
"What these finds reveal to us," he declares again, "is a picture of the completely *pious* treatment of the largest, handsomest bones of spoils of the hunt, establishing this third section of the cave as a *sanctuary*, shut off by a 'tabu'. In any case, they have nothing to do with the usual hoarding of bones of the hunt; the picture would then have been of a totally different kind. And it was finally impossible to withhold oneself from this increasing realization, when, at the end of our excavations in Grotto III, at the back of its rocky wall, we broke, once again, upon a formal funereal row of nine skulls, which had been protected from all damage by slabs of stone laid slant against the rock wall."[21]

In sum: There were found in these caves, in strata bearing the remains of interglacial fauna, evidences, on one hand, of workshops for the fashioning of tools and weapons associated with the bear hunt, and on the other hand, of sanctuaries for the worship of the bears that were killed. There were fire hearths in the caves, stone worktables and benches, flagstone floorings, and bins of various kind for the preservation of the skulls, some of which were even found in what appeared to be intentionally symbolic arrangements. For example, there was one surrounded by a circle of small stones; another had had the long bones of a bear (possibly its own) placed beneath its snout (Figure 82); and a third had had similar long bones thrust through its eyes. In the German cave of Petershöhle, which had been excavated by Konrad Hörmann during the same years that Emil Bächler was working in Drachenloch, five skulls were found arranged neatly in recesses in the walls.

There can be no doubt that we have here the evidence of a cult of some kind in veneration of the cave bear, and unless the excavators have greatly misread their evidence, the cult was of the same period as that of the earliest known human burials. This is to say, the interpretation of death as but a passing had been applied, not only to the subject, man, but also to the objects of his hunting, and, lest resentment on their part should follow upon a good hunting day and so perhaps spoil the next, rites of gratitude, praise, and appeasement were enacted. For hunters, the two orders of ritual, burial and animal worship, were complementary, the metaphysical reasons for the first directly implying a need for the second. And that the two were finally grounded in one system of propositions would seem to be evident in the comparable handlings of the human skull at Monte Circeo and the bear skulls of these mountain caves.

The Sentiment of Wonder

We may seem, at this point, to be close to answering the old question, beloved of theologians and formerly also of anthropologists, of the origins of religion; but in fact, we are not. For, when viewed in relation to the finds from 4 million years ago at Olduvai and Lake Turkana, these earliest, mythically inspired rites of burial and



85. In Drachenloch, Grotto III, a stone cabinet occupying more than half the width of the chamber and containing cave-bear skulls protected by a covering of large stone slabs. These preserved skulls are clearly the relics of a cult.

worship, dating from no more than 70,000 years past, are practically of the present. The antecedent 4 million years of nothing but skull fragments, long bones, flints, and scatterings of teeth tell us nothing of what thinking may have inhabited those skulls, what prostrations moved the bones, or what communion meals graced the teeth. Amplifications of skull capacities have been registered, from the cubic content of a gorilla's brain of about 500 cc, upward and onward to the 1600 cc of Neanderthal and then downward to the 1500 cc or so of mankind today. At which stage, however, did human thinking ever open to a larger field than that of animal economics: nutrition, reproduction, self- and species-preservation, the building and defense of nests, leisure-time entertainment, and the comforting of wounds? When did the earth and skies open to wonder and the mind respond with an exaltation to which everything else thereafter might become subordinate?

"We observe," wrote Giambattista Vico in *The New Science* (1730), "that all nations, barbarous as well as civilized, though separately founded because remote from each other in time and space, keep the following human customs: all have some religion, all contract solemn marriages, all bury their dead. And in no nation, however savage and crude, are any human actions performed with more elaborate ceremonies and more sacred solemnity than those of religion, marriage, and burial. For, by the axiom that 'uniform ideas, born among peoples unknown to each other, must have a common ground of truth,' it must have been dictated to all nations that from these three institutions humanity began among them all, so that the world should not become again a bestial wilderness."[22]

This eighteenth-century statement that "uniform ideas, born among peoples unknown to each other, must have a common ground of truth," or, in twentieth-century terms, "a common ground in the psyche," defines a principle tacitly taken for granted in all psychological approaches to the interpretation of myths. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, thought to explain the observed resemblances as "the effect of similar causes acting alike on the similar constitution of the human mind in different countries and under different skies";[23] and C. G. Jung, in his subsequent exploration of the mind that Frazer had thus recognized, used the term "archetypes of the collective unconscious" to designate those structures grounded in the general anatomy of our species, to which the observed resemblances might be referred. "Although tradition and transmission by migration certainly play a part," he conceded, "there are very many cases that cannot be accounted for in this way and drive us to the



Two objects from a Neanderthal site in Tata, Hungary, that may reflect the awakening of a sense of wonder:

86. A shaped piece of mammoth ivory, suggesting an Australian *tjurunga*.

87. A nummulite (an Eocene formaniniferal fossil) engraved with a cross.

hypothesis of 'autochthonous revival.' These cases are so numerous that we are obliged to assume the existence of a collective psychic substratum. I have called this the *collective unconscious*."[24]

Adolf Bastian, as already remarked (page 9), employed the term "elementary ideas" *(Elementargedanken)* with reference to the products of this universally human ground, while in his second term, "ethnic ideas" *(Völkergedanken)*, he recognized the differences of their appearances among the greatly differing cultures. Vico's institution of "burial," for example, as exemplified among the Vedic Aryans, modern Hindus, or Buddhists, would have to be described rather as "cremation" than as "burial." And his institution of "marriage" likewise exhibits variations. The Muslim authorization of four wives, along with a dozen or so—or even a hundred or more—concubines, is not readily brought under one rubric with Roman Catholic monogamy; nor would it seem quite to serve the Viconian function of "moderating the passions." Nevertheless in a general way, the elementary idea can be recognized of an institution (to quote an applicable dictionary definition) "whereby men and women are joined in a special kind of social and legal dependence, for the purpose of founding and maintaining a family."[25] Marriage, so defined, appears to be already indicated in our finds from Neanderthal times: in the cave of La Ferrassie, for example, with its skeletons of two adults, head to head, and four children; or in the cave at Shanidar, with the male body heaped with flowers, beneath which two women and an infant had been buried. What the forms or form of marriage in that primordial era may have been, we do not know; nor can we tell whether ceremonial manners of disposal of the dead other than burial may have been observed. However, it does look very much as though Vico's three elementary institutions of religion, marriage, and burial may have come simultaneously to manifestation in that period when, in the course of the evolution of life, the first degree had been attained of the "sapient" mind.

The evidence for burial in that distant era is secure, that for marriage, circumstantial, while that for religion asks for a much more generous definition of the term than the famous one of Parson Thwackum in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones:* "When I mention religion I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion but the Protestant religion, and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England." James G. Frazer, in *The Golden Bough*, greatly (and yet not sufficiently) enlarged this insular view when he wrote:

"By religion then, I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Thus defined, religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate and please them. Of the two, belief clearly comes first, since we must believe in the existence of a divine being before we can attempt to please him. But unless the belief leads to a corresponding practice, it is not a religion but merely a theology; in the language of St. James, 'faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone.' In other words, no man is religious who does not govern his conduct in some

measure by the fear or love of God. On the other hand, mere practice, divested of all religious belief, is also not religion."[26]

The anthropologist has here fallen—not as dramatically as Fielding's Parson Thwackum, yet no less inextricably—into a specifically Christian manner of speech. Interpreting in his sense the evidence of the cave-bear shrines as the earliest known prehistoric signs of "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man," one would have to ask, and leave open, the question as to what kind of "powers superior to man," or what God, the cave bears and their relics were supposed to represent or to be. Can the huge beast have been revered as "God" in any such sense as that implied by Frazer's capitalization of the term? Or was it even equivalent to Letakots-Lesa's concept of an animal sent by the One Above as a messenger? Indeed, was there any One Above at all in that period; or were the bears revered, among other creatures and objects, simply in and for and as themselves?

André Leroi-Gourhan has found in the evidences of Neanderthal times suggestions for a definition of religion that point beyond these unanswerable rationalistic questions to a certain state, mode, or quality of consciousness that is specific to religion, basic and antecedent to all the historic orders of polytheism, monotheism, pantheism, atheism, fetishism, animism, henotheism, and the rest. As one of the most scrupulous authorities in this field of scholarship, he has refused either to accept as proven any evidence that is uncertain, or to interpret imaginatively even evidence that he accepts. The Neanderthal bear cult, for example, he has seriously questioned. The burials he recognizes but refuses to interpret. Yet, he has remarked a number of other, more modest witnesses to what he describes as an order of interests on the part of Neanderthal Man (whom he does not regard, by the way, as of *sapiens* rank) that are "not confined to eating and drinking": little clumps and deposits of red ocher, assembled shells, collected fossils, piles of spheroid stones, and a number of curious limestone slabs on which little cup marks appear. "That the extraordinary should have been explicitly perceived," he remarks, "warrants a strong presumption in favor of an intuition of the supernatural, though probably not in the sense in which we have conceived of it for some millenniums. . . . Certain facts sufficiently well authenticated suffice to show that practices not related to techniques of the material life existed before the period of *Homo sapiens;* we may call them religious, because they testify to interests beyond those of the vegetative life."[27]

The perception of the extraordinary is, of course, something known already to the animal kingdom. The Chinese have a saying: "One dog barks at a shadow, and four hundred dogs make it a fact." But, in the sense in which Leroi-Gourhan has written of the perception of the extraordinary as an opening of the mind to a dimension of religious awe, it is also something else. To quote Vico again: "Wonder is the daughter of ignorance; and the greater the object of wonder, the more the wonder grows."[28] Whether it be a cockleshell or the mystery of death, the *mysterium fascinans* or *mysterium tremendum,* this wonder is that of which Goethe wrote in those lines of his *Faust:*

Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Teil.
Wie auch die Welt ihm das Gefühl verteuere,
Ergriffen fühlt er tief das Ungeheuere.[29]

The history of our subject, then, is of the progressive enlargement of man's knowledge of the magnitude of his own ignorance and the expansion thereby of his wonder—and religion.

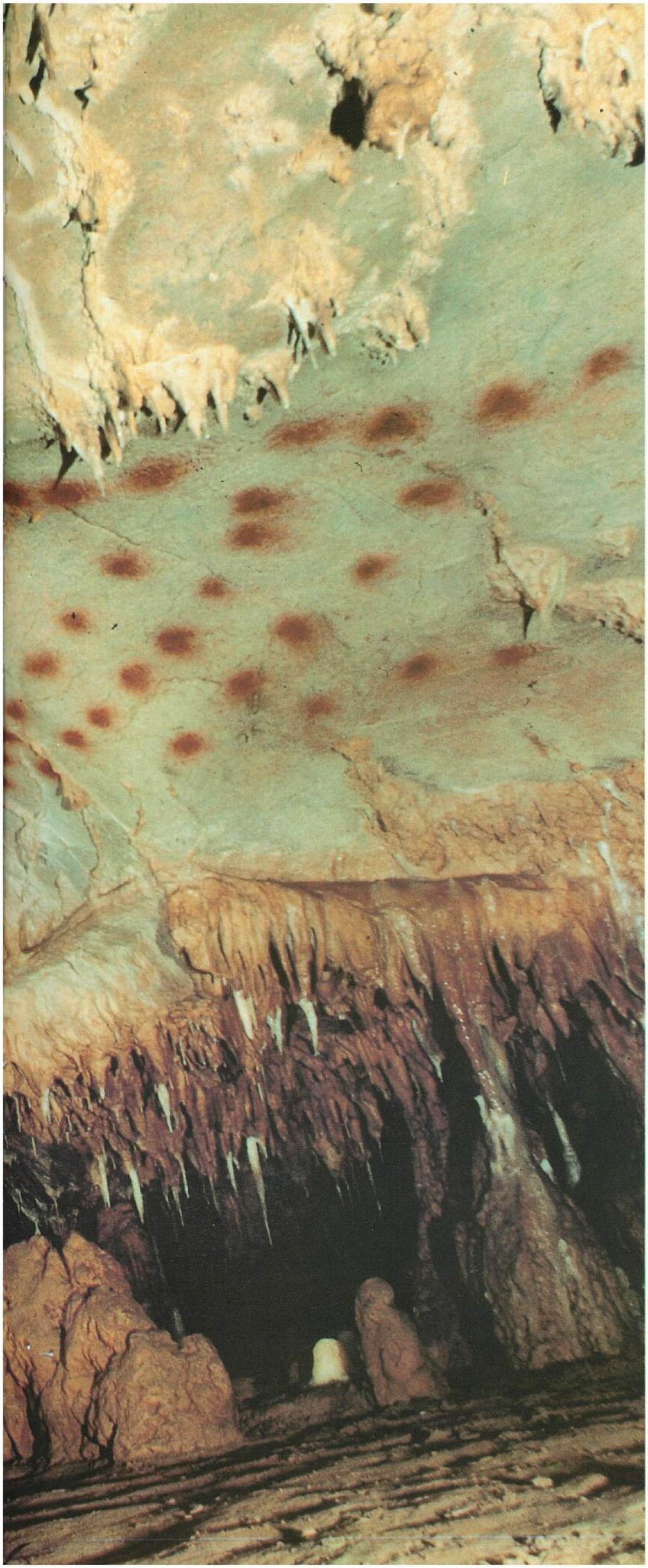
The Temple Caves

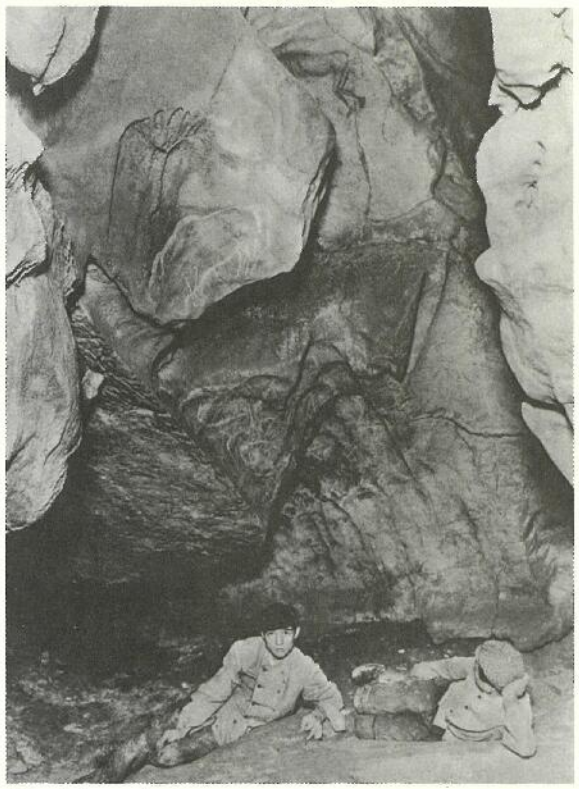
To stand, even today, in the Rotunda of Lascaux is a profound experience. The mind, flung back through millennia, scans a landscape hung between day and night, underground yet overhead, of immortal herds of woolly ponies, immense bulls of a species now extinct yet here alive, beautiful stags with luxuriously branching antlers; and among all these, the arresting, very curious form of an animal such as cannot have lived in this world even in the Paleolithic age (Figure 90). Two long, straight horns point directly forward from its head, like the antennae of an insect or a pair of poised banderillas; and the gravid belly hangs nearly to the ground. This surely is a wizard beast, and the most mysterious presence of the whole magnificent vision.

To the right, below this enigmatic form, an opening in the craggy wall leads to a pictured rock-corridor known to science as the Axial Gallery, where, as we enter, our eyes are greeted by another animal array: at the right, a black stag; to the left, a large galloping bull; and beyond, the whole tunnel is spectacular, even to the ceiling, with its herds, again, of trotting ponies, cows, and at the far end, a pair of ibexes. Here and there we discover what appear to be flying darts; and there are four cryptic quadrangular signs, each set,

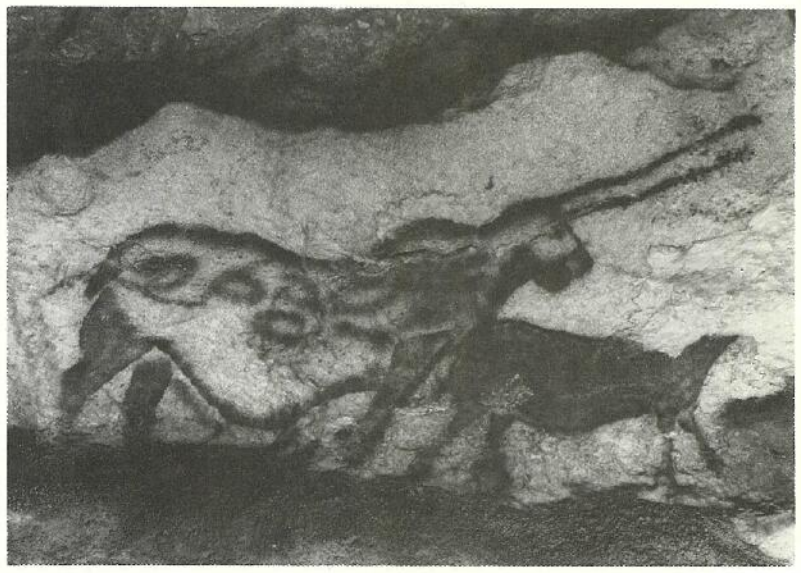


88. Pech Merle, one of the greatest of the painted temple caves: its stalagmites and stalagtites, when struck, resound like gongs.





89. Two of the three brothers, sons of Count Bégouen, at one end of the great cave which they discovered and first explored—July 20, 1914 (on the eve of the outbreak of World War I)—and which is named in their memory and honor, *Les Trois Frères.*



90. The magic of Lascaux is epitomized in the compelling enigma of this unnatural beast, which meets the eye as one enters the great Rotunda.

as André Leroi-Gourhan has remarked, in a different section of the composition.[30] Beneath the first black stag, furthermore, and out before him runs a long, curving row of large black dots (Figure 93).

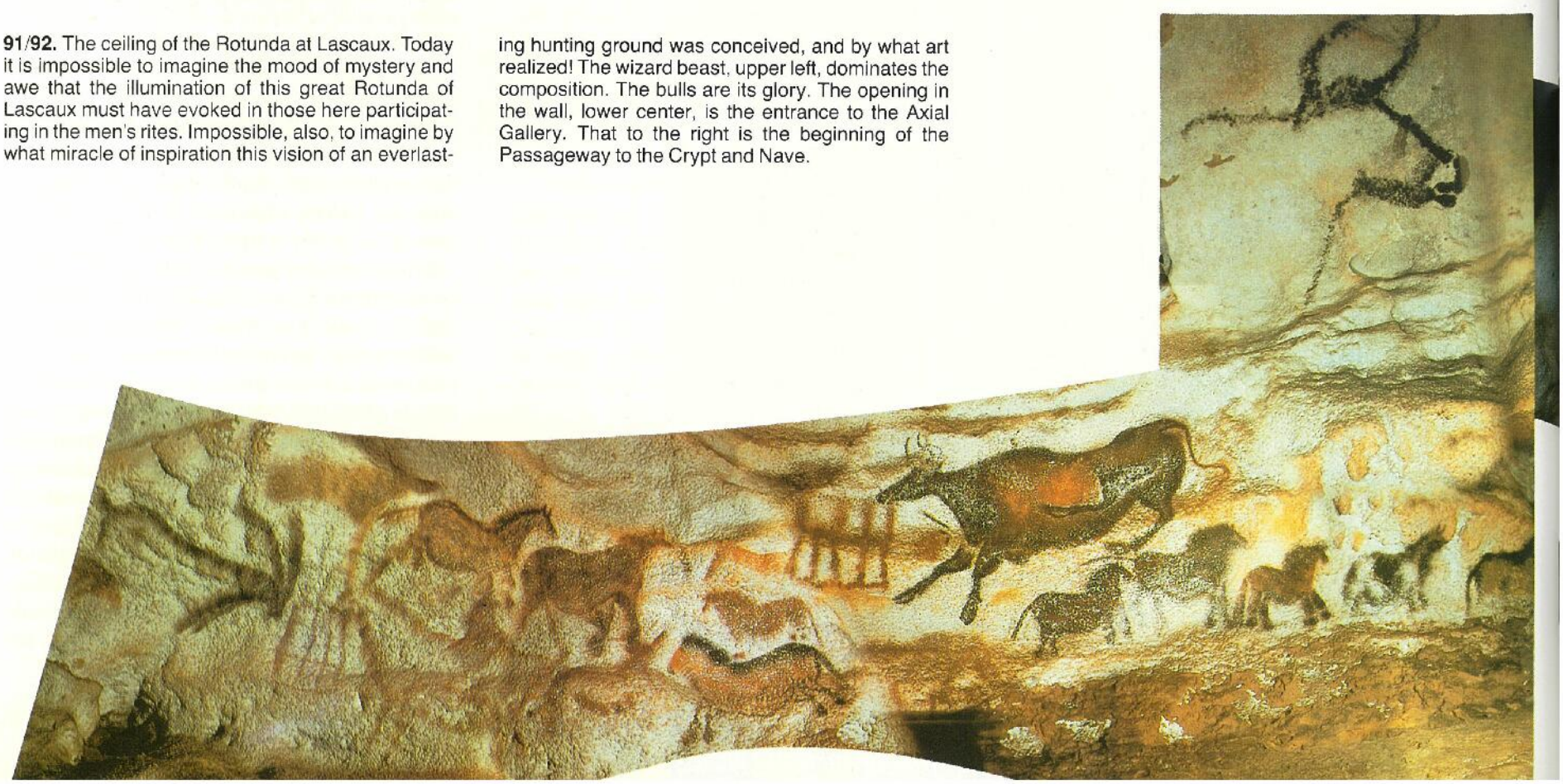
The prehistorians have been hard put to interpret these Paleolithic signs, of which there are many throughout the subterranean galleries. Leroi-Gourhan has proposed what is perhaps a clue, namely, a complementarity of female and male signs: the female, variously represented as triangles, ovals, rectangles, and claviforms; the male, as barbed strokes, short lines, and dots.[31] Moreover, in the assignment of such symbols to various parts of the great caverns, this scholar has recognized an apparent consistency. "The male signs are found almost exclusively," he

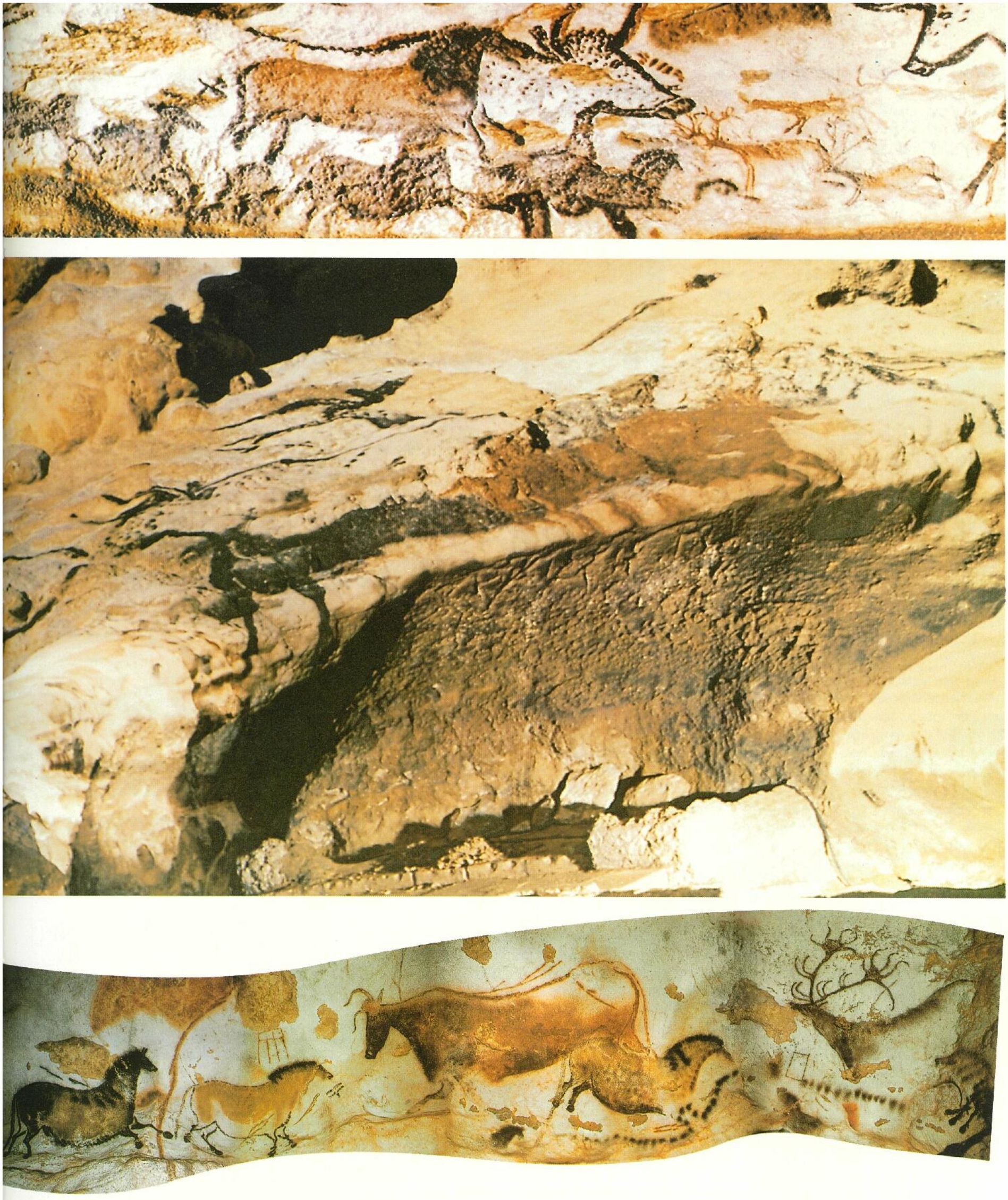
The idea of a temple as distinguished from a chapel or shrine—namely, of an enclosed area in which all the forms beheld are of vision—was conceived and first realized in the great painted caves of southwestern France and northern Spain, and most marvelously in those termed by the Abbé Breuil the "Six Giants": Altamira, Font-de-Gaume, Les Combarelles, Lascaux, Les Trois Frères, and Niaux. As in Chartres Cathedral the mystery of the hidden history of the universe is revealed through the imagery of an anthropomorphic pantheon, so here, in these temple caves, the same mystery is made known through animal forms that are at once in movement and at rest. These forms are magical: midway, as it were, between the living species of the hunting plains and the universal ground of night, out of which the animals come, back into which they return, and which is the very substance of these caves.





91/92. The ceiling of the Rotunda at Lascaux. Today it is impossible to imagine the mood of mystery and awe that the illumination of this great Rotunda of Lascaux must have evoked in those here participating in the men's rites. Impossible, also, to imagine by what miracle of inspiration this vision of an everlasting hunting ground was conceived, and by what art realized! The wizard beast, upper left, dominates the composition. The bulls are its glory. The opening in the wall, lower center, is the entrance to the Axial Gallery. That to the right is the beginning of the Passageway to the Crypt and Nave.





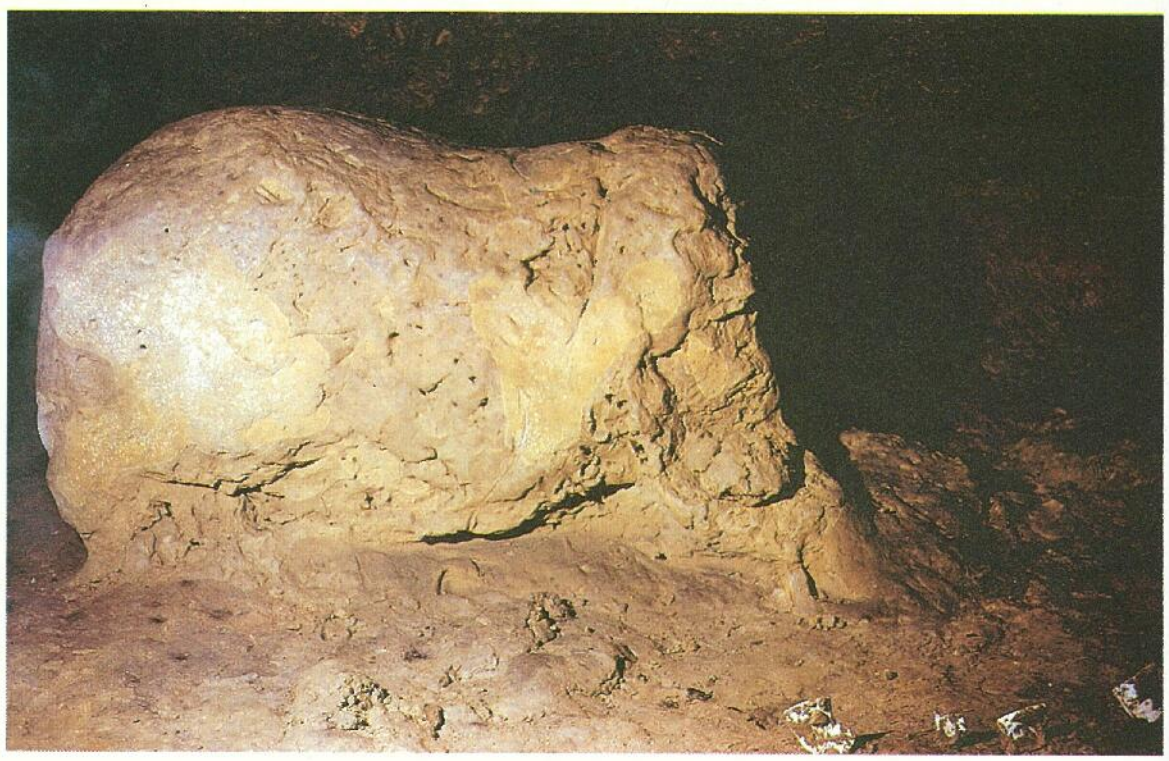
93. The entire right-hand wall of the Axial Gallery. What the function of this corridor may have been is unknown. It is craggy, narrow, yet pictured to the ceiling. As we enter, the black stag with antlers branching is to our right. To our left is a galloping black bull. The rectangular forms and arrowlike strokes distributed among the animals have been variously interpreted. Some regard them as traps and arrows. André Leroi-Gourhan reads them as female and male symbolic signs, relevant to an underlying mythology of polarized forces, which, in his view, was the informing inspiration of all the religious sanctuaries of this Paleolithic era.

writes, "at the point where the sanctuary begins and in the remotest parts of the caves; they also appear in the transitions leading from one central composition to another. Within the central compositions, on the other hand, female signs are normally associated with signs of the male set."[32] A computerized count of the animal species also led to a recognition of pairings. "Certain animals turned up next to each other too often," this interpreter found, "for such associations to be explained only as chance."[33] Oxen or bisons would be found next to horses, for example, or bisons next to mammoths. "The fundamental principle," he concluded, "is that of pairing: let us not say 'coupling,' for there are no scenes of copulation in Paleolithic art. The idea of reproduction perhaps underlies the representation of paired figures but what we shall see subsequently does not absolutely establish this. Starting with the earliest figures, one has the impression of being faced with a system polished in the course of time—not unlike the older religions of our world, wherein there are male and female divinities whose actions do not overtly allude to sexual reproduction, but whose male and female qualities are indispensably complementary."[34]

Or we may think of the old Chinese yang/yin, light/dark, hot/cold, dry/moist, male/female, polarity. In the caves, on the yin, or female, side are the ox, bison, and hind; on the yang, or male, side are the horse, stag, and ibex. At Arcy-sur-Cur and Pech Merle the mammoth appears with the bison, whereas at Baume Latrone its companions are the feline and the horse; in certain other cases, mammoths are complementary to bovid/horse arrangements. "The role of the mammoth," Leroi-Gourhan concedes, "is hard to unravel." Nor, indeed, have more than a few of the numerous riddles of these caves been solved.

The recognition of a consistent *architectural* order in the distribution of the symbolic beasts and signs is another important clue to the mythology of these subterranean temples.

"What constituted for Paleolithic men the special heart and core of the caves," this author declares, "is clearly the panels in the central part, dominated by animals from the female category and female signs, supplemented by animals from the male category and male signs. The entrance to the sanctuary, usually a narrow part of the cave, is decorated with male symbols, either animals or signs; the back of the cave, often a narrow tunnel, is decorated with the same signs, reinforced by horned men and the rarer animals (cave lion or rhinoceros). Although crowded with images this framework is quite simple; it leaves us completely in the dark concerning what we should like to know about the rites, and, let us say, about an underlying metaphysics. However, it rules out any simplistic idea concerning the religious system of Paleolithic men."[35]



94. Deep in a cavern at Montespan is this roughly moulded, headless model of a bear. When discovered, a bear's skull lay on the ground before it. Following a ritual of some kind, a bear's pelt with the head still attached had been left draped upon this form.

A third point—of obscure yet indubitable significance—appears when the animals chosen for representation are classified and numbered. "First of all," states Leroi-Gourhan, "it must be said that, statistically speaking, the number of species represented is much lower than the number of species known to have existed at the time. Paleolithic artists did not portray just any animal but animals of certain species, and these did not necessarily play an important part in their daily life. . . . The main actors," he reports further, "are the horse and the bison, the animals next in importance being the hinds, the mammoths, the oxen, the ibexes, and the stags. . . . Bears, lions, and rhinoceroses play an important part, but as a rule there is only one representation of each per cave, and they are by no means represented in every cave."[36]

With respect to the importance of the bear and of bear worship in this period, an extraordinarily interesting discovery was made in 1923 by the Count Bégouën and Norbert Casteret in a cave about a mile and a half long and extremely difficult of access, at Montespan (Haute-Garonne). In the middle of a chamber, toward the end of one of the convoluted passages, the light of their lamps fell upon a heap of clay, crudely shaped to suggest a bear couchant, but with no head. The stump of the neck was smooth and at a slant, and on the ground before it, between the effigy's paws, lay the actual skull of a bear cub. The clay body, punctured with a number of holes, had been covered, apparently as a mere support, with the hide of the beast for a ceremony of some sort, during which the image was dealt sharp blows.[37] We have no idea of how many years, centuries, or perhaps millennia this bearskin rack may have served; what the prayers or ritual acts may have been that accompanied its service; or when the last fresh pelt was laid on



95. Very different in feeling from the other galleries is the Chamber of Felines with its engraved, unpainted lions, the only carnivores among these abounding herds.

its back, to be abandoned at the end of an age, left alone in the silence, rotting, and at some point in time releasing its skull—until struck by the light of an electric flash, some fifteen millennia later.

The general message, however, is obvious; namely, of a Paleolithic hunting ceremonial performed among flickering torches in this deep, dark womb of the earth. For these great painted grottoes, chill, dangerous, and labyrinthine, wherein all orientation to the quarters of the sky is lost, and time stops—or rather, continues without punctuation of day and night—were never dwelling places, but temples beyond the tick of time, preserved to us in the depths, so to say, of the historical unconscious of our species. Their herds are the herds, not of time, but of eternity, out of which the animals of the light-world come, and back to which they return for renewal. Some of the bulls in the animal frieze of the Lascaux Rotunda are more than 17 feet long, rendered with a fluency and grace of line, as alive as life itself.

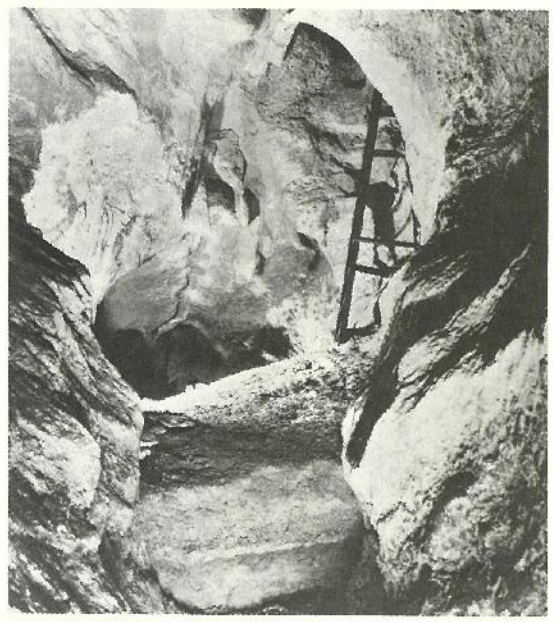
At the end of the Axial Gallery there is a sharp turn to the left; the tunnel narrows, and, continuing on, we find a bison/horse group completely cut off from the rest of the composition. "Further on," as Leroi-Gourhan tells, "the passage becomes a constricted tunnel where we find

LASCAUX: GENERAL FLOOR PLAN

Each gallery has its fascination. The very different groupings of the various animal messengers appeal to us aesthetically, and we feel joined in a kinship of experience with the artists who produced them. However, to the special mystical function that each of these galleries served—for millennia—we have no clue. Entering the cave today, one confronts directly the breathtaking spectacle of the Rotunda (see **91**/**92**). Above are the great bulls and woolly ponies; and to the left, as though herding them, is the "wizard beast" with its "pointing horns" (**90**). There is a sense here of a presence inhabiting these forms.

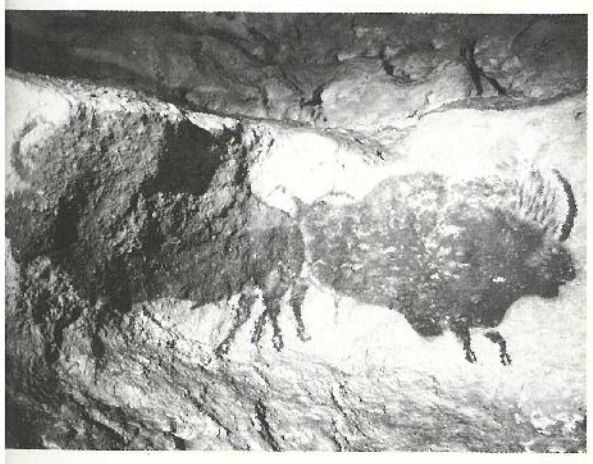


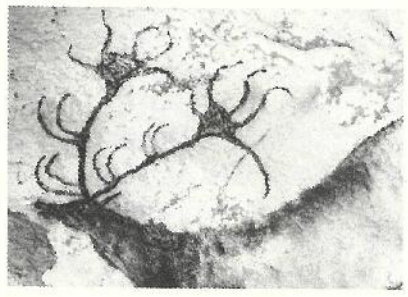
96. The grace and rhythm of this beautiful run of swimming stags immediately enchant the eye at the entrance to the Nave.



100. In the Lascaux Shaft, or Crypt, about 16 feet below the general level of the cavern floor, is the most crucial scene in the whole sanctuary: an eviscerated bison bull, a masked shaman lying before him, and a rhinoceros walking by with lifted tail (**105**).

97. Among the animals of the Nave, some way along the left wall, two back-to-back bison are outstanding.

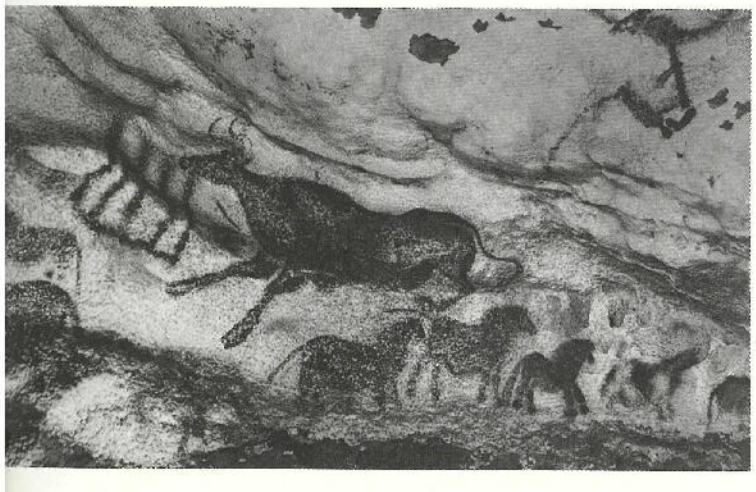




98. This extraordinarily beautiful stag (to the right as we enter the Axial Gallery) matches in position the swimming stags of the Nave.



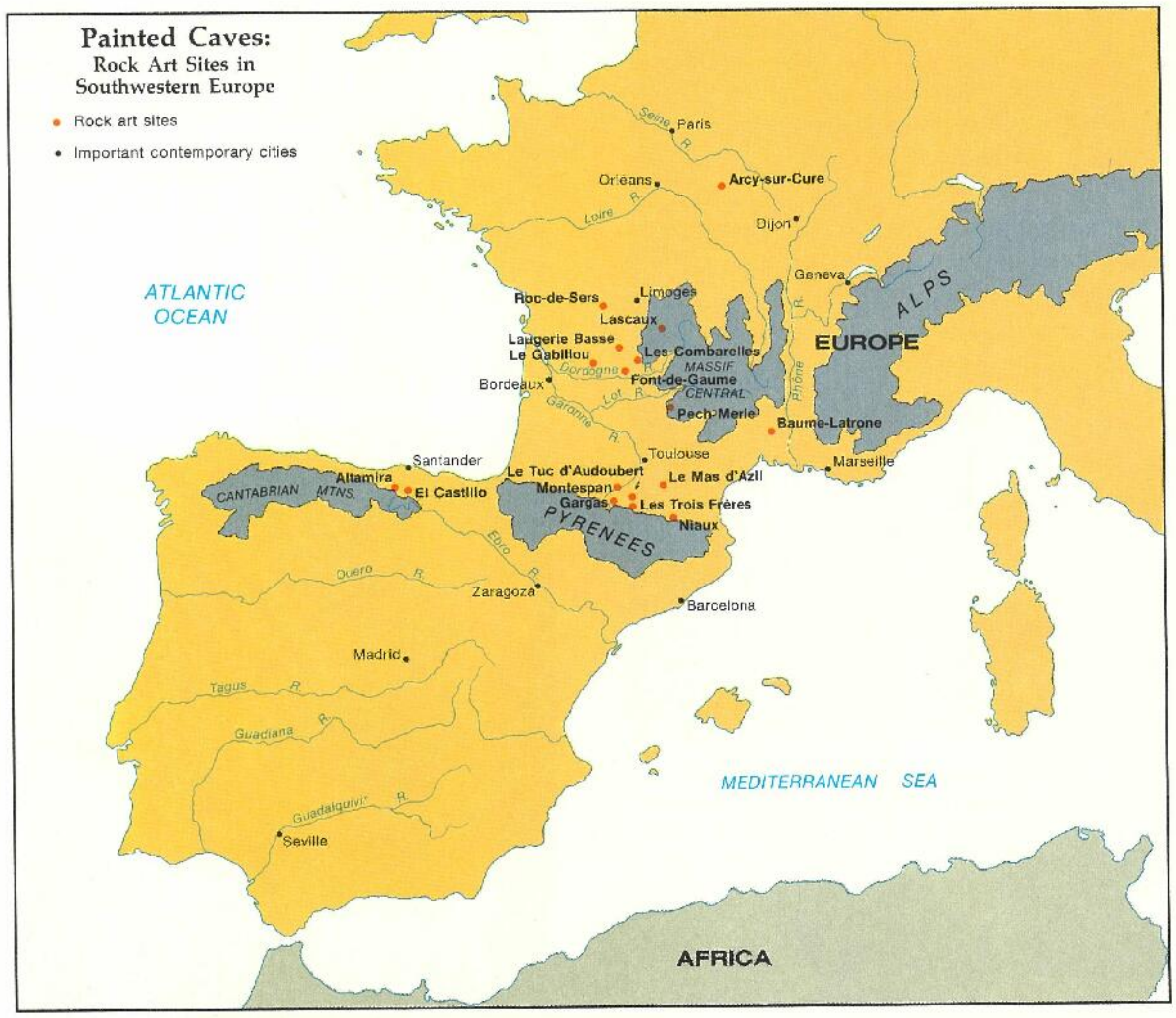
101. Not the least of the wonders of the art of the cave is the vitality of the prodigious bulls: their graceful ease of line.



99. Among the many unforgettable sights of this subterranean, painted labyrinth is the whole right wall of the Axial Gallery (**93**) with its herd of woolly arctic ponies and this glorious leaping cow.



102. One of the ponies among the animals on the Axial Gallery's left wall: very like the woolly ponies to be seen today grazing and trotting about throughout Iceland.



Map 21. The principal locations of the temple caves are shown on this map. Far to the east, in the southern Urals on the south bend of the Belaya River, paintings in a related style have lately been found in the Kapovaya cave. There may be other undiscovered sites. The nuclear area of the development of this earliest of mankind's art traditions, however, was undoubtedly that of southwestern France, the Cantabrian hills, and the Pyrenees.

a few engraved horses and, at the very end, the red markings that so often indicate the end of the decorated parts of the caves. The Axial Gallery as a whole, then," he concludes, "consists of two alternating groups: cow/rectangles/horses, and bull/barbed sign/cows, both groups flanked by stags; there are complementary ibexes, and an isolated bison/horse composition."[38]

We return to the Rotunda and proceed from the Axial Gallery into an opposite opening in the almost circular wall leading to the ample Passageway in which the figures are extremely faint. In Leroi-Gourhan's opinion, this chamber is probably the oldest of the grotto, with a decoration based, in his words, "upon a large ox/horse + ibex group, with at least one bison/horse composition." Continuing, we enter the sharply narrowing Nave, and there, directly before us, to the right, is that beautiful, now famous frieze of the heads of five stags, apparently swimming. To the left is a bison/horse + ibex group, with associated rectangular and barbed signs, along with an ox/horse composition which also includes female and male signals. These are followed by two magnificent bison, back to back, after which the tunnel again sharply narrows to a long, undecorated corridor, ending in the Chamber of Felines. Some thirty animal figures are to be seen here, as well as a great number of signs, distributed among three bell-shaped subchambers, each about 3 feet in diameter. In the first two are six uncolored engravings of felines, among horses, ibexes, a bull, and a number of male and female signs. The last composition comprises horses, painted strokes and other signs, stags, bison, and a rhinoceros, beyond which, at the rear of the chamber, there appears again only such a series of red dots as we found at the end of the Axial Gallery.

Evidently, this whole, really glorious, subterranean temple compound was conceived, either by someone or by some original master group, as an ordered whole. But to what end, we cannot say. No crude anthropological theory of "primitive magic" suffices to explain its extraordinary beauty, the aesthetics of its organization, or the magnificence of its forms. Why, precisely, a cluster of felines here, bulls and horses there, ibexes at the ends of compositions, red dots, quadrangles and black dots, various pairings, postures, and arrangements? As the meticulous studies of Leroi-Gourhan have demonstrated, there was some sort of mythological implication in all this iconography, which is evidently represented, furthermore, throughout the entire great series of these French and Spanish Paleolithic grottoes.

The enigma deepens when, on returning from the Chamber of Felines through the long and narrow Nave back to the Passageway, we turn there to the left, through the circular Apse, and descend gingerly, by means of a modern wooden ladder, into the Shaft, which is about 16 feet deep. On the way down, we note the painting of a small, black horse's head, and on turning, confront an amazing composition which has baffled even the most learned and intuitive of the many great students of this art. On the left is a rhinoceros, apparently walking away, under whose tail there is an arrangement of six black dots. "The rhinoceros," states Leroi-Gourhan, "is a back-cave or marginal animal . . . : to find it at the bottom of the Shaft, accompanied by aligned dots, is perfectly normal."[39] So far, so good. But now, behind this beast, to our right, there lies, supine with outflung arms, a man (comparatively crudely

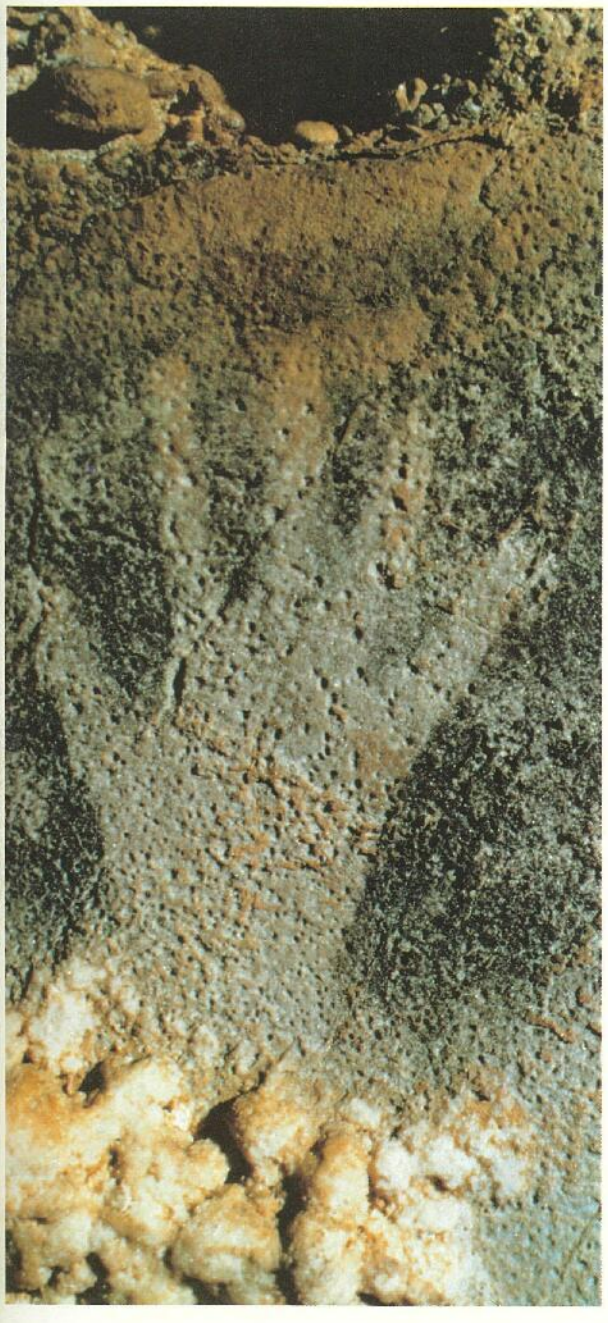


What is the meaning of such hand prints left on the walls of sacred places throughout the world? They are testimonials to participation in a mystery.

103. From Double Hand Shelter, Queensland, Australia.

104. From a Paleolithic cave in France.





drawn) with erect phallus and what would appear to be a bird's head—or perhaps he is wearing a mask. His hands also are birdlike, and there is the figure of a bird perched upon a vertical staff at his right. "Birds are rare," remarks Leroi-Gourhan, "both in cave art and in decorated objects, and their position in symbolism is uncertain. About all we can say is that the lower part of the sign painted here resembles a male sign."[40] But birds, on the other hand, are, in later, shamanistic contexts, the normal vehicles of wizard-flights in ecstasy, whether to the underworld, to the heavens, or to those realms beyond the horizon from which shamanic powers derive. Bird-decorated costumes and staves, as well as bird transformations, are the rule in shamanistic contexts. Hence, it seems to me entirely possible that the prostrate figure in this crypt, or holy of holies of the cathedral of Lascaux, is not at all a hunter slain by a bull and here memorialized, as the Abbé Breuil suggested in his interpretation of the scene,[41] but a shaman, rapt in trance. Before him is a great bison bull, eviscerated apparently by a spear that is represented as though resting aslant against the beast's flank, but was meant to be seen, almost certainly, as having transfixed its anus and emerged through its sexual organ. There is no one behind the bull from whose hand the lance might have been thrown. However, at the man's feet there is a kind of barbed stick, which the Abbé Breuil interpreted as a spear thrower, an atlatl. Leroi-Gourhan rejects this suggestion, reading the stick as a male sign, complemented by the falling entrails of the wounded beast, which descend in four concentric ovals. These he interprets as a female sign, suggesting that what we may have here is "a variant form of the assimilation of phallus-to-spear and vulva-to-wound." "Does the male sign," he asks, "imply an assimilation of phallus-to-spear-thrower?"[42]

105. This scene of mystery in the Shaft, or Crypt, the "holy of holies" of the Lascaux temple cave, may represent an episode from a legend of that era. Three other, possibly related, man/bull confrontations have been identified in art works of the period, c. 17,000 to 12,000 B.C.: one, an engraving on reindeer horn from a rock shelter, Laugerie Basse, in the neighborhood of Lascaux; another, a painting deep in the temple cave, also nearby, at Villars; and the third (some 5000 years earlier), a sculptured block in a rock shelter, Le Roc de Sers, in Charcute, dated c. 17,000 B.C.

The question remains open. But a telling point is made when this author calls attention to an engraved reindeer horn from a dwelling site not far from Lascaux, known as Laugerie Basse, which, in his words, "has on one side a bison marked with one stroke and an ithyphallic man with outstretched arms, on the other side a horse." In the Lascaux Shaft, as we have seen, there is an incompletely rendered horse, constituting, together with the bison, a standard bovine/horse composition. "The same scene, with the same protagonists, turns up," Leroi-Gourhan continues, "in sculptured form at Le Roc de Sers and in painted form at Villars."[43]

That is to say, it is evidently the illustration of a crucial scene from some essential legend of the period; a legend, furthermore, that must have enioyed a long career, since the sculpture of Le Roc de Sers is of the Solutrean Age, c. 17,000 B.C.,[44] a good 5000 years earlier than the period of the painting at Lascaux.

This legend, then, we can register as a component of our first known (yet unknown) documented mythology, having flourished, one way or another, from c. 17,000 to 12,000 B.C. Moreover, from the position of its illustration in the most inaccessible holy of holies of the magnificent great sanctuary—this Sistine Chapel of the Paleolithic, as it has been called—we may judge it to have been, very probably, the inspiring legend of the entire grotto, with the wizard beast in the Rotunda representing a projection of the power of the shaman in the crypt, the magic of its pointing horns corresponding to that of his pointing phallus.

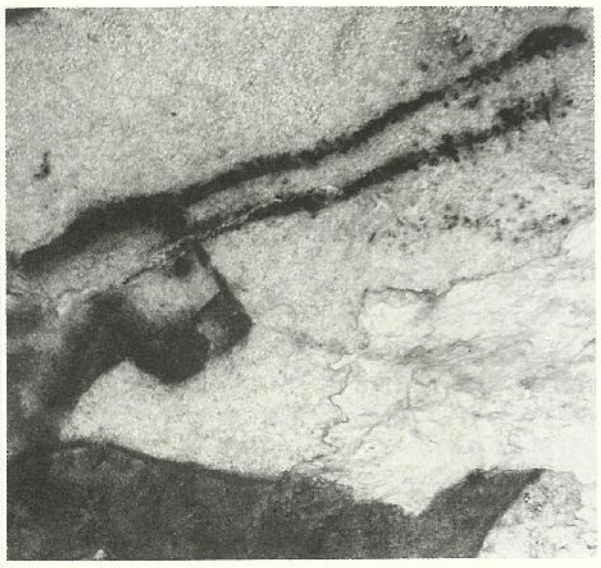
By analogy, there is still practiced in Australia a lethal phallic rite of magic known as the "pointing bone," one variety of which has been described thus by Geza Róheim:

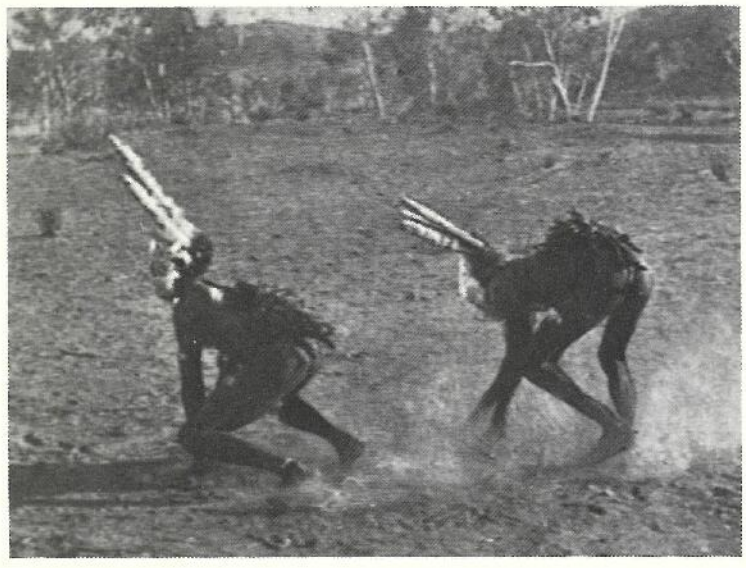
"Black or hostile magic is predominantly phallic in Australia. . . . If a man has been 'boned', his dream will show it. First he sees a crack, an opening in the ground, and then two or three men walking toward him within the opening. When they are near they draw a bone out of their own body. It comes from the flesh between the scrotum and the rectum. The sorcerer, before he actually 'bones' his victim, makes him fall asleep by strewing in the air some semen or excrement which he has taken from his own penis or rectum. The man who uses the bone holds it under his penis, as if a second penis were protruding from him.

"The Pindupi refer to black magic in general as *erati*, and a special type is described as *kujur-punganyi* ('bad-make'). Several men hold a string or pointing bone with both hands and, bending down, point backward, passing the magical bone just beside the penis. The victim is asleep, and the bone goes straight into his scrotum."[45]

Strictly thinking, it is improper to make comparisons of this kind, jumping centuries and culture provinces. However, as we have already seen (page 32), the Australian natives have had spear throwers for some 7000 years, and so too had the people of Lascaux, 10,000 to 20,000 years earlier. Stenciled hands appear in Australia on the rock walls of the Tombs Shelter and Kenniff Cave; so also at El Castillo, Gargas, Pech Merle, and many more of the great European grottoes. Furthermore, we have learned something of the perdurability of Old Stone Age forms and principles; and where the idea of a spear thrower can have been handed on, so too can that of a pointing bone. The curious horns of the Lascaux wizard beast are remarkably similar in form to the "pointing sticks" worn by performers in ceremonies of the Australian men's dancing ground; and further, the position of the lance, piercing the anus of the Lascaux bull and emerging at the penis, spills the bowels from the area between, which is exactly the spot affected by the pointing bone of the Australians. Finally, there is in Róheim's account of the Australian rite a plausible suggestion for an interpretation (in Stone Age terms) of the force, not only of the pointing penis of the shaman of Lascaux, but also of those six black dots beneath the passing rhino's tail, as representing the lethal magic of its dung. For, if originally a feature of the legend of the pictured bison scene, this formidable beast may well have played the mythic role of the shaman's trance-vehicle or familiar. Where so many extraordinary features fall so neatly into place, it is difficult not to suspect a connection.

106/107. Between the art of the temple caves and the rituals of Australia, there are many suggestive analogies. A clue to the strange horns of the wizard beast of the Lascaux Rotunda may be seen in the lethal "pointing sticks" of Australian magic, as here worn by two performers in an Aranda initiation ceremonial.[5]



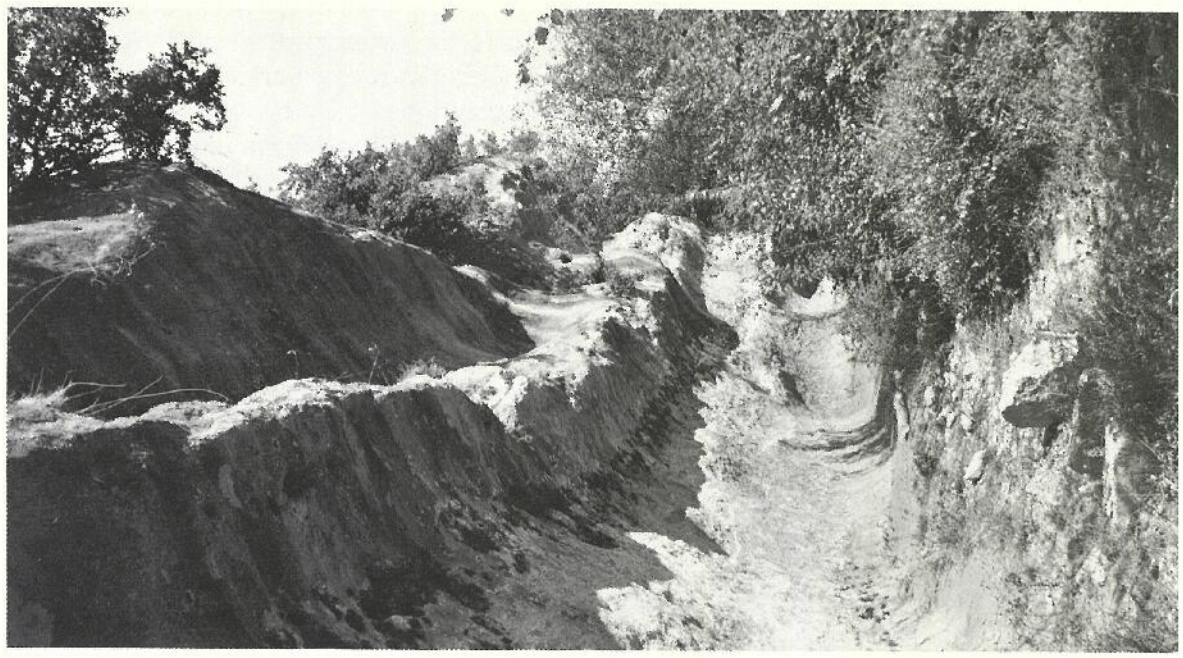


Symbols of the Power Female

In a posture and with a gesture eloquent of some legend, the knowledge of which has been lost, the *Venus of Laussel* (Figure 109; also, Figure 66, page 46) stands before us like the figment of a dream, of which we dimly know but cannot bring to mind the meaning. The mythology of which she is the messenger remains in absolute silence behind her, like the rock out of which she is hewn. As reviewed by the art historian Sigfried Giedion: "The figure and the block are inseparably interlocked. In the position selected by the artist for this relief, the block had a slight overhang, so that the figure swelled forward gently. When seen from the side, the curve appears as taut as a strung bow. It swells up to the supreme point, the maternal belly, then falls away at either end and sinks slowly into the rock, in which the feet seem to melt. The upper part of the body curves gently backward, and the head, resting between two rock projections, seems to be reclining, as though on a cushion."[46] The piece, in Giedion's words, is "the most vigorously sculptured representation of the human body in the whole of primeval art."[47] And the miracle is that it was fashioned with chisels of flint.

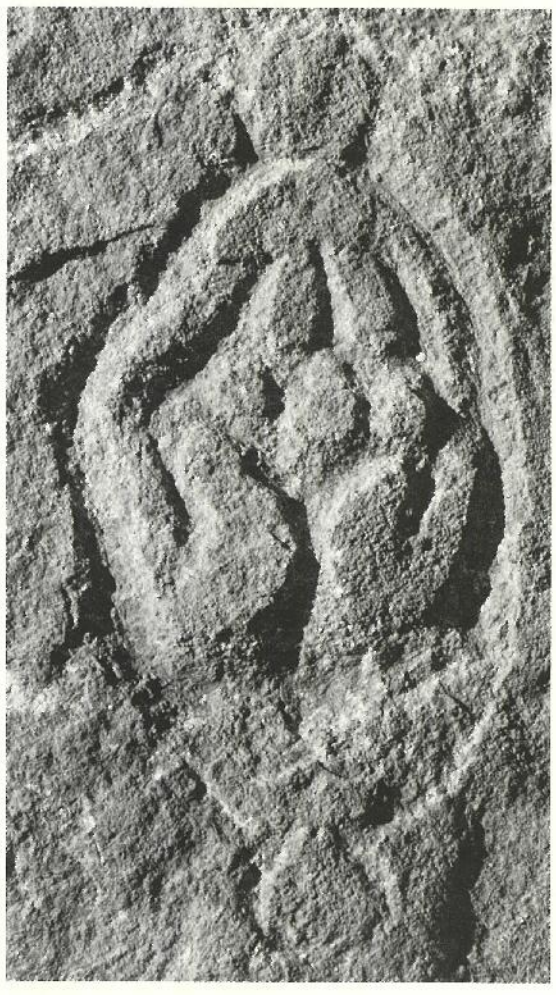
Discovered in 1911 by a physician, J.G. Lalanne,[48] this impressive piece, no more than 17 inches high, was only one of a number found preserved in a long ledge situated only a few miles from Lascaux (Figure 108). "The limestone overhang which shelters the dwelling site," states Giedion, "is here particularly beautiful, and the dwelling place itself was on a terrace, over one hundred meters long, above a drop down to the foot of the valley. It was, in every respect, an exceptionally protected shelter, and at its end stood the sanctuary in which the Venus block was found, the figure facing outward towards the shelter."[49] The other pieces include two reliefs of females holding unidentified objects, and a third female with what appear to be the head and shoulders of a male upside down beneath her (Figure 110), in such a position as to have suggested a birth scene to Lalanne, but to others the earliest known representation of coitus; further, a few slabs and blocks incised with female genital symbols; and finally, a fragment bearing the figure of a male, head and arms gone, but in an attitude suggesting a javelin thrower. The site was inhabited from Mousterian times, with the period of these sculptures falling somewhere c. 20,000 to 18,000 B.C.[50]

For millennia, apparently, the dominant presence in this shelter was the *Woman with the Horn*. Alexander Marshack, in his volume *The Roots of Civilization*, has observed that the horn is marked with thirteen lines. "The count of thirteen," he adds, "is the number of crescent 'horns' that may make up an observational lunar year; it is also the number of days from the birth of the first crescent to just before the days of the mature full moon."[51] The figure must have represented some mythic personage so well known to the period that the reference of the elevated horn would have been as readily understood as, say, in India, a lotus in the hand of the goddess Shri Lakshmi, or, in the West, a child at the breast of the Virgin. The left hand laid on

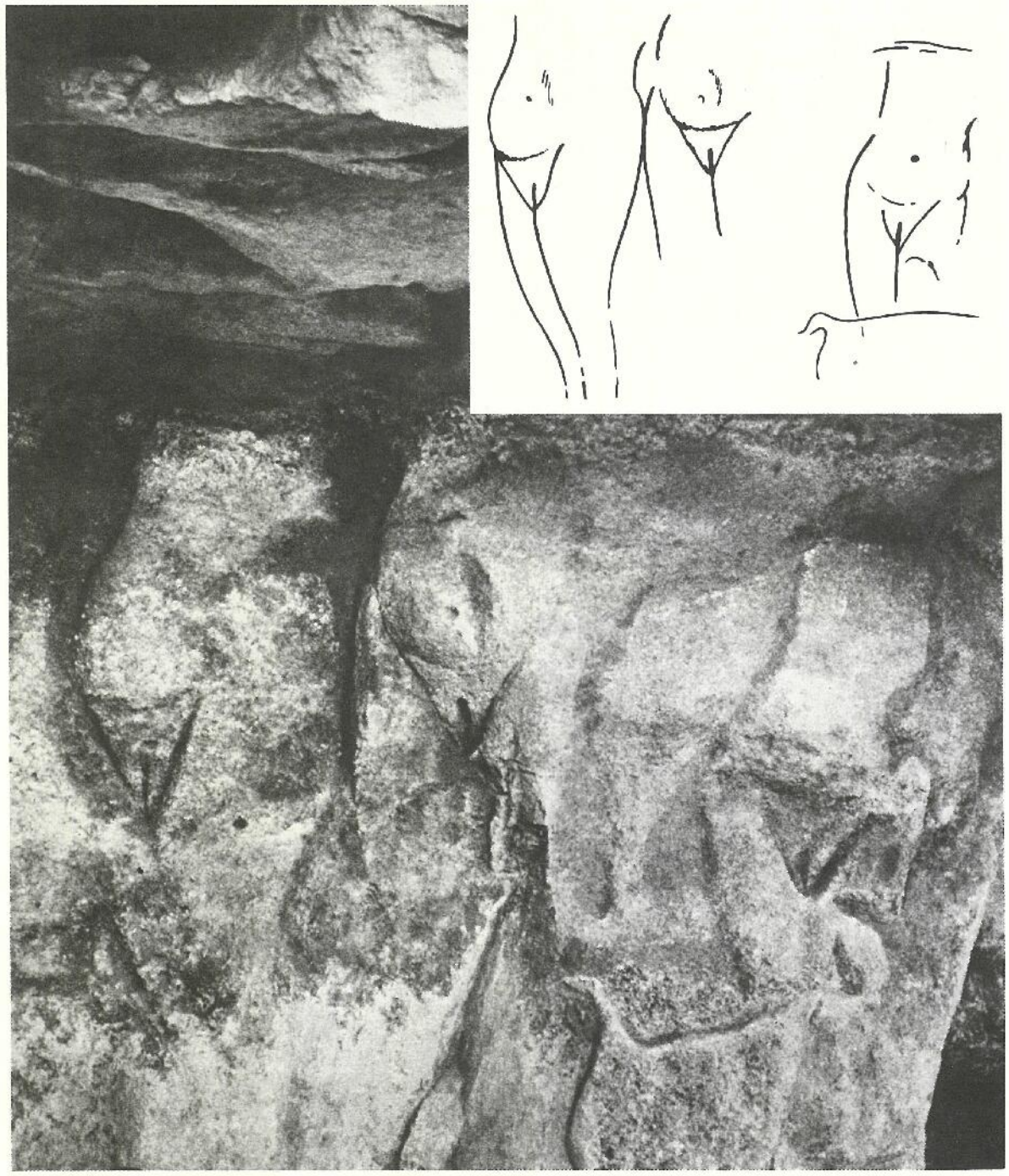


108. The rock shelter of Laussel, site of the images shown below. On a terrace more than 300 yards long, fronting a drop to the valley floor, this limestone overhang served, not only as a dwelling site, but also, apparently, as a ceremonial center to the mystery of generation.





109/110. Whereas the art of the painted caves was of animal forms with occasional male magicians among them, that of such dwelling sites as the rock shelter of Laussel (**108**) was mainly of the human female. These two images from that long-inhabited sanctuary evidently represent some mythology of the mysteries of the womb, the lunar cycle, and the generation of life. For, although Leroi-Gourhan has declared that "there are no scenes of copulation in Paleolithic art" (see page 62), it is difficult to see anything else in **110**, where beneath the female is evidently a bearded male. In Egyptian art the sky-goddess Nut overarches the earth-god Geb, her spouse.



Two triple Goddess monuments separated by 10,000 years:

111. Within a shallow Paleolithic cave at Angles-sur-Anglin (Vienne), three powerful female presences made manifest above the figure of a bull. Date, 13,000 to 11,000 B.C.

112. On a Gallo-Roman altar, formerly on the site in Paris now occupied by the Cathedral of Notre Dame, the image of a bull beneath a tree upon which there perch three cranes symbolic of the Celtic Triple Goddess. Inscription: *Tarvos Trigaranus*, "The Bull with Three Cranes." Date, probably first to third centuries A.D.



the belly may have been significant of the womb as the vessel of birth and rebirth, which in its monthly mystery is matched by the measures of the moon. Indeed, if this were a goddess of the Neolithic age, we should have no doubt of her meaning. However, she is of a hunting age and people, and the elevated horn is specifically of a bison—possibly the same legendary beast that we have seen disemboweled in the crypt of the nearby grotto of Lascaux.

Leroi-Gourhan, it is recalled, proposed that the legend illustrated in that scene was one well known to the period, with a history of some 5000 years or more. There was a legend, known to a number of the bison-hunting tribes of the North American plains, of the woman who married a bison and through her life-restoring magic became the institutor of those hunting rites by which the lives of the slaughtered beasts were restored (page 234). Such rites are known to hunting peoples everywhere. There is no reason to believe that the races of the Paleolithic knew nothing of such things. Leroi-Gourhan points out, further, that on the ceiling above the entrance to the Lascaux Shaft there is a "compartmented rectangular sign," and on its stone rim a cluster of "claviforms."[52] These are both, in his classification, "feminine" signs, and as such, must have suggested to those descending into the sanctuary that its mystery was to be of the womb, giving and renewing life. This is the mystery symbolized as well in the *Venus of Laussel*, by her left hand over the pregnant womb and the horn of the waxing moon elevated in her right.

The evidence of these two neighboring monuments, then, is of a common Upper Paleolithic mythology whose legends have not reached us, but whose imagery is familiar. For the phases of the moon were the same for Old Stone Age man as they are for us; so also were the processes of the womb. It may therefore be that the initial observation which gave birth in the mind of man to a mythology of one mystery informing earthly and celestial things was the recognition of an accord between these two "time-factored" orders: the celestial order of the waxing moon and the earthly order of the womb. The annual disappearances and reappearances of the birds and beasts must also have contributed to this sense of a general time-factored mystery. For, once again, as we have heard from the Pawnee chieftain Letakots-Lesa: "Tirawa, the One Above, . . . sent certain animals to tell men that he showed himself through the beasts, and that from them, and from the stars and the sun and the moon, man should learn."[53]

The paintings of the caves were inspired by the teachings of the beasts. The figurines, on the other hand, and such rock-carved reliefs as those of the Sanctuary of Laussel, took their inspiration, rather, from the mysteries of the female body. And the qualities of the art of the known sanctuaries of this second kind differ greatly from anything found in the painted caves.

For example, at the Abri du Roc aux Sorciers, at Angles-sur-Anglin (Vienne), there was brought to light in 1948 an astonishing wall bearing a large relief of three colossal female presences (Figure

111): the loins, legs, and bellies, with accented sexual parts, the heads and upper torsos lost to view above, in the primal substance of the mother rock.[54] One thinks of the triple-goddess clusters of later European mythologies: the Graces Three, Fates, Furies, Norns, and the great triad of the Judgment of Paris, Aphrodite, Hera, and Athene. The Paleolithic triad is standing on a bison, so that, as in the Sanctuary of Laussel, there is again an explicit association of the female with this beast. The date at Laussel was c. 20,000 B.C.; that of this shrine, nearly a hundred centuries later, is c. 13,000 to 11,000 B.C. Roughly another hundred centuries, and there is the carved square block of a Celtic, Gallo-Roman altar, excavated from the site of the Paris Cathedral of Notre Dame (Figure 112), on one face of which there is standing a large bull beneath a tree with three cranes perched upon its head and back and with the words *Tarvos Trigaranus* (The Bull with Three Cranes) engraved above. In Celtic mythologies the great Triple Goddess repeatedly appears in the form of a crane.

A third significant site of this order has been lately identified some 50 miles south of Lascaux, at La Magdeleine (Tarn), where, on the rocks at either side of the entrance to a shallow cave, there is a reclining female figure carved in a style unique in Old Stone Age art (Figure 113). In Giedion's description, "The figures lie, light as a breath, upon the rock face. They are so delicately modeled that they lay unnoticed by the generations of prehistorians who excavated at the entrance to the cavern. A classic Magdalenian engraving of a horse is situated immediately above the excavated area, but it was only in 1952 that the female reliefs were discovered by the keen eyes of an engineer who had been building roads in the Sahara Desert for more than twenty years. H. Bessac first recognized the left-hand figure, then the right. What first caught his eye was the deeply cut, geometrically formed sexual triangle of the left-hand figure; after this he was able to follow her outlines, and then see the companion figure on the right-hand wall . . . .

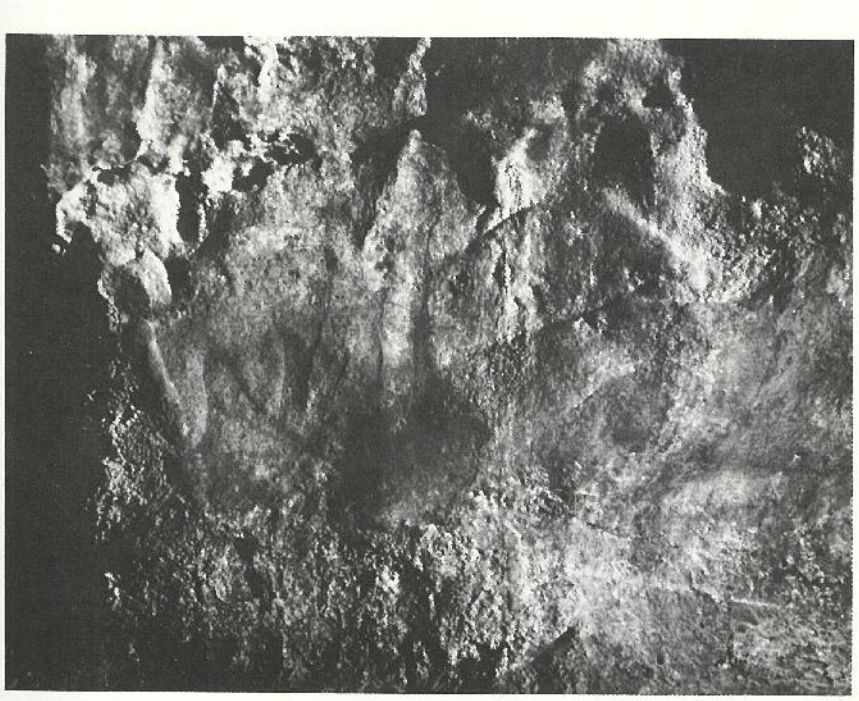
"What seems so strange about these figures is their unusual pose, which is very unlike an idol's. Both figures lie stretched out in positions of utter repose, one arm bent and supporting the head. They arise from the rock as 'foam-born' Aphrodite arose from the sea . . . .

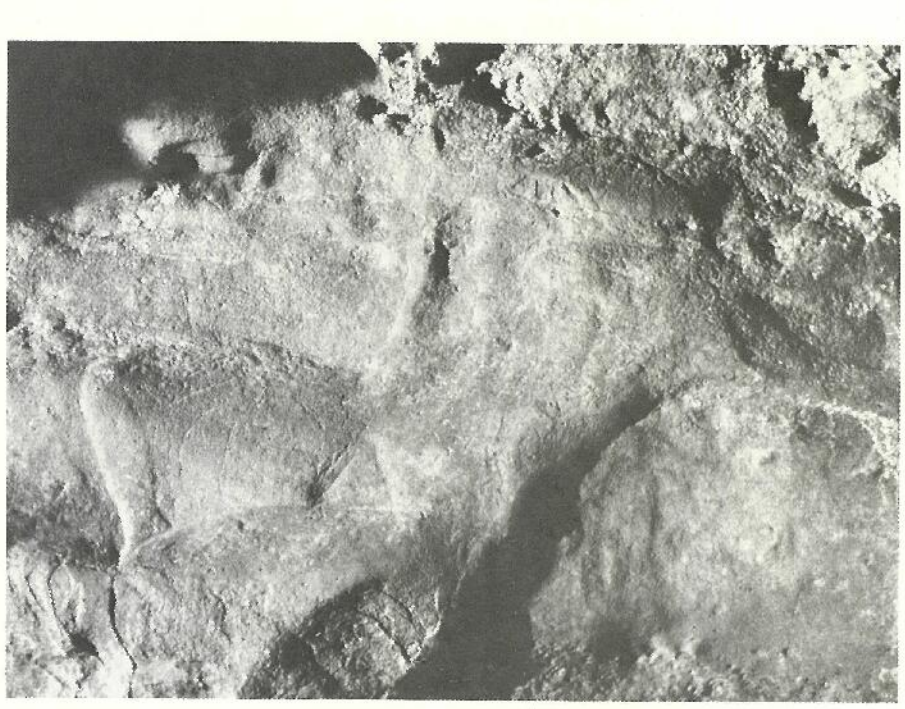
"Both forms were exposed from the beginning to the direct effects of the open air and variations of temperature, and have suffered severely from the weathering of the rock wall. But their grace could not entirely be obliterated. . . . An unexpected delicacy of line and an elasticity in handling the surface of the skin are expressed, which are otherwise quite unknown in primeval art. . . .

"A new ideal of the human figure was here announced: a long-legged, slender figure with smaller breasts. It can only have persisted for a short hour. Development followed a radically different direction. But, as in nature, art has sometimes put forth strangely premature blossoms which are condemned to perish."[55]

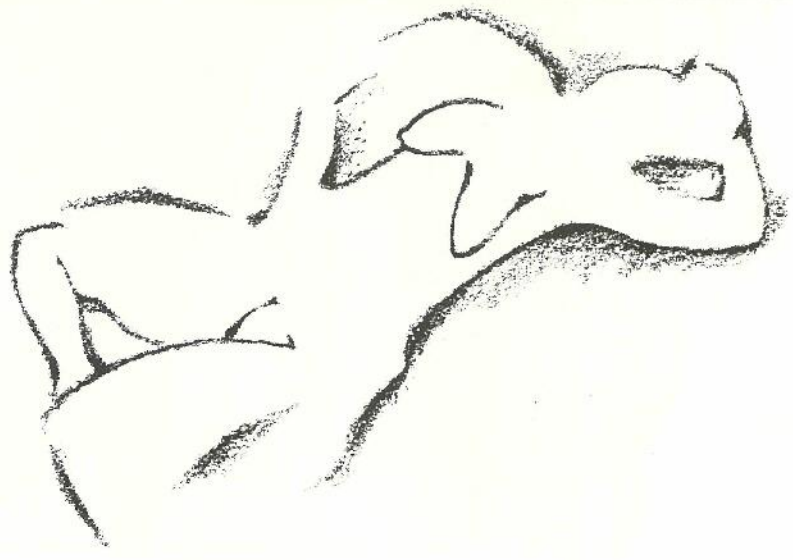
The period of this shallow cave ("Some flickers of daylight," according to Giedion, "penetrate even into the farthest recesses") is the same as that of the triad of Angles-sur-Anglin, c. 13,000 to 11,000 B.C. Below the figure on the left there is a bison; to the right of the other, a large horse. That is to say, the classic formula of a Magdalenian bison/horse composition is here displayed; and, as Leroi-Gourhan has observed: "All that is missing to complete the composition is an ibex and a

113. Almost effaced by 15,000 years of weathering, these two reclining female forms flank the entrance to La Magdeleine, a cave in the Aveyron valley (Tarn). They are astonishingly graceful, yet, like most female figures of their period, without faces.



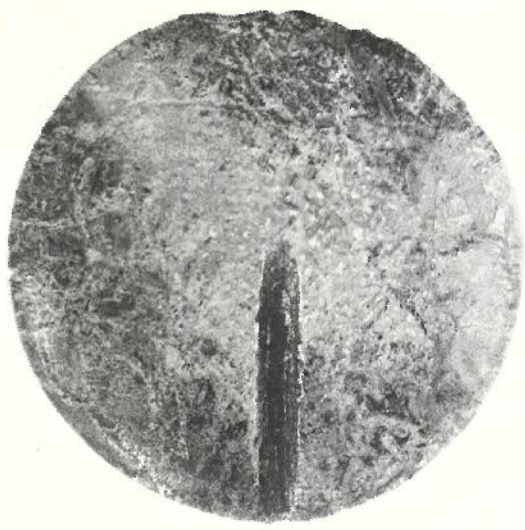








114. This tiny ivory head, 1⅜ inches high, from Brassempouy (Landes) is unusual. It hints of the female (or possibly a specific woman) seen, not simply in relation to reproduction, but as a muse.



115. A mammoth-ivory disk, from a grave at Brno, Moravia, possibly symbolizing the vulva of rebirth.



116. Mammoth-ivory "buttocks image" from Perkama, Moravia.



117. Headless "buttocks profiles" from La Roche (Dordogne).

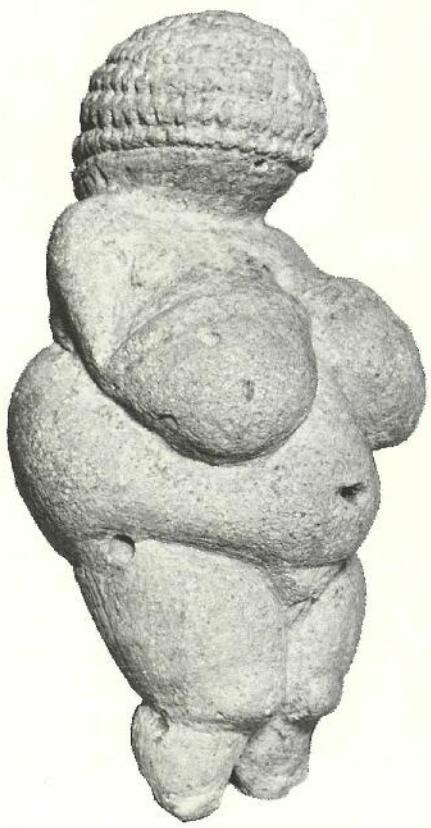
small male head. The attitude of the women," he adds, "is unique in Paleolithic art, reflecting a nonchalant freedom of which we know no other example."[56]

Approximately a hundred centuries earlier—roughly contemporary with the Laussel relief of the *Woman with the Horn*, i.e., c. 20,000 to 18,000 B.C.—there had appeared over a large part of Europe the earliest of those female statuettes, no more than 3 to 6 inches high, of which Figure 118, the *Venus of Willendorf* (Austria), is the classic representative, and Figure 119, the *Venus of Lespugne*, from the foothills of the Pyrenees (Haute-Garonne), the undoubted masterpiece. Fashioned of mammoth ivory, 5½ inches high, this exquisite little thing, made, it would seem, to be held and admired in the hand, translates the most typical features of its genre into a boldly styled aesthetic statement of extraordinary charm. All such images are without feet and the heads are featureless, the accent falling on the breasts, sexual triangle, and buttocks—which in the elegant little figure from Lespugne have all been constellated in such a symbolic arrangement as Mother Nature could never have brought forth. For this definitely is *not* a work of naturalistic art, but a conceived abstraction, delivering a symbolic statement. The somewhat smaller *Venus of Willendorf* is similarly symbolic, as are all the other figures of this series. Only one example, that from Dolni Věstonice in Moravia (Czechoslovakia) (Figure 120), is exceptional in that, despite the realism of the torso, the sexual triangle is missing. On the other hand, four holes in the top of the head suggest that flowers, leaves, or feathers may have been inserted there to signify the power of the goddess to foster seasonal growth.

From European Russia many notable finds have come, mainly from stations of

118. *Venus of Willendorf* (Austria); limestone; height, 4 inches. The legs without feet, when implanted in the soil of a shrine, would support the image upright.

119. *Venus of Lespugne* (Haute-Garonne, Pyrenees) marks a climax in the development of this genre. Seen here both in profile and in rear view, it gives evidence of a distinctive (almost modern) aesthetic interest in the styling of a work of art.







120. From Dolni Věstonice, Moravia, this enigmatic figure of clay and pulverized bone lacks genitalia, and its crude face has no mouth. In the crown of the head are four holes.





121. *La Polichinelle*, a tiny figurine (only 1¾ inches high) made of vitreous rock and found at Grimaldi on the Riviera.



122. Hematite torso from Ostrava-Petrkovice, Moravia.

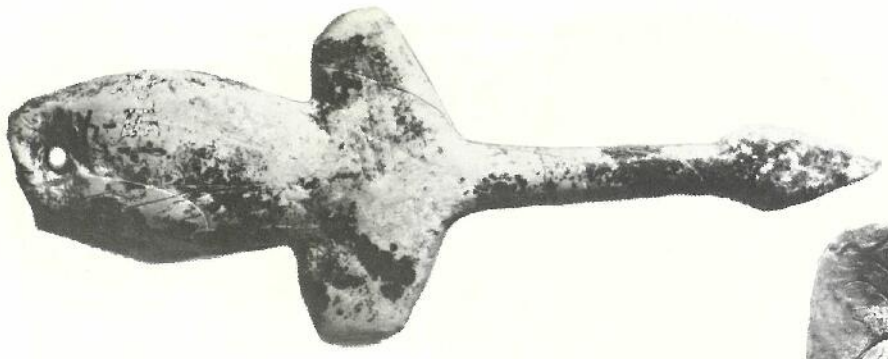


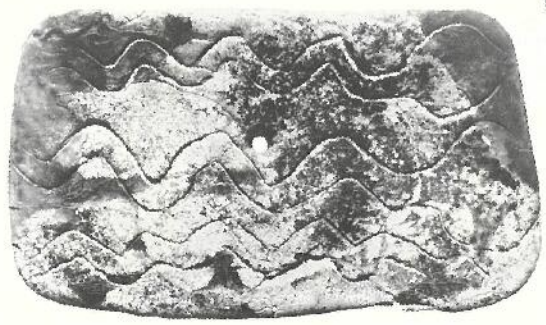
123. A torso of mammoth ivory found in the wall niche of a hut in Yeliseevici on the Desna.

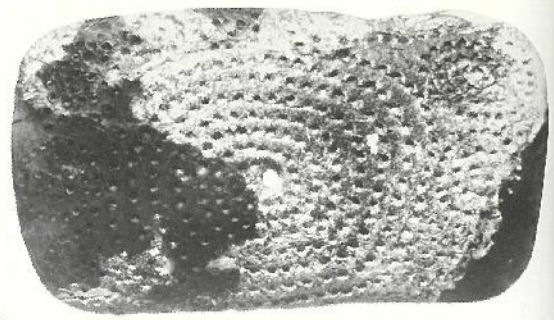


124. Mammoth-bone figure from Kostienki on the Don; its form suggests the *Venus of Lespugne* (**119**).

the Late Paleolithic mammoth hunt, which continued in that region, when in the west, the great pachyderms had been replaced by reindeer herds and all but forgotten.[57] At Yeliseevici (a dwelling site between Bryansk and Mglin on the right bank of the river Desna), an accumulation of mammoth skulls arranged in a circle was uncovered with a Venus statuette among them as a goddess-patroness, evidently, of the hunt. At Kostienki on the right bank of the Don, where a number of images have been found, three were discovered in a special rounded niche in the wall of one of the huts, about 6 feet from the hearth. One, of mammoth ivory, was without its head; another, of limestone, about a foot tall (the largest yet found anywhere), had been broken in four pieces and thrown back into the niche; the third was an ill-made specimen of mammoth tusk or of bone. Other signs here, and at certain other mammoth hunters' settlements along the Don, show that in that distant day a disaster of some kind overtook these people and that it was thought important by those responsible that the powers, not only of the people themselves but also of their statuettes, should be broken.

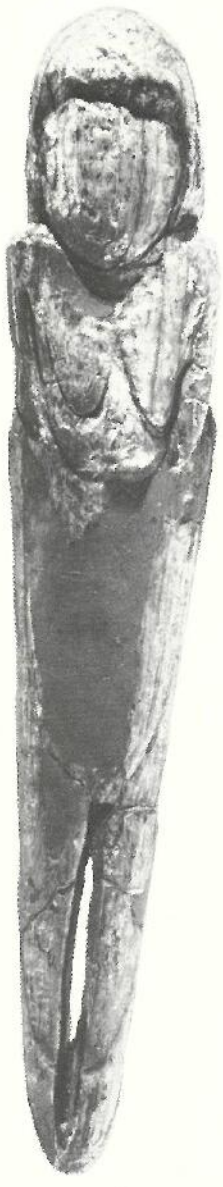






At Mal'ta, near Lake Baikal in Siberia, a cache of twenty symbolic items, dating c. 16,000 to 13,000 B.C., has been discovered, associated with the ceremonial burial of a child (**126**). These items, all of mammoth ivory, included: (**125**) six flying geese, one of which is pictured here; (**127**) a buckle engraved on both sides; (**128**) six figurines, one of which is here pictured and all of which—like their distant sisters in Austria and the Pyrenees—are without feet; (**129**) a staff or wand; (**130**) a necklace; and a fish (not shown) bearing a stippled labyrinth.

The most interesting Russian discovery of all, however, has been made far eastward, at Mal'ta in Siberia, about 55 miles northwest of Irkutsk. Here were unearthed no less than twenty female statuettes of mammoth ivory, from $1^1/_4$ to $5^1/_4$ inches tall, one represented as though clothed in a cave lion's skin, the others nude (Figure 128). Some fourteen animal burials were also found: six of the arctic fox, six of deer, in each case with the antlers and hindquarters missing (suggesting that the animals were flayed before burial, possibly to furnish shamanistic attire). There was one curious burial of the head and neck of a large bird, and one of the foot of a mammoth. Six flying birds and one swimming, of mammoth ivory—all representing either geese or ducks—were found (Figure 125), along with an ivory fish with a spiral labyrinth stippled upon its side; an ivory baton, suggesting a shaman's staff (Figure 129); and finally, and most remarkably, the skeleton of a rickety four-year-old child with a copious accompaniment of mammoth-ivory ornamentation (Figure 126).





The little skeleton was found lying on its back in the crouch or fetus posture, but with its head turned to the left and facing east, the direction of the rebirth and rising of the sun. Over the grave was curved a large mammoth tusk, and within were many signs of a highly ceremonious burial. There was a great deal of red coloring matter in the grave—a common finding in Paleolithic sites—and encircling the head was a delicate crown or forehead band of mammoth ivory. The child had worn a bracelet of the same material and a fine necklace of six octagonal and 120 flat ivory beads, from which a birdlike ornamental pendant hung (Figure 130). A second pendant, likewise in the form of a flying bird, as well as two decorated medallions, lay in the grave. One of the latter seems to have served as a buckle; the other, somewhat larger (Figure 127), showed on one side, scratched or engraved, three cobra-like wavy serpents, and on the other, a stippled design showing a spiral of seven turns with S-forms enclosing it—the earliest spirals known in the history of art.[58]





The probable dating of this important Siberian site is c. 16,000 to 13,000 B.C.[59] That of the *Venus of Laussel,* it is recalled, was c. 20,000 to 18,000 B.C., and that of the two extraordinary caves at La Magdeleine and Angles-sur-Anglin (of the two reclining female forms and the colossal Triple Goddess), c. 13,000 to 11,000 B.C. The numerous female figurines distributed over the whole of the European Upper Paleolithic field were also of these datings. So, from the Pyrenees to Lake Baikal, the evidence now is before us of a Late Stone Age mythology in which the outstanding single figure was the Naked Goddess. And she can already be recognized in a number of her best-known later roles: as Lady of the Wild Things, Protectress of the Hearth, Consort of the Moon-bull, who dies to be resurrected—with herself thereby a personification of the mystery of the moon, which has the power to shed its shadow (as the serpent sloughs its skin) to appear reborn. Not a few of her images suggest pregnancy: she was almost certainly a patroness of childbirth and fecundity. In that Paleolithic age she was specifically a goddess of the hunt, but also, apparently, of vegetation—if we may so interpret the Dolni Věstonice figurine. Another association with the little Mal'ta burial suggests that it was she who received the dead and delivered their souls to rebirth.

The material culture of the Mal'ta settlement was of an Aurignacoid character, evidently brought from the South Russian plains by competent hunters of the reindeer, rhinoceros, and mammoth. Their semisubterranean dwellings (uncovered in an excavated area of some 600 square meters) had had roofs incorporating layers of interlaced reindeer antlers supported by large animal bones. The excavator, M. M. Gerasimov, recognized, in the abundant remains of the interiors,[60] evidence of a clear division between the men's and the women's activities, such as has been normal in hunting cultures everywhere. And, if we may judge from the evidences of their numerous bone figurines and the contents of the little grave, in their mythology the goddess was associated with an imagery of water birds and serpents, to which something strongly suggestive of Ariadne's labyrinth may have been joined. The serpents are cobras, and they are three, as the female forms in the cave at Angles-sur-Anglin are three. Six of the birds have the look of flying geese. We know that in Siberia, shamans, whose spirits are believed to fly, wear bird costumes. We have remarked the bird mask and the bird-on-a-staff of the shamanistic figure of Lascaux. There was also in the Mal'ta grave a little mammoth-ivory staff or wand (Figure 129). In India the wild gander (*hamsa*) is symbolic, not only of the flight of a spirit, but also of the universal spirit itself. Hence a term of honor addressed to the master yogi is *Paramahamsa:* "paramount" or "supreme" (*parama*) "wild gander" (*hamsa*). There the cobra is a figure profoundly revered, as well as feared. The earth is supported by a cobra's head, directly beneath that Immovable Spot where the Buddha sat when he achieved Enlightenment; and when a storm arose, the earth-supporting cobra, Muchalinda, left his post and, encircling the Buddha's body while sheltering his head with his hood, protected the entranced one there seated in spiritual flight. The central serpent of the Mal'ta plaque has a larger hood than the other two and may represent a male flanked by females. And I find it difficult to interpret as mere chance the fact that the reverse of the plaque shows a vortex spiraling to a center.

This is not to suggest that some school of Upper Paleolithic hunters may have anticipated the Buddha, but to point out that in the iconographies of both the early shamanistic and much later Buddhist trance traditions, there can be recognized the same constellation of myth motifs or elementary ideas. Indeed, there is a native recognition of a significant relationship already indicated in the word "shaman" itself, which is derived from the Tungusic *saman;* this, in turn, being derived from the Sanskrit *śramana,* meaning "Buddhist monk."[61] The bird on the prostrate shaman's staff at Lascaux is not a waterfowl, not a goose; nor do we find cobras in the West. Like the labyrinth (or spiral), these specifications of the bird and serpent forms first appear in this Siberian Mal'ta site. They are not of European but of Asian origin. The question that remains is whether we are to think, with some authorities, of a plant-oriented people from the south that moved up into a difficult but rewarding northern terrain of the hunt, or vice versa, of a northern hunting race, some of whose shamanic symbols were later to penetrate the south, there to become incorporated in legends of the Indian Paramahamsas.

The Shamans of the Caves

The animal envoys of the Unseen Power no longer serve, as in primeval times, to teach and to guide mankind. Bears, lions, elephants, ibexes, and gazelles are in cages in our zoos. Man is no longer the newcomer in a world of unexplored plains and forests, and our immediate neighbors are not wild beasts but other human beings, contending for goods and space on a planet that is whirling without end around the fireball of a star. Neither in body nor in mind do we inhabit the world of those hunting races of the Paleolithic millennia, to whose lives and life ways we nevertheless owe the very forms of our bodies and structures of our minds. Memories of their animal envoys still must sleep, somehow, within us; for they wake a little and stir when we venture into wilderness. They wake in terror to thunder. And again they wake, with a sense of recognition, when we enter any one of those great painted caves. Whatever the inward darkness may have been to which the shamans of those caves descended in their trances, the same must lie within ourselves, nightly visited in sleep. Moreover, in parts of the world marginal to contemporary civilization, the beat of the shaman's drum may still be heard, transporting spirits in flight to regions known to our own visionaries and to men and women gone mad. Did the shamans of those caves interpret their visionary voyages as shamans do today—shamans whom we can visit and with whom many of us have conversed? Our only evidence is the pictorial script in the labyrinthine secrecy of the silent caves themselves. Why so deeply hidden and in parts so difficult of access?

"Some caves with animal art," as Alexander Marshack has remarked, "are so difficult to get into and their painted and engraved chambers are so deep that hours were spent climbing inside, time was spent in engraving, painting, and ceremony, and more time was spent coming out. This would be a tiring and uneconomic activity for a hunter performing hunting magic! In true hunting magic, one can draw the animal in the sand or scratch it on an open rock surface and perform the rite of magic killing quickly."[62]

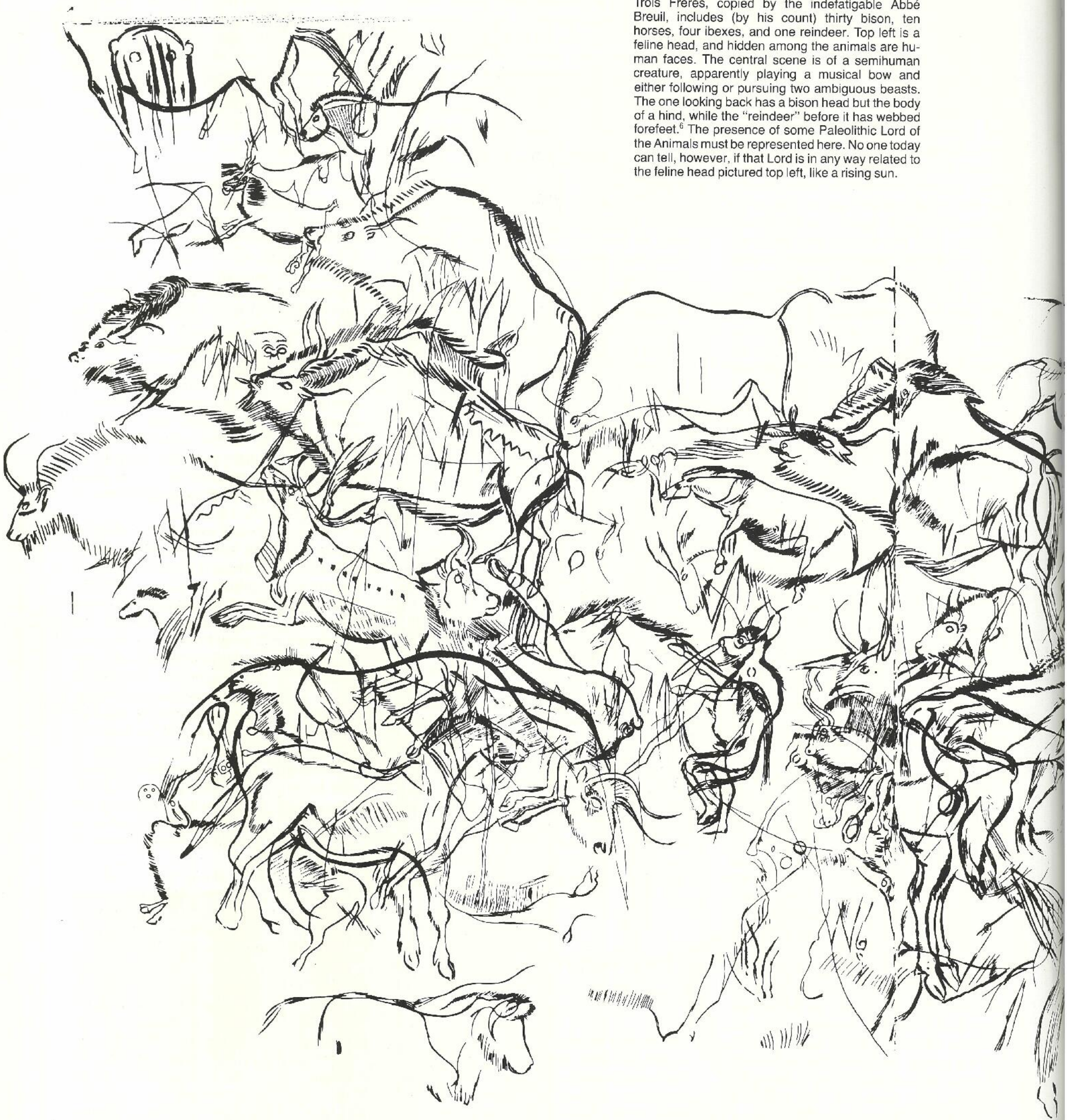
Herbert Kühn has described his own visit to the great bell-shaped main chamber, with its overhanging rocks and fissures, of the cave known as Les Trois Frères at Montesquieu-Aventès (Ariège) in the Pyrenees:

"The ground is damp and slimy, we have to be very careful not to slip off the rocky way. It goes up and down, then comes a very narrow passage about ten yards long through which you have to creep on all fours. And then again there come great halls and more narrow passages. In one large gallery are a lot of red and black dots, just those dots.

"How magnificent the stalactites are! The soft drop of the water can be heard, dripping from the ceiling. There is no other sound and nothing moves . . . . The silence is eerie . . . . The gallery is large and long and then there comes a very low tunnel. We placed our lamp on the ground and pushed it into the hole. Loúis [the Count Bégouën's eldest son, who, with his father and two brothers,

THE HAPPY HUNTING GROUND

131. This amazing wall of the sanctuary of Les Trois Frères, copied by the indefatigable Abbé Breuil, includes (by his count) thirty bison, ten horses, four ibexes, and one reindeer. Top left is a feline head, and hidden among the animals are human faces. The central scene is of a semihuman creature, apparently playing a musical bow and either following or pursuing two ambiguous beasts. The one looking back has a bison head but the body of a hind, while the "reindeer" before it has webbed forefeet.[6] The presence of some Paleolithic Lord of the Animals must be represented here. No one today can tell, however, if that Lord is in any way related to the feline head pictured top left, like a rising sun.

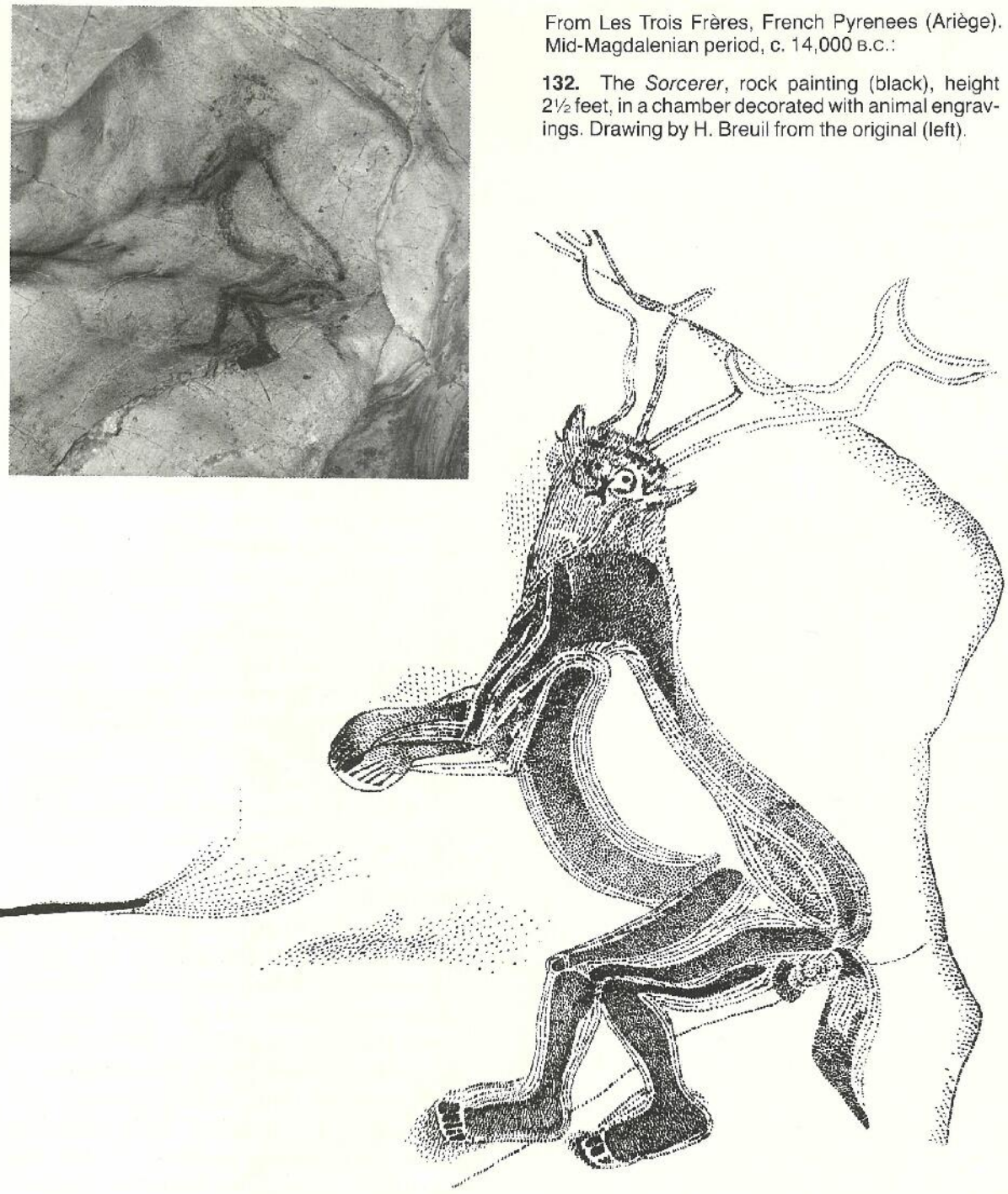




had discovered and explored the vast cavern just eight days before the outbreak of the First World War] went ahead, then Professor van Giffen [of Gröningen, Holland], next Rita [Mrs. Kühn], and finally myself. The tunnel is not much broader than my shoulders, nor higher. I can hear the others before me groaning and see how very slowly their lamps push on. With our arms pressed close to our sides, we wriggle forward on our stomachs, like snakes. The passage, in places, is hardly a foot high, so that you have to lay your face right on the earth. I felt as though I were creeping through a coffin. You cannot lift your head; you cannot breathe. And then, finally, the burrow becomes slightly higher. One can at last rest on one's forearms. But not for long; the way again grows narrow. And so, yard by yard, one struggles on: some forty-odd yards in all. Nobody talks. The lamps are inched along and we push after. I hear the others groaning, my own heart is pounding, and it is difficult to breathe. It is terrible to have the roof so close to one's head. And the roof is very hard: I bump it, time and again. Will this thing never end? Then, suddenly, we are through, and everybody breathes. It is like a redemption.

"The hall in which we are now standing is gigantic. We let the light of the lamps run along the ceiling and walls; a majestic room—and there, finally, are the pictures. From top to bottom a whole wall is covered with engravings. The surface has been worked with tools of stone, and there we see marshaled the beasts that lived at that time in southern France: the mammoth, rhinoceros, bison, wild horse, bear, wild ass, reindeer, wolverine, musk ox; also, the smaller animals appear: snowy owls, hares, and fish. And one sees darts everywhere, flying at the game. Several pictures of bears attract us in particular [Figure 133]; for they have holes where the images were struck and blood is shown spouting from their mouths. Truly a picture of the hunt; the picture of the magic of the hunt."[63]

The Abbé Breuil has published a magnificent series of tracings and photographs of the walls of this imposing Sanctuary. The style is everywhere firm and full of life, not in paint, but engraved, fixing forever the momentary turns, leaps, and flashes of the animal kingdom in a teeming tumult of everlasting life. And above them all, predominant—at the opposite end of the Sanctuary to the hole through which we have emerged, some 15 feet above the level of the floor, in a craggy apse—watching, staring at the arrival with unflinching eyes, is the now famous *Sorcerer of Les Trois Frères* (Figure 132), the Animal Master presiding over the animals there assembled. He is poised in profile in a dancing posture, but the



From Les Trois Frères, French Pyrenees (Ariège). Mid-Magdalenian period, c. 14,000 B.C.:

132. The *Sorcerer*, rock painting (black), height 2½ feet, in a chamber decorated with animal engravings. Drawing by H. Breuil from the original (left).

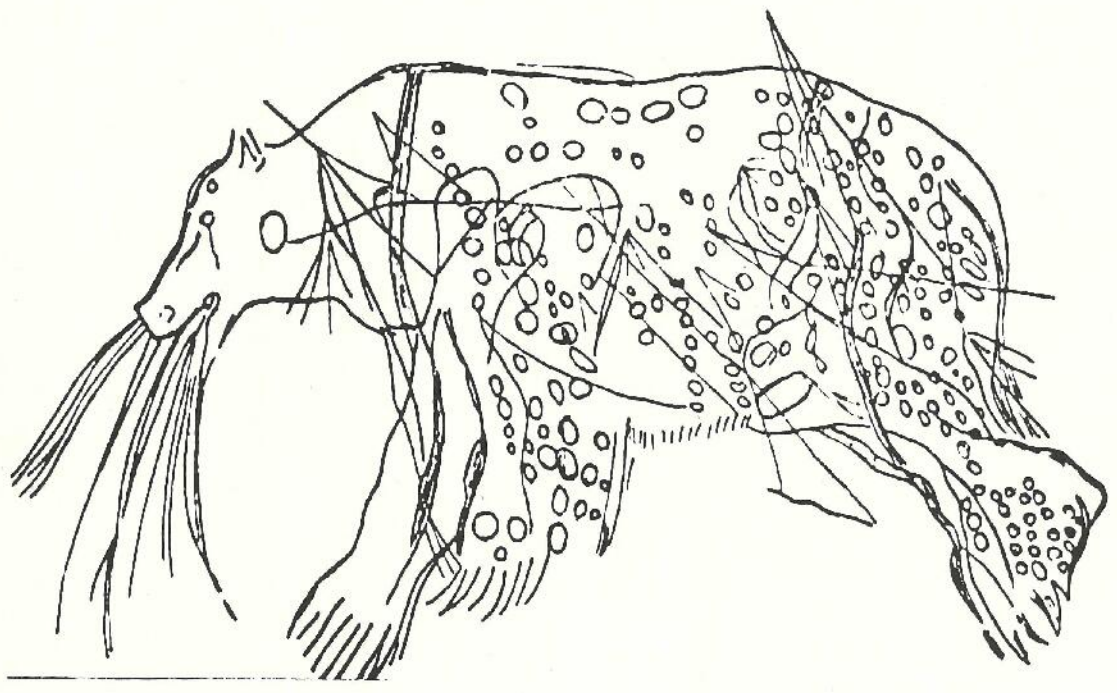
antlered head is turned to face the hall. The pricked ears might be those of a stag; the round eyes suggest an owl; the full beard descending to the deep animal chest is of a man, as are the dancing legs; the tail is of a wolf or wild horse, and the position of the prominent sexual organ, placed beneath the tail, is of the feline species, perhaps a lion. The hands are the paws of a lion and the great chest and torso might also be of this beast. The figure is $2^1/_2$ feet high, 15 inches across. "An eerie, thrilling picture," wrote Kühn.[64] Moreover, it is the only picture in the whole gallery rendered in paint—black paint—which gives it an accent stronger than the rest.

But who or what is this man—if man he be—whose image is now impressed upon us in a way that we shall not forget?

The passage through that tunnel was surely an ordeal more like the experience of a psychologically intended initiation than anything of mere magic: almost literally a reliving of one's birth. And, although the numerous flying darts(if that is what they are) and the punctured hide and spouting blood of the engraved bear (Figure 133, like the punctured clay mold in the bear sanctuary at Montespan, Figure 94 on page 62) do indeed suggest a hunting magic, it would have to have been a magic (given the scene of its accomplishment) associated for the hunter himself with an antecedent transformation of his own consciousness, effected in a sacred place, at a sacred time, and enacted in a sacred manner: the magic, that is to say, of a sacrament comparable in its way with the Christian celebration of the sacrificed Savior, or with the Mithraic, of the sacrificed Cosmic Ox.

In such a context, the hunter and the hunted beast—in ritual terms, the priest and his sacrifice—would have to have been experienced in some psychological dimension as one and the same—even as the mixed form of the presiding presence of the Sanctuary, the semihuman, semianimal, dancing Animal Master, already suggests. The beast to be slaughtered is interpreted as a willing victim, or rather, as a knowing participant in a covenanted sacred act wherein the mystery of life, which lives on life, is comprehended in its celebration. And the essential effect of all this upon the young boys who were to be turned by the rites of this sacred place into initiated hunters would have consisted, finally, in the opening of their minds to such an experience of the secondary nature of the passing forms of time that they should become capable of expressing a reverence for life in the act of taking it. As Eugen Herrigel states in *Zen in the Art of Archery*, "the contest consists in the archer aiming at himself—yet not at himself, in hitting himself—and yet not himself, and thus becoming simultaneously, the aimer and the aim, the hitter and the hit."[65]

But are we justified in alluding to any such (for us) recondite Oriental idea, in discussing the imagery of the sacred space of a Paleolithic sanctuary?



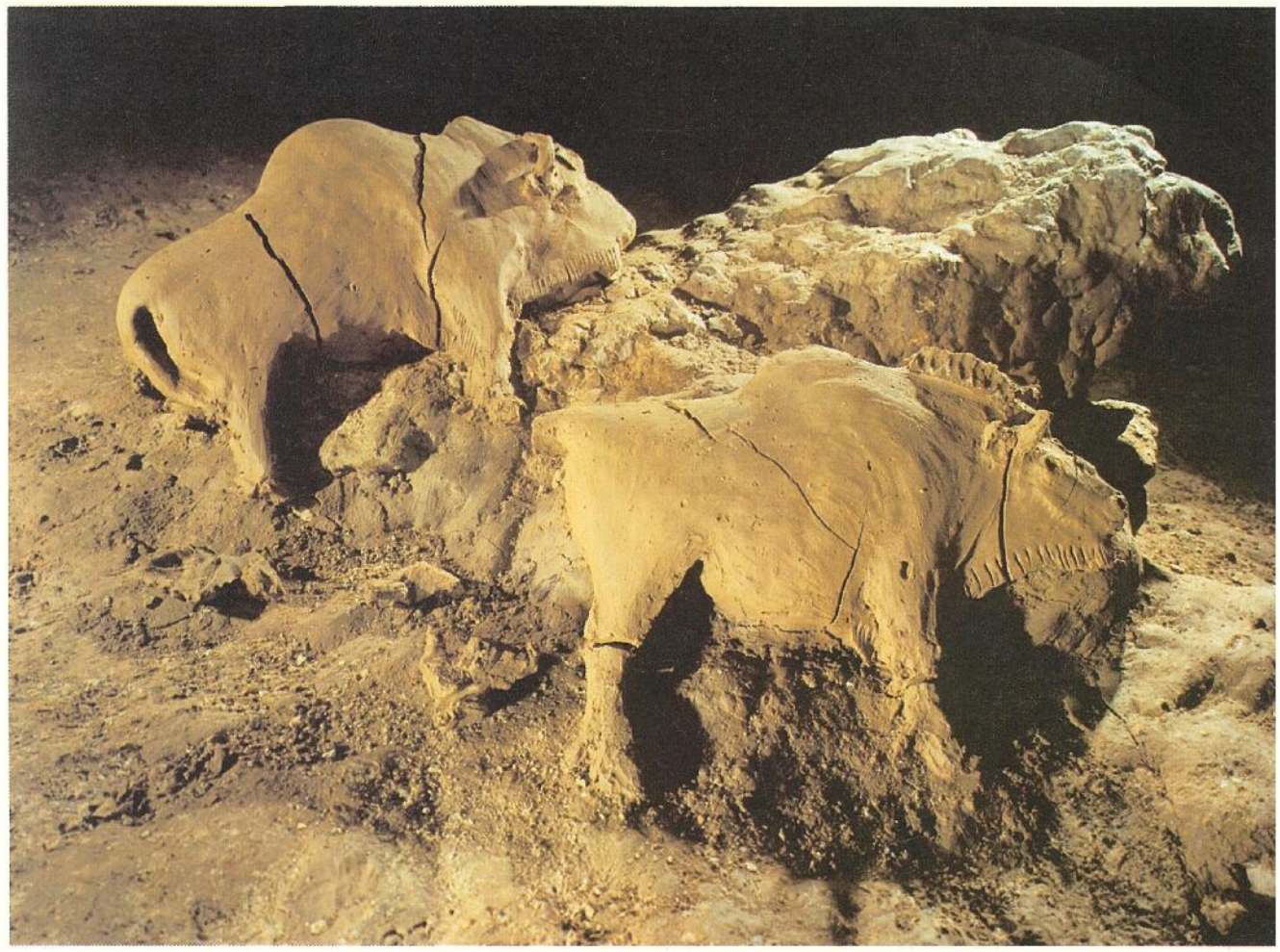
133. Punctured by many weapons, this engraving of a dying bear appears among the animals directly beneath the *Sorcerer*. Since the others are not wounded, this bear is evidently in a special symbolic role. Compare the punctured bear at Montespan (**94**) and the wounded bison of Lascaux (**105**).

We in the enlightened West no longer have any truly sacred spaces wherein the Aristotelian laws of a rational logic in secular space and measured time are suspended and a mystical logic, resembling that of dream, comes into play—where the dreamer and his dream, though apparently two, as subject and object, are actually one and the same. The Orient to this day, on the other hand, has many such sacred spaces, wherein life itself is to be experienced and known as a dream dreamed by a single dreamer in which all the dream characters dream too, so that everything interlocks with everything else. And how should it then be thought scientifically proper to admit only the application of our own rationalistic laws of thought to the interpretation of forms within the sacred space of a Paleolithic temple cave?

As Ananda K. Coomaraswamy once asked: "If we cannot assume that a language is not understood by those who speak it, we must assume that a doctrine is coeval with the symbolic formulae in which it is expressed."[66] The symbolic formulae here to be noted are; (1) a departure from the light-world of time-factored knowledge and relationships, through a subterranean opening, into darkness; (2) a difficult, dangerous, frightening struggle there through a narrow, tubelike passage; (3) a releasing entry into a vast chamber, torchlit, where (4) a semihuman, semianimal form presides above an everlasting Happy Hunting Ground. Discoverable among the bewildering tangle of beasts is a little human figure with the head, or head-mask, of a bison. There is also a bison with human hindquarters and legs. There are bears, punctured as by the points of darts, with blood spouting from their mouths (Figure 133). And, as though guarding the way to the main sanctuary, there are, in a chapel just before it, two enormous lion heads with bodies in profile, but with faces and eyes turned upon the entering initiate.

The description of this hunters' Sanctuary and of the whole labyrinthine cave by the Abbé Henri Breuil, to whose hand we owe the incredible tracings of its tangled art,[67] gives the hint of its likely function. In his words: "All these complicated hidden passages lent themselves to extraordinary effects which would be inexplicable to uninitiated novices, who must have been deeply impressed. . . . The effect of songs, cries, or other noises, or mysterious objects thrown from no one knows where, was easy to arrange in such a place."[68]

The Sanctuary, as he tells, is an apse with a floor sloping steeply toward the back, the walls converging at the end, where, at the right, there is a deep, twofold recess, and on the left, two or three more recesses. One of these conducts the visitor to a sunken corridor, where a narrow passage leads, through turns, to a small rotunda ending in a well, and this again, through turnings, winds to a point where, at a height of about 13 feet, there is an opening, a sort of window, beyond which looms the *Sorcerer*. "How the artist who drew it," the Abbé Breuil remarks, "could have worked 4 meters above the floor was a problem which I had to solve myself and without a ladder. Under the window there is a small projecting rock where one's right foot can rest; then taking a firm hold to the right of the window and making a complete half turn, it is possible to sit quite comfortably on the uneven surface, near the right hand entrance to which is the figure we called at first the 'Sorcerer', but which is really the 'God of Les Trois Frères.'"[69] It would have been from here, in the Abbe's view, and from the labyrinth of tunnels and wells beneath (all of which were marvelously decorated), that the company of initiators would have worked their effects.

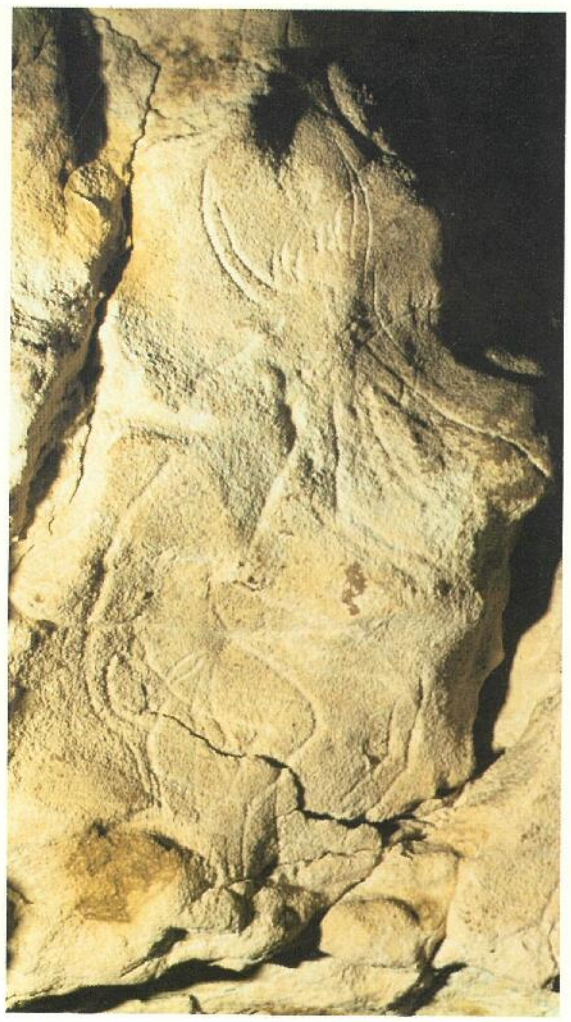


134. In a tiny chamber within the vast cavern Tuc d'Audoubert (French Pyrenees, Ariège), these two clay bison, a male and a female, apparently represent the primal generating couple. Mid-Magdalenian period, c. 14,000 B.C.

Meanwhile, in the immediately neighboring cave, the Tuc d'Audoubert (which seems to have been, at one time, part of the system of Les Trois Frères, separated later by 10 yards or so of roof-fall), there is a magnificent succession of immense chambers that can be entered only by way of a very small opening. The sons of the Count Bégouën, who discovered this opening, named it the "cat's hole" (and in first going through it, the count, their father, got stuck and had to forfeit both his shirt and his trousers). Having negotiated this "narrow gate," one passes, as the Abbé tells, through a succession of "wide halls adorned with the most beautiful stalagmitic decorations . . . vast galleries with fairy-like decorations . . . But all this," he continues, "was nothing in comparison to what was awaiting the visitors at the end of the gallery, where it formed a rather low room.

"Two Bison carefully modeled in clay against a projecting rock, towards the center of this rotunda, were there [Figure 134]; another, much smaller, 13 cm long [5 3/8 inches], was on the floor in front of the two great statues, a male following a female, their respective lengths being 63 and 61 cm [2 feet 3/4 inch and 2 feet]. These statues are about 700 meters from the entrance of the cavern. Although they have a slight lateral flattening, they are magnificently made; they no doubt represent fertility rites, destined to obtain multiplication of the species.

"Were these the only ones? On the right, downwards under a low vault, there is a roof of clay slightly goffered by a stalagmitic skin. Here there are several heaps of clay, now formless, probably all that remains of other models, reduced to clay pulp by the greater damp in that corner. In a neighboring recess, there are clay puddings kneaded into phallus form and, on the smooth surface of the clay pool, fifty small-sized heel prints of a young human being, who could not have been



135. The *Dancer of La Gabillou*, like the *Sorcerer* of Les Trois Frères, suggests something of the rituals of these sanctuaries. A music must have once sounded in their chambers.

more than fifteen years old, can be seen."[70]

Why only the heels? And why only fifty steps? Was this the buffalo dance of some young initiate? There has been discussion, but no conclusion. The antlered figure in the other sanctuary is a dancer. So too is the figure of a man with a bison's head and tail that is to be seen in the Dordogne in the cave of Le Gabillou (Figure 135), which is in the form of a long, low, narrow corridor, comprising twenty little chambers, in the last of which is the engraving of this dancing shaman.

It begins to look very much as though these caves were the Paleolithic counterparts of the men's dancing grounds or secret-society lodges of the African, Australian, Melanesian, Indonesian, Polynesian, and pre-Columbian American aborigines. The dancing masked figures and the one shown (apparently in trance) before the wounded bison at the bottom of the Lascaux Shaft would then have represented characters from the origin legends of the pictured caves themselves. The episode of the Lascaux Shaft, as we have seen, was from a cycle of myth known for millennia. We can only guess at its theme; but if it was linked in any way to that of the elevated horn in the hand of the nearby *Venus of Laussel*, it must have had something to do with the mystery signified in the cycles of the moon, some myth of eternal return.

And what, then, of the dancer of Les Trois Frères?

The Count Bégouën and the Abbé Breuil first thought of this figure as a Medicine Man or Sorcerer, and *Sorcerer* is the name by which it has been known since. Later, however, as the Abbé has told, he revised his thought and wrote of the figure as a god, the "god of the cave."[71] Herbert Kühn has suggested the artist-magician himself;[72] but this, of course, is little different from the first thought of Bégouën and Breuil. Leroi-Gourhan states simply that "this personage combines all the male symbols then at the disposal of the artist who executed it: his horns and ears are those of a reindeer, his body is that of a man, his tail that of a horse, and his penis, though human, is placed where a feline's would be. It is not surprising to find so hyper-symbolic a figure at the highest and innermost point of a chamber that is decorated with hundreds of figures, in the arrangement of which Magdalenian symbolism is displayed with a richness unattained elsewhere."[73]

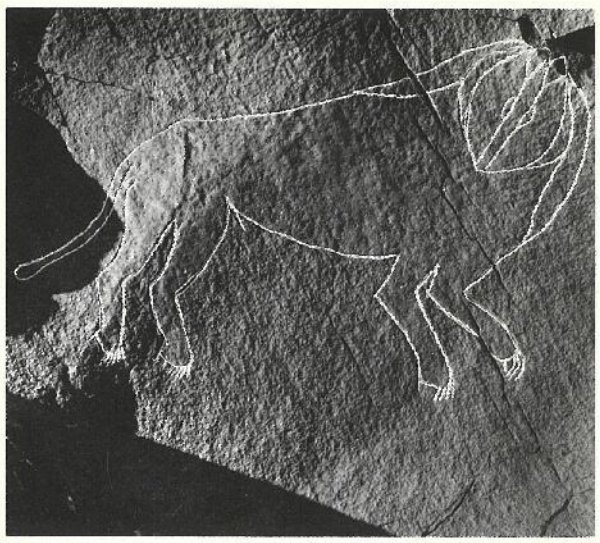
Leo Frobenius, however, has suggested a rather different approach and has looked at the figure with different eyes, eyes trained in the deserts and jungles of Africa, and a mind filled with recollections of images and symbolic forms from many parts of the world.

First, he points out that the explorer of the tunnels of this cave, in his approach to the culminating chamber, passes through a chapel-like alcove that is decorated with representations of animals of the cat family; principally, two large lion heads, the appearance of which amazed the Count Bégouën when he first beheld them. "These are represented," Frobenius reminds us, " 'en face,' the outlines of their bodies being in profile. The male has a mane; its great round eyes fix the beholder [Figure 137]. They seem to be guarding the entrance to the final, most significant chamber of the cave." And when one enters this chamber, Frobenius next points out, there are those innumerable animals all about, and above them, as culmination of the whole, the famous *Sorcerer:* "a being," as Frobenius recalls, "which Bégouën and other pre-storians have regarded as a masked man," whereas, to Frobenius's eyes, only the legs and feet are human. The body, in fact, is not of a man at all, but of a lion, *en face*, with

136. Painted ceiling of a low-vaulted chamber in the Altamira cave near Santander in northern Spain. Magdalenian period. Discovered in 1879 by the five-year-old daughter of Count Marselino de Sautuola, this was the first masterpiece of Paleolithic art to be exposed to modern eyes. In situ, it is an amazing, spell-binding revelation of the mentality of Paleolithic Man.







137/138. In both the lion (left) from Les Trois Frères, and that above from North Africa, the important feature is the magic of the eyes.

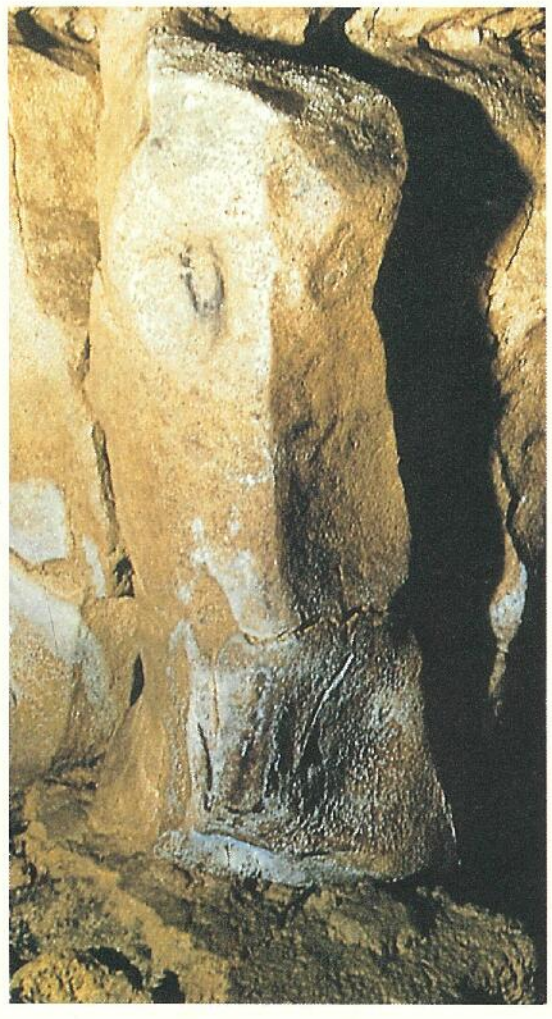
round, staring eyes exactly like those of the lions in the earlier chapel. The beard can now be seen as part of a lion's mane, and the antlers and tail now look like additions. Moreover, on a face of rock in northwest Africa, in the Sahara-Atlas Mountains, high above a series of engravings of elephants and giraffes, an antelope, and a buffalo—all represented in profile—there is to be seen, exactly where the first rays of the sun should fall upon it, the engraved outline of an *en face* lion (Figure 138), in a pose and position very like that of the *Sorcerer of Les Trois Frères*.[74]

Now the lion, as we all well know, is the King of Beasts—above all other creatures. And in the Sahara-Atlas engraving, he is visibly in this position, as he is, also, in the organization of figures in the cavern of Les Trois Frères. These two works are of the last millennia of Paleolithic art: the *Sorcerer*, c. 12,000 B.C., and the lion of the Atlas range, c. 7000 B.C. The lion, furthermore, in its mythic role is traditionally the solar beast. At the sound of its roar, the grazing herds of the plain take flight, as do the stars of the sky at sunrise. And the position of the Sahara-Atlas lion, daily touched by the first rays of the sun, illustrates this theme.

In the Spanish grotto of Altamira—which is about contemporary with that of Les Trois Frères—the beautiful bulls are painted, significantly, on the ceiling. Leaning back to view them, one might be gazing at the pictured constellations of the night sky. And in a sanctuary at the back of the cave there is a very strange, featureless, masklike head of rock, showing large, round solar eyes (Figure 139). Very generally among hunting tribes (and in the chapters of this *Atlas* that treat of these there is ample evidence), the sun is the guardian model and patron of the hunter and of his life-sustaining sacred art, the sun's rays being then equivalent to his darts, and the night stars to the beasts to be slain.

So, if we now once again review the symbolic stages of the journey into the cave and to the Sanctuary of Les Trois Frères, something of the sense of its initiatory force will, I think, become evident. Namely, there will have been (1) a departure from the light-world of secular, dualistic experiences (I against Thee, Thou against Me: to devour or to be devoured) followed by (2) a difficult, dangerous, frightening struggle through a birth canal into (3) an earth womb filled with the archetypes of all those animal envoys of the Unseen Power that are born to die in the upper light-world; here residing, however, in the timeless dark, where (4) above them all there is a lionlike form, *en face*, with great round eyes.

139. From the deepest recess of Spanish Altamira, the eyes of this apparition send a mystic influence radiating through the cavern.



In the light of what we know of the mythological world of shamanism—especially as carried forward in the trance-visions and ecstatic rites of the Ostyaks, Buriats, Voguls, Yukaghir, Tungus, and other shaman-guided peoples of Siberia—the high deity of their pantheons is typically the Sun; and in the folk legends of those areas, as well as in those of the tribes of North America, the testing father, master of all the trials and terrors to which young heros are subjected, is again the Sun. The Sun, then, is both the testing father and the model of the hunter's, as also of the warrior's, given task. His solar rays are his darts and spears. By simultaneous submission to, and identification with, his will, beyond pity and fear when accomplishing the essential act of living—which is killing—the hunter would know himself to be thereby at one with the order of his own animal nature. This then would be the fruit of the realization of these initiations.

Such an ultimately mystical manner of thought is fundamental to the hunter's way, as it is also to the warrior's (as, for example, in the *Bhagavad Gita*). The sun-lion as their mythic model is therefore the usual emblem of kings—as is also the Solar Eagle, the lion's counterpart among birds. And not only of kings, but also of conquerors in the spirit! The Buddha's throne is represented as a Lion Throne; his Word of Truth, dispelling delusion as the rising sun dispels the shades of night, has been called his Lion Roar; and finally, his transhistorical, transcendental, eternal, so-called Law-Body (*Dharmakaya*) is known as the Great Sun Buddha (*Mahā Vairochana*).

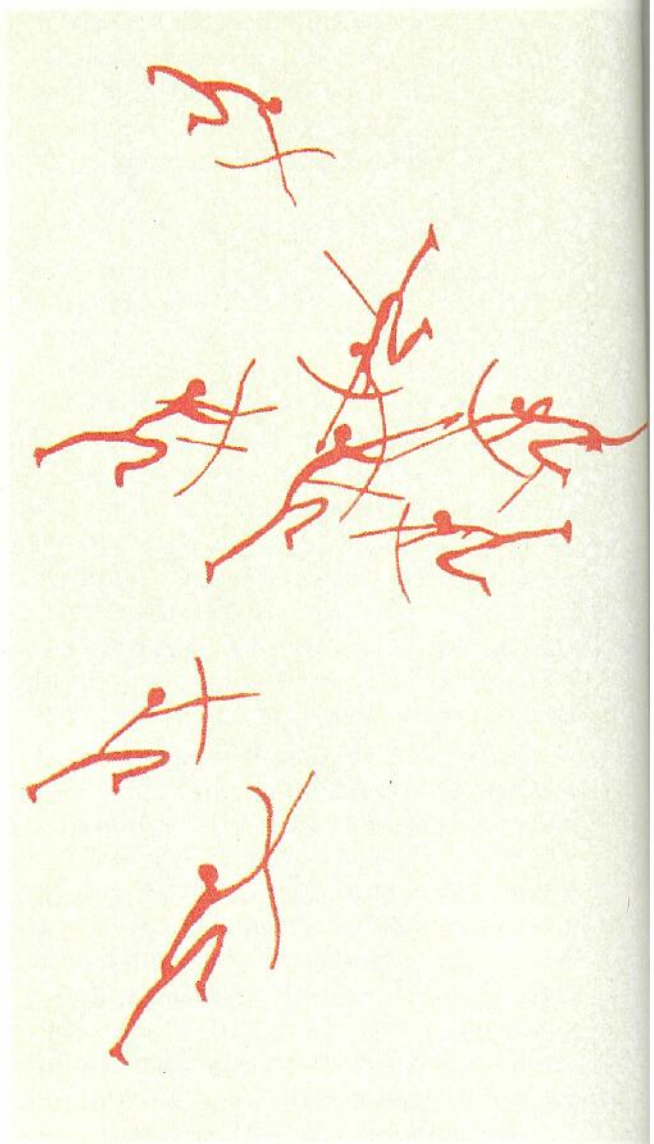
And so, in a startling way, this whole context of sun-lion symbolism has held together through millennia, which is not to say (let us again remark) that the shamans of the painted caves were already realized Buddhas. Acorns are not oak trees. But, on the other hand, no one who has ever entered any one of those six great underground temples that the Abbé Breuil has called "the Six Giants"—Altamira, Lascaux, Les Trois Frères, Font de Gaume, Les Combarelles, and Niaux—and has let the sheer wonder of their masterworks of art deliver to his mind their silent message, will ever doubt that revelations of that order can have come only from artists already great in that transcendent wisdom which has been the secret of the supreme artists of all time. And where there was an art of such majesty, there was, also, an insight into the nature not only of the phenomenal world, but also of the eye, the solar eye, that both regards and shapes phenomena.

Advent of the Bow and Arrow

As a natural bridge between Europe and northwest Africa, Spain throughout its history has been a region of contrary tides, flowing now north to south, now south to north; and already in its monuments of Paleolithic art this ebb and flow is documented in two contrary styles: that in the north, of the Cantabrian mountains—El Castillo, Altamira, and the rest (Map 23, Area 1)—which is of a kind with the French cavern art of the Pyrenees and Dordogne; and that of the eastern hills of Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragón (Map 23, Area 2)—which in both form and content suggests the rock paintings rather of Africa than of Europe.

In the so-called Franco-Cantabrian art of the north it is animal forms that predominate. The human are not only much less numerous, but also very much less faithfully rendered. In the Spanish-Levantine paintings, on the other hand, as also in most of those of both North and South Africa, human figures not only predominate but are shown in vividly active festival scenes or encounters. All of the Spanish figures are small; many, hardly larger than a man's hand; and an animal over 2 feet long is exceptional. The paintings are in earthy reds, browns, and black, and on the walls either of rock shelters or of shallow caves; so that instead of a subterranean, timeless world of archetypal herds, what we here behold in broad daylight are fascinating village, hunting, and battle scenes.

We do not know, of course, what tales or legends these little paintings may have illustrated, but of how the people dressed and lived they tell a great deal. The bow and arrow and domesticated dog have arrived, for example, which of itself indicates that this is an art of a later period than that of the Franco-Cantabrian north: 10,000 B.C., possibly, to perhaps 3000 B.C. The dating has not been even approximately determined. Nor is it known what the relationship (if any) may have been between the people here represented and those of the possibly related African styles. Curiously, the resemblances are even closer to some of the southern African forms than to any of the northern; so that, as Hans-Georg Bandi has remarked, "It is not easy to answer the question whether the style of eastern Spanish rock pictures developed on the spot or whether it can be traced back to African impulses. Indeed, it is just as feasible that the influence radiated from the Iberian peninsula to Africa as from south to north."[75]



These paintings appear on rock surfaces open to the light, under ledges, or in shallow shelters. The lively style, known as Spanish-Levantine, contrasts radically with that of the earlier, Franco-Cantabrian caves and suggests, rather, the North African rock arts of Tassili (pages 82–87) or the South African of the Bushmen (pages 90–101). We note that the bow and arrow have arrived along with this art apparently from the south. The human figures—in red, brown, or black silhouette—are generally no more than 4 to 8 or 9 inches tall.

Three Mesolithic rock paintings from Eastern Spain, province of Castellon, vaguely dated from c. 10,000 to c. 3000 B.C.:

140. Battle scene, from Morella la Vella.

141. Ibex hunt, from the Gasulla Gorge.

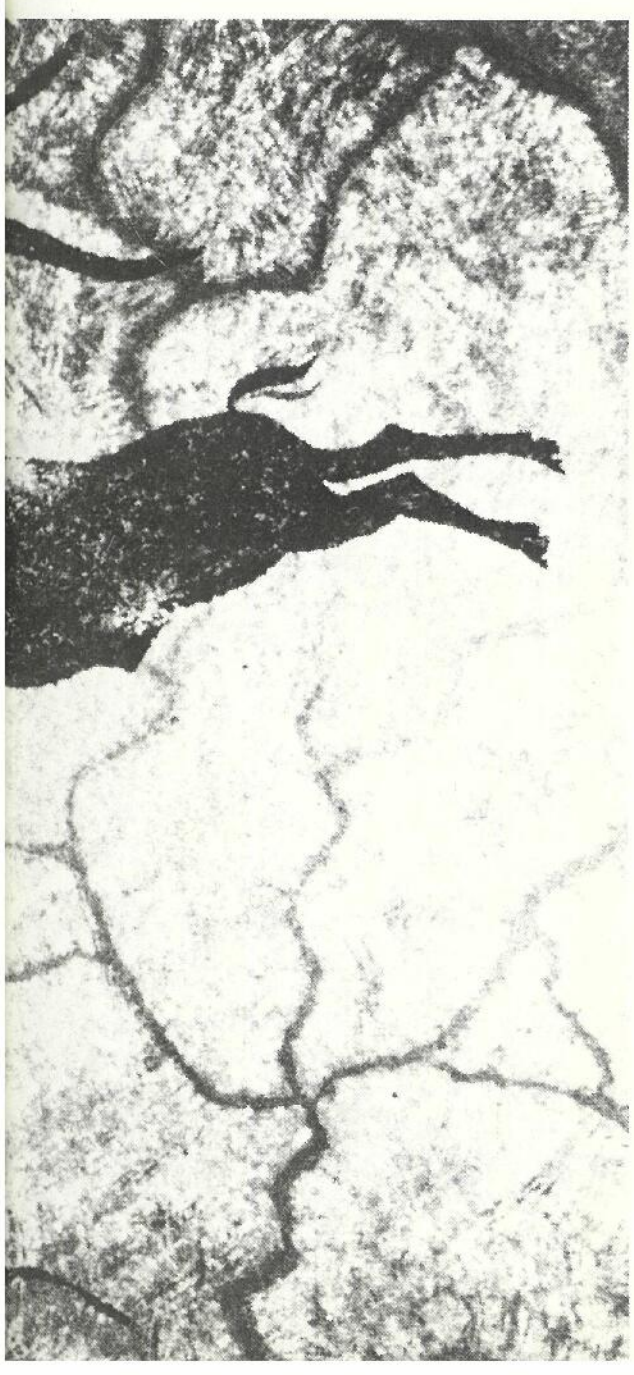




142. Three women, from the Valltorta Gorge.

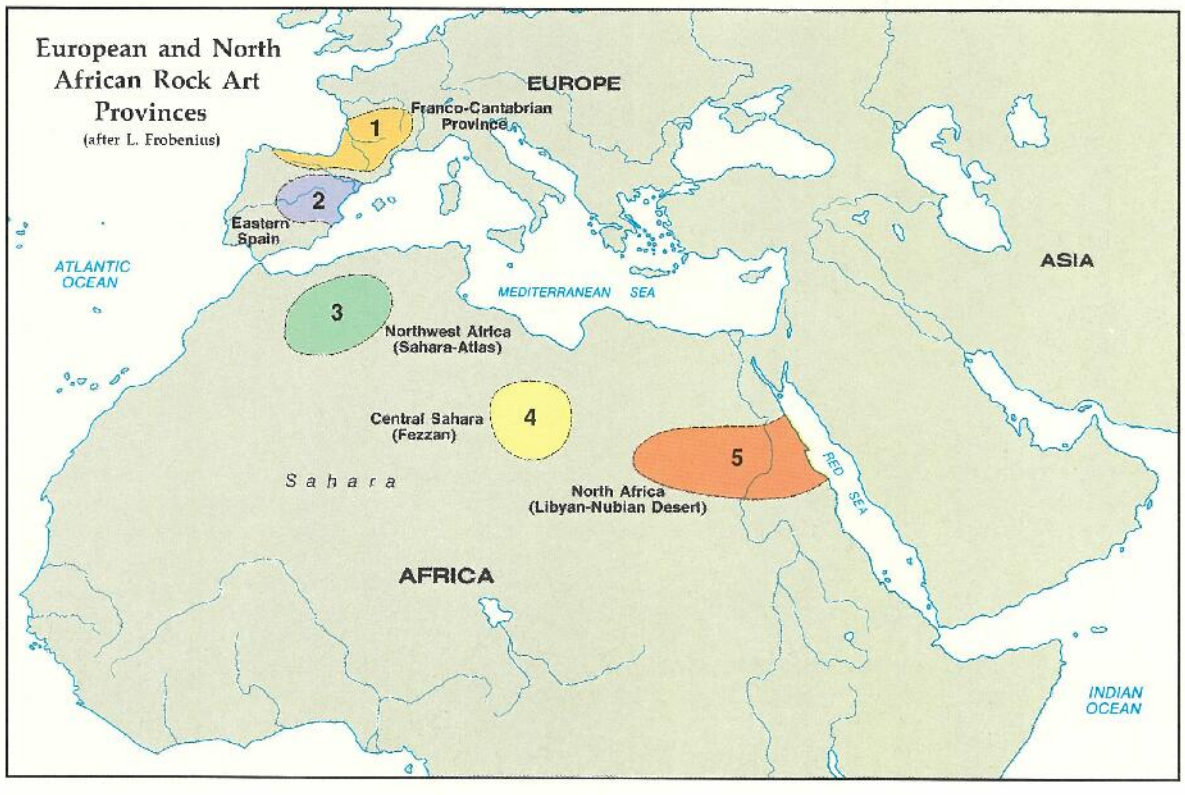
Culture Tides in a Verdant Sahara

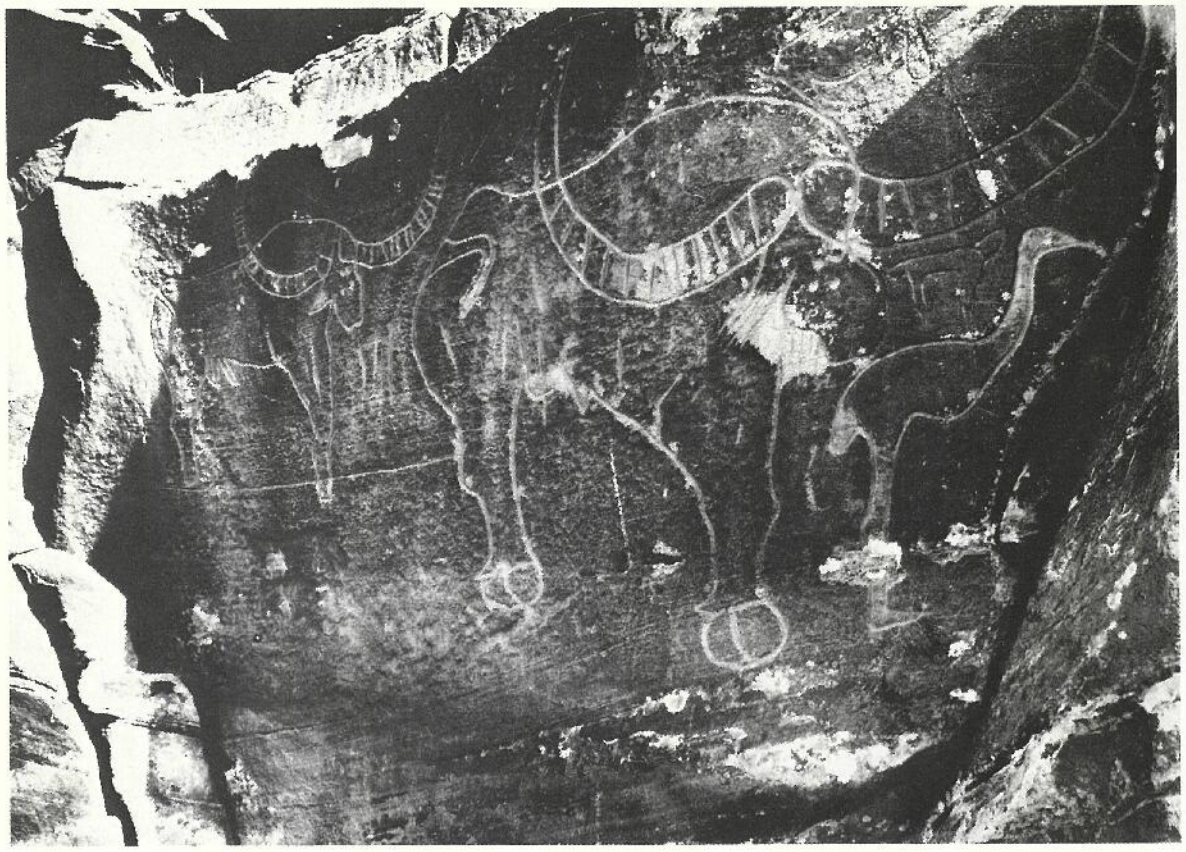
During the early glacial ages, the Sahara, now a desert, was substantially populated. Hand axes of Acheulean type are found everywhere: in the sands, about the rock-strewn wastes, and on the valley floors of the great mountain massifs. The later flake tools of Mousterian type associated with Neanderthal Man are less abundant, however, and confined, furthermore, to the north; while the blade tools and points of Upper Paleolithic manufacture, though known from other parts of North Africa, are missing in the Sahara. Then, suddenly, the whole region between the Atlas range and Niger river becomes repopulated. Neolithic polished axes, pottery shards, and arrowheads are everywhere. And the earliest African rock engravings also appear at this time, marking the opening of a succession of epochs of early Neolithic, as well as of terminal Paleolithic, art. Henri Lhote, to whose Tassili expedition of 1956–57 we owe our knowledge of this history, distinguishes six intermeshing periods and traditions.



Map 23. Five areas of Europe and North Africa in which Paleolithic and post-Paleolithic rock engravings and paintings are preserved.

1. *Franco-Cantabrian province:* c. 35,000 to 8,000 B.C., region of the temple caves (pages 58–79).
2. *Spanish-Levantine province:* c. 10,000 to 3000 B.C. (illustrated on this page).
3. *Northwest African province:* c. 7000 to 4500 B.C. distinguished by majestic engravings of the Bubalus (page 82, Figure 143).
4. *Central Saharan province* (including Tassili and the Fezzan), representing 5 distinct traditions: a) Bubalus-style engravings, from c. 7000 B.C. b) paintings in the so-called Round-Heads style, from c. 6000 B.C. (see page 83); c) pastoral scenes of a cattle-herding "Bovidian" culture, from c. 4000 B.C., into which late Egyptian influences enter, c. 1570 B.C. (see pages 84–85); d) paintings from an age of invading chariot fighters from the Aegean, c. 1200 B.C. (see pages 86–87); and e) crude engravings showing camel riders (Arabs), some dating perhaps as late as C. A.D. 1200.
5. *Northeast African province:* more examples of the Bovidian style of c. 4000 to 3000 B.C.





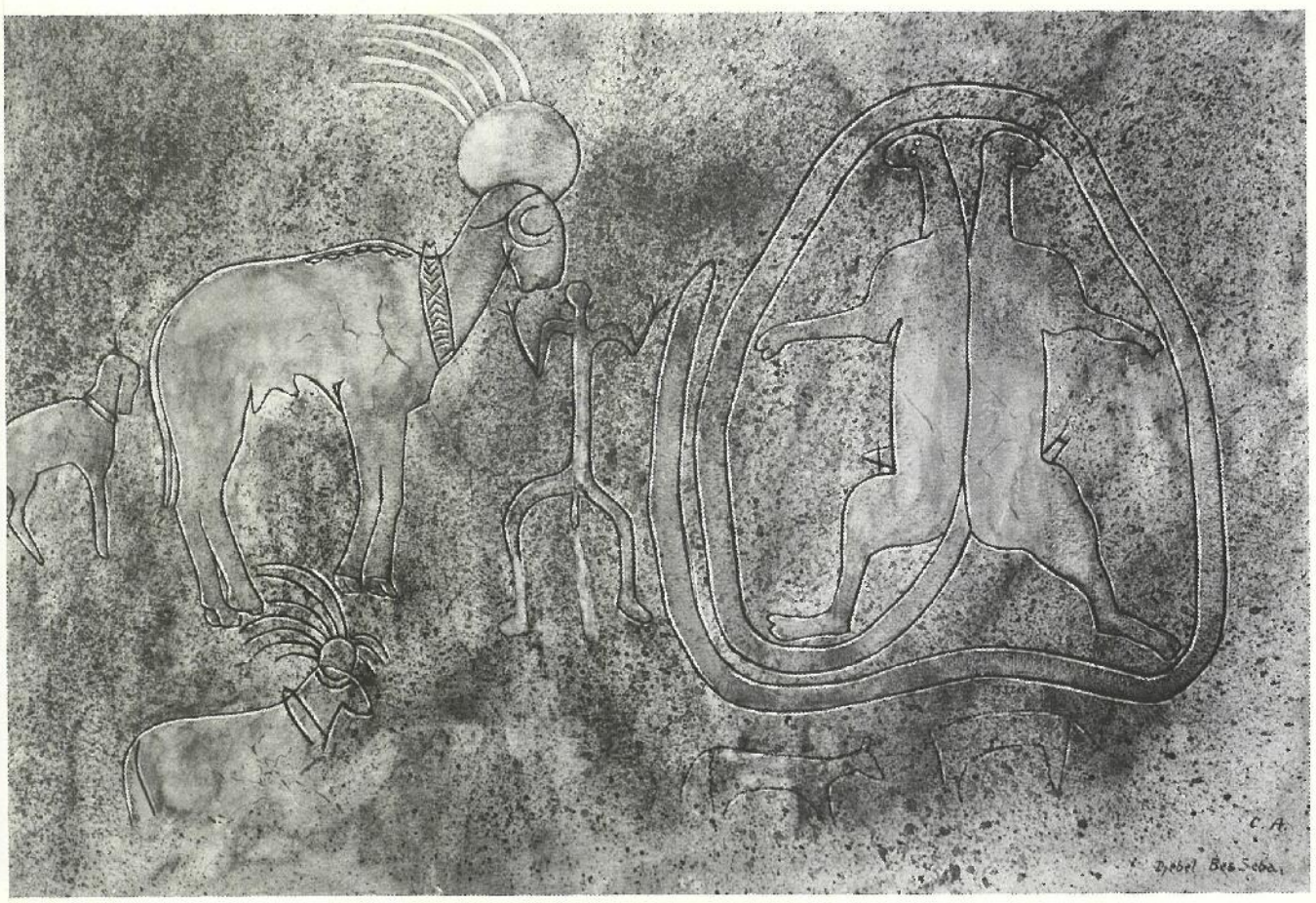
143. Open rock engraving of two Bubalus bulls and an ibis, at Ksar-Amar, Sahara-Atlas range, Algeria. Height (from tip of left horn to rear foot of main bull), 5 feet 4 inches. The massive majesty of these animal forms suggests a connection of some kind with the art of the Franco-Cantabrian caves. The engravings are not in caves, however, but on open rock surfaces, and their period, c. 7000 to 4500 B.C., is already of the Neolithic.

The Bubalus Period, c. 7000 to 4500 B.C.

The characteristic subject, after which this period is named, is a large buffalo of a species now extinct (*Bubalus antiquus*), before which there may be shown a human figure standing in worship, with any number of other beasts haphazardly round about, such as elephants, rhinoceroses, giraffes, hippopotamuses, ostriches, and large antelopes (Figure 143). Like the bison of Lascaux, this North African buffalo was evidently a "master animal" upon whose will the appearances of the wild herds of the hunt were thought to depend[76]. Only one other beast is shown so venerated in these engravings, a ram with a sun-disk on its head (Figure 144).[77] The North African *en face* lion that Frobenius compared with the *Sorcerer of Les Trois Frères* (Figure 132, page 76) was in this style, which, in Lhote's view, was of an early preceramic Neolithic era that commenced c. 7000 B.C.: a product of "the Capsian civilization that sprang up," as he declares, "on the plateau land of western Algeria and Tunisia, among men related in type to Cro-Magnon Man."[78]

There are three major centers in which engravings of this art period and style have been found: the Sahara-Atlas Mountains (Area 3 on Map 23), the Tassili, and the Fezzan (Area 4). And, as in the European painted caves, so here, the main subjects are the larger animals of the chase, with only occasional human figures, very much less accurately rendered than the animals. In Lhote's opinion, the Bubalus engravings "have no demonstrable affinities with the engraved or painted rock pictures of Europe," the analogies, in his view, being "probably only accidental."[79] Frobenius, on the other hand, saw these engravings as representing an influence from Europe that had come, north to south, through Spain, and in Africa then turned, west to east, toward Egypt—to be met, in return, by a series of waves of more advanced cultural influences from Asia, flowing east to west.

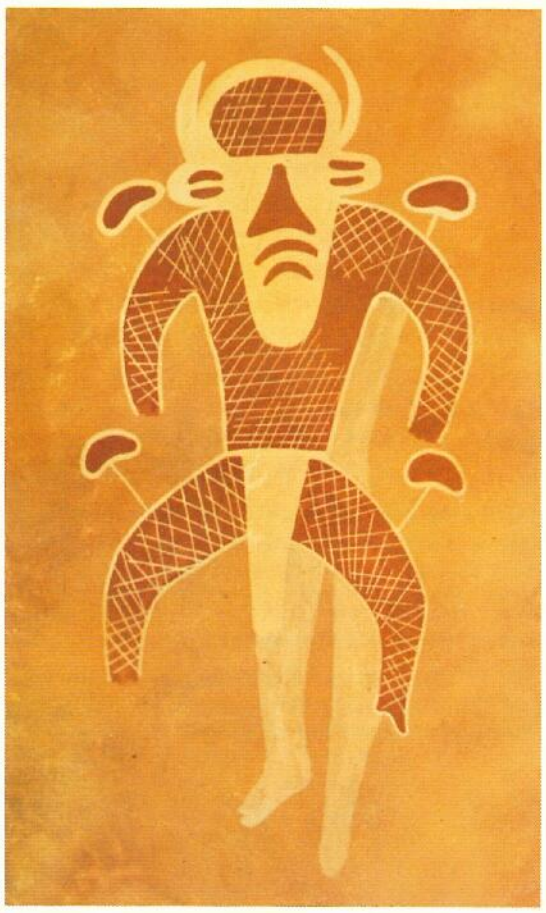
Frobenius notes, for example, that the ram with the sun-disk on its head suggests the sun-ram of the great Egyptian god Amon of Thebes, who was a divinity first venerated in the Libyan Siwa Oasis, his cult then passing in predynastic times into Egypt. There is a Kabyle legend that associates this animal with the introduction of agriculture: it makes feasts and festivals possible and is consulted about sowing and harvest.[80] Thus the two venerated beasts, the bubalus and the ram, are of two distinct traditions: an earlier, from the west, of a late Paleolithic hunting mythology related to that of the French and North-Spanish caves; and a later, from the east, of an agricultural and stock-breeding tradition stemming ultimately from Southwest Asia, where, as early as c. 9000 B.C., the sheep (the ram) is attested as the earliest animal domesticate.[81] In the life and art of North Africa, these two traditions met in mid-Sahara, in the neighborhood of Tassili and Fezzan (Area 4), c. 4500 to 3500 B.C.

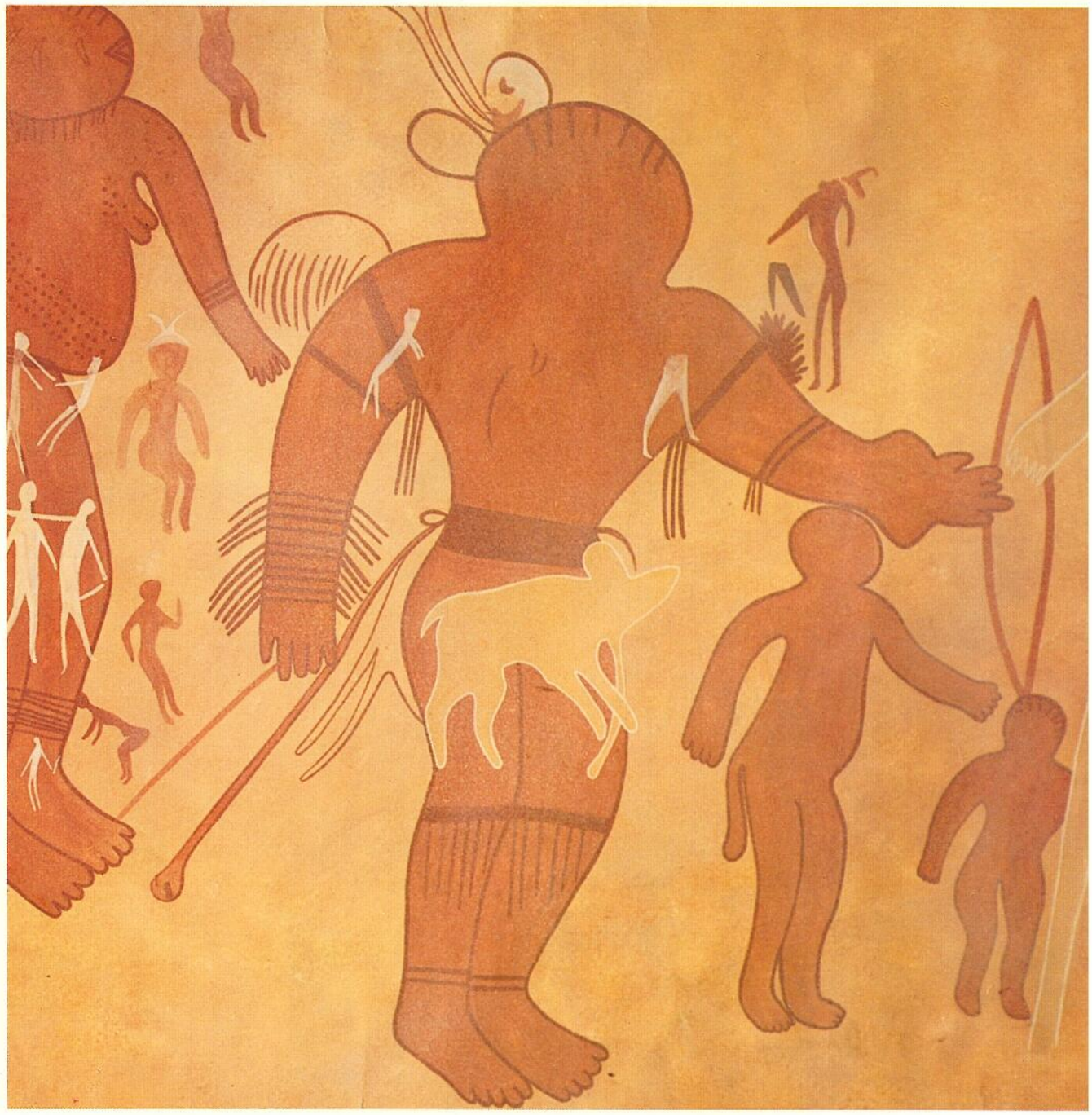


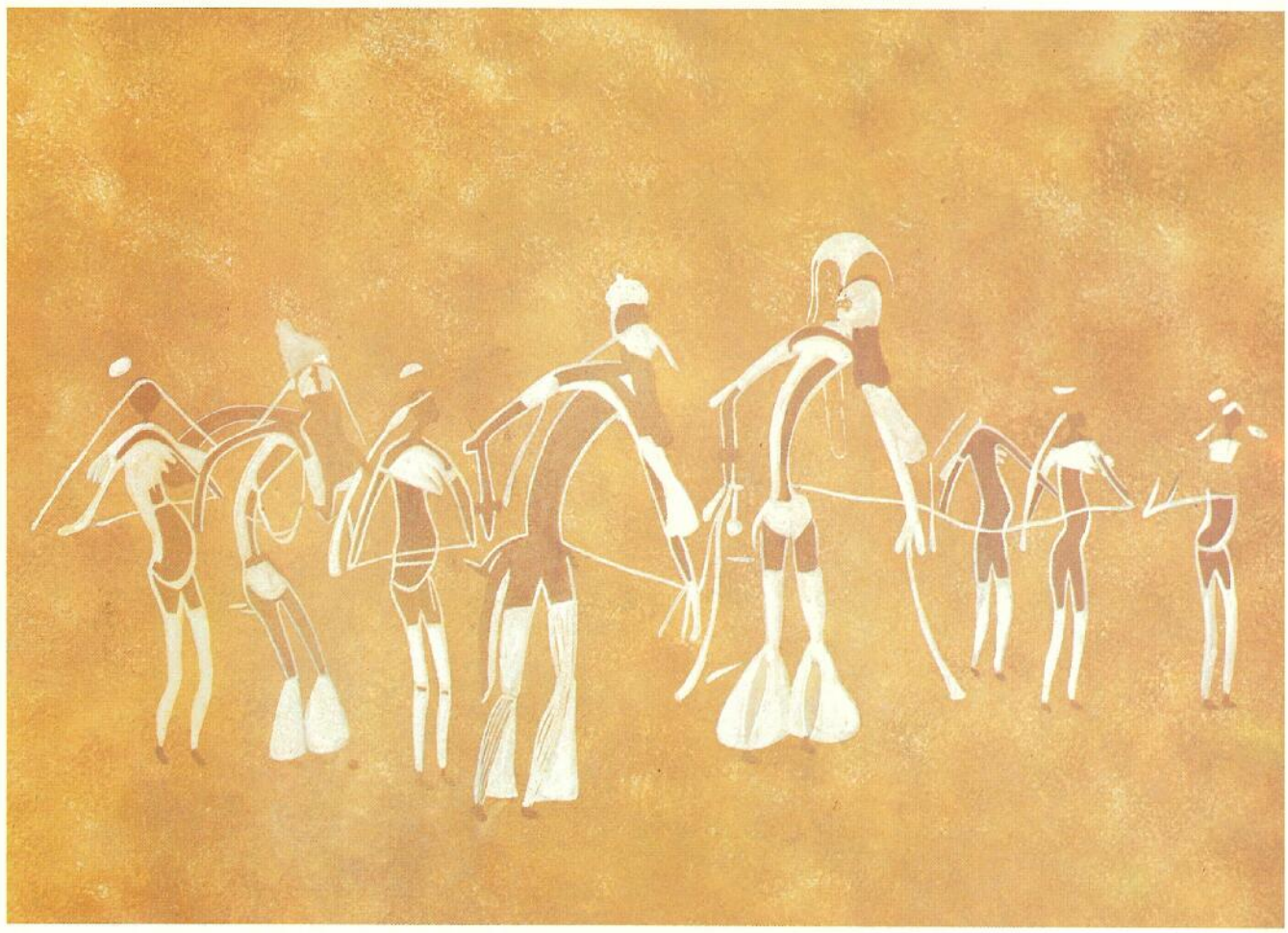
144. Rock engraving at Djebel Bes Seba, Sahara-Atlas range, Algeria (Map 23, Area 3). Bubalus style and period, c. 7000 to 4500 B.C. Ram, crowned with the solar disk, wearing a decorated neck band, confronted by a man in the posture of worship. Below is a smaller ram, also crowned and with a neck decoration. The symbolism of the curious dual figure encircled by what appears to be its own tail remains unexplained.[7]

Period of the Round-Heads, from c. 6000 B.C.

Among the numerous rock shelters of the eastern Tassili, thousands of paintings in a distinctive style have been discovered, characterized by human figures with round, featureless heads. "It seems" states Lhote in discussion of these finds, "as though we are confronted with the earliest works of negro art—indeed, one is tempted to say, with its origin."[82] Small to start with, the forms gradually increased to extraordinary dimensions: human figures over 16 feet tall, and cattle of natural size. The final works reveal an Egyptian influence, possibly of the Eighteenth Dynasty—which suggests for this art a history of some 4000 to 5000 years. Its most enigmatic forms are immense spirit figures; its most beautiful, some of the masterworks of the period of Egyptian influence; and there are masks represented that strongly suggest some of those of the present-day Ivory Coast.







145. Plumed Bowman, followed by a woman bearing dotted markings that may represent scarifications. From Tassili Jabbaren, where hundreds of paintings in various styles decorate the rock walls. Period of the Round Heads, from c. 6000 B.C.

146. At Tassili Auanrhet, a towering massif within sight of Jabbaren, this masked apparition in the Round-Head style covers an earlier, white, female form. Decorated with checkerwork and with plants issuing from arms and thighs, the figure lacks hands and feet. Lhote was struck by the horned head's resemblance to African masks in the Musée de l'Homme.

147. At Tassili Sefar, where the mountain mass breaks into vast amphitheaters with cathedral-like formations, a dance of men and women who are linked, apparently, by a cord. Evolved Round-Head style with Egyptian influence.



The Bovidian or Pastoral Period, c. 4000 to 1800 B.C.

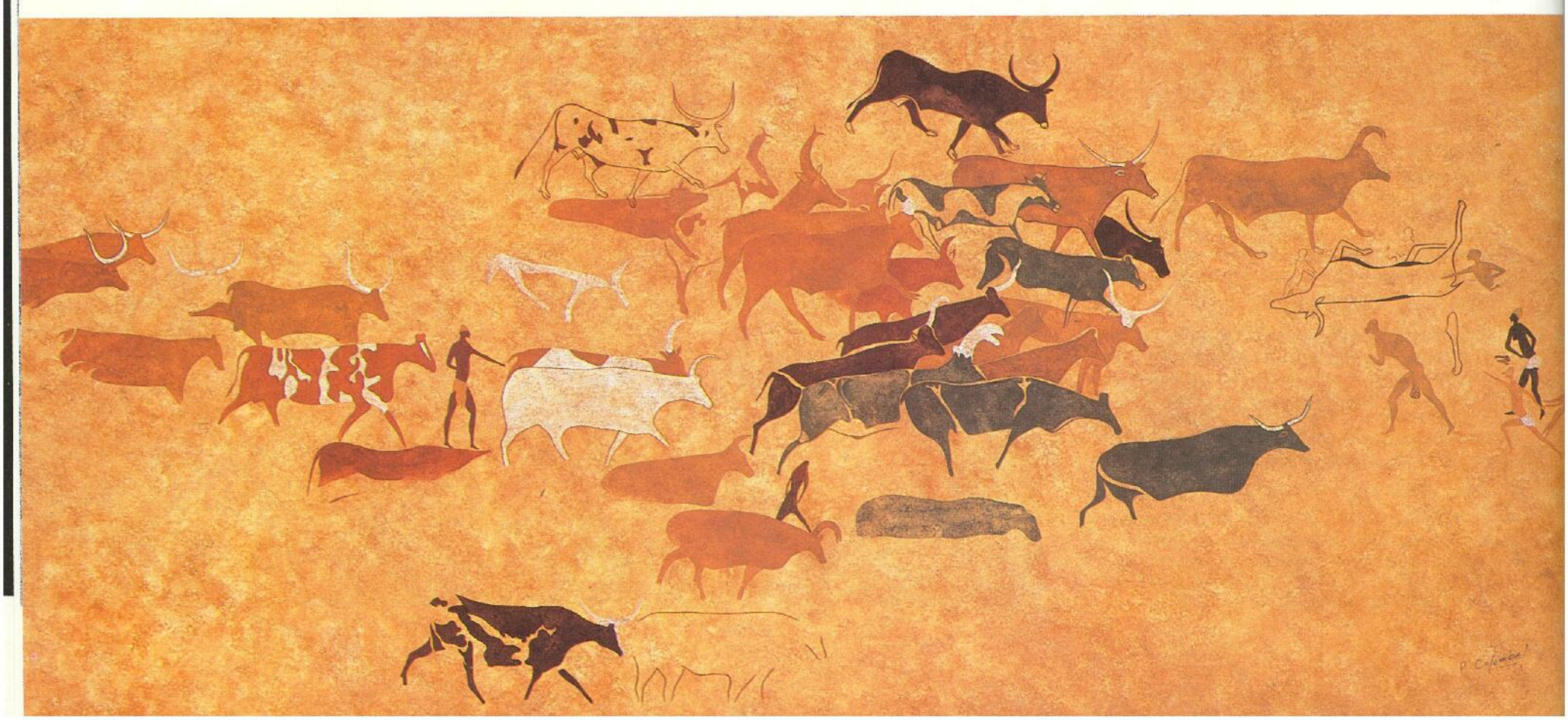
These rock paintings stand apart in that they are without apparent symbolic function, but of a masterly naturalism and, as their discoverer has suggested, may represent the world's earliest school of "art for art's sake." Figures rendered singly are exceptional; the interest is in compositions. The artists were of the race that introduced sheep and cattle raising to West Africa, and they almost certainly brought with them a knowledge of agriculture. Neither Negroid nor European, they were of an East African Hamitic stock, with copper skin and long straight hair. Henri Lhote sees their descendants in the Fulani of today.

A Post-Bovidian Period of Egyptian Influences

The original pastoralists can have entered the Sahara only from the Nile Valley. Although there is evidence of occupations of that area throughout the Paleolithic, next to nothing is known of the transition period, c. 10,000 to 4000 B.C., when food crops (wheat and barley) and animal domesticates (sheep, goats, pigs, and later, cattle) were introduced from Asia.[83] The first movement from Egypt westward appears to have been that documented in the Bovidian scenes on the Tassili rocks, from c. 4000 B.C. Centuries later, there followed a second movement, about the period, apparently, of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty (1570 to 1432 B.C.). By whom and how this influence was carried is unknown, but it touched the arts of both the Round-Heads and the Pastoralists with a new and lovely grace.

148. *The Horned Goddess*, Tassili Aouarhet, evolved Round-Head style with Egyptian influences.

149. Cattle herd from Tassili Jabbaren. At the right, one of the animals is being sacrificed. Bovidian or Pastoral Period, after c. 4000 B.C.



150. *Fresco of the Hunters* (detail), from a deep shelter at Tassili Tamrit, where the green foliage of immense cypresses against the dull red of surrounding rocks, an eighteen-hundred-foot waterfall, and a scattering of little lakes still suggest a landscape of forest glades, grassy vales, and abundant game. The hunters, armed with javelins and bows, have designs painted on their bodies. The game is represented by animals' heads. Early Bovidian Period.

151. From I-n-Itinen, a huge masked man, wearing a helmet and holding what is—apparently—a smaller mask, or head. The painting, in a poor state of preservation, is of the Post-Bovidian Period with Egyptian influence.

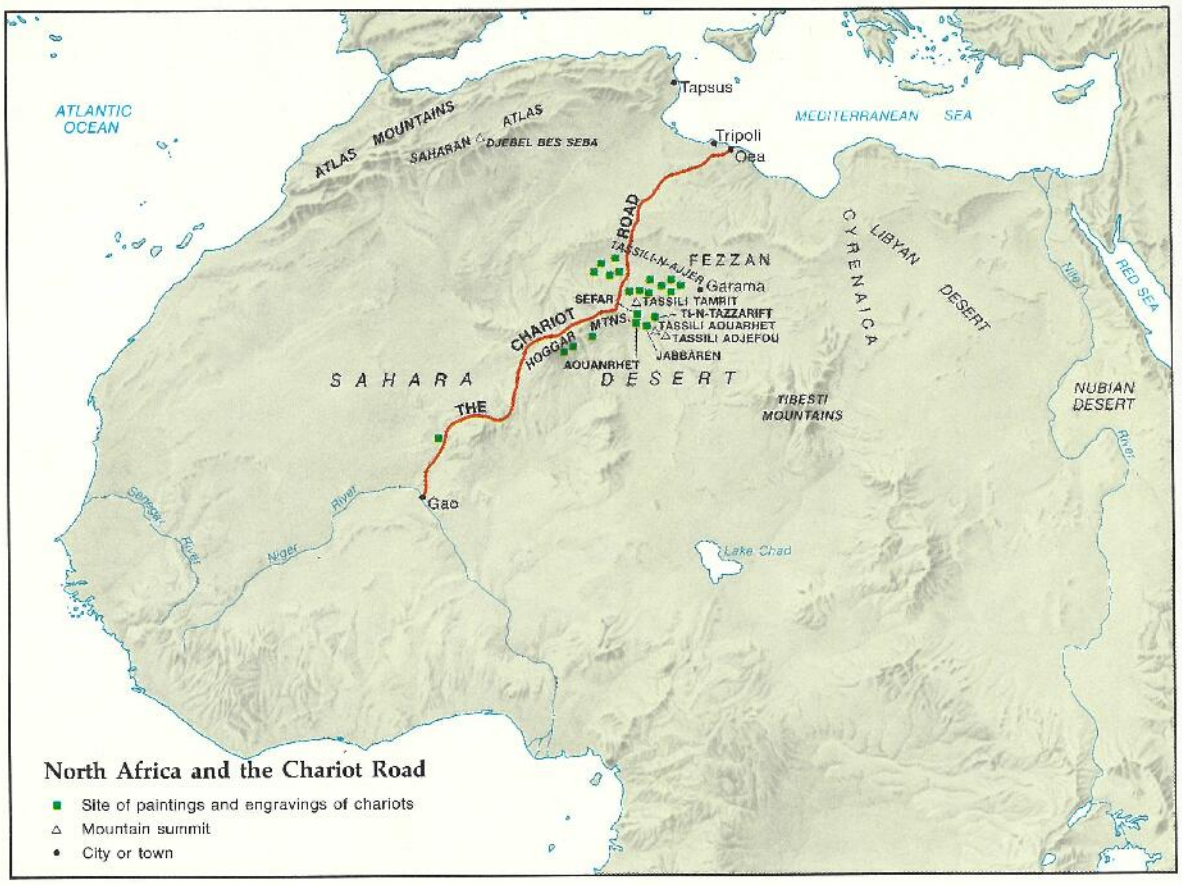
152. *The Dancers,* from Ti-n-Tazarift, an immense natural amphitheater. The bodies' forms and garb are of the evolved Round-Head style of **148.** Post-Bovidian Period of Egyptian influences.





The Chariot and Equestrian Periods, from c. 1200 B.C.

About 1200 B.C., the exact period of the Trojan War, a large company of invaders from Mycenaean Crete put to shore in Cyrenaica with the object of conquering Egypt, where they were known as the Peoples of the Sea. The campaign failed and, retiring to the Sahara, they became assimilated there with their Libyan allies. Henri Lhote discovered, not only in the Tassili, but also at stations along an ancient trans-Saharan caravan route from Tripoli (Oea) on the Mediterranean coast (Odysseus's Land of the Lotus Eaters) to



Map 24. The trans-Sahara Chariot Road with its rock-art sites showing chariots drawn by steeds at "flying gallop." From c. 1200 B.C.

153. Fresco in three styles from a rock shelter at Tassili Adjefou. The "flying gallop" chariots (1) are earlier than (2) the file of "bi-triangular" warriors and (3) the pastoral scene (coarser in style than the earlier "Bovidian"). The two warriors with bow and shield (lower right) and the horseman (lower left) are of the Chariot Period, while the negress in white who is conversing with companions is apparently of the "bi-triangular" context. Note the dog confronting the ram and (below) the mother and child.

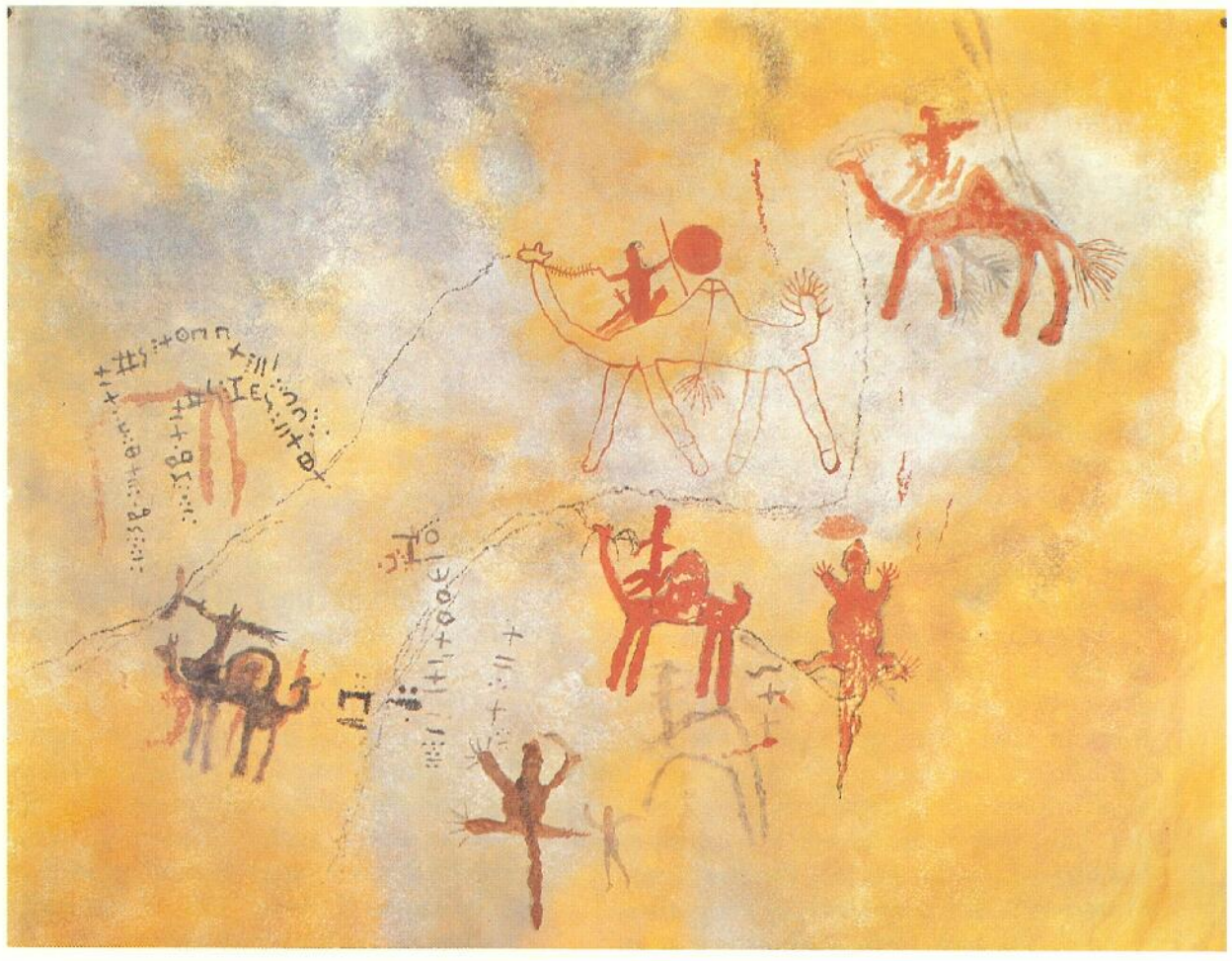
Gao on the river Niger, rock paintings of war chariots, the geographical disposition of which "shows," as he has stated, "that the horse-riding populations, descended from the 'Peoples of the Sea' and the Libyans, must have reached the Niger by almost as early as 1000 B.C."[84] Five centuries later, Herodotus (d. 425 B.C.) wrote of the Garamantians of Libya, who drove four-horse chariots in which they pursued the cave-dwelling Ethiopians.[85] Finally, in A.D. 19, the legate Cornelius Balbus returned from Africa to Rome in triumph, having subjugated Cyrenaica, the Fezzan, and every city along the old chariot road to the Niger.[86]

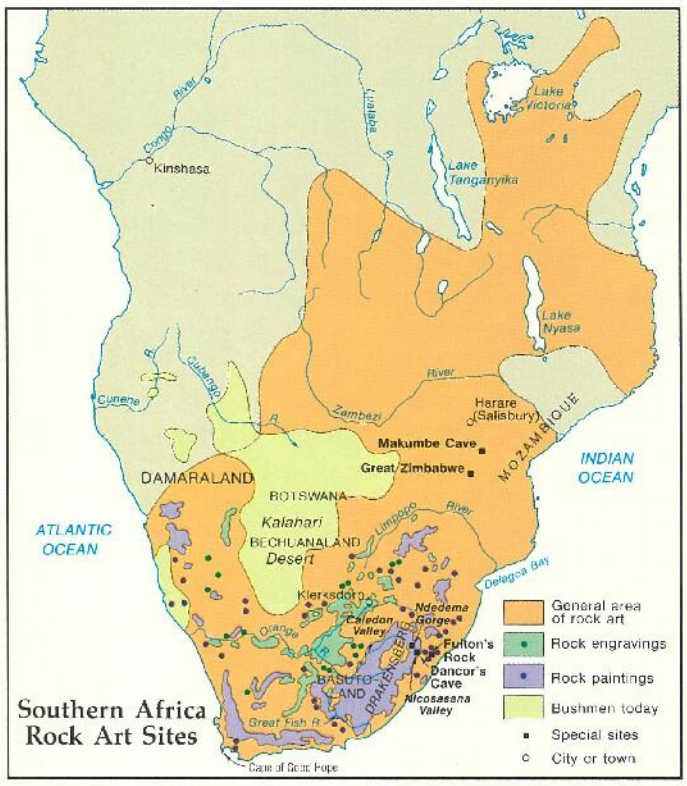
The Camel Period, from c. 100 B.C. (?)

With the arrival from Arabia of the camel, after the green Sahara had become desert, the rock art of the region declined to the level of crude pecked-out engravings. The earliest historical notice of the camel in North Africa is in a Latin account of the battle of Tapsus (46 B.C.), where twenty-two of the animals were taken by Julius Caesar as booty from the Numidian King Juba I. A more likely dating for the petroglyphs, however, would be from the rise of Islam (seventh century A.D.) to the present. They are found throughout the Sahara.

154. Hunting scene along the Chariot Road at Ala-n-Edoument. To the left of the driven chariot are the wheels of a second outfit. "Flying-Gallop" Chariot Period, after c. 1200 B.C.

155. From Wadi Djerat, Tassil, rock-doodlings of the Camel Period. Inscriptions are in Tifinagh, a Libyan alphabet derived from the Punic (Carthaginian) cursive script still used by Tuaregs. After c. A.D. 650.



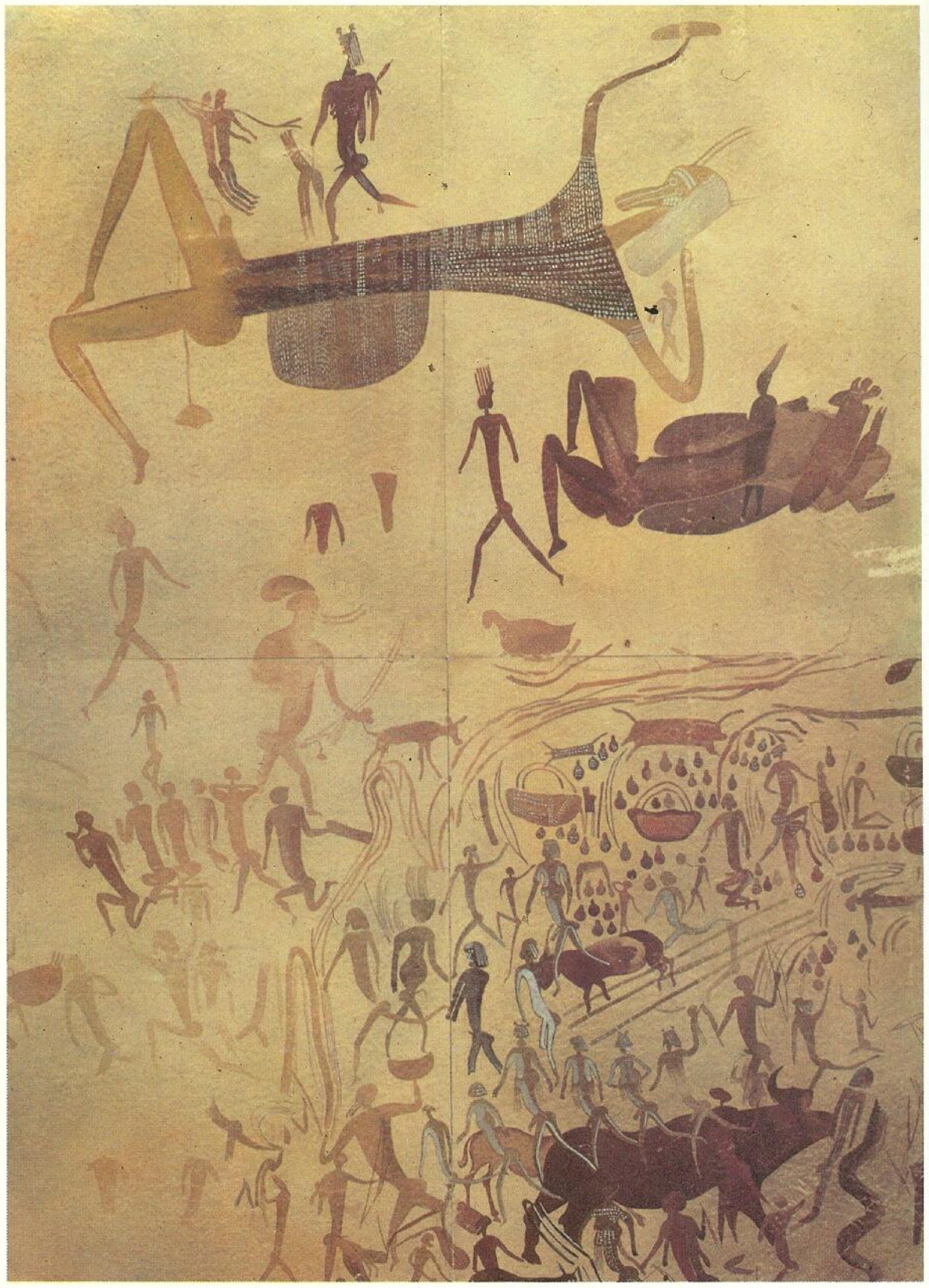


Map 25. The rock arts (in various styles) and most recent rock artists (the Bushmen) of Southern Africa.

South African Painted Rock Shrines

South Africa, from the river Zambezi to the Cape and from Damaraland to Mozambique is strewn with rock paintings and engravings. The earliest European settlers in the region, noticing that the native Bushmen were still producing paintings of the kind, attributed everything to them, and the works became generally known, accordingly, as Bushman paintings. The earliest scientific survey of the field was conducted in 1928 to 1930, by the members of the Ninth German Inner-African Research Expedition under Leo Frobenius, and their immediate discovery was that there were at least three distinct categories of South African rock art: (1) engravings; (2) polychrome paintings in various styles, found mainly in the deepest south, but recognizable also in the earlier layers of Transvaal and Rhodesia; and (3) monochrome paintings executed in a characteristic "wedge" style, which, having originated in Rhodesia, had spread as an influence southward and westward.[87]

The paintings in this wedge style were of especial interest to the expedition, since the area of its origin was that of the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, and the most typical of its scenes and motifs were of royal burials and installations. Such could not have been produced by primitive hunters and gatherers like the Bushmen. Moreover, the appearance of plants, ponds, and rock formations in many of



156. Rock painting in the classic Rhodesian "wedge" style, documenting a tradition of ritual regicide. Diana Vow Farm, Rusapi District, South Rhodesia. Picture about one-tenth actual size. The body of the recumbent masked figure spilling its seed is tightly swathed. A little bird perches on the lifted knee, and the object in the lifted hand may be a horn symbolic of the moon, which dies to be resurrected. The smaller recumbent form below is the entombed sacrifice, of which the larger, floating, mythic figure personifies the released life-generating spiritual energy. A ceremony is in progress. The collection of humans, animals, and offerings separated by watery lines from the rest (lower right) is in the mythic other world, under waves, known in this tradition as *Dsivoa*.[8] The art style is classified on page 89 as item 6.

the wedge-style compositions was unique in prehistoric art. Relevant themes in the myths collected by members of the Expedition from the Wahungwe, Wateve, Batonga, Waremba, and other Shona and Sotho (Bantu) tribes in the general neighborhood of Zimbabwe contributed to the interpretation of the monuments. Their affiliations were neither with the Old nor with the New Stone Age, but with an early high-culture mythology grounded in a custom of ritual regicide, of which James G. Frazer had produced the classic study in *The Golden Bough*.

The engravings and polychrome paintings, on the other hand, were indeed Stone Age in character, and of the two, the earlier were evidently the engravings. These were not found on rock walls, but on rock fragments lying about, the finest and apparently oldest being of single animals, pecked out on hard diorite and basalt in a style resembling that of some of the later North African works and often of an astonishing naturalism. Their dating has not been determined, but at Klerksdorp and along the Orange River examples have been found associated with



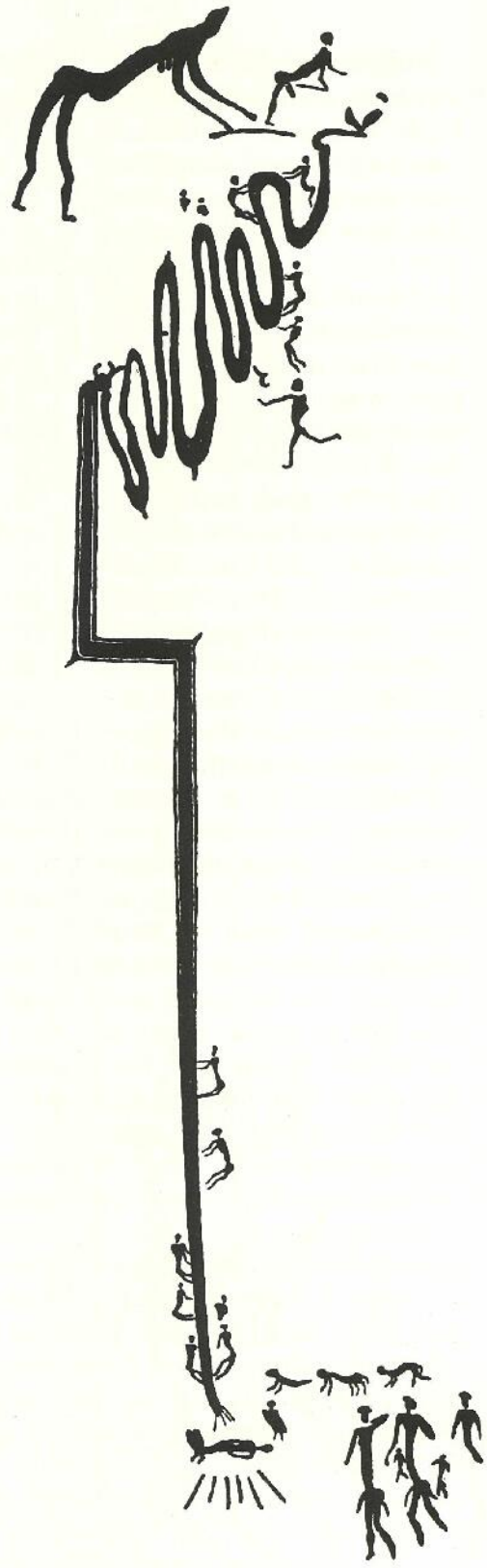
157. Pecked-out engraving on an upright diabase cone. Date undetermined. Height of giraffe, approximately 2 ft. 3 in. Western Transvaal.

artifacts of a typical Capsian kind. (Figure 15).[88]

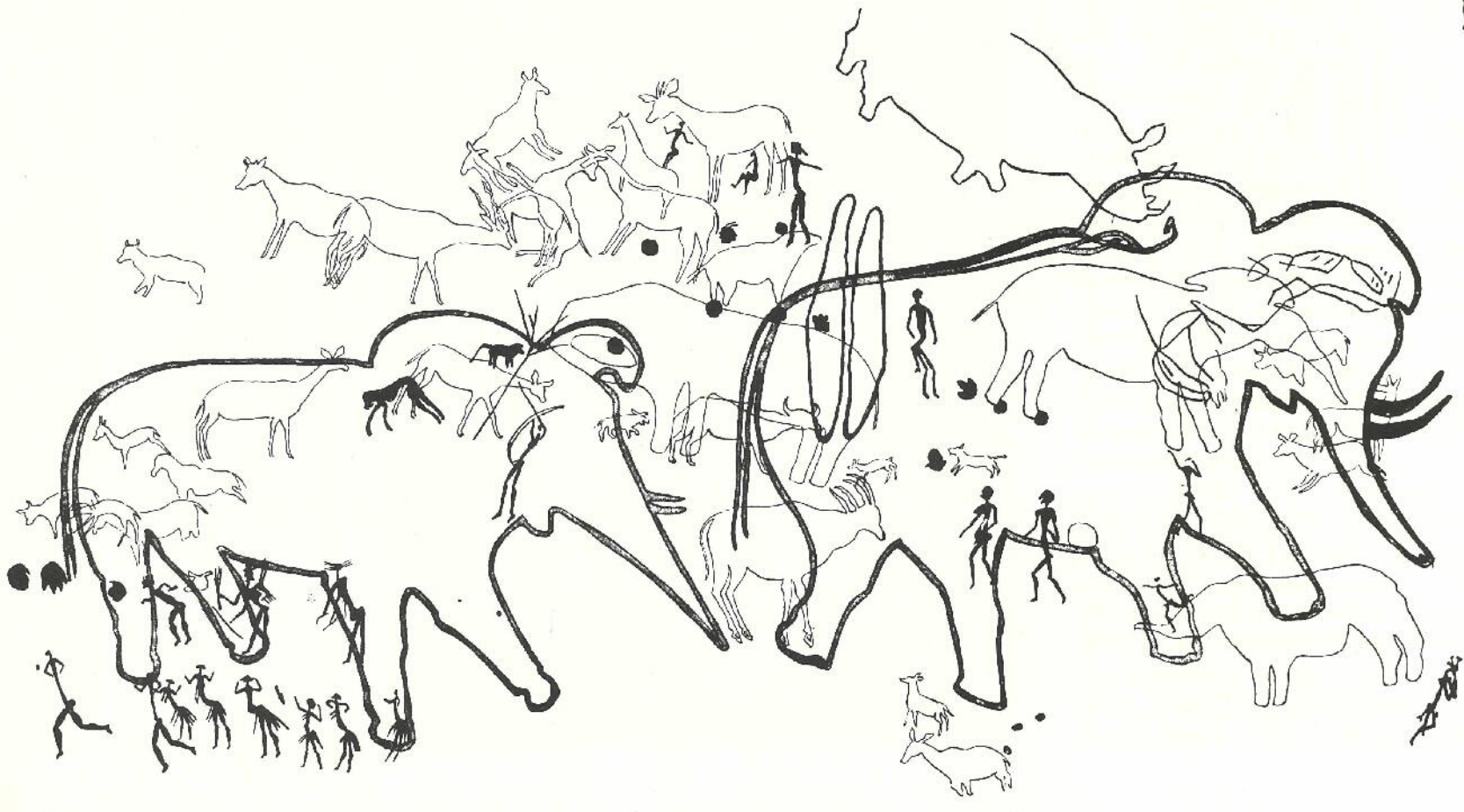
The dating of the paintings also is uncertain, but in the Makumbe Cave in the Chinamora Reserve, Rhodesia, there is a mural in which fourteen superpositions have been counted by a recent investigation, and these suggest a series of styles from perhaps the first centuries A.D. to the early nineteenth, the period of King Shaka's wars and the decadent years thereafter (Figure 159). These styles are:

158. Rock painting in the classic Rhodesian wedge style showing a scene of human sacrifice (below) with a goddess among clouds (above). Spiritual messengers gather and ascend a heaven ladder, which breaks in a lightning flash that becomes transformed into a rain serpent. Marandelles District, South Rhodesia.[9]

1. The large elephants, in a dark purplish brown, now very pale
2. The smaller elephant and some finely drawn antelopes, in a similar but darker color and in the best animal style
3. Animals of a deep, reddish color
4. Animals of inferior quality, in a pale red
5. *A new people arrive:* animals in yellow or yellow-brown; some sensitively drawn, others lacking finer details
6. Human figures in Frobenius's wedge style; for example, the standing male, upper center, and the "mourner," lower right; both in a dark Indian red
7. The rhinoceros (an important recurrence of a larger animal), body in outline, filled in with a pale yellow
8. A thin man, a thin tree, and two baboons, all in brown
9. A row of men and women dancing (lower left): full of life, but the end of the fine style (Frobenius's polychrome style), c. A.D. 1820, the time of King Shaka's wars
10. Yellow ovals
11. A leaf motif, dark brown
12. Human figures in a crude style, carelessly done
13. A medley of fairly bright red lines, angular and geometric (not included in the section of mural shown here)
14. Massive, crude white animals and occasionally humans and angular forms [89] (also not here reproduced)



159. Rock wall bearing paintings in fourteen distinct styles (see text above). Makumba Cave, Chinnamora Reserve, Rhodesia.



Style 6 is of the context associated with Zimbabwe and probably of a date, accordingly, between A.D. 600 and 1500. How much of the rest should be attributed to Bushmen is unknown. These little people had been for millennia the sole inhabitants of the hunting plains of inland East and South Africa, while along the whole Azanian coast to as far south as Deagoa Bay, there had been running since ancient times a sea-traffic of merchantmen from Egypt and Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, Arabia, Persia, India, Indonesia, and even China. The gold, tin, and copper mines in the neighborhood of Zimbabwe had been worked for this trade from as early, certainly, as the seventh century A.D.; yet, in the underdeveloped interior there had been only primitive Bushmen until, from the sixth century onward, the Bantu tribes that now inhabit the region began pouring in from the northwest.

Carleton Coon interprets the Bushmen as having been originally one of the North African, Capsian hunting races, forced southward, first by Caucasoid and then by Congoid (that is, Negro) pressures (pages 42–43). George Murdock views them, on the contrary, as of South and East African origin. Either way, they were not finally driven from the Drakensberg and other last holding grounds of the best-known and best recorded of their polychrome works of art until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

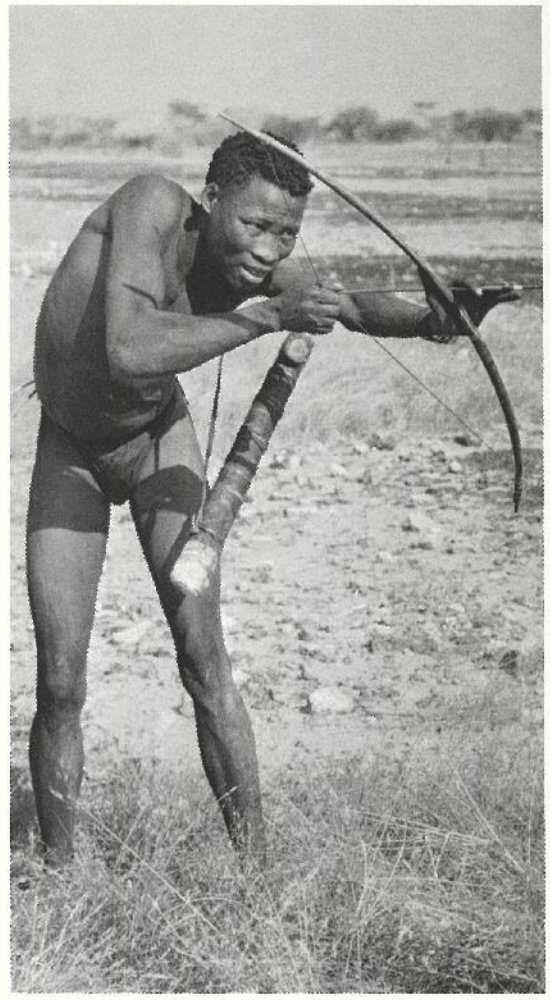
The earliest Congoids to cross the Drakensberg range into the Caledon Valley were a Bantu people, the Sotho, c. A.D. 1600. Retiring under pressure from other advancing Bantu tribes from the north, notably the Shona, they had arrived peacefully, even intermarrying with the local Bushmen; and one of the high periods of recorded Bushman polychrome art (Style 9 of the above listing) is of the following two centuries in this region, c. 1620 to 1830. The end came only when a later Bantu tide of Nguni tribesmen, in flight from the expanding Zulu conquest state set up in Natal by the chieftain Shaka c. 1818, crossed the whole region, heading northward, ravaging and plundering as they passed.

Meanwhile, the Europeans, who had long been established in South Africa, were also expanding into Bushman territories. The Portuguese Henry the Navigator, in the fifteenth century, had marked the uninhabited Cape of Good Hope as a suitable stopping station for ships under weigh to the Indies. The Dutch colony was established there in 1652; and it was not until c. 1770 that their first encounters with the ever-advancing Bantu occurred in the valley of the Great Fish River. By then the invincible British had entered the scene who, after a series of political exchanges, took control of the Cape in 1814, after which, in 1835, the "Great Trek" northeastward began of hundreds of disaffected Boers and their families (in ox wagons and with vast herds of cattle and sheep) into regions already in danger from the depredations of tribes scattering from the war machine of King Shaka.

The Bushmen, in the midst of all this turmoil, had become accomplished horse thieves and cattle rustlers, to the exasperation of both their white and their black encroaching neighbors. In the rock murals of their final period, we see them victoriously riding at a "flying gallop," driving off herds of the newcomers' stock.

The Bushman Trance Dance and Its Mythic Ground

In a detailed study of 8478 polychrome rock paintings in the Drakensberg area, Patricia Vinnicombe found that the number of animal species depicted did not match those of the Bushman diet. "Of the animals portrayed," she reports, "antelope are the main focus of interest, yet paradoxically, available archaeological evidence from excavated living sites indicates a preponderance of smaller animals



160/161. The eland, the outstanding Master Animal of this mythology, is to be killed in a special, sacred way, whether with a spear or with a bow and arrow. The hunter identifies himself with the animal struck by his poisoned dart and, during the painful hours of its dying, observes food and behavior taboos thought to advance the poison by virtue of this mystic identification.

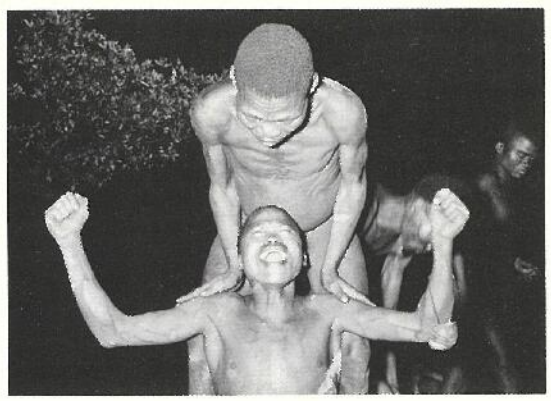


rather than antelope in everyday diet."[90] Nor do the paintings present a fair sample of the species of the region. They are, as Vinnicombe declares, neither a menu nor a checklist, but the illustrations of a Late Stone Age mythology, in which the most prominent figure is the eland. (Compare Leroi-Gourhan's finding in relation to the number of species represented in the paintings of the great caves, page 62).

In keeping with this finding, the folktales of living Bushmen represent the eland as the first and favorite creation of their principal divinity: a god variously named, in the various Bushmen areas, as Gauwa, Hishe, Kaggen, Dxui, Gao na, and so on. *Kaggen* means "mantis," and it is in this character that the god commonly appears—not exactly as an insect, but as an ambiguous, manlike figure in the Mythological Age of the Beginning.

It is told, for example, that during that period when all things acquired the forms that must be theirs, now and forever:

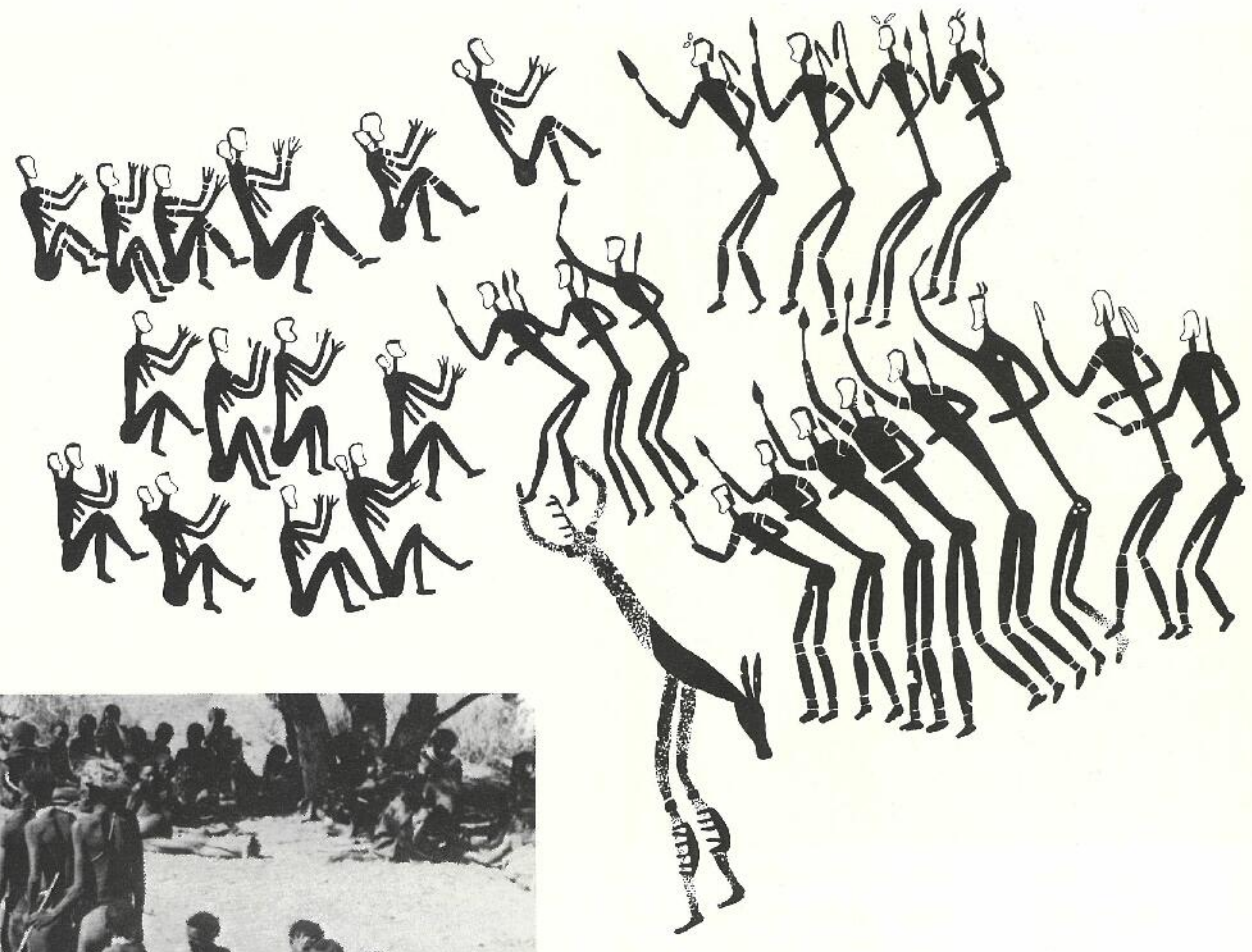
> Kaggen, at a place where reeds stood, soaked his son-in-law's shoe in the water, returning daily to watch it grow into an eland; and when the animal then approached from the reeds, he would fondle it, rub its sides with honey, and give it honey to eat. But his grandson, Ni, the ichneumon, spied on him one day and, discovering where all the honey was going, reported to his father. Presently Kaggen went away, hunting three days for more honey, and when every comb that he found was dry, he took this for a warning. Returning to the reeds, he called, but his eland did not come. He looked for its spoor, found blood, and following its trail, discovered Ni and his father butchering the beast.
>
> Kaggen aimed an arrow at them, but it returned so close to his head that he narrowly missed shooting himself. Then he attacked with a club; but the others, overpowering him, made him carry wood for their fire until, discovering his slain eland's gallbladder in a bush, he pricked it. This covered him with darkness and he escaped. However, he was himself now unable to see. So he threw his shoe high into the sky, where it became the moon, shedding light.[91]

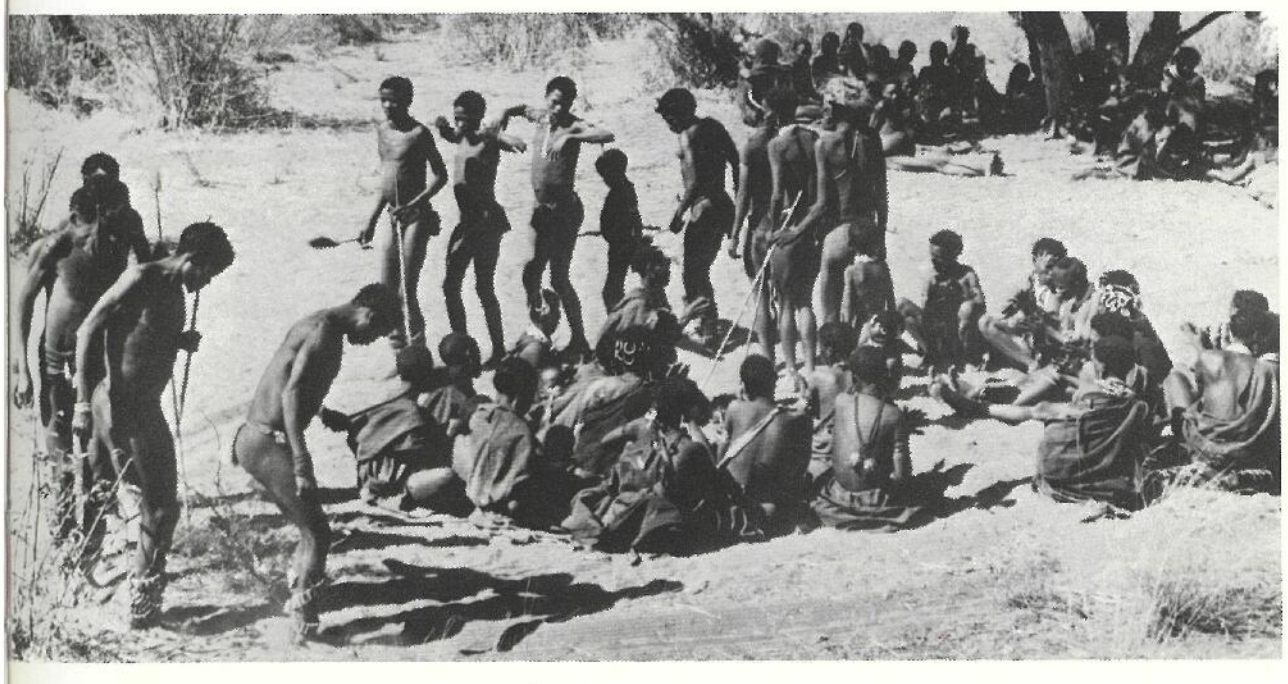


162. A Kung dancer entering trance.

The Bushmen's gods, seriously regarded, are very different from this folktale character. Lorna Marshall found that the Kung of Botswana were afraid even to utter their gods' names. "We were aware," she tells, "of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them . . . . Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying 'the one in the east,' 'the one in the west.'. . . The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, 'Huwedi!' Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods."[92]

According to this authority, the Kung today have two gods: one, the great, in the east, where the sun rises; one, the lesser, in the west, where it sets. Both have wives and are attended by the spirits of the dead. The great god created first himself, then the lesser god, then their wives, each of whom bore three girls and three boys. He also created the earth, its people, and all things. To praise himself, the great god named himself, saying, "I am Hishe. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me." He praised himself with a number of names: Gara, for example, when he did things hurtful to people. "He causes death among us," the people then would say. "He causes rain to thunder." Or, again he would declare: "I am Gaishi gai, a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me."[93] To the lesser god he gave all of his own names but one, the





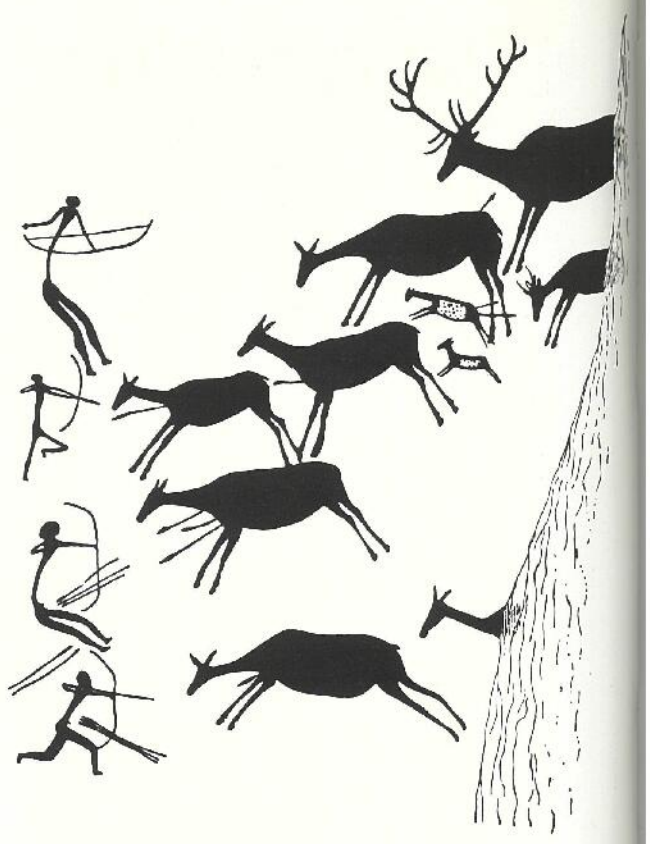
163. Rock painting of a Bushman dance, Daucor's Cave, Nocosasana Valley in the Drakensberg, South Africa. To the clapping of the women, some with babies on their backs, the men dance, led by a figure wearing rattles on his calves who is either masked or undergoing transformation into an antelope.

164. Trance dance of the Kung. During the course of the night, the men, circling to the women's clapping, collapse into states of visionary flight.



165. Rock painting, Rainbow Shelter, Ndedema Gorge in the Drakensberg, South Africa. A range of eland heads above a rainbow, with human legs below, representing, in Harald Pager's view, "a transformation from human to antelope form or vice versa."[10] This suggestion is supported by the presence, lower left, of an *ales*, or "flying buck," the image of a human spirit transformed in flight. (See pages 98–99.)

The degree to which primitive hunters can become identified with the symbolic animal upon whose good will the well-being of the tribe is imagined to depend is illustrated, not only in the myths and rituals of the Bushmen, but also in their hunting practices and in the imagery of their visions. The eland, which in their mythology occupies the high symbolic place, is not a necessary contributor to their diet. Subsistence is based on some thirty-odd plant species gathered by the women, who range daily with their digging sticks within a few miles of the camps collecting birds' eggs, turtles, lizards, and other small game. The men hunt over much larger ranges, and the animals of their encounters hold in their minds a high position, both as challengers to their skills and as presences of occult import. When the Bushman dies he is himself transformed into an eland.



166. Rock painting from Valltorta Gorge, Castellón.

167. The main hunting weapon of the Bushmen of the Kalahari is a light bow, with a range of no more than 25 yards, that shoots unfeathered, poisoned arrows. Compare the magnificent weapons of the forest-dwelling Andamanese (pages 118–119).

168/169. Great skill is required to stalk an alert animal to within range of these flimsy but lethal arrows. As revealed in the two photographs below, the first requirement in this game of death is intense identification with the target.

oldest, the human name, with which he appears in the folktales: Gao na, "Old Gao." And to the wives he gave all of his divine names in their feminine forms: Hishedi, Gaishi gaidi, and so on, but each also had her own human name, which can be pronounced aloud without fear.[94]

As Old Gao, the great god is at once himself and not himself, and the people tell his old tales without restraint. They say his name aloud and even howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations. "Like men," states Lorna





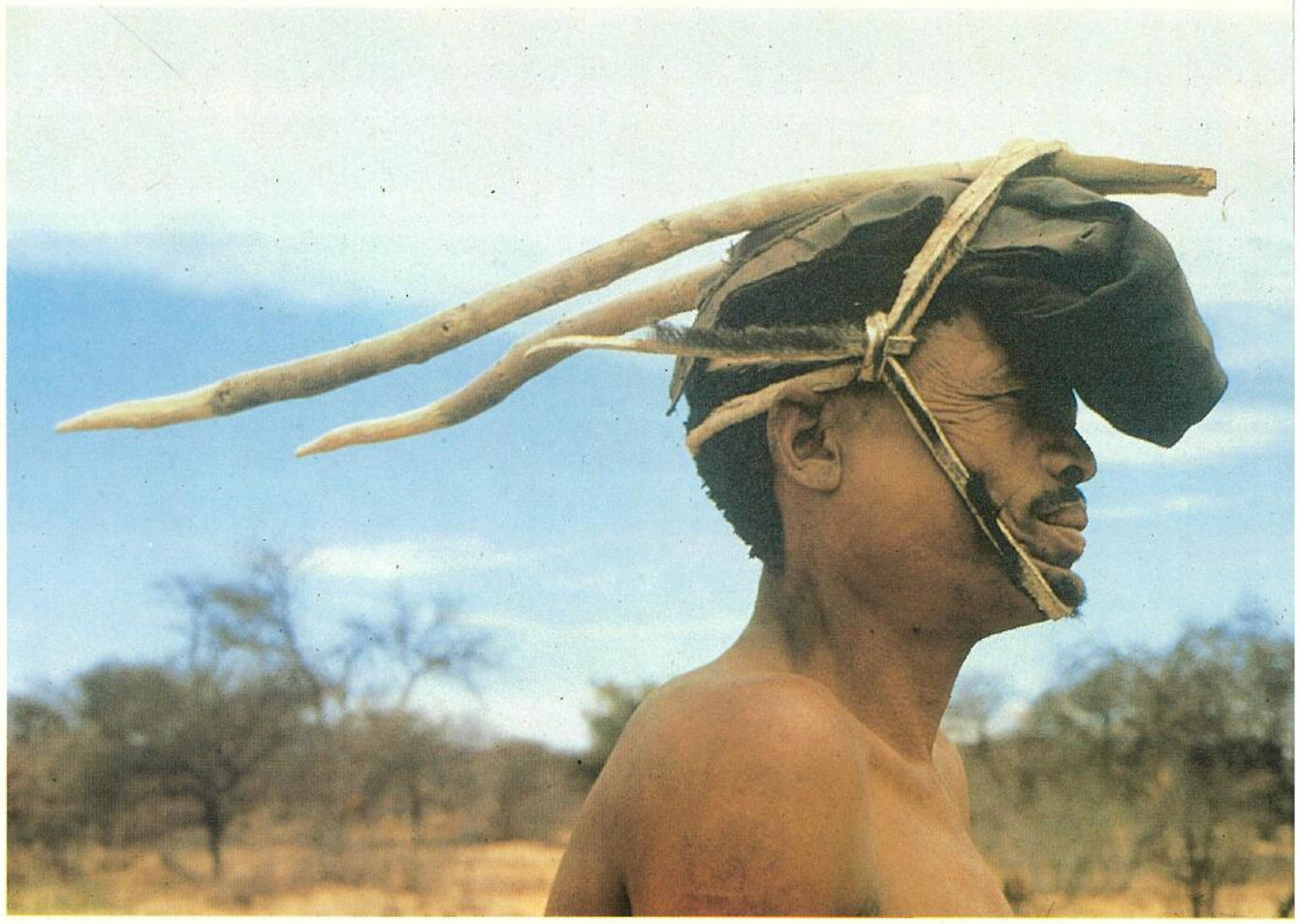
Marshall, "he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations and humiliations, but men imagine his to have been on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. Old Gao committed both these sins unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law, and he raped his son's wife."[95]

In the Cape Bushman legend of Kaggen and the first eland, the same duplexity is evident as in the Kung tales of Old Gao. The narratives carry, behind a protective screen of radically reductive metaphor, reflexes of the greatest mysteries. It has been noticed, for example,[96] that the shoe can be understood as symbolic of the vagina, and honey, as of semen. The shoe of Kaggen's son-in-law, then, would have been the organ of Kaggen's daughter, and the honey fed it as an eland, his own procreative seed. In another version:

Kaggen's wife bore the first eland and Kaggen tried to kill it by throwing sharpened sticks, but he missed. Then he left (again for three days) to fetch arrow poison, and while he was gone, his sons discovered and killed the eland. Returning, he rebuked them furiously. But then he and his wife mixed fat from the animal's heart in a pot, together with some of its blood, and churned. The drops became, first, eland bulls, then cows, which spread over the earth. Whereupon Kaggen sent his sons out to hunt them. And that day, game were given to men to eat.[97]

From the moment the eland is struck, the successful bowman is bound to a sympathetic routine of magical observances, to be followed throughout the period of the stricken animal's dying, often a day or more.

Intentional identification with the animal whose occult power is to be invoked through the exercise of a ceremonial is commonly achieved by masquerade; for the energy of which the animal is the vehicle or agent is conducted through some critical aspect of its form. The masks that in our demythologized time are lightly assumed for the entertainments of a costume ball or Mardigras—and may actually, on such occasions, release us to activities and experiences which might otherwise have been tabooed—are vestigial of an earlier magic, in which the powers to be invoked were not simply psychological, but cosmic. For the appearances of the natural order, which are separate from each other in time and space, are in fact the manifestations of energies that inform all things and can be summoned to focus at will. The mythological association of the eland with the moon and a recognition, thereby, of the coincidence of the lunar and female cycles has rationalized the celebration of eland ceremonials in contexts relevant to fertility, especially those rendered by the women attending a girl's first menstruation (see page 100).



170. Profile of a Bushman eland dancer.



The hunter's need to kill in order to live is justified in this legend as an institution of the First Being himself; and the god's ambiguous relationship both to the animal slain and to its killing is our clue to what in literary criticism would be termed the anagogical meaning of the tale. The arrow shot at those butchering his eland turns back and nearly strikes the god himself, while in the second telling of his tale, it is he who is the first to attempt the kill. In the first version he went off to find honey; in the second, to get poison. The apparent equivalence here of the god's life-giving and death-dealing powers cannot be accidental.

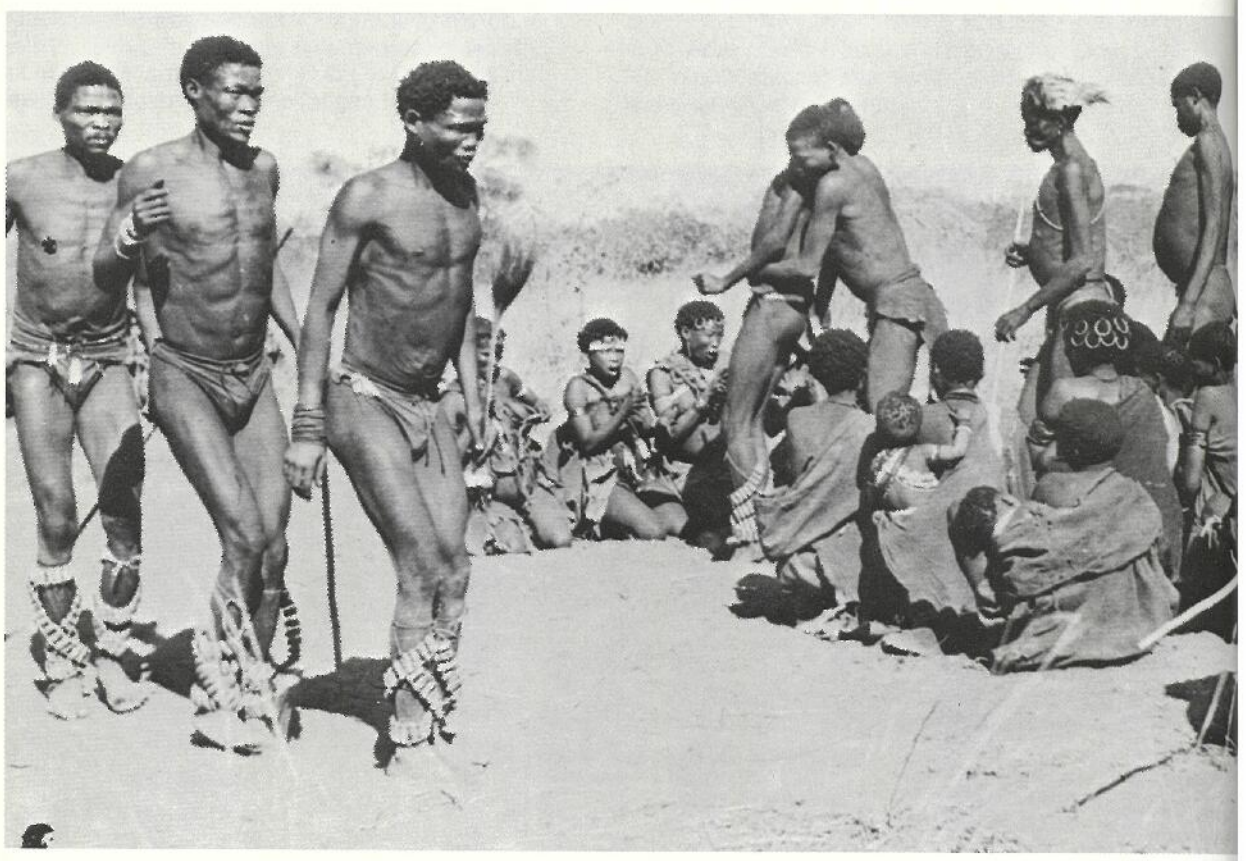
Kaggen's creation of the moon after his eland has been butchered is another significant sign. One shoe had become his eland; the other became the moon: the two being equally endowed with the power of rebirth. Moreover, to procure the required honey or poison, Kaggen left the scene for three days: the moon is three nights dark. And when he returns to find his eland dead, he is through his own act covered with darkness—until the new moon appears.

Patricia Vinnicombe calls attention to the Bushmen's use of blood and fat as components of their paints.[98] Herbert Kühn has suggested that blood and fat may have been ingredients of the paints of the European caves.[99] Thus the act of painting may have been, as Vinnicombe suggests, a ritual act of restitution in the very sense of the restitution and multiplication of Kaggen's eland in the second version of his legend. "It seems reasonable," she writes, "to postulate that the Bushman *artist* played an important role in this propitiation ceremony, and that by recreating visible eland upon the shelter walls, Man the Hunter was reconciled with Kaggen the Creator, thereby restoring the balance of opposing forces that was so necessary for the well-being of the Bushman psyche. Through the eland, the Bushman established and maintained communication with his god. Through the eland, the eternal cycle of sacrificing life in order to conserve and promote life, was ritually expressed."[100] In sum, the mythological eland sacrifice, of which every hunting kill is a duplication, is the inexhaustible vessel out of which the bounty of the great god's world proceeds. And every hunter, in his sacrificial killing, is in the role of Kaggen himself, identified with the animal of his kill and at the same time guilty, as the god is guilty, with the primordial guilt of life that lives on life.



171. Opening stage of a night of trance dancing. Having gathered on the danceground, a few women of the camp have built a fire and, clapping time, have begun humming. A few men, each hunched tightly forward, have already begun circling around them with short tight steps. Others will presently join the circle, and the dance may continue all night.

172. One of the dancers (center) has been overcome by the energy known as *ntum*, a hot uprush from the pit of the stomach, up the spinal cord, to the brain.



According to a Kung Bushman legend of Botswana, published in 1975 by Marguerite Anne Biesele:

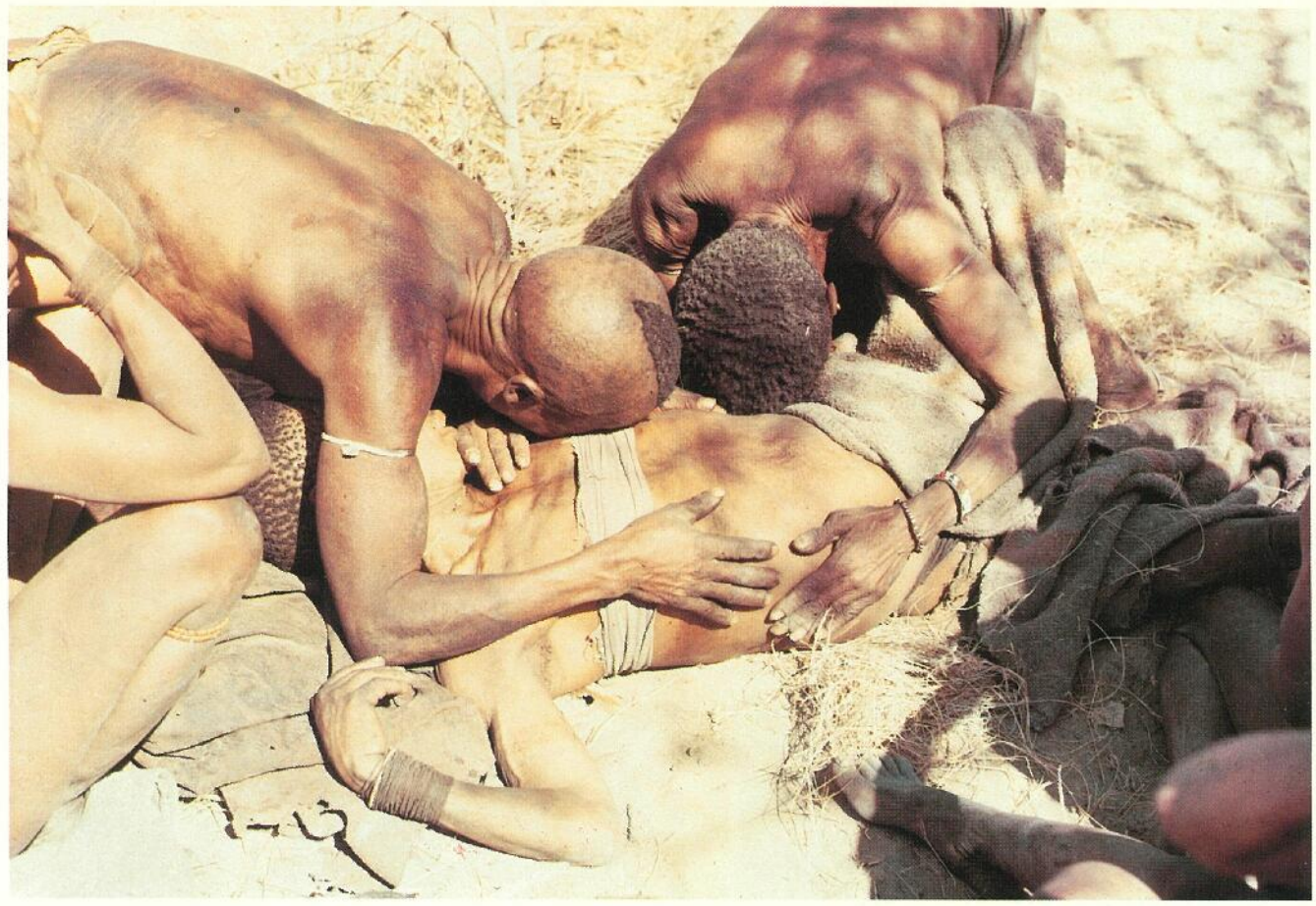
A woman named Be was alone in the bush one day in Namibia, when she saw a herd of giraffes running before an approaching thunderstorm. The rolling beat of their hooves grew louder and mingled in her head with the sound of sudden rain. Suddenly a song she had never heard before came to her, and she began to sing.

Gauwa (the great god) told her it was a medicine song. Be went home and taught the song to her husband, Tike. They sang and danced it together. And it was, indeed, a song for trancing, a medicine song. Tike taught it to others, who passed it on.[101]

Kung medicine songs are thought to be endowed with a supernatural potency known as *ntum*. In the Mythological Age of the Beginning, quantities of this power were put by the great god into a number of things: medicine songs, ostrich eggs, certain plants and fruits, the sun, falling stars, rain, bees, honey, giraffes, aardvarks, blood, redwing partridges, and fires made in certain situations; also into certain persons, who might function, then as medicine men and healers. *Ntum* is not personified, nor invoked in prayer. Undifferentiated, it varies in force in the various things it informs: beneficent in some, always strong, but in some things dangerously so. *Ntum* is so strong in the great god that should he approach an ordinary mortal, like a lightning bolt his *ntum* would kill the man. The Kung call *ntum* a "death thing"; also, a "fight." "These are expressions," states Lorna Marshall, "frequently used by the Kung for anything strong or dangerous: the sun, for example, is also a 'fight' and a 'death thing.' "[102] Potent medicine men, on the other hand, can meet and face Gauwa down, hurling insults of the grossest kind at him when, in trance, they are curing those whom the god has afflicted; for the power of their own *ntum* is, at such times, enhanced.

The supreme occasion for the activation of *ntum* is the trance dance, performed by the males of the small bands to the sharply rhythmed clapping and wordless chanting of the women. The exertion of the tirelessly circling dancers heats their medicine power, which they experience as a physical substance in the pit of the stomach.[103] The women's singing, the men say, "awakens their hearts," and eventually their portion of *ntum* becomes so hot that it boils. In the report of Lorna Marshall: "The men say it boils up their spinal columns into their heads, and is so strong when it does this that it overcomes them and they lose their senses."[104] The resemblance of this description to reports from India of the rising of the Kundalini is amazing.

It is generally during the period of the approach of this crisis that the work of healing is undertaken. It is then also that the medicine man can challenge Guawa. His body is indestructible. He can walk into the fire, pick up burning brands, and rub them over his body. A younger dancer may go wild when he first breaks into



174. The spirit of the visionary voyager has just returned to his inert body, which has been lying in the condition known as "half death." The moment is a delicate one and, if failed, may result in full death (see page 96). His friends, who have been watching for this critical moment, are here ministering to a safe return.

173. The entranced member is lowered to the ground. His spirit has departed on the visionary journey from which is derived direct knowledge of the invisibles and their landscape (see page 96).



this experience. As reported by Richard B. Lee: "He plunges into the fire, runs off into the dark, struggles when restrained, kicks, squirms (perhaps injures himself), and finally falls into the comatose state called 'half-death.' "[105]

Ordinarily a danceground is chosen only a few yards from the encampment, and typically dances commence when a handful of women light the central fire, sit in a tight circle around it, and begin to sing, clapping time. Eventually, a few of the men stray in behind them, to circle with short, heavy stamps in a single line, which, from time to time turns about to circle the other way. Strings of rattles around the men's ankles stress the beat. Their rhythms are complex, built into 5- and 7-beat phrases. And their body postures are tight, hunched forward, arms close to the sides, slightly flexed. Others join the round, and as the night runs on, those approaching trance begin to concentrate intently.

"They look down at their feet," states Lee, "or stare ahead without orienting to distractions around them. The body is tense and rigid. Footfalls are heavy, and the shock waves can be seen rippling through the body. The chest is heaving, veins are standing out on neck and forehead, and there is profuse sweating." Trance supervenes some 30 to 60 minutes later, either gradually or of a sudden. If gradually, the trancer staggers; other men come to his aid and lead him around until he shouts and falls down, comatose, in the state of "half death." The sudden trance, on the other hand, is announced by a violent leap or somersault and instant collapse. "It is noteworthy," Lee remarks, "that many of the older medicine men, with years of experience in trance states, do not go through the 'half-death' phase. . . . The discipline displayed by these older men is the result of years of training, during which they learn to bring their reactions under control."[106]

The gaining and maintaining of control over the force of *ntum* is the first requirement of this rite, since it is only when brought under human direction that the force can be applied to healing. Its heat is simultaneously activated and held in check, not only by the dancer himself, but also communally, through the ritualized dancing and songs of the group, where the control, as well as excitation, is governed by the clapping, singing, and pacing of the whole affair by the women.

The contrast of male and female roles in this rite reflects, as Marguerite Biesele observed, a consistent symbolism in the mythic and social assignments of the sexes. Women gather plant foods, and their power and prestige are linked to their role as providers of this resource. Men are hunters and have to do with arrows, arrow poison, spears, quivers, and other hunting gear. The female is associated with childbirth, menstruation, breastmilk, the gathering of plants, solidarity of the nuclear family, the moon, and the origin of water. Men control lightning with animal horns, and their potency is associated with the sun, semen, heat, trance dancing, and the origin of fire.

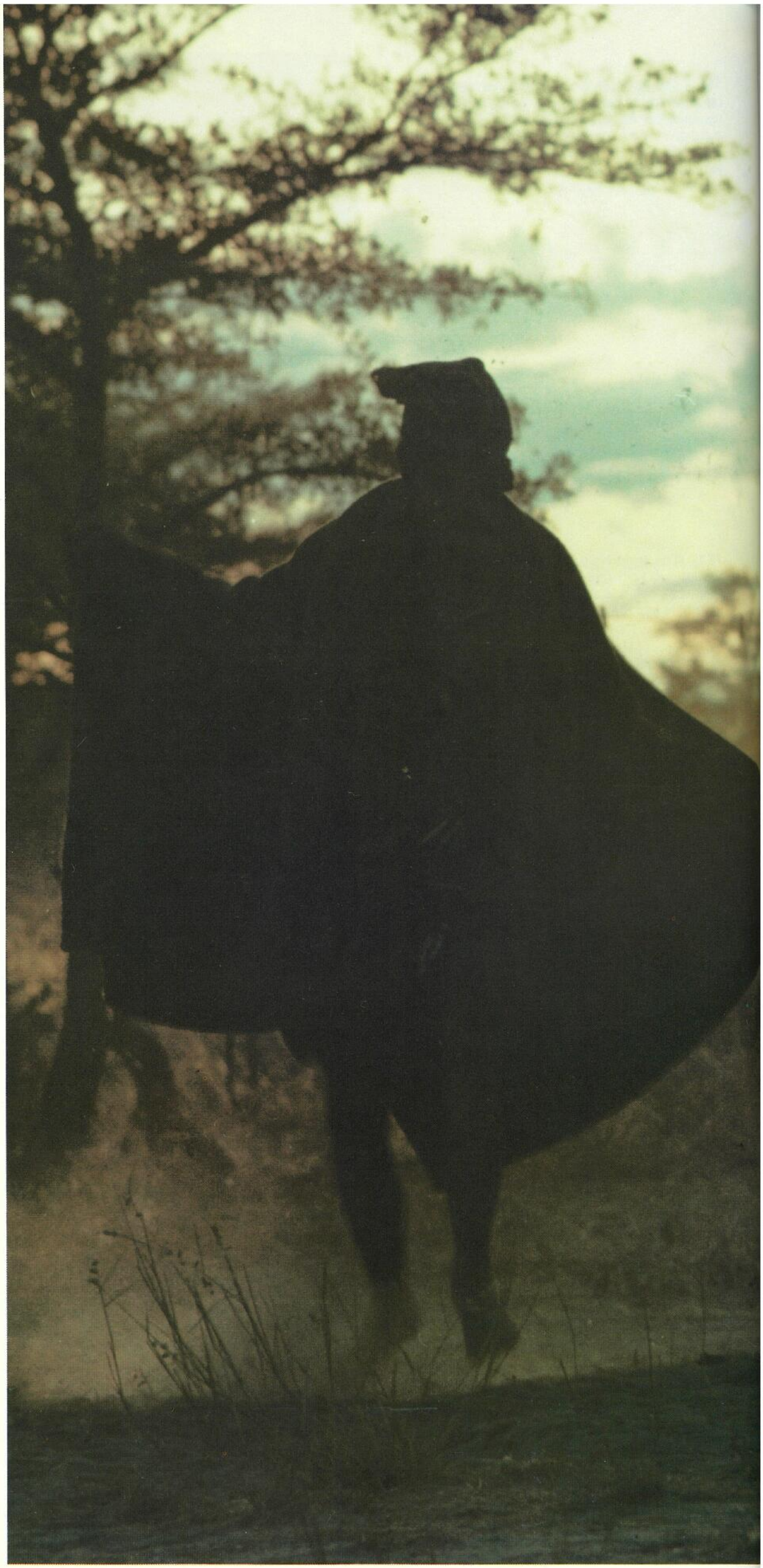
"Trancers," Biesele observed, "seem to flirt with the dangerous heat of the fire, coming as close to it as they possibly can in the effort to make the *ntum* boil within them."[107] If it boils up too quickly, however, they go into trance before they can cure; hence those feeling it coming too soon draw back and cease dancing for a while. "Significantly," she noticed, "women offer such men water with which to cool off. Women also watch to prevent insensate trancers from burning their bodies in the fire."[108]

Generally, as Lorna Marshall also has seen, attributes associated with women are considered antithetical to those of men; yet, in the cooperative rapture of the trance dance, the two combine, as she has observed, "with such precision that they become like an organic being. And in this close configuration—together—they face the gods."[109]

* * *

When the Kung dancers break and pass into the state of half-death, their spirits fly along threads of spider silk to the sky. These are the ways of passage of the gods and spirits of the dead between earth and heaven.[110] Marguerite Biesele has published the rendered account of one such spiritual astronaut:

"When people sing, I dance. I enter the earth. I go in at a place like a place where people drink water. I travel a long way, very far. When I emerge, I am already climbing. I'm climbing threads, the threads that lie over there in the south. I climb one and leave it, then I climb another one. Then I leave it and climb another. . . . And when you arrive at God's place," he told her, "you make yourself small. You have become small. You come in small to God's place. You do what you have to do there. Then you return to where everyone is, and you hide your face. You hide your face so you won't see anything. You come and come and come and finally you enter your body again. All the people who have stayed behind are waiting for you—they fear you. You enter, enter the earth, and you return to enter the skin of your body. . . . And you say 'he-e-e-e!' That is the sound of your return to your body. Then you begin to sing. The *ntum*-masters are there around. They take powder and blow it—Phew! Phew!—in your face. They take hold of your head and blow about the sides of your face. This is how you manage to be alive again. Friends, if they don't do that to you, you die. . . . You just die and are dead. Friend, this is what it does, this *ntum* that I do, this *ntum* here that I dance."[111/112]



175. Two male dancers, silhouetted in the dawn, whirl before their audience. The session, which began at sundown, has run through the night as a dream shared by all.



It is thus entirely possible that the flying figures in the Bushman paintings, known as "flying bucks" or *alites*, may represent, not only spirits of the dead, but also those in flight of the living trancers in half-death, and that such scenes in the painted sanctuaries as those of the Sebaaieni Cave, where there is one such *ales* flying, are to be interpreted, as Harald Pager has suggested, as "the Bushman's idea of their 'eternal hunting grounds,' "[113] to the everlasting scenery of which the great *ntum* masters in their half-death states pay visits three or four times a month.[114]

Neither Vinnicombe nor Pager has found anywhere in the Drakensberg, however, anything like the figure of a mantis, and Pager remarks that "there is no mantis cult among contemporary Bushmen and there is no objective evidence of Bushmen or Hottentots having worshipped this insect in the past."[115]

Laurens van der Post, however, who was born and raised in South Africa, recalls very well the tales of his old black nurse, Klara, who had had a Bushman mother and who, on one occasion, went down on her knees before a mantis in the grass, "bowing to it with her hands folded in front of her like a Christian at prayer."

"Calling it a name I had not heard and cannot remember," he recalls "she begged the Mantis in a low hissing voice, 'Please, how low is the sea?' To my amazement the head of the Mantis turned and he looked straight before him, while the two front feet held limp in front of him suddenly moved and pointed downwards to the earth.

" 'Please, how high is the sea?' " Klara asked.

"Mantis lifted his head, looked up and raised his long front feet to point at the cloudless blue sky. I could not make sense of the questions or Mantis's positive response to them. Klara had never been to the sea. We were at that moment some thousand miles from the nearest coastline and she was to die, alas, without ever seeing the sea. Yet her attitude of extreme reverence, the strange shape of Mantis, his uncanny responsiveness to the sound of worship on her tongue, and her extreme delight at the outcome made an impression I was never to forget."[116]

Van der Post had the advantage, of course, of a child's unreformed sense of wonder, as well as appreciation of little things, and the idea of an extraordinary insect as manifestation or messenger of an unknown god was neither incredible to him nor absurd. "With all that," he could write of Mantis fifty years later, "there was something curiously human about his face. Its heart shape, pointed chin, high cheek bones and yellow skin—I realize now how like a Bushman's that face was. Besides, his eyes were extraordinarily big and bright, as if capable of extra perception."[117]





176. In this masterpiece from the Sebaaiene Cave, in the Ndedema Gorge of the Drakensberg Range, a procession of mythic "antelope men" passes mysteriously above a panorama of earthly hunting, fighting, dancing, and domestic scenes. Left of center in the left panel is the *ales*, or "flying buck," reproduced above as **177c**.

Alites ("flying bucks") are envisionments of spirits, almost certainly those of the dead, and possibly those of trance dancers flying from their bodies. "There was a belief," states Harald Pager, "that the souls of the dead fly through the air." And he illustrates this point with an arranged display of forty-five *alites*, selected from eighteen sites in the Ndedema Gorge. The series of examples reproduced above (**177**) is abridged from that presentation.[11] Pager calls attention to the range from nearly human to bird and antelope forms. Immediately apparent in a number of the more human of the figures is the resemblance of their posture—arms held back and a forward pitch of the body—to the stance of Kung trance dancers.

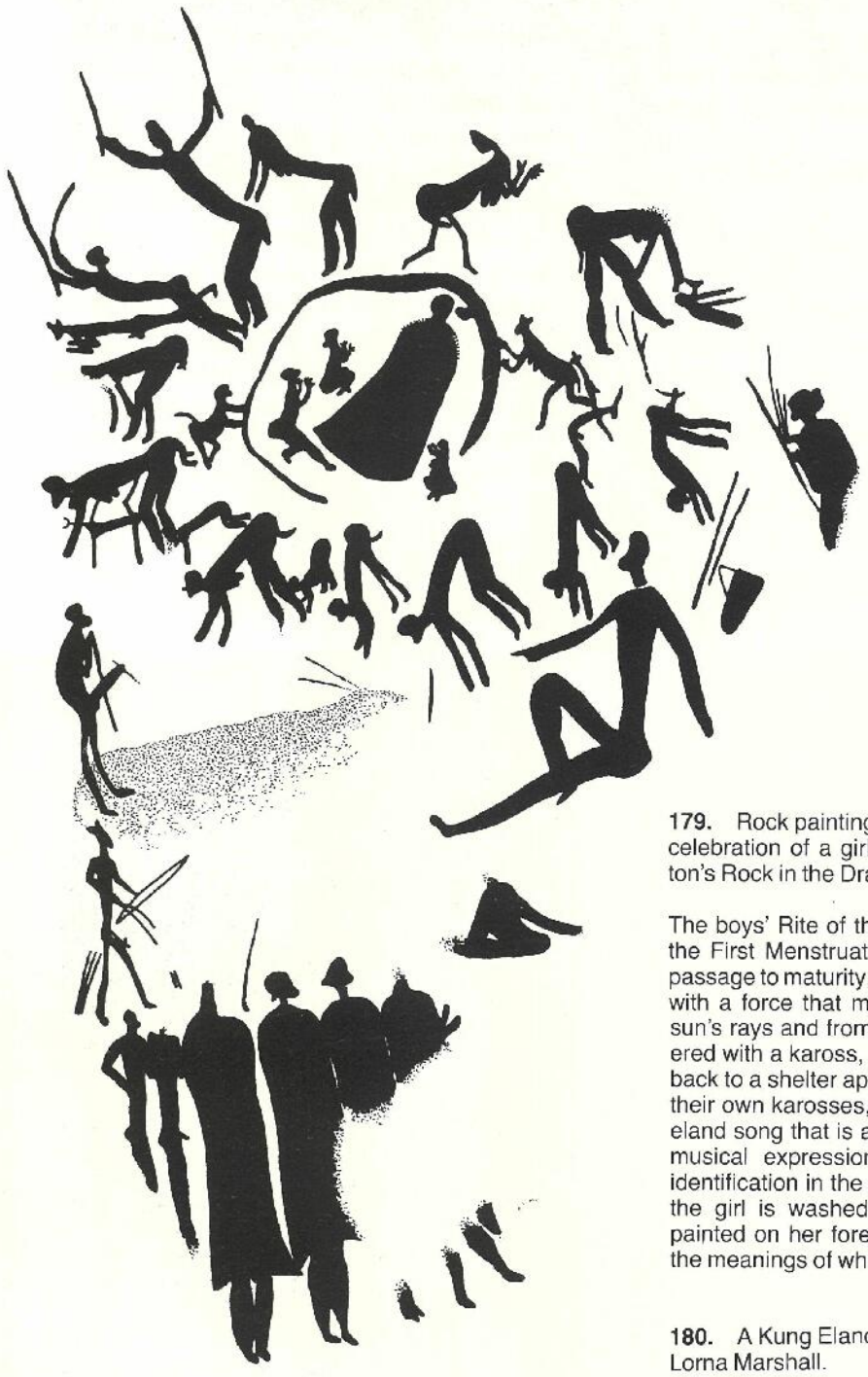




178. Harald Pager describes the "antelope man" as "a human being whose legs and/or arms terminate in hooves. Most *antelope men* also have antelope heads," he adds, "but this feature alone is not considered sufficient for identification."[12] Some have argued such figures represent disguised hunters, but hooved legs and arms don't support this reading. Pager points out that "antelope men" are larger than human figures in these paintings and more grandly dressed. "The arithmetic mean of the sizes of all human figures in the Ndedema sample," he observes, "is 91 mm, while for the *antelope men* it is 248 mm. Moreover, the majority of human figures are depicted naked, while only four of the eighty-eight *antelope men* are without habiliment. All the others wear either karosses and leggings, or what appears to be tight-fitting fur garments. . . . Leggings in particular are hardly even depicted on an 'ordinary' man. All *antelope men* wear body ornaments, often in elaborate quantities. That these figures do depict some extraordinary beings is without doubt and their significance is perhaps contained in an account given to Frobenius by a Bantu who said that the paintings of humans with animal heads were the figures of dead men."[13]

D. N. Lee and H. C. Woodhouse, two authors cited by Pager,[14] write of the *alites* as representatives of spirits of the dead, quoting in support of this view both a belief that "Bushmen were formerly springbok and were changed into human beings by the creative power of the *mantis*," and also the idea that "the spirit of a Bushman houses itself in the body of an animal as it goes to the eternal 'Bokveld'." Pager joins to those statements a third, reported by Bleek,[15] that antelopes seen near Bushman graves are the spirits of the dead.





179. Rock painting of the women's Eland Dance in celebration of a girl's first menstruation. From Fulton's Rock in the Drakensberg.

The boys' Rite of the First Kill and the girls' Rite of the First Menstruation are their respective rites of passage to maturity. The girl is thought to be charged with a force that must be defended both from the sun's rays and from contact with earth.[16] Head covered with a kaross, she is carried on a kinswoman's back to a shelter apart, where the women, removing their own karosses, perform the Eland Dance to an eland song that is among the most ancient of Kung musical expressions. (Compare the eland/moon identification in the legend on page 91.) At the end, the girl is washed, anointed with eland fat, and painted on her forehead and cheeks with designs, the meanings of which have been lost.[17]

180. A Kung Eland Dance today, photographed by Lorna Marshall.

Why, then, do we find no mantis in the paintings? The answer must lie in the distinction between the "feared," unutterable names and the "human" names of the gods. The painted caves and shelters were in some sense sanctuaries, addressed, like the Bushman dances and other ritual observances, to the conjuring of *ntum*. A sacred place is one in which such rituals are performed, and the sanctuaries of Old Stone Age art were evidently such places. Their imagery, therefore, is of an order appropriate to the exaltation of consciousness, whereas folktales, told for amusement or even for instruction, are turned, as it were, toward the world. The god comes to view in them in his "human," apparently harmless, form, to play the clown for his people's enjoyment; and the appearance of any such radically reduced burlesque of a divinity in a sacred place would be incongruous.

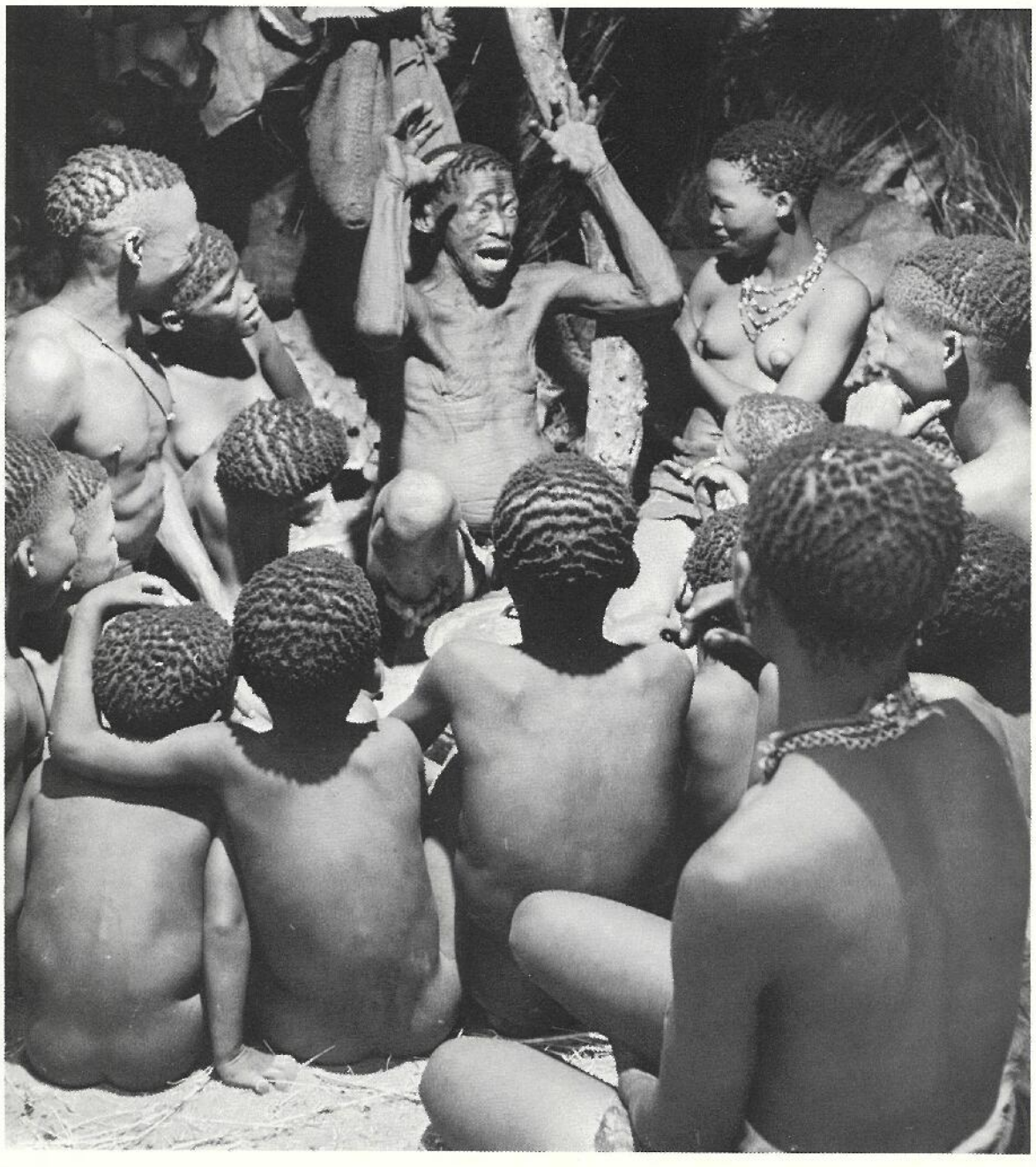
The folktale, on the other hand, is for enjoyment, and since the best kind of enjoyment is in release from tension, the tales best loved are of the carnival kind, where the feared god appears in carnival form, as an insect, together with a company of incongruous little players: his wife, a dassie; their daughter, an eland; his adopted daughter, a porcupine; his sister, a blue crane; his grandson, an ichneumon; and his niece, a little springbok, swallowed by an elephant (like Red Ridinghood by the wolf), whom he then must rescue. To each a special manner of speech has been humorously assigned, imitating the shape of the mouth of the kind of animal represented. The curious

"click" language of the Bushman is played upon with all sorts of bizarre additions and alterations of accent. Nor do all the tales of this carnival have to do with the burlesqued great god and his friends. As everywhere in the universally enjoyed, ageless heritage of the animal fable, one of the most popular themes is of the outwitting of the great by the small—best of all and usually, by some clever counterpart of our European Reynard the Fox. For example:

Jackal, out hunting, one day arrived at Lion's house and, seeing the lion's wife there, asked: "Good lady, where is your husband?" "My husband is a great man," she replied, "not to be spoken of by such as you." "Softly, proud lady," Jackal cautioned, "your husband is my servant." And he trotted away.

When Lion arrived, his wife greeted him contemptuously. "You are nothing. Jackal was here. He told me that you are his servant." Amazed, he demanded, "Where is that fellow now?" And she answered, "Oh, very likely in the bush close by, awaiting your return, for I think he requires your service." "I shall show you something today, dear wife, that will stop your foolish words," Lion said; and he left to look for Jackal.





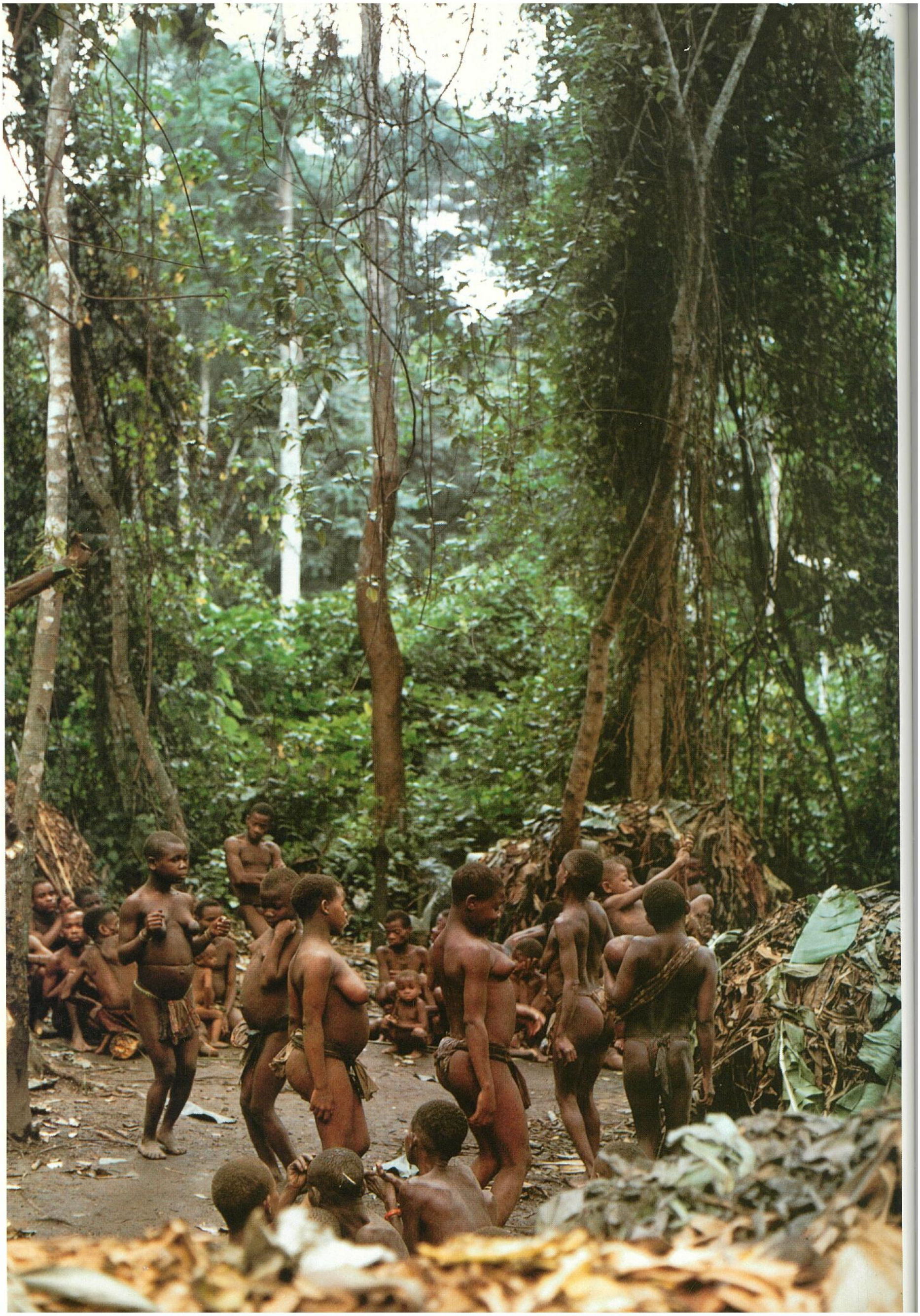
181. String figures, or "cat's cradle" games, are of a world-wide distribution. The precise figure here displayed by this young Kung Bushman wife is known in Hawaii as *Ma-ha-lii-lii* and *Pu-kau-la;* in Ireland as the "Ladder" and the "Fence"; and in Nigeria, among the Yoruba, as the "Calabash Net." An example of this same figure recorded from the Osage tribe of Oklahoma was called by the collector "Osage Diamonds."[18]

He found him asleep in the bush and roughly roused him. "Jackal, you told my wife that you wanted to see me; so now follow me!" Waking, Jackal replied: "Ah! 'Tis the voice of my lordly friend. Alas, good friend, I am blind, and being blind I stumbled upon your house unwittingly. I cannot see and therefore cannot follow you." "Then I shall carry you," Lion said. And he took the jackal on his back.

Now Jackal had concealed with him hornets and bees, and as they approached Lion's house he released them, so that they attacked his mount, and Lion, on reaching the house, ran before his wife in great pain, while Jackal lashed him with a whip and goaded him on. "Faster! Faster! Do as I bid, you knave!" And as they sped past the house, Jackal called to Lion's wife: "Aha, proud lady! So your husband is a great man, not to be spoken of by such as I! Nevertheless, he is my servant, as I told you. See how I ride and beat him!"

And the lion's wife, humiliated, turned away.[118]

182. In tales told for enjoyment the gods put off their majesty and become transformed through the magic of the story-teller's art into entertainers. The Kung tell tales of a mythical past which they consider to have been actual, not mythical. The "old old people" of that imagined time passed on what they had been taught by the Creator, and the old have transmitted this teaching to the young even until today.[19]



LIVING PEOPLES OF THE EQUATORIAL FORESTS

The Pygmies of the African rain forest (**183**), and the mysterious Tasaday of the Philippines (**184**: first discovered in 1971 still dwelling in their ancestral caves) represent at opposite ends of the Afro-Asian equatorial belt a quality of human life in accord with nature that has enchanted everyone who has written of them. Not fear, but an easy confidence in the unfailing bounty of the Lord of their forest is the characteristic ground-feeling of their very casually organized societies. Fear, on the other hand, incredulity, and bewilderment overcome them at the forest's edge, where the uninterrupted space of the sky and plains opens out before their eyes. Hardly could a contrast be greater than that between the worlds and world-views of the jungle and the plains.

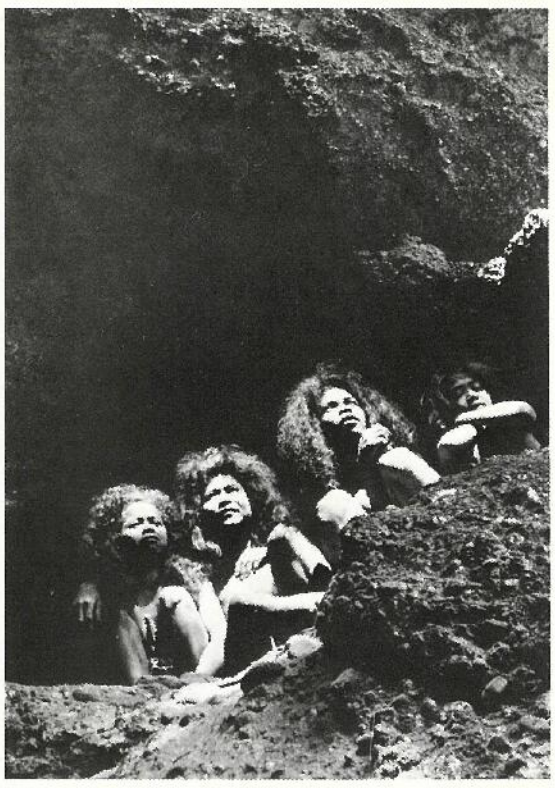
The Forest Song of the Pygmies

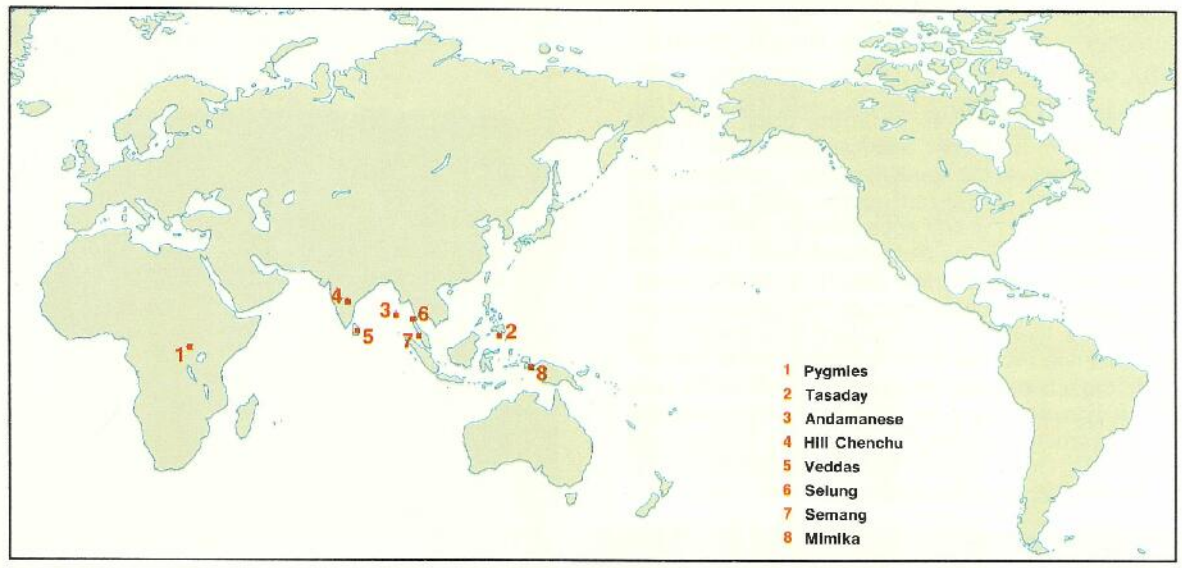
A small boy, alone in the forest, heard such a beautiful song that he went to see who was singing and, discovering a bird—the Bird of the Most Beautiful Song in the Forest—he brought it back to the camp to be fed. His father was annoyed at having to give food to a mere bird, but, the boy pleading, the bird was fed. Next day its song was heard again, and the boy again returned with it to the camp. The father was more annoyed than before, but again the bird was fed. Then a third day, and again the song! This time, taking the bird from his son, the father told him to run along; and when the boy was gone, the man killed the bird, and with the bird he killed the song, and with the song, himself. He dropped dead, completely dead, and was dead forever.[119]

Colin Turnbull, who returned with this fable from one of his long stays among the Pygmies of the Ituri forest, tells of the forest voice of a marvelous instrument called the "molimo," to which he was introduced at the close of his first visit. Three of the leading hunters had taken him into the forest to make sure, as they said, that he would return. They were going to make him "of the forest." With a rusty arrow blade they cut tiny vertical slits in the center of his forehead and over each eye, gouged from each a little flesh, and rubbed a black ash-paste into the cuts. And it was later that same evening, while the men were singing, that he first heard the molimo.

"First I heard it call out of the night from the other side of the Nepussi river . . . ; it sounded like someone singing but it was not a human voice. It was a deep, gentle, loving sound, sometimes breaking off in a quiet falsetto, sometimes growling like a leopard. As the men sang their songs of praise to the forest, the molimo answered them, first on this side, then on that, moving around so swiftly and silently that it seemed to be everywhere at once.

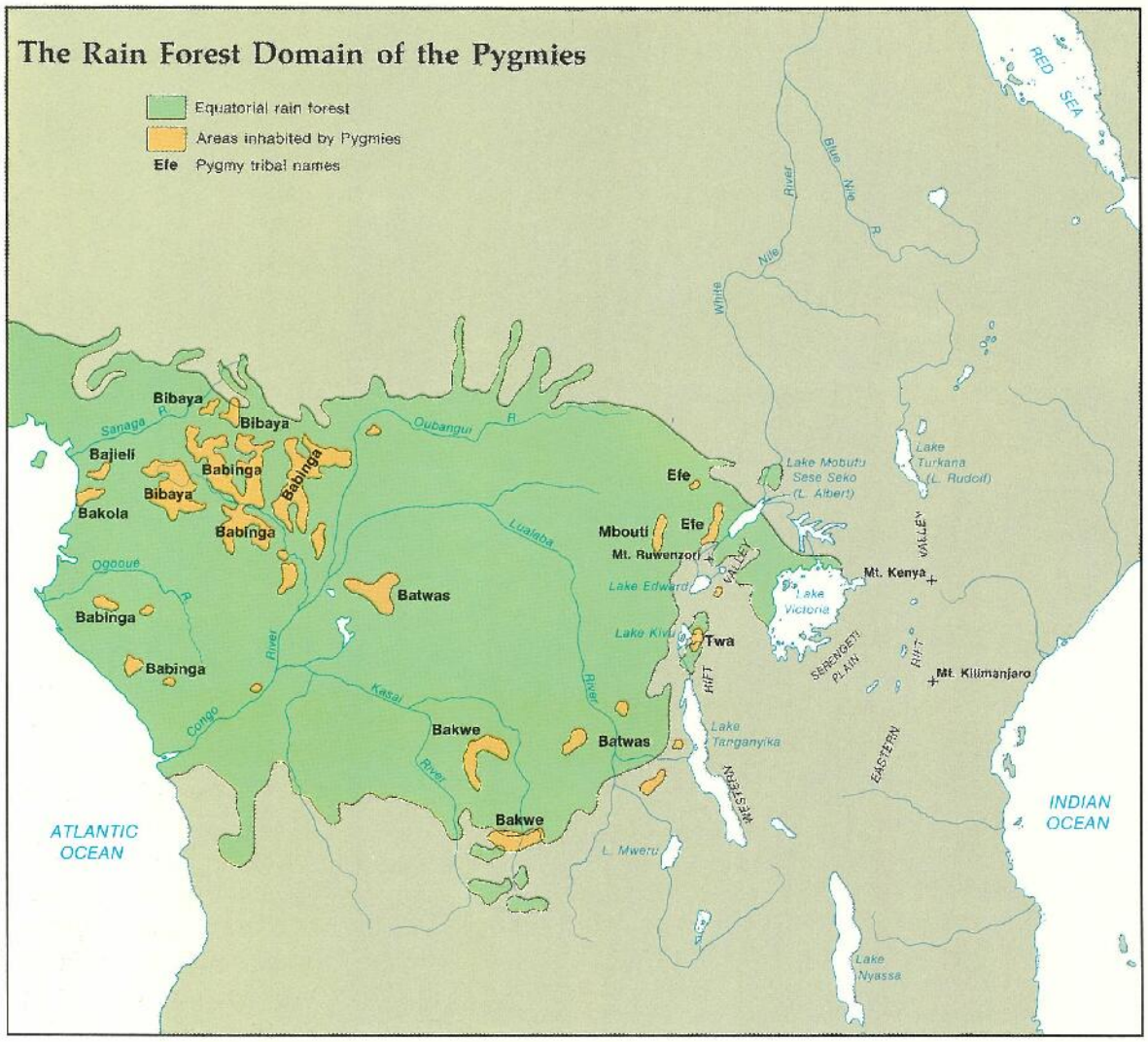
"Then, still unseen, it was right beside me, not more than two feet away, on the other side of a small but thick wall of leaves. As it replied to the song of the men, who continued to sing as though nothing were happening, the sound was sad and wistful, and immensely beautiful. Several of the older men were sitting near me, and one of them, without even looking up, asked me if I wanted to see the molimo. He then continued singing as though he didn't particularly care what my reply was, but I knew he did. I was so overcome by curiosity that I almost said 'yes'; I had been fighting hard to stop





Map 26

Map 26. The peoples treated in this chapter, as representing the mythologies and folkways of the simplest hunters and gatherers of the Old World tropical forests, are: (1) the Pygmies of the Congo Basin; (2) the Tasaday of the Philippines; and (3) the Andamanese of the Bay of Bengal. Other peoples of about the same culture stage include: (4) the Hill Chenchu of southern India; (5) the Veddas of Sri Lanka; (6) the Selung and (7) Semang of the northern Malay Peninsula; and (8) the Mimika of New Guinea. The folkways and mythologies of these differ in detail, of course, from those of the three societies here treated. However, in the main they are equivalent and, indeed, any two or three of them might have been chosen to represent the profoundly sweet and melancholy message to us of our own, forgotten, deepest memories of the wilderness.

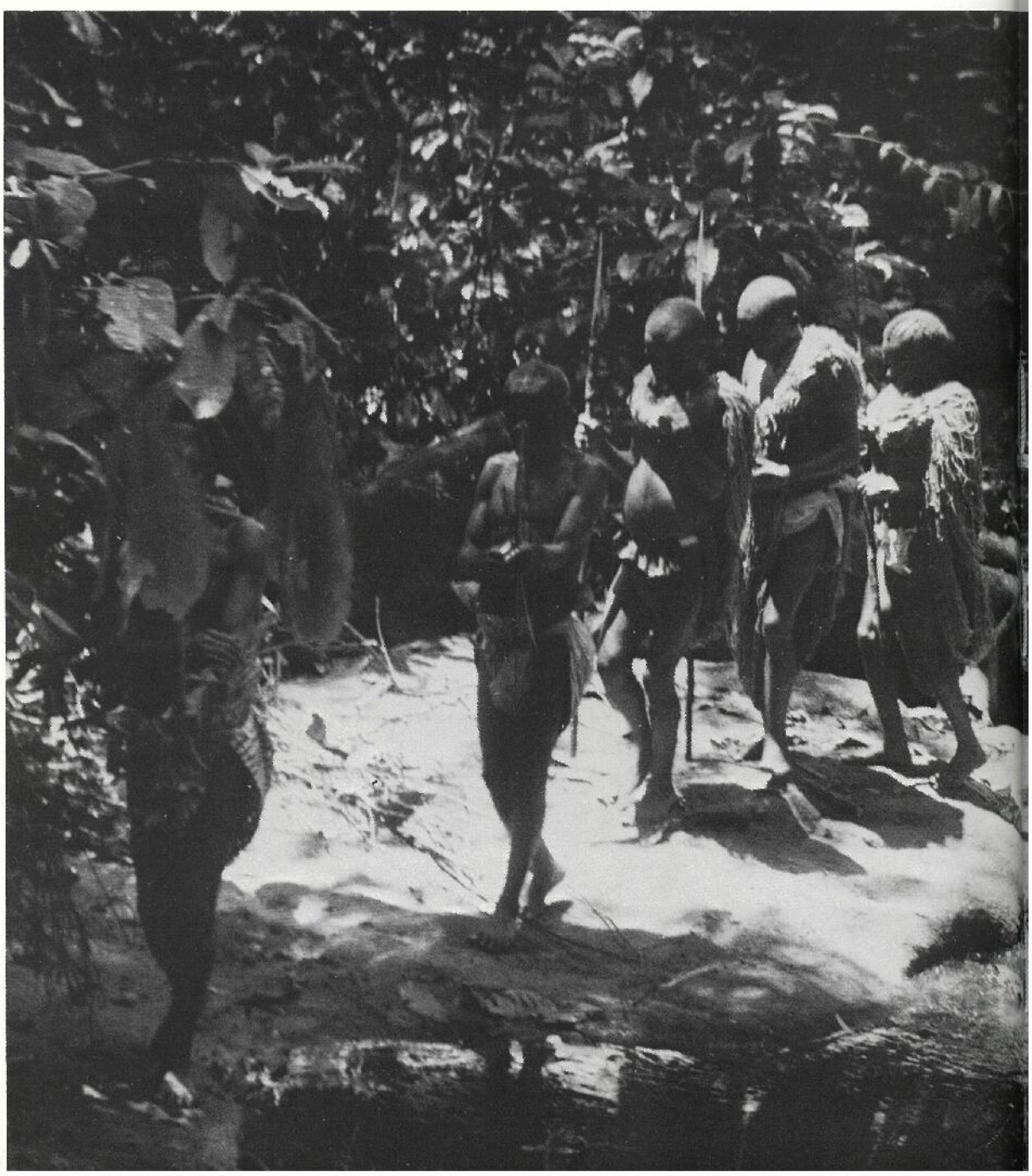


Map 27. Lake Victoria, with the great Serengeti animal plain, Rift Valley, and Kenya highlands to the east, Tanzania to the south, and the Mountains of the Moon (Mount Ruwenzori) to the west, marks the general area of the first appearances of the running humanlike apes of the plains that evolved into *Homo habilis* and eventually into the present human race. The return of the ancestors of the Pygmies to the forest was, therefore, a secondary development, like the return to the sea of the ancestors of the whales. The forest received them, prehuman arboreal skills were recovered, and for untold millennia, until well into the first millennium A.D., these little "singers and dancers of God" (as they have been called) were the sole inhabitants of their wilderness.



185. The forest itself provides all the materials necessary for a life-style come to rest on a level of late Paleolithic technology. Impermanent leaf-thatched huts are raised and struck as the little groups of thirty or more move about.

186. Deep-forest hunting is a very different affair from hunting on the plains. A party sets out with nets and lances for a day's catch.



myself from trying to peer through the leaves to where it was now growling away almost angrily. But I knew that Pygmy youths were not allowed to see it until they had proved themselves as hunters, as adults in Pygmy eyes, and although I now carried the marks on my forehead I still felt unqualified. So I simply said, no, I did not think I was ready to see it.

"The molimo gave a great burst of song and with a wild rush swept across the camp, surrounded by a dozen youths packed so tightly together that I could see nothing, and disappeared into the forest. Those left in the camp made no comment; they just kept on with their song, and after a while the voice of the molimo, replying to them, became fainter and fainter and was finally lost in the night and in the depths of the forest from where it had come." [120]

The contrast of the two worlds and of the ways of life and thought of these Pygmies and the Bushmen could hardly be more extreme. Ethnologically, both are classified as hunters and gatherers. They are the true "primitives" of Africa, surviving from Old Stone Age times in the ways of their fathers and grandfathers. However, one is of the sunburnt plains, the other of the deep forest. The Bushman, dependent utterly on the miracle of rain

and on the killing of animals for his life, is dominated by an enduring sense of the tension of opposites—hunter and hunted, drought and rain, female and male, life and death; whereas the forest-dwelling Pygmies, at home in a rain-soaked jungle rich in roots, leafage, and fruits, are sustained substantially by the vegetal abundance, into which they enter with a sense of accord, and of which the animals are a natural part. "The forest is a father and mother to us," said Turnbull's old initiator, Moke; "and like a father and mother it gives us everything we need—food, clothing, shelter, warmth . . . and affection. Normally, everything goes well, because the forest is good to its children, but when things go wrong there must be a reason . . . .

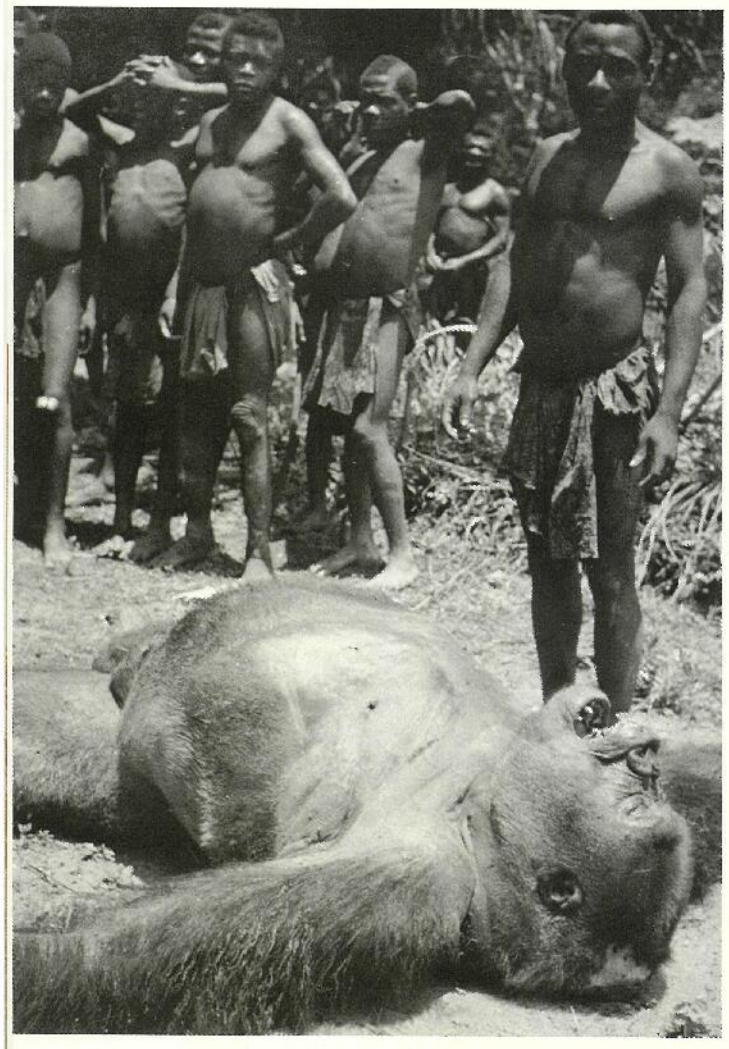
"Normally everything goes well in our world. But at night when we are sleeping, sometimes things go wrong. Army ants invade the camp; leopards may come in and steal a hunting dog or even a child. If we were awake, these things would not happen. So when something big goes wrong, like illness or bad hunting or death, it must be because the forest is sleeping and not looking after its children. So what do we do? We wake it up. We wake it up by singing to it, and we do this because we want it to waken happy. Then everything will be well and good again. So when our world is going well then also we sing to the forest because we want it to share our happiness." [121]

It is impossible to extract from the fragments of lore and custom reported of the Pygmies any secure idea of what the missionary Paul Schebesta, of the order of the White Fathers, called Pygmy Theology. However, the contrasts with what we know of the Bushman forms give clues. For example, though both races are appreciative of the values of dance and song, their applications of these arts are very different. There is no trance dancing reported of the Pygmies; no trance flights; no healing. Though the dances are named "chimpanzee dances," "elephant dances," and so on, their character is rather of free pantomime than of a strictly maintained form intended to launch the participants into exalted spiritual states. "A chimpanzee dance that I saw," states Father Schebesta, "demanded considerable histrionic ability on the part of the performers. Only men and boys take part in it. They proceed through the entire camp with slow serpentine movements, their faces working in weird grimaces. The eldest of the group, armed with bow and arrow, represents the hunter, who lurks behind a bush or tree, and takes aim at the revellers. Off goes the arrow, while the dancers scatter, roll about the ground, grin and roar. The drama is rehearsed again and again to the accompaniment of the thunder of the drums." [122]

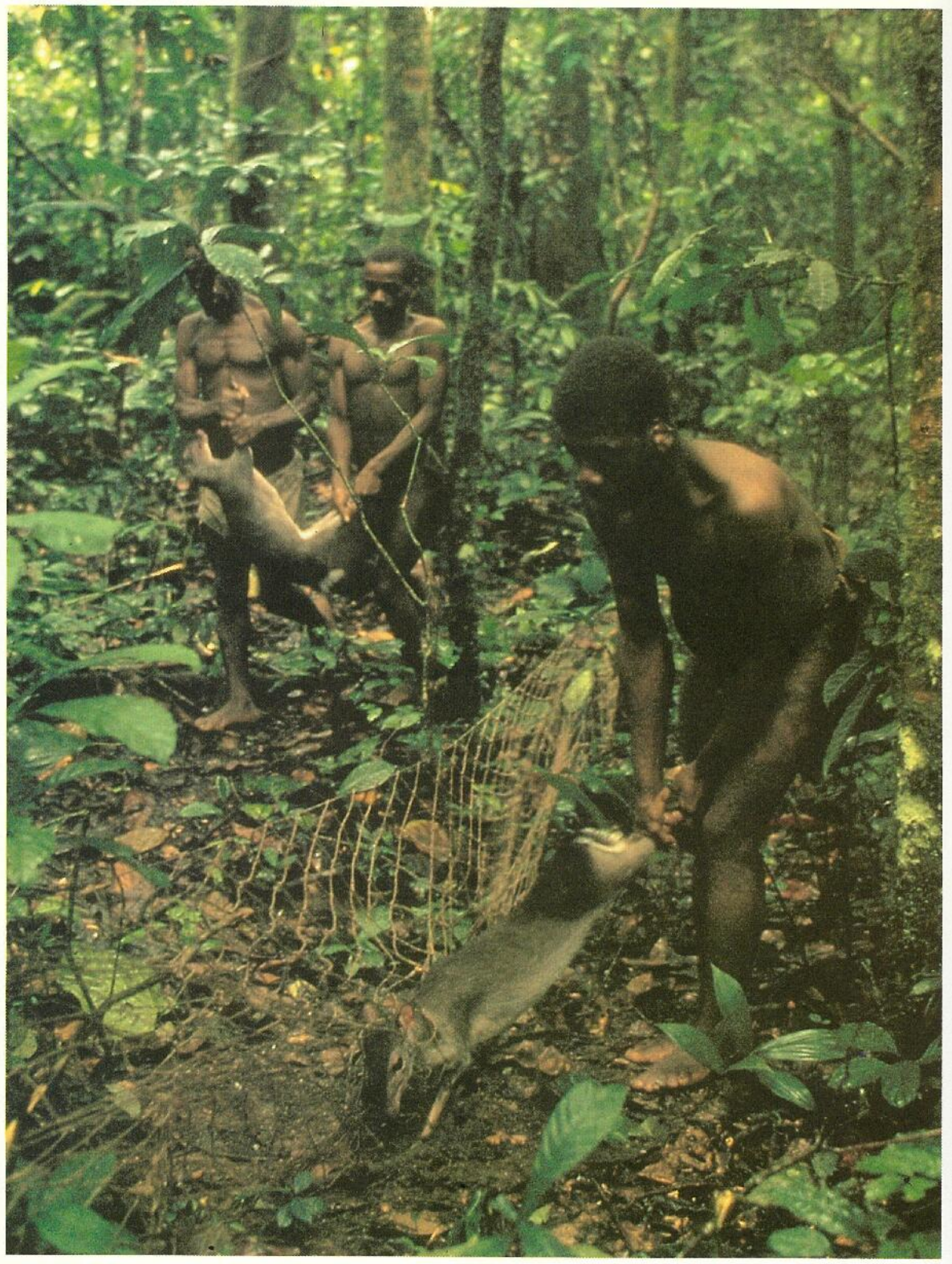
Turnbull tells of a honey-gathering dance: "The men and women divided, and while the men pretended to be honey gatherers, dancing in a long curling line through the camp, looking up with exaggerated gestures as if searching for some sign of bees, the women danced in another long line through the trees at the edge of the camp, pretending they were the bees. The two lines gradually came closer and closer together, the women singing in a soft, rhythmic buzz, buzz, buzz, while the men pretended to hear but still not to see them. Then the women seized burning logs of wood and attacked the men, tapping the logs on their heads so that a shower of sparks fell over them, stinging them like the sting of the honeybee. At that they all gathered up the embers, and where some of the younger men had been building an elaborate hearth of special woods and special leaves, moistened to just the right extent, they lit the great honey fire. There was no flame, but dense clouds of smoke billowed upward. Men blew on their honey whistles, women clapping hands, and everyone burst into the song of magic that would travel with the smoke and call the bees to come and make more honey." [123]



These are very different affairs from the trance dances of the Bushman. A very different affair, also, from the Bushman's hunt is that of the Pygmy. It is a hunt with nets, in which the women as well as the men participate. One hears little or nothing of that severe ritual separation of the male and female sectors that is basic to Bushman life. Nor do we hear of anything comparable to the Bushman reverence for the animal slain. Turnbull, for example, tells of the killing in the course of a general hunt of a sindula: an animal, not much larger than a small dog, which had broken through one of the nets. A youngster of about thirteen had speared it, pinning it through the belly to the ground, and the little beast, full of fight, was doubled up, biting at the shaft with its sharp teeth. One of the men put another spear through its neck, but it still writhed and fought. A third spear pierced its heart, and the little beast expired. "They stood around," states Turnbull, "in an excited group, pointing at the dying animal and laughing. One boy, about nine years old, threw himself on the ground and curled up in a grotesque heap and imitated the sindula's last convulsions. The men pulled their spears out and joked with one another about being afraid of a little animal like that, and to emphasize his point one of them kicked the torn and bleeding body. Then Maipe's



187. The Pygmies are superb hunters. Here they have killed a gorilla twice the size of any two of them.



188. Through a section of the forest a long net is being laid, into which the animals will be driven by the noise of the whole encampment—men, women, and children—closing in unseen through the rank tropical growth.

mother came and swept the blood-streaked animal up by its hind legs and threw it over her shoulder into the basket on her back." [124]

The Pygmies, in Father Schebesta's terms, "do not feel a consciousness of sin . . . . They are not troubled by fears through guilty conscience." [125] They are not, that is to say, troubled as the Bushmen are by the necessity to kill in order to live. Nor, in the present instance, was there any sign of compassion—any shared suffering with the animal—such as in the Bushman rites is apparent in every stage of what, for them, is an intensely ritualized act of sacrifice. There is no enduring Pygmy art celebrating the outstanding animals of their forest. Their address is, rather, to the forest itself, of whose bounty the animal slain to be eaten is a product. For there is a presence informing their forest, one of the names of which is Man of the Forest. Another name, alluding to its guardianship of the dead, whose spirits inhabit the dark places, is Gate of the Abyss. Hunters' prayers are addressed to this presence, who may then go before them, opening the way, dropping leaves as signs. An elephant trumpets. "Tore must have struck him," they say. And away they go to the kill. As a thanks offering they will lay a piece of its flesh on some leaves.[126]

* * *

The informing spirit of their forest is known to the various Pygmy camps variously; as Tore, Arebati, Epilipili, Baatsi, or simply as Father or Grandfather, with the comment that no one really knows the name. When asked about "creation" by investigators in whose own mythology this concept is important, a Pygmy of the Oruendi camp replied that Epilipili, who had always existed, was the one who created all things. In this account his image was somewhat confused, however, with that of Aporofandza, the First Man.[127] In the Nduye camp, where the Creator's name was unknown, he was pictured as an aged being with a long beard which, when swung to and fro, created hurricanes, thunderstorms, and damaging rains. He was Lord of the Lightning and the Rainbow: the latter was a huge serpent, and both were greatly feared. But here again there was a tendency to attribute some of the god's qualities to the First Man, who in turn was identified with the moon,[128] and the moon with the chameleon, who climbs the highest trees.[129]

The people of the Maseda camp called their counterpart of this figure Baatsi. He dwelt above and was Lord of the Dead, dangerous when offended. Incense offer-

ings were addressed to him. In the words of one informant: "When the fire is kindled and the leaves cause a thick smoke, we say: 'Grandfather, Great Father, let matters go well with me; for I am going into the forest!' Or when the fire is lighted on the occasion of a storm and the smoke rises, it is done so that Baatsi may see it and smell the incense. Then we call upon him, saying: 'Father, your children are afraid. Cause the wind to cease; for your children here are many, and behold, we shall die.' Baatsi sees our plight and hears our cry, stretches forth his arms, and thereupon the storm flees." Others declared, however, that the smoke worked of itself. "The incense chases the clouds away." Also the sound of the segbe-pipe, an instrument carved from the wood of a tree struck by lightning, was interpreted by some as itself frightening the wind away, but by others (or even the same informant, if asked on another occasion), as heard by Baatsi, who then attends to the work to be done.[130]

The essential question here is of the power of the Pygmy rites. Are their apparent effects due to the action of a god, or are they thought to work of themselves? The Pygmy term for their power is *megbe*, which is approximately a counterpart of the Bushman *ntum*; and like *ntum*, *megbe* inheres with especial force in certain animals, plants, and things. Crabs possess it, for example. It ascends with the rising smoke of the incense ceremony, where it may attract bees, move the clouds away, or rouse the Lord of the Forest to action. Living individuals make use of it in their lifetimes, and at death a part of man's portion is passed on to his son. "It is to receive this," states Schebesta, "that the eldest son bends down over the dying father and puts his mouth against his. The transmission is believed to take place through the mouth . . . . The other part goes with the dead."[131] It may happen, however, that the son's part may escape, in which case it becomes a worm and eventually dies.

There is a second spiritual element, which leaves the body through the nose and is carried to the Lord of the Dead by flies or bees. And there is, finally, a third part, known as the *lodi*, which remains with the body and is visualized as a shadowlike, thin apparition. It can also appear in dreams. It may assemble and dwell with other *lodi* in certain meeting places in the forest. And there is a diminutive special variety, known as *mbefe*, which in legends appear as tricky little forest imps. These serve as spirit gamekeepers of the Forest Lord. When a child, newly born, died in the Koukou camp, Father Schebesta was told, "He has become a *mbefe*." And on another occasion he was told that every person who dies becomes a Tore,[132] a counterpart of that supreme power which has just been described as the creator of all things, and who has been always in existence.

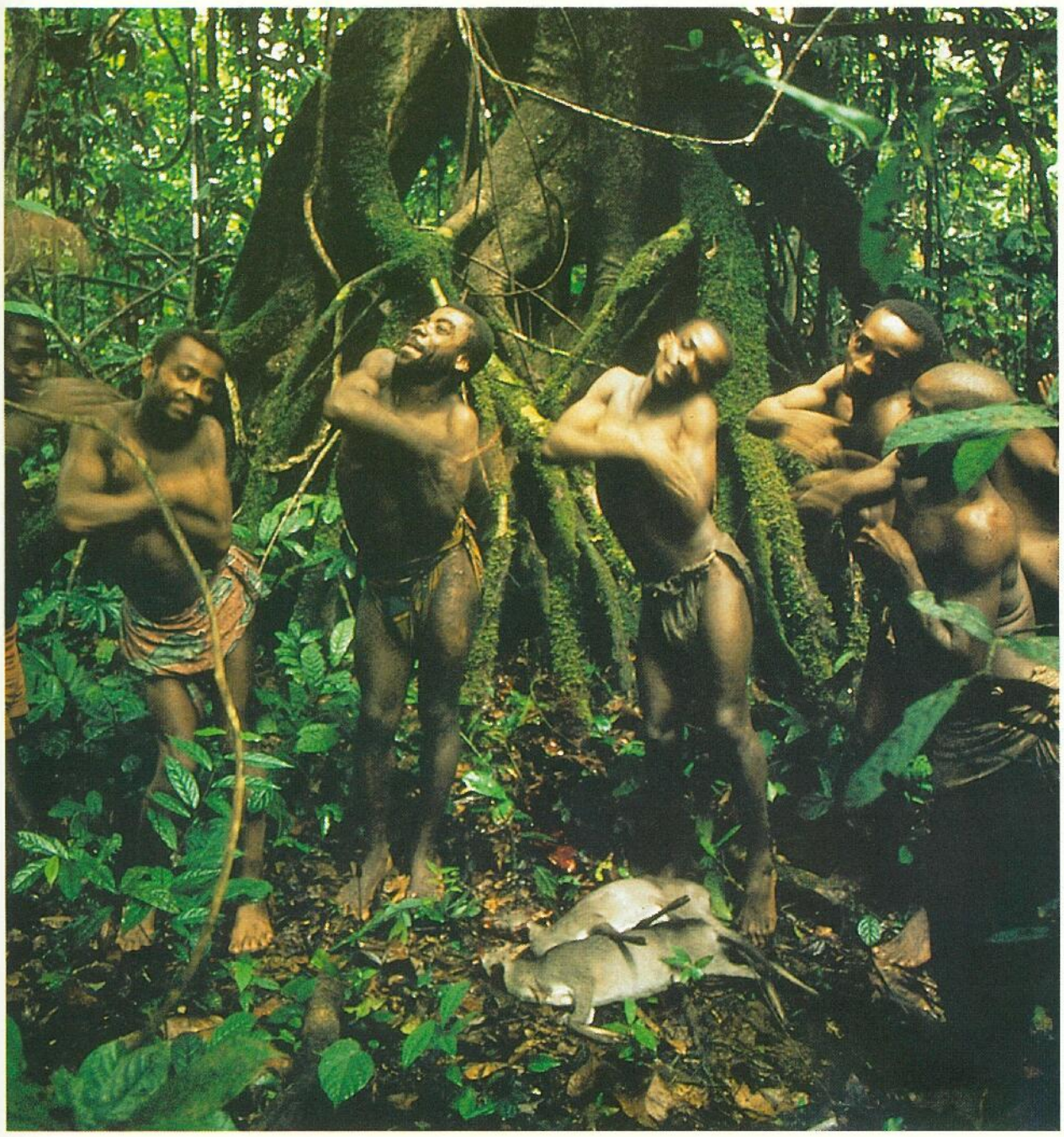
Curiously, it turns out that in one of the published legends, this same Tore had a mother, who now was dead. It had been in that once-upon-a-time, of which we all know from our fairy tales, that she had been given charge by Tore of his fire, to keep watch of it while he—who had just made for himself a swing of liana—would go whirling above the forest tops to great distances. One of his names, in fact, in recognition of this activity, is the One Who Swings To And Fro Above the Abyss.

One day it happened that when Tore was enjoying his swing, a Pygmy, lost in the forest, chanced upon the fire while the old mother was dozing, stole it, and fled. But the mother, wakened then by the cold, cried out in alarm to her son, who, flying on his swing, easily caught the Pygmy and returned the fire to its place.

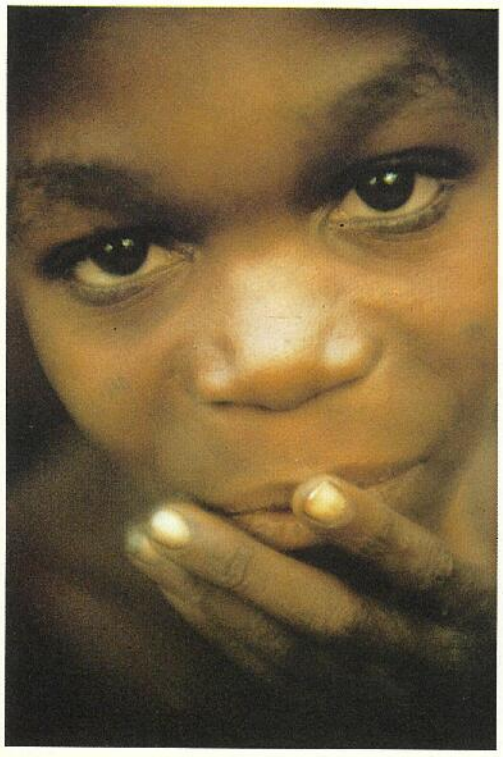
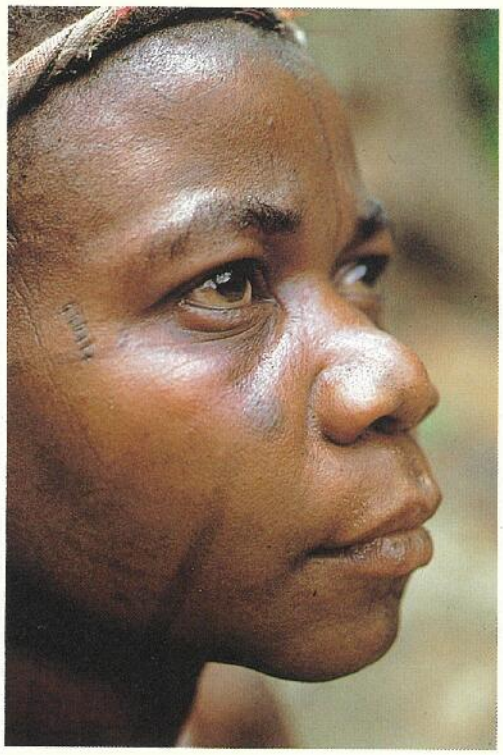
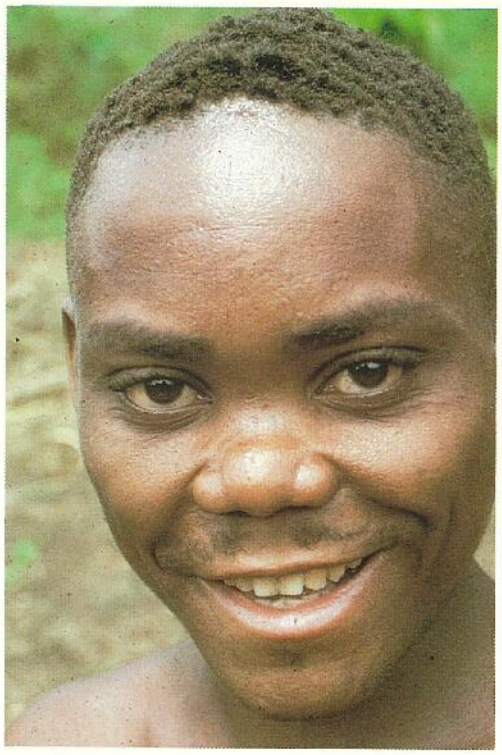
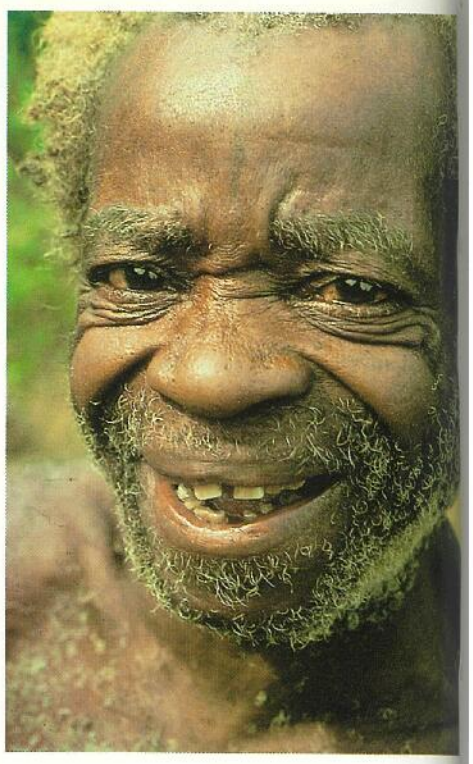
The little thief, on reaching his camp, related the adventure, and one of his brothers, stronger than he, determined to attempt it. The old mother was again sleeping, but again, when she woke to the cold and cried, her son came swinging over the forest and recovered the precious flame.

But now there was an exceedingly powerful Pygmy named Doru, greatly endowed with *megbe*, who, on hearing of these two failures, clothed himself in the feathers of a raven [a sacred, magically potent bird] and began to hop and then to fly "as high as to the heavens and as far as to the horizon." He winged his way to the fire, and again the old mother was dozing. She woke to the cold a third time, and a third time called to her son, who again came flying on his swing. But the pursuit, this time, went differently, over mountain and valley, up to the sky and down to the abyss, until Tore, exhausted, grabbing hold of a treetop, called ahead in anguish: "Doru, Doru, my brother, we are born of the same mother and are of equal birth!" But the birdman had flown on and, at the Pygmy camp, was already sharing out the fire, for which he was being richly rewarded. Everybody was giving him a maid to wife, and the joy of the camp was great.

Not long thereafter, however, people began to die, one after another. For Tore, having



189. An animal having been trapped, the men perform a dance of joy, but also of gratitude to their Forest and its bountiful Lord.

A gallery of Efé Pygmies, photographed by Jean-Pierre Hallet:

190. A six-year-old boy listening to a story.

191. A young woman, no more than eighteen years old. Girls are mature by the age of nine at the latest.

192. A young man of thirteen. The males also mature by the age of nine.

193. An older man, about fifty-five years old.

194. Two young women.

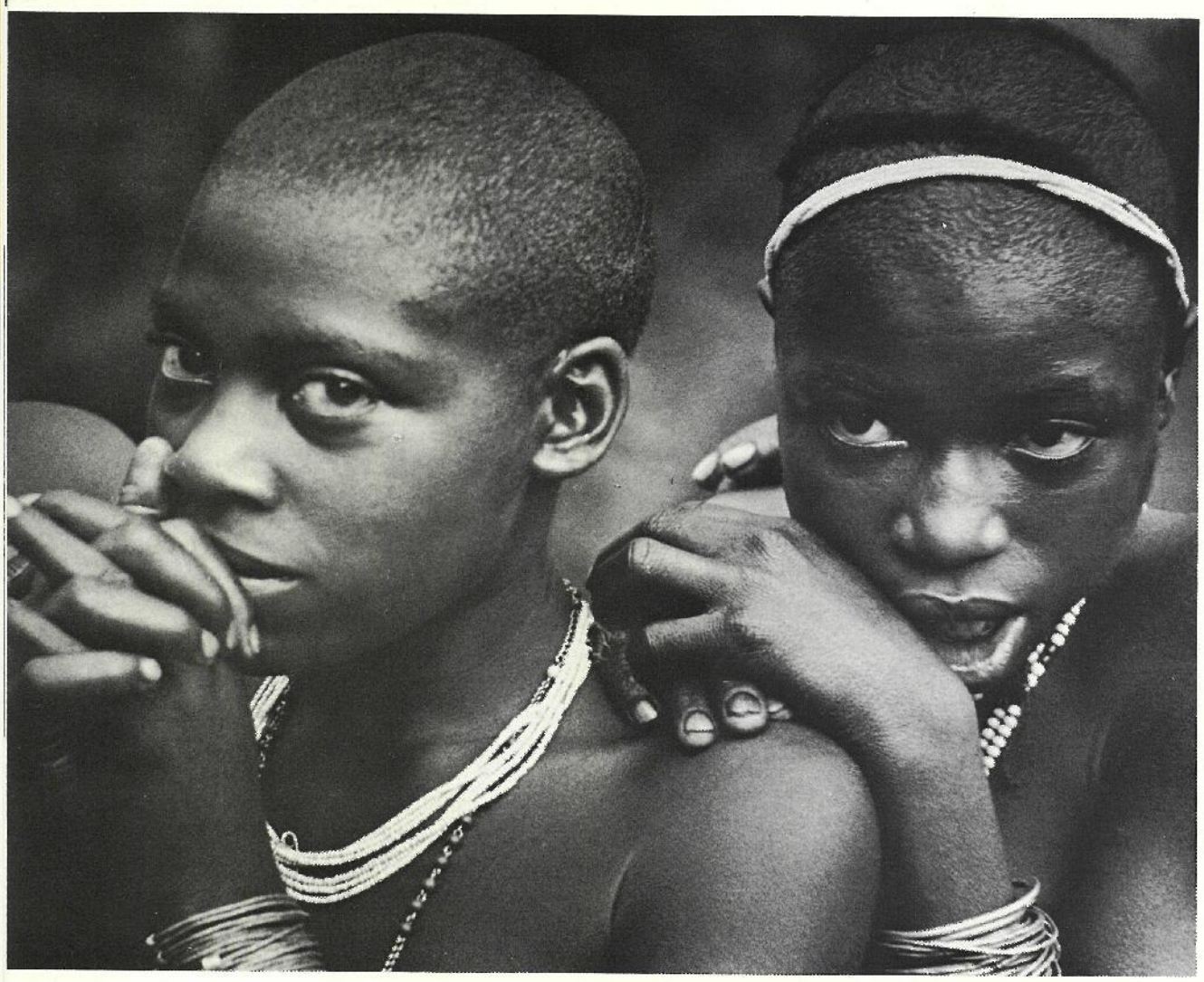
Carleton Coon (see pages 41–43) states: "We know nothing about these little people, except that they have lived in the equatorial forests of Africa for as long a time as is covered by the records of history."[20]

failed in his wild pursuit, while clinging still to the branches of his tree, had called out to his mother, who had not replied. When his strength returned, therefore, he went to seek her. And there, at the place where their fire had been, she lay dead of the cold. "For this," then said he in the bitterness of his grief, "the people shall die."

So the people now had the fire, but death had come, and the Age of the Beginning was ended.[133]

Apparently, then, as in the Bushman world, so also in this of the Pygmies, the ultimate metaphysical term is not what our theologians would call the Godhead, but an undifferentiated power, which in the Kalahari is experienced as *ntum*, and here, in the forest, as *megbe*. This power dwells in all things, in some more evidently than in others; supremely, but not uniquely, in such imagined Creators as Tore Baatsi, or, in the Kalahari, Kaggen; yet, in a gifted human being its portion may become so augmented that he may challenge and even outpoint the presumed Godhead.

* * *



In the legend of Doru's outwitting of Tore, there are three themes, besides that of the elevation of a magician's power to the potency of a god's, which are of worldwide distribution: (1) the Fire Theft, (2) the Origin of Death, and (3) the End of the Mythological Age. Themes 1 and 2 are not often combined, as here, but 2 and 3 frequently are; and Schebesta gives a number of examples from his Pygmy repertory. In the simplest, the blame is shared by a toad and a frog.

Muri-muri [another name for Tore] had given a pot to the toad, telling him not to break it, for death was shut up inside. The toad met a frog who offered to help carry the load, and though the toad for a moment hesitated, the pot was heavy and he let the other take charge—with a warning, however, to be careful. The frog hopped away with the pot, but let it fall. It broke, death escaped from it, and that is why people die.[134]

From the Pygmy camp in Apare comes the strange legend of how, in the Beginning, there was only Masupa, who created for himself two sons and a daughter, one of the sons, ancestor of the Pygmies, the other, of the Negroes. He would speak unseen to them, and he gave them one commandment: never to try to see him.

Marsupa lived in a large hut, apart, from which the sounds could be heard of hammering and forging. [The legend, that is to say, cannot date from earlier than the knowledge in this area of iron, c. A.D. 500.] That was an altogether-happy time, with no need to work. Or at least, the two sons had no such need. To the daughter the daily task had been given of fetching water and gathering firewood, to be placed at Masupa's door, and since she was burning to know what the one she was serving looked like, one evening, as she set the waterpot down, she decided to wait and see. She hid behind a post, and when Masupa's arm reached out for the pot, she saw it, richly adorned.

Masupa was enraged. He informed his children that he now would leave them and that the days of their ease were ended. He gave them weapons and tools, taught them the use of the forge and of other things necessary for their maintenance; and, especially angry with his daughter, he told her that she would henceforth be a toiling wife and bring forth her children in pain. Then secretly he left them, passing downstream along the banks of the river, and no one has seen him since.

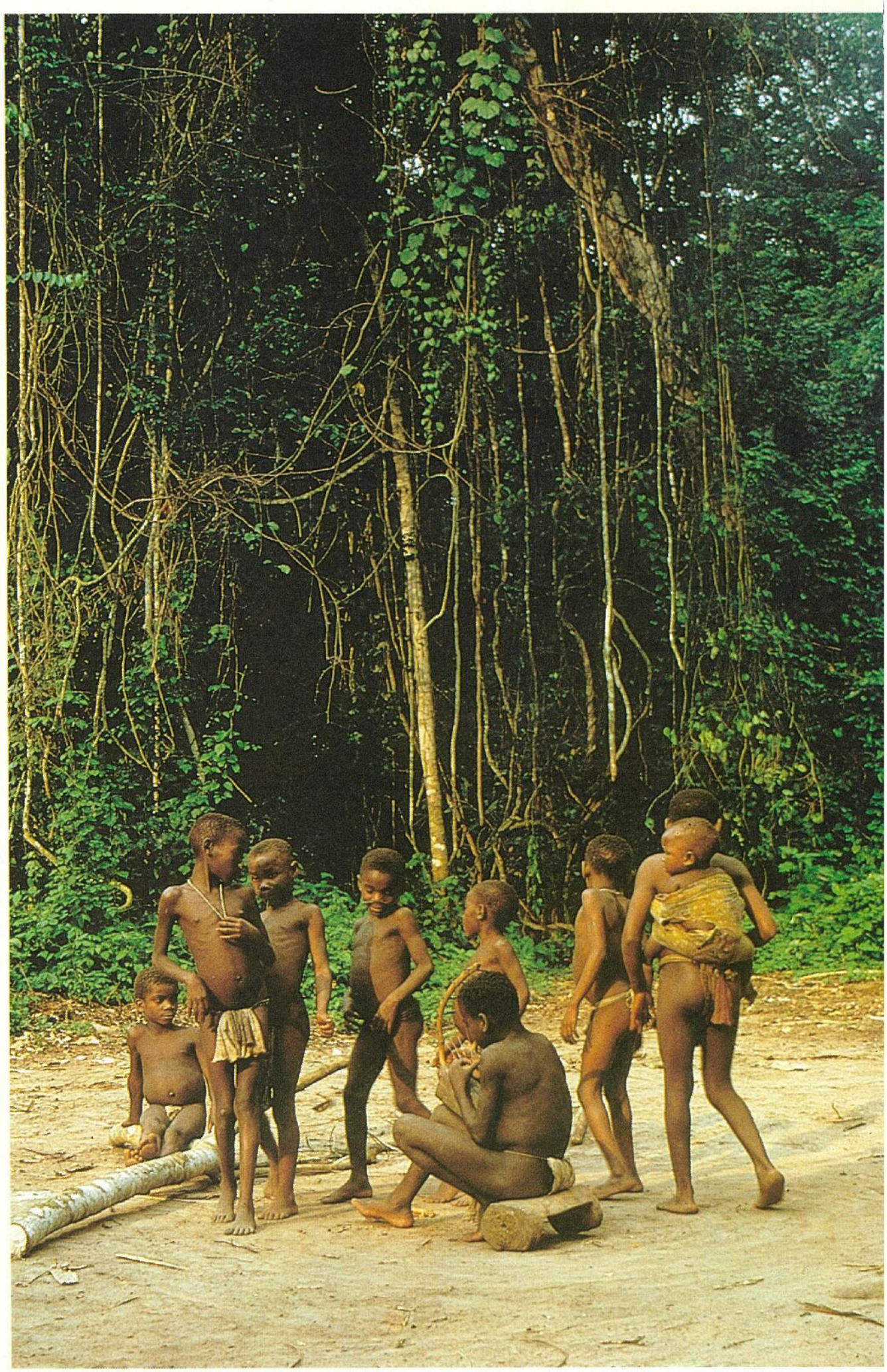
Death came with the death of the woman's first child two days after its birth. She had named him, with a premonition, Death Is Coming. And no one has escaped death since.[135]

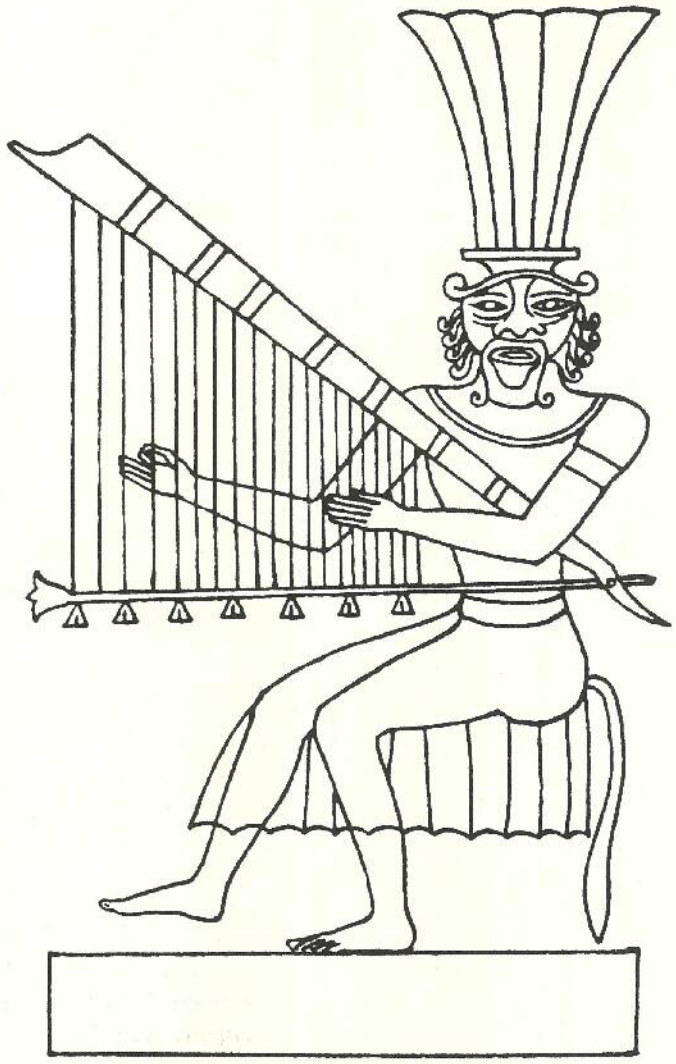
Another version of this theme struck Schebesta with especial force as suggesting a myth with which he had been long familiar. It was told by an eighty-year-old member of the Maseda camp, who declared that he had heard it from his father. "At that time," states Schebesta, "any Biblical influence on the Pygmies was out of the question." [136] (Compare Frobenius' comment on the Bassari creation myth reproduced on page 14).

A deity with the help of the Moon created Baatsi, the first man. [The Moon of this legend is female; the name of the deity we do not learn; and Baatsi, it is recalled, was in another legend recorded from this camp the name of the Creator himself.] The body was made by kneading, then clothed with a skin, blood was poured in, and the man lived. His Creator then whispered in his ear: "You will live in the forest and beget children. Tell them of my command, that they may eat of all the trees of the forest but one, the Tahu tree." Baatsi indeed begat many children and, having warned them of the one forbidden thing, departed to rejoin his Creator in the heavens. But a pregnant woman one day was filled with a craving for the forbidden fruit and so worried her husband that he finally crept secretly into the deep forest, plucked the fruit, quickly peeled it, and hid the peel beneath leaves. The Moon, however, who had seen, told the Creator, who was so incensed that he cursed the human race to die.

"I could not believe my ears," states Schebesta. "That was the Creation story of the Bible." [137] And another Catholic father, the French Jesuit Henri Trilles, who during his time with the Pygmies

195. Four Efé girls being taught the movements of a dance by an older woman (with a baby on her back!). Music, dance, and mime are the arts through which the Pygmies give expression to their characteristic communal joy in existence.







196. Bes, a god of the Egyptian folk tradition, patron of music and dancing and of children. Represented always full-face (which in Egyptian art is exceptional), he first appears c. 2000 B.C.—on mirrors, ointment jars, and other articles of feminine use—apparently inspired by Pygmies brought for entertainment from the source-lands of the Nile.

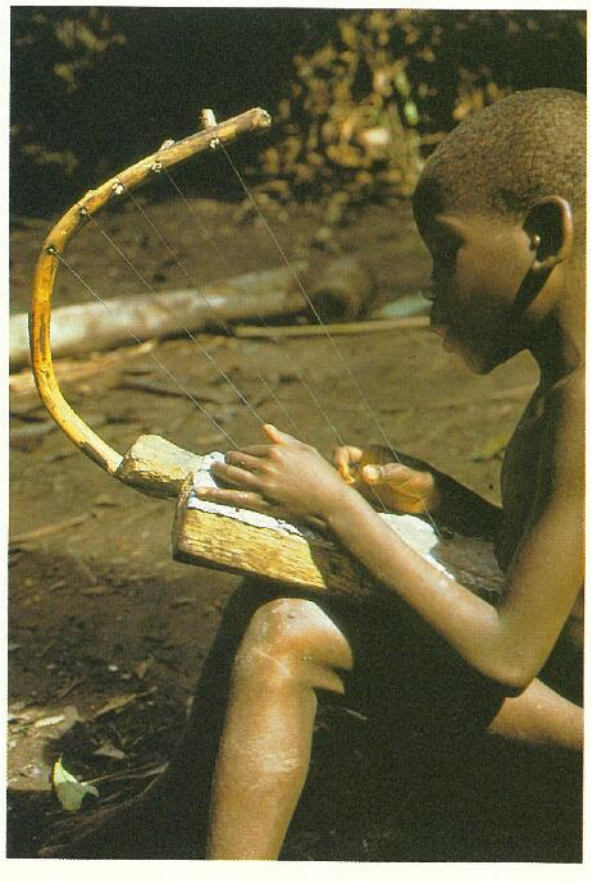
197. Three Pygmy "dancers of God." Twelfth-Dynasty Egypt, c. 1950 B.C. Cairo Museum.

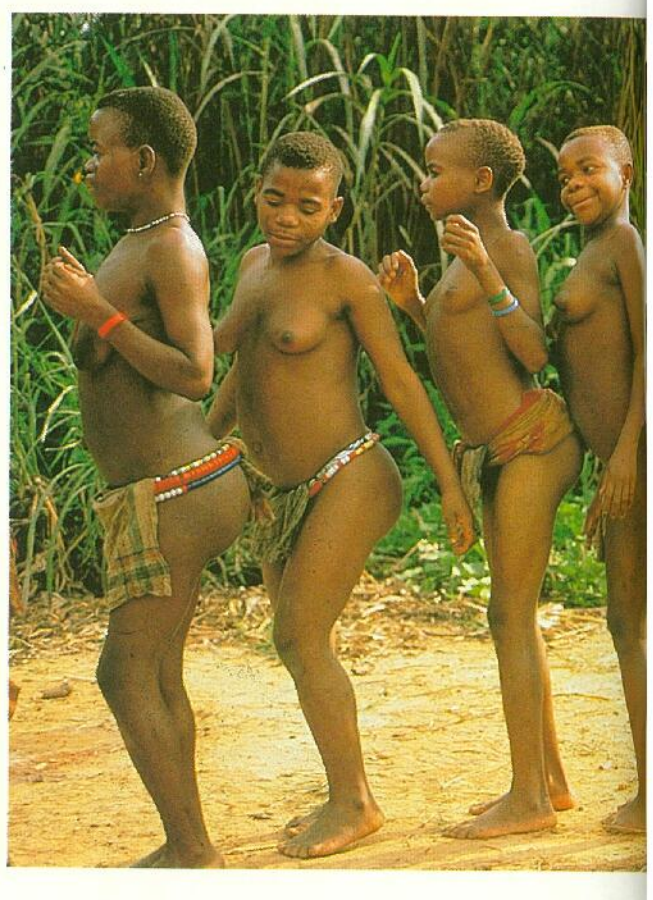
also recorded a version of this legend, regarded it as a demonstration of the truth of the account in Genesis 2 and 3, interpreting both texts literally, as variant chronicles of the same prehistorical event.[138]

Pygmy dancers, known as the Little Dancers of God, were already appreciated in Pharaonic Egypt as early as the Sixth Dynasty (c. 2350 B.C.), as we know from the reading of a now-famous letter engraved on a façade of the tomb of the Prince Herkhuf of Elephantine. The letter was sent by the Pharaoh Pepe II (Neferkare), at the time still a child, in response to word from the prince that he was bringing from the forests of the south a living Pygmy dancer.

"You announce in your letter," states the Pharaoh's order, "that you have brought from the Land of Trees and from the Land of Spirits, a Pygmy Dancer of God, similar to the one whom the Conservator of Divine Seals, Ba-Wes-Djed, brought from Punt during the days of King Isosi . . . . Hail to the Dancer of God, to the one who rejoices the heart of Pharaoh, to the one for whom King Neferkare, who lives eternally, sighs. . . . When you bring him to the ship, choose reliable men to keep watch on both sides, lest perchance he should fall into the water. . . . When he sleeps at night, post ten stout fellows to sleep alongside him. My Majesty yearns mightily to see this Pygmy. See that you bring the Pygmy alive, hale and sound, to my palace, and then My Majesty will confer on you far higher awards than those given to the Conservator of Divine Seals in the days of King Isosi." [139]

In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo there is a little sculptural piece of three such Pygmies dancing (Figure 197), from the period of the Twelfth Dynasty (twentieth century B.C.). And in the time of Queen





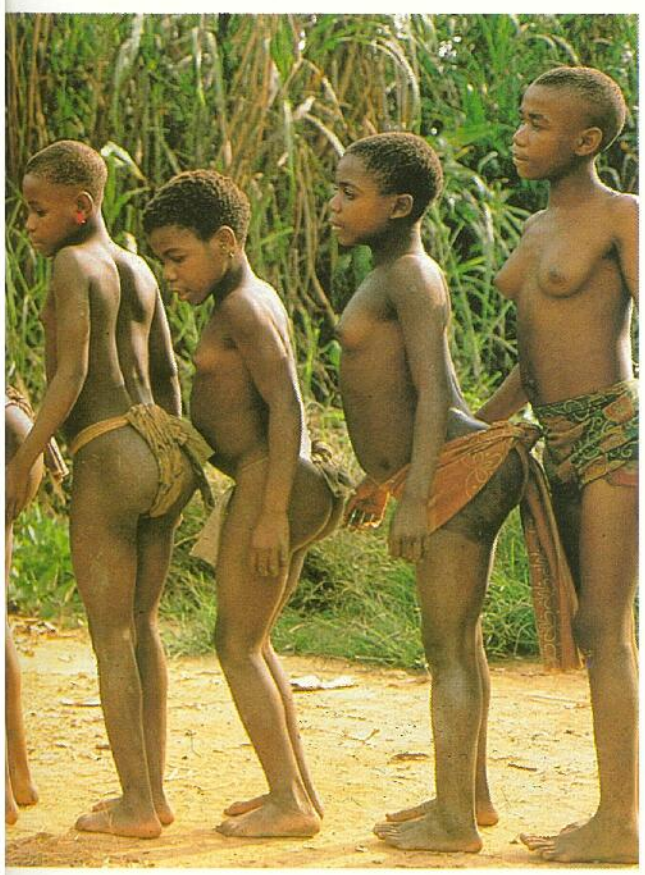
198. Efé boy playing the bow harp (*ndomu*), an important instrument in ancient Egypt associated with the god Bes. The Efé harp has five strings, more are used by non-Pygmy tribes. Usually played solo, it may also appear in ensembles.

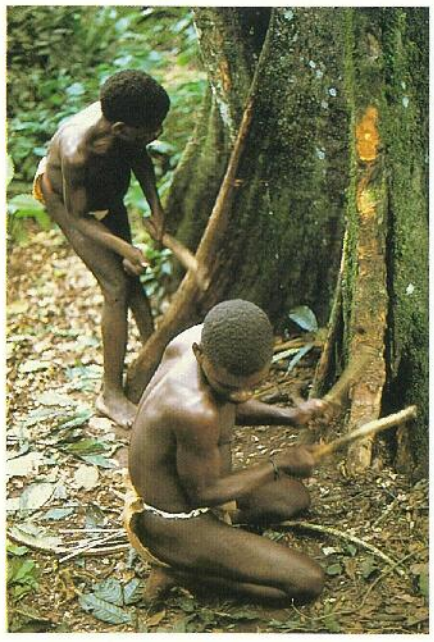
199. Efé girls in a dance without meaning, but one filled with joy in being.

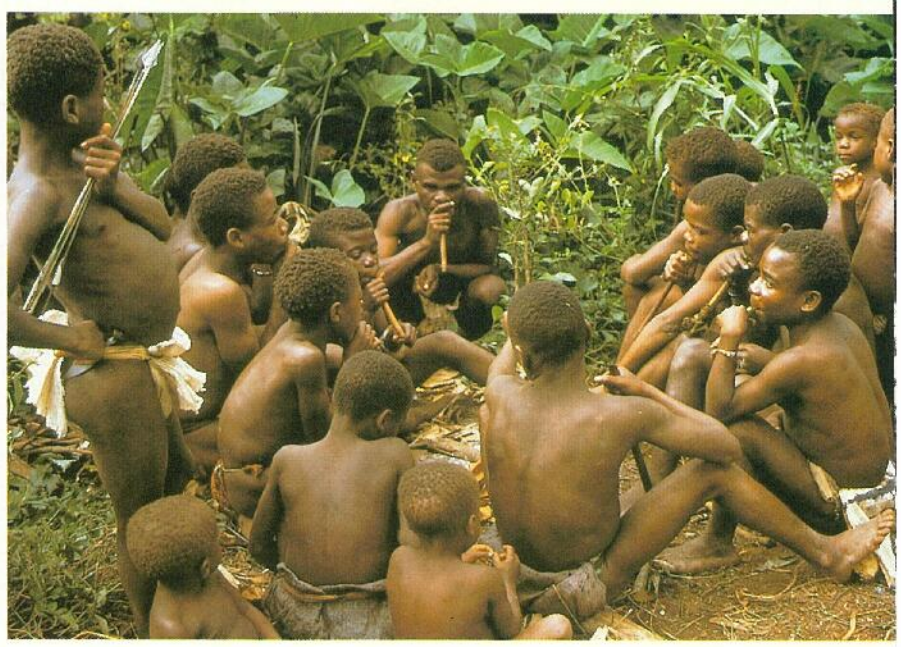
Hatshepsut (1501 to 1480 B.C.), expeditions were still being sent up the Nile to the Land of Punt: there is, on a wall of her temple at Deir el Bahari, a bas relief representing the queen of that land in a procession. So that, if, as Jean-Pierre Hallet reminds us, the Pygmy legend of the forbidden fruit suggests some sort of link with the Bible, the influence may have passed, not from Genesis (a relatively late text) to the Pygmies, but from the Land of Trees, down the River Nile to the Pharaohs, out of one of whose palaces Moses came.

Yet it may also have come the other way, for, as Father Schebesta has noted, in Pygmy legends " a very strong Negro influence must be reckoned with." [140] They are not primordial tales, but secondary and late. The element of Masupa's forge, for example, betrays a knowledge of iron, while the fact that the two sons of the god—a Pygmy and a Negro—had nothing to do but sit around in the paradisiacal age while their sister hauled wood and water, speaks for an already assumed male superiority. Indeed, this disfranchisement of the female is clearly a leading function of the Pygmy legend, as it is also of the Bible story. And appropriately, in Schebesta's report of his first hearing of the tale while in the Pygmy camp in Apare, he declares:

"I was just chatting with a circle of my little friends, when a group of panting women came into the camp, their bent shoulders laden with bundles of firewood, which were almost heavy enough to kill them. Involuntarily, I allowed a sarcastic remark to pass my lips about the lords of creation who sat there lazily smoking and yawning while their wives







200. Giant *ato* tree, as a percussion instrument, its winged buttress roots being natural sound boxes; usually three men play to accompany dancing girls.

201. Men's flute ensemble, each flute of a single tone. Melody improvised, three octave range.

were doing such heavy work. 'It's their own fault,' said one of them, rousing himself. 'They have sinned.' " And the legend then was related of the daughter and two sons of Masupa.[141]

There is some evidence, on the other hand, of an earlier stratum underlying the mythic lore of these Pygmies, from a period when the position of women was not the same as today. We have already seen that the creator, Tore, had a mother. Mothers antecede their sons, not only temporally, but also, in a symbolic sense, ontologically. And Turnbull tells of watching an extraordinary festival in which the Pygmy women not only joined the men in singing the molimo songs, but at times even took the lead.[142] The high moment was of a dance performed around the molimo fire by two females—a skinny, red-eyed crone and a young matron. Their performance climaxed when the old dame went into the flames and, whirling and kicking, scattered the fire in all directions. It became, then, the part of the men to gather back the brands and, themselves dancing in a circle, to return the fire to life. Twice again this occurred, after which the women withdrew and the men were alone.

"There is an old legend," states Turnbull at this juncture, "that once it was the women who 'owned' the molimo, but the men stole it from them and ever since the women have been forbidden to see it. . . . There is another old legend which tells that it was a woman who stole fire from the chimpanzees, or, in yet another version, from the great forest spirit."[143] The Fire Theft again—by a female! Fire is the forest's greatest gift, while the voice of the forest is the molimo.

The men were still singing when the old woman returned, alone, with swift and agile strides. She held in her hands a long roll of the twine used for making hunting nets, and while the men sang on, she moved about among them, knotting a loop around each singer's neck, until all were tied; whereupon, their singing ceased and Moke (Turnbull's initiator) spoke. "This woman," he said, "has tied us up. She has bound the men, bound the hunt, and bound the molimo. We can do nothing." Another of the company then declared that they each had now to admit that he was bound, and to give the woman something as a token of the men's defeat. And when a certain quantity of food and cigarettes had been agreed upon, the old dame went solemnly about among the men again, untying them, and as each was untied he began again to sing. When all were in song, the molimo was free, and the crone departed.[144]

The mythic ground of this stunning ritual is in every detail evident, and in contrast, furthermore, to the lessons of the current myths. The image and mystery of life are represented by two women, circling at opposite poles a central sacred fire: one a crone, the other in the beauty of mature youth. Eye to eye across the blaze, each was the past or future of the other. But it was the crone, alone, who entered the fire, kicking its embers about, to be taken up, restored to the fire, and preserved in flame by the men. Then it was she, again, who brought them twine for the knotting of their hunting nets and, in a telling moment of silence, had them all tied in her power. The allegory is obvious. She released them of her own free will to perform the works with which she had charged them: the handling of the nets of the hunt and the maintenance of life's fire, of which she was the sole mistress and bestower.

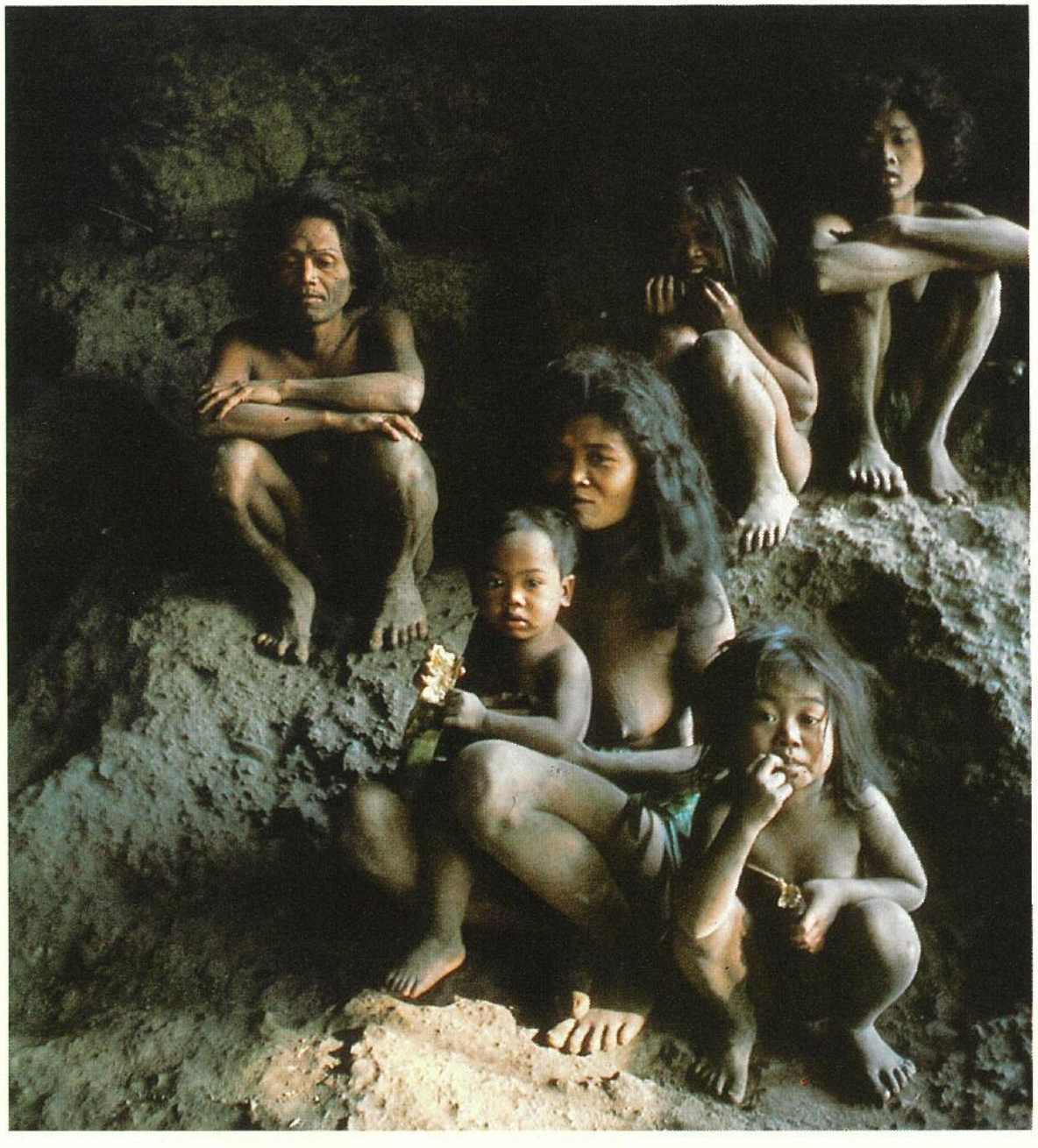
As Turnbull has shown, the characteristic Pygmy hunt is a hunt with snares and nets, in which both women and men and even children participate. Such may

have been the oldest hunting style of the plant-gathering people of this forest—which is situated, by the way, immediately to the west of that high plateau where the earliest human races are now supposed to have appeared. The hunting bow was a much later, Capsian-age invention. Hence, the Bushman hunt, with its poisoned arrows and associated rites, is of a later culture stage than the Pygmy hunt. The two are representative of the earliest known orders of living and of mythic thinking: the one infected with anxiety, in constant need of ecstatic release; the other inspired, rather, with joy and a confident, childlike participation in the natural bounty of its world, the wonder of which is rendered in the voice of the molimo, responding to its Pygmies' songs of praise.

These, then, are two contrary orders of life, determinant of the life-styles, mythologies, and rites of the most primitive peoples known: one, of the widespreading animal plains, the other of the sheltering forest. They were not arrived at by reason, but are grounded in fundamental experiences and requirements touching very deep levels of the psyche. In contrast, such questioning as "Who made the world?" "Why?" "How?" and "What happened to make life so difficult?" belongs to a plane of consciousness much closer to the surface of things than those deeps from which the controlling images of these two orders of life arose, not reasoned but compelled. Such questions spring from the moralizing intellect, asking for information, meanings, and justifications. And the responses to them in the way of explanatory origin myths may not represent in any significant way the more recondite, unspoken requirements and assumptions of a people. Moreover, as just seen, such an origin myth may be intentionally contrived to confirm such vested privileges as, for example, those certified to the "lords of creation" by the fable of the Tahu tree.

Thus two distinct, though tightly interlocked, strata of myth are to be recognized: one grounded, as dreams are, in the deepest level of the psyche; the other fantasized and controlled by interested parties who, ironically, may in the end come to believe, themselves, in their theologized mythologies.

202. A family of the cave-dwelling Tasaday: Bilangan, the father, his wife, Etut, and (clockwise) a boy not yet named, Lobo, Lolo, and Natek.



Ancestral Caves of the Tasaday

The mystery of the Tasaday of Mindanao is unsolved. Had this little cluster of less than thirty souls actually continued into the twentieth century A.D. a way of life and thought of 50,000 B.C.? Or had they, for some reason, reverted? When discovered, June 7, 1971, they were true gatherers, not even hunters. Toads and frogs, tadpoles and crabs, grubs, rats, and lizards were the meat items of their menu. Biking (a starchy potatolike tuber), wild yams, palm piths, bamboo shoots, and various fruits were their mainstays. Food was eaten, either raw, baked inside leaf wrappings, or roasted in hot coals from fires made with fire sticks.[145] Their occasional stone tools were readily fashioned from the pebbles of their stream and could be affixed with rattan bindings to crude handles (see Figure 29, page 31). Thorns, also, were used. The most serviceable implement was a sort of stone scraper of a kind found throughout the Philippines in archeological strata of Late Paleolithic dates.[146] And they inhabited three caves in a limestone conglomerate, 400 or 500 feet above a creek that provided all their frogs, tadpoles, and crabs, as well as water. The caves were reached by climbing up vines or roots, and the grace and ease of the Tasaday's arborial skills were as amazing as those of the African Pygmies. Indeed, like the Pygmies, they were true forest children, absolutely at home and at peace in the protection of their wilderness; equally ill at ease and afraid at even the sight of an open plain.[147]

The evidence of their language is interesting. It is of the Malayo-Polynesian family, the immense reach of which extends from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan and Hawaii in the north. Within this great linguistic lineage, the closest relative to the dialect of the Tasaday is the language of the nearby Blit, who are not, today, hunter-gatherers, however, but agriculturalists. When, then, did the parting of the Tasaday from these now more advanced neighbors occur? A loss from the language of about 20 percent of its Blit-shared words has been estimated to indicate a separation from each other of some 700 to 900 years, from about A.D. 1100 to 1300. And this is additionally interesting because, at that time, there were strong Indian influences present in

203. Among the vines, rattans, and descending roots in front of the Tasaday caves, Lolo sits snug and at ease.



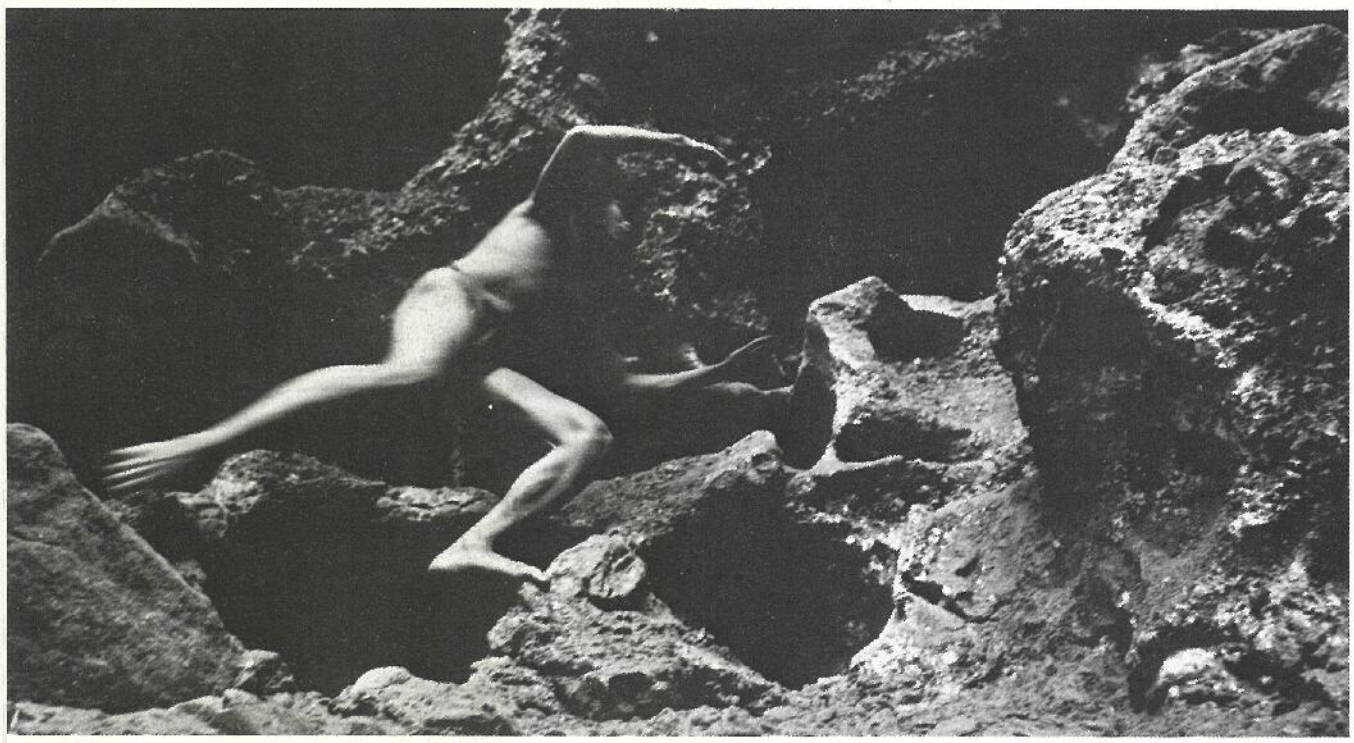
the Philippines and at least three words in the Tasaday vocabulary have been recognized as perhaps derived from Sanskrit or some Sanskrit-related tongue; namely, Tasaday, *diwata*, meaning "good, great, or godlike man or spirit" (Sanskrit, *devata*, "a divinity or god, divine being, or image of a god"); Tasaday, *mu-lan*, meaning "to plant" or "putting something in the ground" (Sanskrit, *mūl*, "to strike root, to be rooted," and *āmūmulat*, "to plant, to transplant, or to grow"); and Tasaday, *sawa*, meaning "spouse" (Sanskrit, *sava*, "a generator, offspring, progeny").[148]

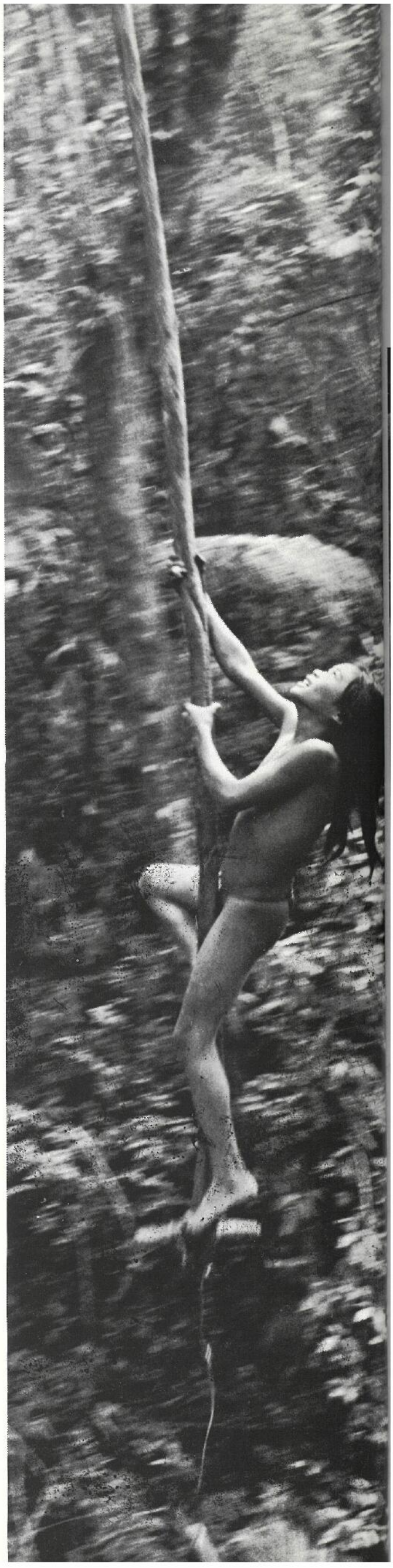
The Tasaday were not an inbred group; they had been, before discovery, in touch with other forest tribes, notably the Tasafang and Sanduka, from which at least two of the wives had come.[149] Moreover, the two or three adolescents occasionally talked of going in search of wives. The surprisingly different hair types also betokened a mixing. They varied from straight and thick to soft and curly, also to wavy and coarse; there was even one fair-skinned child whose hair was straw-brown and straight.[150]

In spite of all these inconclusive signs of possible outside influences, however, the overwhelming impression that the Tasaday made upon everyone who first saw them was of an authentic Middle Paleolithic cave community. And the evident implication of the few fragments known of their myths and legend tells of their having remained in the caves from of old, as at the place of their beginning; the caves having been assigned to them by their ancestors, of whom they talked a great deal. Their separation from the Blit, then, and from such other possibily related tribes as the Higa-onon, Sanduka, Tasafang, Ubu, and Tboli, would have had to have been not of the Tasaday from the others, but of the others from these caves of their common ancestors.[151]

They told of a godlike man named Bebang, who was the first person on earth. He had two wives, Fuweh and Sidaweh, and all three had been Tasaday. Bebang was owner of the top part of the caves and Sidaweh of the lower part.[152] "Our ancestors," one of the young men, named Balayam, declared, "said a person came to them in their sleep and said he was the owner [of the forest] and that our mountain is Tasaday Mountain. He owned the mountain. He told that to our ancestors and they told us."[153] "Our fathers and our fathers' fathers lived here. We never heard of Tasaday living anywhere else."[154] "My father's father told my father, and my father told me," this young man said again, "that we can roam in the forest in daytime, but must come back to the cave at night. It is always safe there."[155] "Our ancestors said never to leave this place. They had a good dream that said if we stayed we would not get sick. We have a little sickness—like coughing—but nothing bad."[156]

There was a bird about as big as a hand, with brown body and white head and tail, that they called *le mokan*, whose appearance they took as a warning not to venture from the cave.[157] Also, in general, going out by night was dangerous: "It has thorns, snakes, leeches, things you cannot see," said Balayam. "And you might slide off a cliff or steep hill. In the daytime we can see these things, and our bird warns us; when it calls, we stay still. My father told me that. If you go out when the bird calls, something bad may happen—a branch may fall on you, or you may fall down yourself, or a snake may bite you."[158]





204. Balayam, the leading bachelor of the group, springs from the big cave to his own.

205. Lolo's younger brother, Lobo, climbs on a swinging vine 100 feet long.

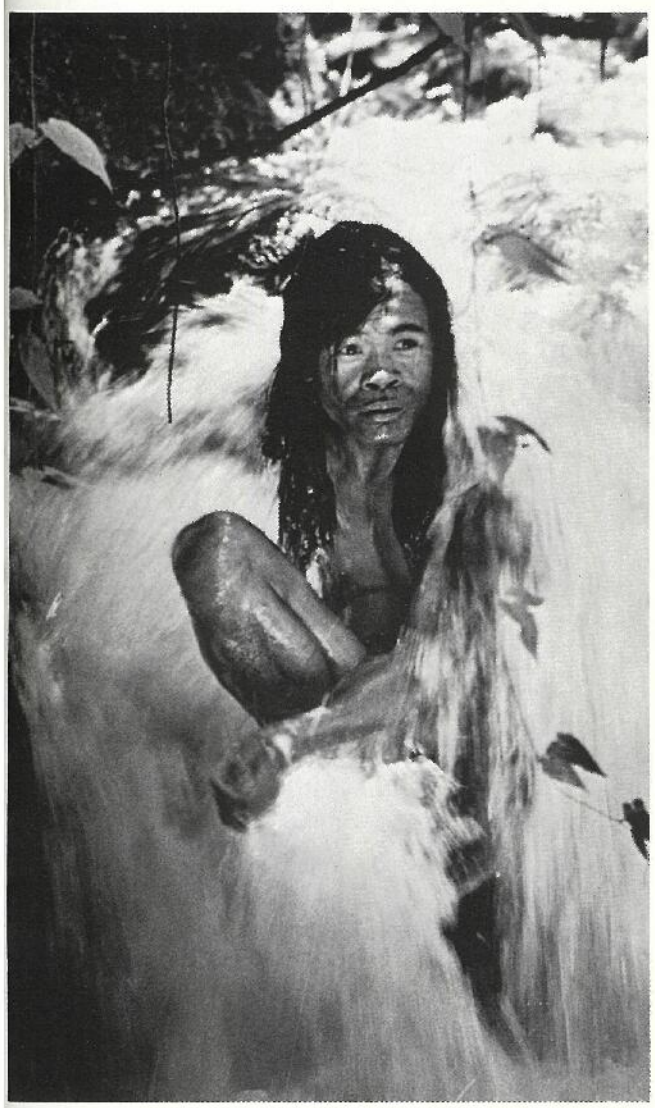
When asked what they most feared, the answer given was, "Thunder! . . . . The big word . . . . The worst thing . . . . We are afraid of it."[159] And when asked about their reckoning of time, a young woman, Dul by name, replied, "We count from one to ten moons." "What is a moon?" "It is when the moon comes and then goes away." "Where does it go?" "We don't know."[160]

There were two stories told by Balayam that may or may not have been learned from somewhere else. The first was of a small cave that his ancestors had carried on bamboo poles when they traveled. They would stop, set up the cave, and search for food. But they returned one time to find that the cave had grown into a large cave that they could not carry, and they decided to stay there forever. Was this the site of their present home? Balayam did not make that clear.[161]

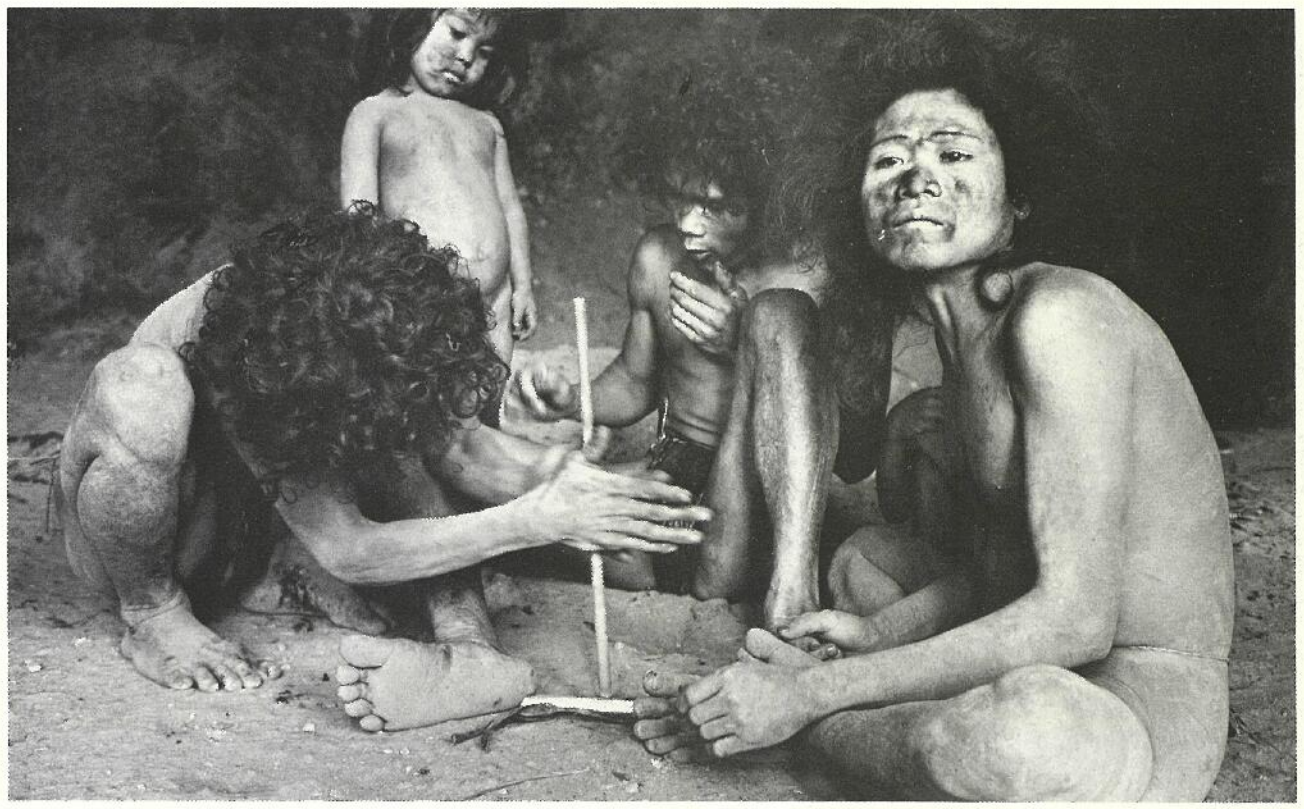
The other story was of a man named Ogoo, who carried a stick that he swirled in a stream until a hair clung to it. The direction in which the hair pointed led to people, and Ogoo went after them. He pointed his stick at people and their fingers and limbs fell off. (The neighboring Tboli had this story too, and it strikingly resembles the Australian theme of the pointing stick; see Figure 107, page 66.) Balayam said that his father had effected a cure for this, and that after that the cave grew big and Ogoo came no more.[162]

It is not much of a mythology, but what motifs there are represent standard stock: the voice of thunder; a lunar reckoning of time; the auspices of a warning bird; the notice of a mystic Owner of the Forest, announced to the ancestors in dream; a First Man, with two wives; the authority of the ancestors; a variant of the pointing-stick motif; and finally, a legend of a period of folk wandering, which is in conflict with the other legend of a residence in the Tasaday caves from the beginning. And curiously, the image of the small cave carried on bamboo poles and set down at Tasaday, where it remained and became enlarged, is not unlike the biblical story of the folk wandering in the wilderness, bearing with them the Ark of the Covenant, which in Jerusalem was made permanent in the Temple.

The Tasaday are monogamous and expressed shock at the suggestion of the possibility of sharing or exchanging wives. They had no special marriage ceremony. "We all gather round the new couple and say, good, good, beautiful, beautiful, that's all." And how long does a couple stay together? "Until their hair turns white."[163] Indeed, the Tasaday had no rituals whatsoever. If one of them died in the forest, the body was left there, cov-



206. Udelen, one of the young married men, rests in the waters of the stream below the caves.

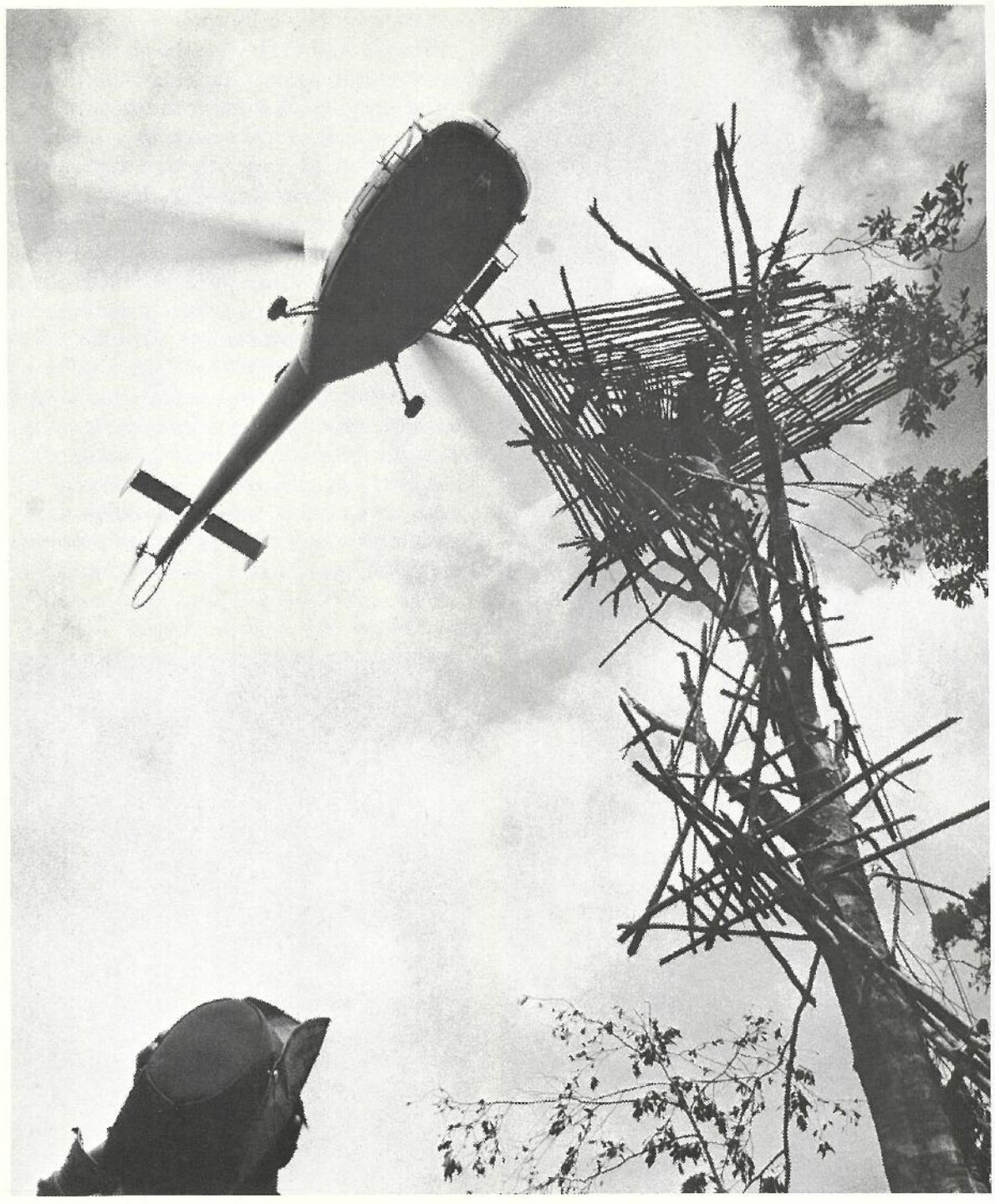


207. The Tasaday take turns twirling a fire drill to ignite dried moss.

208. Mahayag, successful at last, exhibits the blazing moss to his son, Biking.



ered with leaves. If someone died in the cave, the body was carried into the forest and left. And nobody wanted to speak any more of the one who had died. "What is it happens to any person when he dies? What happens to that, in him, which was living?" "The *sugoy* (the 'spirit') goes away, goes out—then you are dead." "And where does this spirit go?" "We don't know." "Where did it come from to start with?" "We don't know that either,"[164] Another view was expressed, however; namely, that the souls of the dead reside in treetops.[165] Balayam proposed that "The soul may be the part of you that sees the dream . . . . I dream," he said, "but I don't know where it ends or starts." The word for both the dream and the seer of dreams was *lomogul*.[166] There was some talk of fairies: rock fairies, stream fairies; and when a rash appeared on the neck of one of the company of visitors, it brought a laugh and he was told that a fairy had urinated on him there.[167] It was observed that the Tasaday always kept their genitals covered, and one explanation was that this was for protection against witches. Another view, however, was that the protection was against insects, leeches, thorns, and raspy vines.[168] When a child was born, the only accompanying requirement was that the father either bury the placenta or hang it in a certain tree—not too high and not too low—where the Tasaday always put placentas. Was it the custom, then, to visit this tree from time to time? "No. Once it is put there, that is all we do."[169]



209. The "big bird," the helicopter, touches down on the bamboo-and-sapling platform made to receive it. When it was first seen, and then arrived, most of the Tasaday fell to the ground in terror.



210. After receiving from one of their native visitors (a hunter and herb-gatherer named Dafal) some metal tools and elementary instruction in their use, the Tasaday learned from him to make pounders of bamboo and rattan with which to hack the starchy pith from sections of Caryota palm. John Nance photographed these implements in use and observed: "Several men often worked together with the L-shaped pounders to break loose and shred the pith in the sections of halved palm. Each man put one foot on the ground and the other atop the wood to hold it steady."[21]

The whole history and prehistory of tool use in the rain forests of Southeast Asia—where, for millenia, implements of stone hardly advanced beyond the "chopper" stage—remains, and will ever remain, unknown; for the availability of wood—and especially of bamboo, which is infinitely practical—has left nothing for the archaeologist to recover and analyze. Indeed, it was in recognition of this fact that Leo Frobenius characterized the historical role of tropical cultures, in relation to those of the stone-age north, as being an "invisible counterplay" whose contribution to the development of the early arts of civilization could not be tangibly documented, but only deduced—as, for example, in his recognition that the sudden appearance in Cro-Magnon art of carved stone figurines implied a probable influence from a region abounding in wood (see page 129).

With respect to government—the social order and authority—the attitudes were equally casual. Asked who was the headman, "Nobody," came the answer. "Who decides who does what?" "We do as we like."[170] And the atmosphere of harmony and ease among the group was amazing. "The best people I've ever seen anywhere are the Tasaday," was the comment of one of the visitors; and he later added: "Where did *we* take the wrong turn?"[171]

One more insight into what might well be called the archetypology of their mythic imagination deserves mention, namely, their almost immediate deification of the genial and devoted official, Manuel Elizalde, Jr., the conductor of the discovering expedition, who became, thereafter, their protector and the sponsor of the establishment of their forest as a national sanctuary. They named him Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday: "great or big man, god *(diwata)* of the Tasaday"; or perhaps, "who brought good fortune *(diwata)* to the Tasaday."[172] "This is what our ancestors had been telling us," one of them was overheard to say, one night. "It has come true. As our ancestors said it, we should stay in this place of ours and a good man will come to us, and that is Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday. Now it seems that our fathers are not dead, because the father we have now is more than our fathers; for he gives us knives and puts things on the necks of the women. The big surprise that we can't understand is the coming of Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday in that big bird [*manukdakel,* the helicopter]. When we first saw Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday he had few companions, now he brings many, which shows his love and gives us more help."[173]

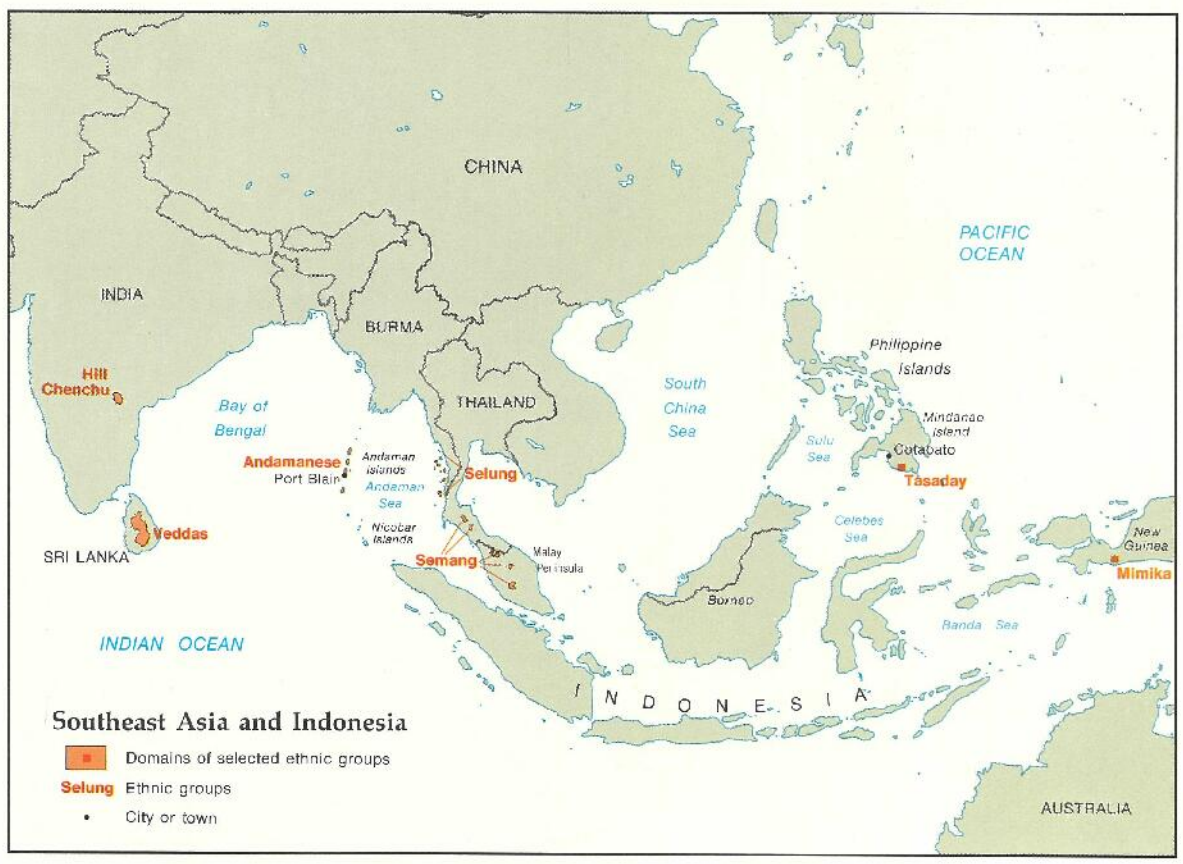
Balayam had had a dream, one night, when Elizalde had been sleeping with the Tasaday in their cave. "I had a dream . . . that I was on my way to look for *biking* and to make a trap. I saw a small white boy on top of the mountain, sitting on the stone. He said to me: 'Balayam, don't stop making traps and looking for *biking*.' I think this was the spirit of Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday, whose feeling goes with us in whatever we do."[174] "All of us are now the sons of Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday," said another of the chatting company, "including you, Kuletaw. Even you old women. We must always continue to look for the food that we eat, so that Momo Dakel Diwata Tasaday may see it and taste it."[175]

"We have much to learn from the shy, innocent, lovable people Nance discovers for us," wrote Lewis Mumford in comment on John Nance's book *The Gentle Tasaday;* "above all, what it means to be truly human, the lesson that 'advanced,' 'civilized,' scientifically progressive man has almost forgotten."[176]



211. Elizalde, who discovered the Tasaday and is idolized by them as a messiah, is here surrounded by four of the children.

The tantalizing question of the innocence of those utterly primitive cave dwellers—in contrast, for example, to the savage reputation of the almost equally primitive Andamanese—acquires a new complexion in the light of Nance's observation that they are probably the descendants of a company from the coast which fled into the jungle (not more than ten, nor less than four, centuries ago) to escape pursuit and capture by pirates. "Most researchers," Nance declares, "have estimated their presence inside [the forest] at from 400 to 1000 years. . . . Studies of tribal folk living nearby outside the forest suggest why people may have sought sanctuary in the forest centuries ago."[22] They are, therefore, of a regressed, not primary, primitivity; they know how to make fire, but otherwise lack the elementary inventions even of the age of stone. As Nance remarks: "The Tasaday, who did not dominate their environment, were as close to nature as any people known in modern times."[23]



Map 28. On Mindanao, the large southernmost island of the Philippines, is the forest home of the Tasaday. Some 2500 miles to the west are the islands of the Andamanese. But if the character of "man at one with nature," as represented in the shy cave dwellers of the Philippine forest sanctuary, has suggested to many the innocence of the idyll of man before the Fall, a very different judgment has generally been given of the Andamanese, whose custom it was, for millennia, to slaughter every ship's company that the gods of their monsoons would occasionally toss onto their beaches. Occupied by the British in 1857 and by the Japanese in 1942, the Andaman Islands are now a colony of India, and the native population has all but disappeared.

The Andaman Islanders

If the Tasaday, when discovered, were the only people on earth still inhabiting caves, the Andamanese were of the very few with no method of making fire. What fires they had were carefully tended in their villages and carried with them on journeys, kept alive in wood that could smoulder long without turning to ashes or breaking into flame.[177]

In contrast, however, with the "gentle Tasaday," who knew nothing of weapons, even weapons of the hunt, nothing of enemies or of fighting, but only the refuge of their caves, the Andamanese, on their strip of islands off the southern tip of Burma, enjoyed such a reputation for ferocity that, although their beaches lay in the way of sea-lanes traversed for millennia by the merchantmen of China, Borneo, India, the Persians, Arabs, Romans, and finally, Portuguese and Dutch, they remained innocent of history until the British, in 1857, took it upon themselves to put a stop to their murdering of shipwrecked crews by occupying the islands. It was then found that they had no way of working stone. Their tools were of wood, shell, and bone, but also bits of iron gathered from shattered ships. And they carried extraordinarily beautiful long bows, with two sorts of arrow: one, with a detachable head fixed by a thong to the shaft, which would quickly bring an animal up short when shot in the thick jungle; the other, long and fine, for shooting fish (see Figure 212). They also had harpoons for the seahunting of porpoises and dugongs from outrigger canoes.

In language, the Andamanese were isolated from all other people. Physically, however, they are classified as Negritos. An Asian race of pygmy stature and Negroid traits of skin, hair, and face, the males average 4 feet 10½ inches tall, and the females, 4 feet 6 inches. Their name, from the Malay *Handuman*, was derived, apparently, from that of the popular monkey warrior, Hanuman, of the Sanskrit *Ramāyana*. Other, widely separated peoples, known also as Negrito, are the Semang of the Malay Peninsula, the Tapiro of New Guinea, and the Aeta of some of the high mountain districts of the Philippines. And there are other indications, as well, of what must have been a very early Negrito substratum underlying a large part of the Southeast Asian quarter of the globe. But only the Andamanese, on their island chain, remained uncontaminated by perceptible outside influences until the middle of the nineteenth century; and so they have been generally taken to represent, in their mythology and customs, a truly primitive stage of development of the human race.

In 1952, however, Lidio Cipriani, excavating at a place marked on the maps as Bee Hive Hill but today called, in Hindi, Goal Pohar, uncovered in a prodigious kitchen midden (the accumulation of which "may easily have required," as he states, "a period of no less than 4000 to 5000 years") unquestionable evidence of a distinct threshold of acculturation at some very early date. Cutting through the great mound, he found, from the top to a depth of about 6 inches, chips of broken bottles, rifle bullets, pieces of iron, and the like; then, through the greater part of the midden to within 3 feet of the bottom, the bones of pigs, pottery shards, crab legs that had been used as smoking pipes, and clamshells well-preserved; finally, through the last 3 feet, no pig bones or pottery, no crab-leg pipes, but clamshells that were heavily calcined, showing that they had been exposed directly to the fire. His conclusion:



212. Posed photograph from the period of Radcliffe-Brown's visit to the Andamans (1906 to 1908) exhibiting the extraordinarily beautiful Andamanese long bow and its two kinds of arrow: the long for shooting at fish, the short for the jungle.

"The Andamanese, on their arrival did not know pottery. Previous to its introduction, food was roasted in the fire or in hot ashes; later it was boiled in pots . . . . The first Andamanese pottery is of good make, with clay well worked and well burned in the fire. The more we approach the upper strata, the more it undergoes a degeneration. . . . Bones of *Sus andamanensis* [the Andamanese pig] begin to appear later than pottery. They become more frequent, the more we approach the top levels. The inevitable conclusion would seem to be that the ancient Andamanese knew neither pottery nor the hunting of pigs. It is likely that both pottery and domesticated *Sus* were introduced by one and the same people . . . . Human burials," Cipriani states further, "occasionally took place in the kitchen-middens; however, only the skull and the long bones were placed in the grave, after having been preserved in the huts for some time, as is still done in the Nicobars. These skulls and bones show the same physical characteristics as the present day Andamanese. No traces of cannibalism were found." Further: the pigs, now wild in the islands, arrived probably as a domesticated species. And finally: "There are indications of cultural connections between the Andamans and the Nicobars, allowing the supposition that a common foreign influence, of as yet unknown origin, spread to both groups of islands."[178]

According to A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, at the time of his visits and researches (from 1906 to 1908, half a century before the extinction of these people), there was one essential belief that underlay the whole of their social and mythological order; namely, of a power thought to be dangerously present in certain foods (pig, tortoise, and dugong), as well as in people at the moments of their life crises (birth, pubescence, marriage, and death), and in anyone who had recently killed another. The native technical term referring to an immediate presence of this power in any person or thing was *ot-kimil*, meaning "hot." "In its various uses," declares Radcliffe-Brown, "the word *ot-kimil* denotes a condition of danger due to contact with that power on the interaction of the different manifestations of which the well-being of the community depends."[179]

There were, however, certain persons, male and female, who were supposed to have come into some sort of possession or mastery of this power. They were known as *oko-jumu*, a term meaning literally "one who speaks from dreams," or "dreamer." They were supposed to be able to communicate with spirits while awake, as well as in dream; to cause and to cure disease; to prevent bad weather by the recitation of charms against the sea spirits and even against the great deities of the southwest and northeast monsoons, Tarai and Biliku; to have knowledge of the magical powers of minerals, plants, and certain animals; and to be fully acquainted with the personages of the myths. Each will have come into possession of his power in any one or more of three recognized ways: (1) by dreams, (2) by dying and returning to life, or (3) by meeting and consorting with spirits in the jungle.



213. Lacking the shell fishhook (otherwise well known throughout the Pacific), the Andamanese turned their great bows and longest arrows to the harvesting of fish.

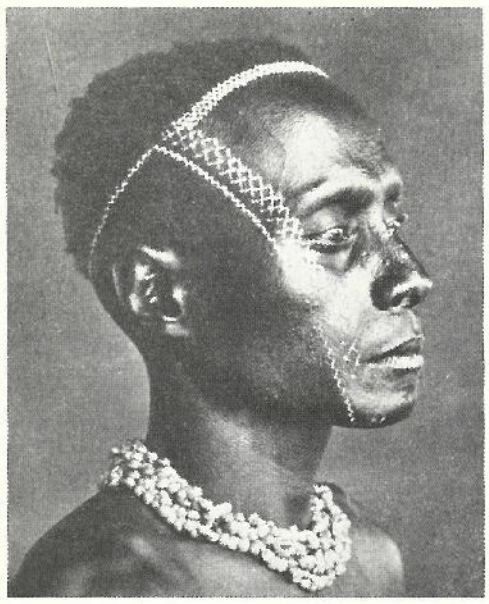
In sum, then, according to Radcliffe-Brown, the following are the implicit beliefs underlying the Andamanese ceremonial order:

"(1) There is a power or force in all objects or beings that in any way affect the social life. (2) It is by virtue of this power that such things are able to aid or harm the society. (3) The power, no matter what may be the object or being in

which it is present, is never either essentially good or essentially evil, but is able to produce both good and evil results. (4) Any contact with the power is dangerous, but the danger is avoided by ritual precautions. (5) The degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the effects that it has on the social life. (6) The power in one thing may be used to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in some other thing." And finally: "(7) If an individual comes into contact with any thing and successfully avoids the danger of such contact (as, for instance, in such experiences as give to the *oko-jumu* his super-normal powers), he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact."[180]

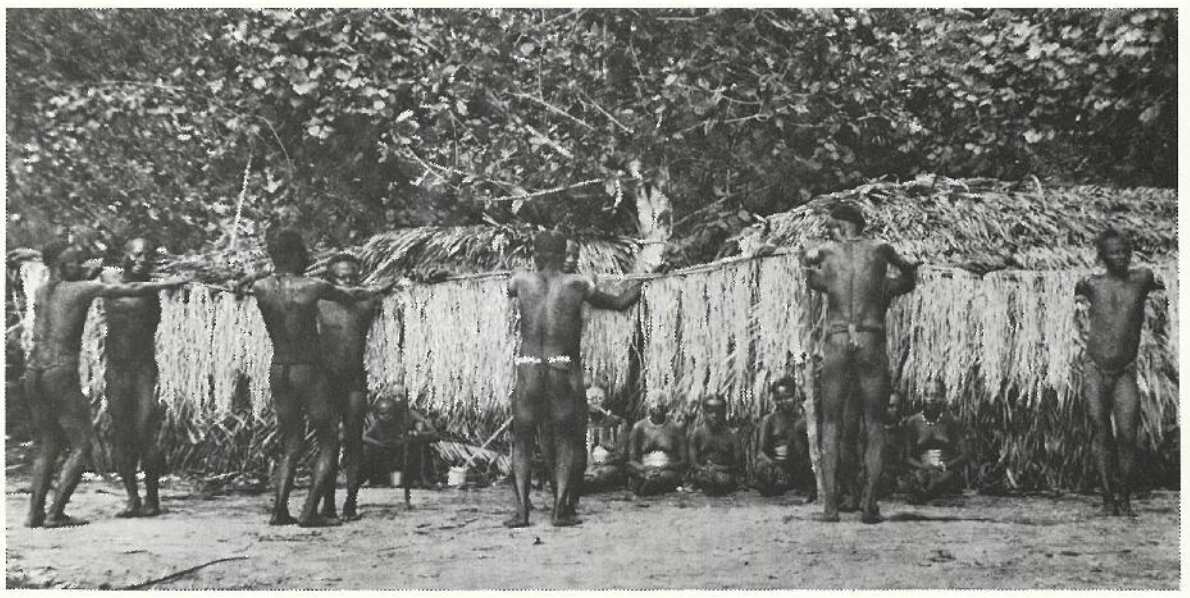
Thus, as among the Pygmies and the Bushmen, so here among the Andamanese, there is an informing power that is recognized as inherent in things in differing degree. It is known as *megbe* to the Pygmies, *ntum* to the Kung Bushmen, and *ot-kimil* to these Southeast Asian islanders. Of the Tasaday, nothing quite comparable is reported, unless something of the kind be implicit in their (possibly Sanskrit) term *diwata*. They expressed fear of thunder, night, and the open plain. Talking with foreign visitors early in the 1970s, they avoided speaking of the dead. Safety was felt in the forest by day, in the cave by night, and in ancestral custom, though nothing of a ceremonial order has been recorded of them. In summary of the lesson of the Andamanese interpretation of *ot-kimil*, Radcliffe-Brown states in conclusion: "The society itself is the chief source of protection to the individual; the spirits are the chief source of danger."[181] And this would seem to hold in a general way, as well, for the Tasaday, Bushmen, and Pygmies.

For the Andamanese, protection was given principally by ceremonial ornamentation and ceremonial acts. White clay and red paint designs on the body, scarification, the wearing of certain protective leaves and of ornaments made from the bones of feared animals, or, in the case of a widow in mourning, the skull of her deceased husband—such were the ornamental counteragents to the "heat," *ot-kimil*, of a spiritual threat.[182] And of ceremonial acts, there were two of especial force: weeping and the dance. The former was never a spontaneous personal expression, but always a rite, demanded by custom, in which the two essential elements were the weeping and the embrace. It was seen to have been practiced when two friends or relatives met after having been for some time parted; likewise, at peacemaking ceremonies between tribes; at weddings, when the relatives wept over bride and groom; at initiation ceremonies, where the female relatives wept and the initiate remained passive; at death, when friends and relatives embraced the ornamented corpse and wept; when the bones of a dead man or woman were recovered from the grave; and at the end of mourning ceremonies, when the mourners wept with their friends who had not been mourning.[183]



214. The ornamental "snake" pattern in white clay, here shown on the face, might be carried to the chest and back, the outside of the arms, and the front and back of the legs. It was used to decorate brides and grooms, corpses, and the dancers at initiations and mourning ceremonies.

215. Posed photograph, taken by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown between 1906 and 1908, that suggests something of the variety of traditional whole-body patterns, executed in white clay (*odu*) by the women, who paint themselves and their male relatives. The clay is mixed in a wooden dish or shell and applied with the fingers. The women compete in the creation of new and interesting designs. The same clay—but applied differently—is used to indicate bereavement and for initiation rites.





216. Two villages, terminating a tribal conflict, celebrate a peacemaking dance.

217. Village huts surround the oval danceground. The sounding board in the mid-foreground was struck by the song leader's foot while the men danced, circling in file. Seated behind the sounding board, the women kept time, clapping their thighs.

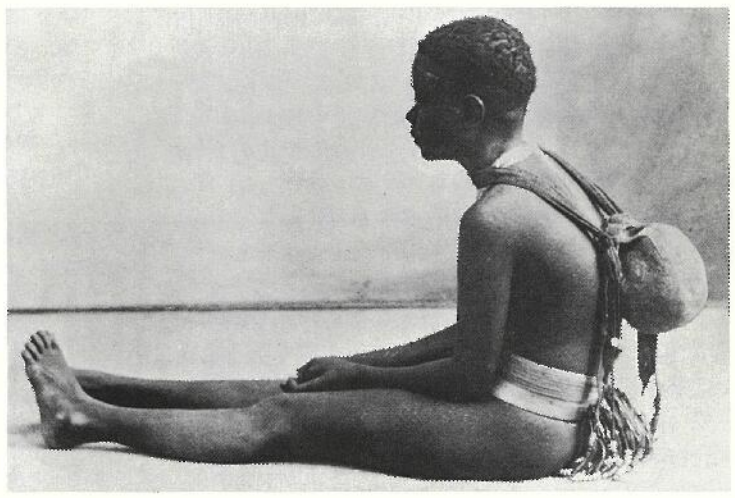
The dance, on the other hand, was enjoyed as a common nightly entertainment, as well as practiced formally as a feature of both peacemaking and war ceremonials, initiatory pig-eating and turtle-eating rites, or at the termination of mourning. The eight or ten open-fronted family shelters of a typical Andamanese village (Figure 217) were set up around an elliptical dance area, at one end of which was a sounding log aslant, to be struck by the foot of the male song leader. And, as among the Bushmen, so here: The women, sitting on the ground, clapped time and sang in chorus (here, however, not clapping their hands but their thighs, with their legs out straight before them), while the men danced round and round, for some five or six hours a night. "In the dance of the Southern tribes," states Radcliffe-Brown, "each dancer dances alter-



nately on the right foot or on the left. When dancing on the right foot, the first movement is a slight hop with the right foot, then the left foot is raised and brought down with a backward scrape along the ground, then another hop on the right foot. These three movements, which occupy the time of two beats of the song, are repeated until the right leg is tired, and the dancer then changes the movement to a hop with the left foot, followed by a scrape with the right and another hop with the left. The arms were held out straight in front, thumb and forefinger of one hand interlocked with those of the other, and as a man danced, he remained in one spot for a time, then advanced a yard or two around the dancing ground."[184] There was in these dances no trend toward trance, as among the Bushmen; nor do we read of anything comparable either with the symbolic Pygmy dance of the two women, young and old, or with their imitative honey-hunting mime. The value, rather, was simply of a rhythmic form, and the effect, a sense of social unification: a force to stay the individual in his daily confrontations with the powers of the wilderness, the sea, the animals slain to be eaten (pig, tortoise, and dugong), the mysterious powers of the life-passages from birth to death, and the spirits, then, of the dead.

The chief divinity in the mythology of these little people was a personification of the northeast monsoon, named, in the various dialects, Biliku, Bilika, Bilik, or Puluga, whose character, in keeping with that of the stormy season itself, was tricky and temperamental, at once beneficent and dangerous. Sometimes envisioned as a great spider, Biliku was usually female. The milder southwest monsoon, personified as Tarai, might then be her husband, with the birds, the sun, and the moon, their children. The moon could sometimes turn into a pig—which is an association (pig = moon) that immediately suggests that at least some of the motifs of this apparently very primitive hunting-and-gathering mythology must have been derived from the Southeast Asian matrices of the earliest known planting and pig-domesticating cultures. The mythology was never systematized by an established priesthood, and so, a number of versions have been recorded of practically all its characters and events. Indeed, every *oko-jumu* had his own collection of tales and might, on different occasions, give completely different versions of the same episode.[185] And yet, a number of constant themes emerge as a background against which all the legends play. All deal with the time of the Ancestors, when Biliku, Bilika, Bilik, or Puluga, lived on earth. And all recognize that that period ended when a broken tabu roused the deity's wrath; a catastrophe immediately followed, and the world became as now known. We may review the myths with a view to this classic order.





218. A girl decorated with protective pandanus leaves at the time of her first menstruation sits for three days in a special hut in a required posture. No longer a child, she will now receive a new name, a "flower name," after some plant or tree in bloom at the time. The two staves aslant behind her are for her to lean back upon in sleep, for she is not to lie down during the whole term of this period (some two weeks) of her meditation on her new estate.

219. Young woman wearing her sister's skull as a protective, or curative, amulet. Certain substances and objects—white clay, red paint, shells, bones, pandanus, and certain other leaves and woods—were believed to give protection against the "heat" (*kimil*) of dangerous conditions, times, and foods. Among such were illness, storms, the end of the rainy season, murder, menstruation, marriage, death, birth, and the initiate's first eating of pork, turtle meat, or dugong.

Myths and Tales of the Andamanese

In the Beginning

In from the sea came floating a big joint of bamboo of a kind that does not grow in the Andamans. [Joints of this kind drift ashore from Burma, to be picked up and made into buckets.] The bamboo split and there came forth from it, like a bird from its egg, an infant, the First Man, whose name was Jutpu, "Alone". As a child he built a little hut for himself and made a little bow and arrow. As he grew he made bigger huts and bigger bows and arrows, until one day he found a piece of quartz and scarified himself. Then he felt alone and from an ants' nest took clay which he molded into a woman's shape. She became alive. Her name was Kot, "Clay". The two settled at Teraut-buliu, where Alone fashioned other people of clay, who became the Ancestors. He taught them to make canoes, bows and arrows, to hunt and to fish. Clay, meanwhile, taught the women to make baskets, nets, mats, belts, and to use clay to paint patterns on the face and body.[186]

Other storytellers had it, either that Alone emerged from the buttressing root of a tree and cohabited directly with an ants' nest, or that the First Man was not Alone, but the southwest monsoon, Tarai, whose wife was the woman of clay, and their progeny, the wind, the storm, the sky, and the foam of a rough sea.[187]

A fundamentally different mythology is apparently represented in a legend in which it was a female, Lady Crab, who came floating in from the sea, already pregnant, like the joint of bamboo from which the First Man, Alone, was born. And it was she who then bore the Ancestors.[188] (Compare the North Australian



Map 29. 207 islands: the largest three—North, Middle, and South—being known together as Great Andaman. Tribal customs, north to south, were increasingly archaic.

legend of Old Woman, page 133.) But according to others, for whom the First Man was Tomo, meaning simply Ancestor, it was he who, on noticing Lady Crab swimming in the ocean near his home, called to her; and she, coming ashore, became his wife.[189] Or yet again, from others we have it that Tomo's wife was Mita, the dove. Tomo invented bows, arrows, and canoes; Mita, nets and baskets. And it was she who discovered the ritual uses of white clay and red paint.[190] By some it is said that Tomo, after his death, went to live in the sky, where it is always daylight and the weather always fine. When people die, according to this version of the world, their spirits go up to the sky and live with Tomo.[191]

There were some who thought of Tomo as the Creator, connecting him with the Sun, whose wife was the Moon;[192] whereas, for others, the Moon was a male, and the Sun, his wife. When this Moon Man is crossing the sky, his tongue hangs out (sometimes more, sometimes less), which is all that we ever see of him.[193] Or the Creator might be the northeast monsoon—Biliku, Bilika, Bilik, or Puluga—who, after creating the world, fashioned Tomo as the First Man, black like the Andamanese, but much taller and bearded. And having taught Tomo what to eat and how to live, Puluga created Lady Crab to be his wife.[194]

There is a prominent series of myths in which the First Man is a monitor lizard. This large, prolific reptile can swim in water, walk on land, and climb trees, and was thus the obvious local candidate for the classic mythological role of master of the three worlds.

Sir Monitor Lizard, out fishing one day, saw floating a piece of black wood, which he brought home and placed above the fire to dry. Then he sat down to fashion an arrow. While bending over this work, he heard someone behind him laugh. The wood had turned into a woman, who became his wife.[195]

More often it is Lady Civet Cat who is Sir Monitor Lizard's wife.

In the days before his marriage, when he had just completed his initiation rites, Sir Monitor Lizard went into the jungle to hunt pig and, climbing a dipterocarpus tree, got somehow caught up there by his genitals. Lady Civet Cat, recognizing his plight, climbed up and released him. The two married, and the Ancestors are their children.[196]

The Wild-Pig Hunt

The earliest Andamanese knew neither pottery nor the pig. Both were imported c. 3000 B.C., and the prominence of the feral pig in their myths shows that an associated (Neolithic or Bronze Age) mythology must also have been brought in at that time. The pottery deteriorated, the domesticated pigs ran wild, and, as the mainland mythology fell apart, a number of its elements became absorbed into the local hunting-and-gathering traditions.

The curious tale just told, for example, of Sir Monitor Lizard rescued by Lady Civet Cat, carries an uncanny suggestion of the great Near Eastern, Bronze Age cycles of Attis, Adonis, Tammuz, and Osiris—those killed, castrated, and resurrected fertility gods, who in many of the legends were not only killed or castrated by a boar (Attis was even hung on a tree), but also restored to the world by the power of a goddess whose animal counterpart or vehicle was the lion. In the Andamans, the civet cat was the only possible animal candidate for the role of this leonine goddess. The association, furthermore, of female magic with these Andamanese legends of the pig hunt also is suggestive of myths of the age of the Great Goddess of Many Names—as, for instance, in the following adventure, of a time when Bilika, dwelling on earth, was married to the pig hunter, Porokul.

Having gone into the jungle to hunt, Porokul killed his pig and started home. But, when he came to the creek in front of his hut, he was unable to cross with the burden. Bilika was inside asleep. Her children were outside, playing; and when they saw their father's predicament, they ran into the hut to tell their mother. Bilika came out, lay down on the bank, stretched out one leg so that it reached to the other shore, and Porokul, with his pig, came safely home on the bridge of his wife's offered limb.[197]

The Andamanese have a number of other legends likewise treating of magic in association with the pig. For example:

At first there were no pigs, until Lady Civet Cat invented a new game. She made the Ancestors run on all fours and grunt. Those playing the game became pigs and ran off into the jungle. Whereupon, the lady herself became a civet cat.[198]

Do we think here of Homer's Circe, who turned men into swine?

The pigs had no ears, noses, or eyes. They just roamed around the village and the people ate a great many of them. But they were such a nuisance that Lady Dove bored holes in their heads for ears, eyes, and nostrils; whereupon, they ran off into the forest, where they have remained.[199]

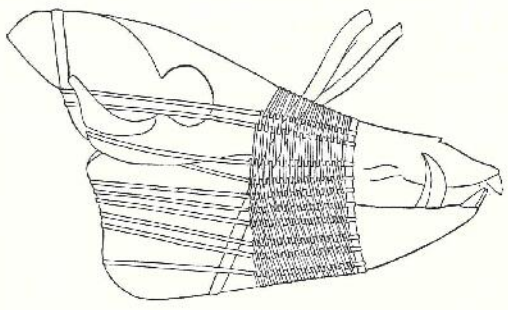
The first pig caught in the jungle had neither eyes, ears, nor a mouth. When its captor put it on the fire, it swelled in the heat and suddenly six holes were blown through its head, making eyes, ears, and nostrils. Then it perceived that it was being burnt, jumped from the fire, and ran off. The hunter flung a large leaf, which struck it as it plunged into the sea, where it became a dugong with the leaf as its flippers.[200]

A huge turtle came swimming to a camp by the sea and called, "Bring out your canoes and catch me!" Then it swam away with the people following. And when they were far from land, it suddenly turned, upsetting them. The men became turtles, and their canoes were transformed into a reef.[201]

It is evident that the animals that were used by the Andamanese as food—the pig, dugong, and sea-turtle—occupy in the legends a very different place from those such as the civet cat, monitor lizard, and dove, to whom the active roles are assigned. The latter had no value as food or in any other way. They were the little neighbors in the forest, whereas the animals to be killed and eaten were felt to be transformed men. Moreover, there was an even deeper, a mythic association by which their flesh—particularly that of the pig—was rendered dangerous, "hot," *otkimil;* for the moon could turn into a pig and appear in this form in the jungle.

A hunter, deep in the jungle one day, happened upon the moon in the form of a pig and, mistaking it for a pig, shot it with an arrow. Sir Moon then cut off that hunter's head and, leaving it in the jungle, carried the body aloft and consumed it.[202]

An association of the pig with the moon, and the moon with a severed head, is a combination familiar through much of the range of the early swine-herding cultures of Asia and Europe. The Irish poet, W. B. Yeats, in his play *A Full Moon in March* (that is, the full moon of Easter and the Resurrection), has presented an interpretation of this complex derived from traditional Irish sources. Monthly, the moon dies into the sun, to be reborn three nights later. The last crescent of its vanishing and first of its reappearance are compared in Melanesia (according to John Layard)[203] to the two curving tusks on either side of the black face of a sacrificed boar—the skull of which is to be preserved. In the Andamans (according to Radcliffe-Brown),[204] the natives "were formerly in the habit of preserving as trophies the skulls of pigs and turtles that were killed in the chase," even going so far, in some tribes, as to encase every skull carefully in a wrapping of basketwork (Figure 220). The evidence thus seems to indicate that when the domesticated pig arrived in the Andamans, c. 3000 B.C., there likewise arrived an associated mythology of death and resurrection.



220. Pig's skull encased in basketwork as a hunting trophy and relic. Jarawa tribe, South Andaman. The pig and pig hunt were associated in the Andamans with legends of female magic. There were rules, furthermore, for the slaughtering of pigs and preservation of their skulls. These traditions brought together with the pigs from the mainland (c. 3000 B.C.), not only regressed in the islands to a hunting-and-gathering level of folk belief, but also became in part applied to the other two animals of the local hunt, the sea turtle and dugong.

We cannot, therefore, assume (as did Radcliffe-Brown) that these Andamanese stories of the pig hunt and of pigs are truly native to the islanders and as primitive as their culture. They are the fragments, rather, of a mainland mythology which has regressed—that is, run wild like the pigs themselves, and, like the associated pottery, has deteriorated, breaking up, as it were, into shards. But there is a creative work here evident, also, in that the imported material has been imaginatively adapted to the life and features of the islands. The local animals available to assume the imported mythic roles were few: besides a number of birds and insects and a few kinds of bat and rat, only the monitor lizard, a much smaller tree lizard, and the civet cat. Fish of the sea, wild pigs, sea-turtles, and dugongs were of a different class since they were used as food. (Yet the crab and the shrimp, for some reason, were found acceptable for mythic roles.) The tall dipterocarpus tree was given the place of a sort of *axis mundi;* and in all parts of the islands there were specific sites pointed out by the tribes as the place where Biliku had lived when on earth. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy has noted the process of adaptation by which imported mythologies generally are adapted to local landscapes and conditions. Using a term derived from the Icelandic (where a people from the European mainland, on entering an uninhabited island, made it their own), he has called this mythologizing process, *land-nam* ("land taking").[205] Native landscapes, plants, and animals are assigned archetypal mythological roles, and the whole local scene with its plant and animal life is transmuted, thus, into metaphor.

The Fire Theft

Some twenty-odd versions of the Fire Theft were recorded from the various tribes, and they conform generally to the usual pattern of the tale, as comprising four components: (1) the Fire Hoarder (some miserly deity, personage, people, or animal species); (2) the Clever Thief (human or animal trickster); (3) the Flight (frequently a relay race); and (4) an epochal transformation with negative as well as positive results: usually the end of the Mythological Age.

At first the Ancestors lacked fire. Bilika, however, had a pearl shell and red stone, which she could strike together to make sparks. One day when she had fallen asleep by her flame, she woke to see Sir Kingfisher stealing it and flung at him the pearl shell, which cut off his wings and tail. Diving into the water, he carried the fire to Bet-ra-kuku, where he gave it to someone who passed it on to the Bronze-winged Dove, who distributed it to the rest. Sir Kingfisher, however, had been turned into a man.[206]

A second version had it that when Biliku woke, Sir Kingfisher swallowed the fire, the flung pearl shell cut off his head, and the fire came out of his neck. The Ancestors got the fire and Sir Kingfisher was turned into a bird.[207] Or again:

Bilik [now a male], when he woke, threw a lighted brand that struck Sir Kingfisher on the neck where the bird now has a patch of red feathers. And Bilik was so enraged by this theft that he left the earth for the sky.[208]

Sir Prawn, according to other accounts, was the one who first had fire. Some dry leaves had broken into flame.

Sir Prawn fell asleep by his flame and Sir Kingfisher, making off with it, built a fire with which to cook fish and then himself fell asleep. Sir Dove then stole that fire and gave it to the people.[209]

Sir Prawn was so big that he could go into the deepest water without a canoe. One day, when the Ancestors provoked him, he flung his fire at them and they turned into birds and fishes. Sir Prawn himself then turned into a prawn.[210]

There are a number of other, completely different versions of the origin of fire, for example:

Dim-dori [a kind of fish] fetched fire from the Place of Departed Spirits and, throwing it at the people, burned and thus marked them. They plunged into the sea, becoming varicolored fish, and Dim-dori himself then turned into a dim-dori.[211]

There was a Hill of Fire, at which somebody had shot an arrow, which Sir Kingfisher then found burning. He would not share his fire with the others, and so, that night they all came and stole it.[212]

The Catastrophe

There is a kind of cicada in the islands that "sings" during the twilight hours of morning and evening; also when it is picked up. And there were prohibitions both against killing it and against making any loud noise during its morning or evening song. (One thinks of the Egyptian scarab, symbolic of the rising sun.) Other acts offensive to Biliku were the melting of beeswax and the eating of certain plants. And as in Genesis 3, so here: It was the breaking of one of the god's tabus that terminated the Mythological Age.

In the Beginning it was always day, until Sir Monitor Lizard found a cicada in the jungle. The Ancestors watched as he rubbed it between his palms; and when it cried, he crushed it. Immediately, darkness fell, and the Ancestors tried to get day back. They made torches, danced, and sang. First a Kotare-bird sang; then a Bumu-beetle, the Bulbul, and the Kolo-bird sang. But day did not return. Sir Ant then sent up a song, and lo! the morning! Day and night have been alternating ever since.[213]

At first there were no birds or fish. But at play one evening, the Ancestors made a noise while the cicadas sang and a cyclone turned them all into birds, fish, turtles, and jungle beasts.[214]

Other legends tell of a deluge.

When the Ancestors refused to give a portion of their honey to the Kipoterawat-bird, it became so angry that it intentionally made a noise when the cicadas sang, and immediately such a rain fell that the sea swelled over the

land. Lady Dove saved the fire in a cooking pot as the Ancestors climbed a dipterocarpus tree. And when the waters subsided, Lady Charami-lebek [a bird that lives in the tallest treetops] let down a vine on which they all descended.[215]

There was also a great drought, which in the only recorded version is rendered as a comical animal tale.

It began when a woodpecker found a honeycomb in the hollow of a tree and, while enjoying it, noticed a toad below wistfully watching. Lowering a vine, he invited the toad to attach a basket in which to sit, and, this done, hauled him up. But when the basket reached the honeycomb, he let go, and down dropped the toad—who was so enraged by this trick that he drank up all the rivers on the islands, to the whole world's great distress. The revenge so delighted him that he began to dance for joy, and as he danced, the water poured out of him and the drought ended.[216]

The Separation of Heaven and Earth is an elementary theme of world mythology. In the little cycle of tales of Bilika and Porokul, when they were living at Purum-at-chafe, the Separation seems to have occurred shortly before the adventure of the crossing of the stream.

Porokul made a long bow with which to shoot pigs in the jungle. The sky at that time was near the earth, just above the trees. When he had finished making the bow, he lifted it and its top struck the sky, which rose to its present position, where it remained.[217]

A related theme is of the departure and separation of the Creator from his creation. This appears in another legend from the same tribe as the last. Here the Creator, Bilika, is a male and his wife is Mita, the Bronze-winged Dove. They are living at a place called Poron-et-cho and have a child.

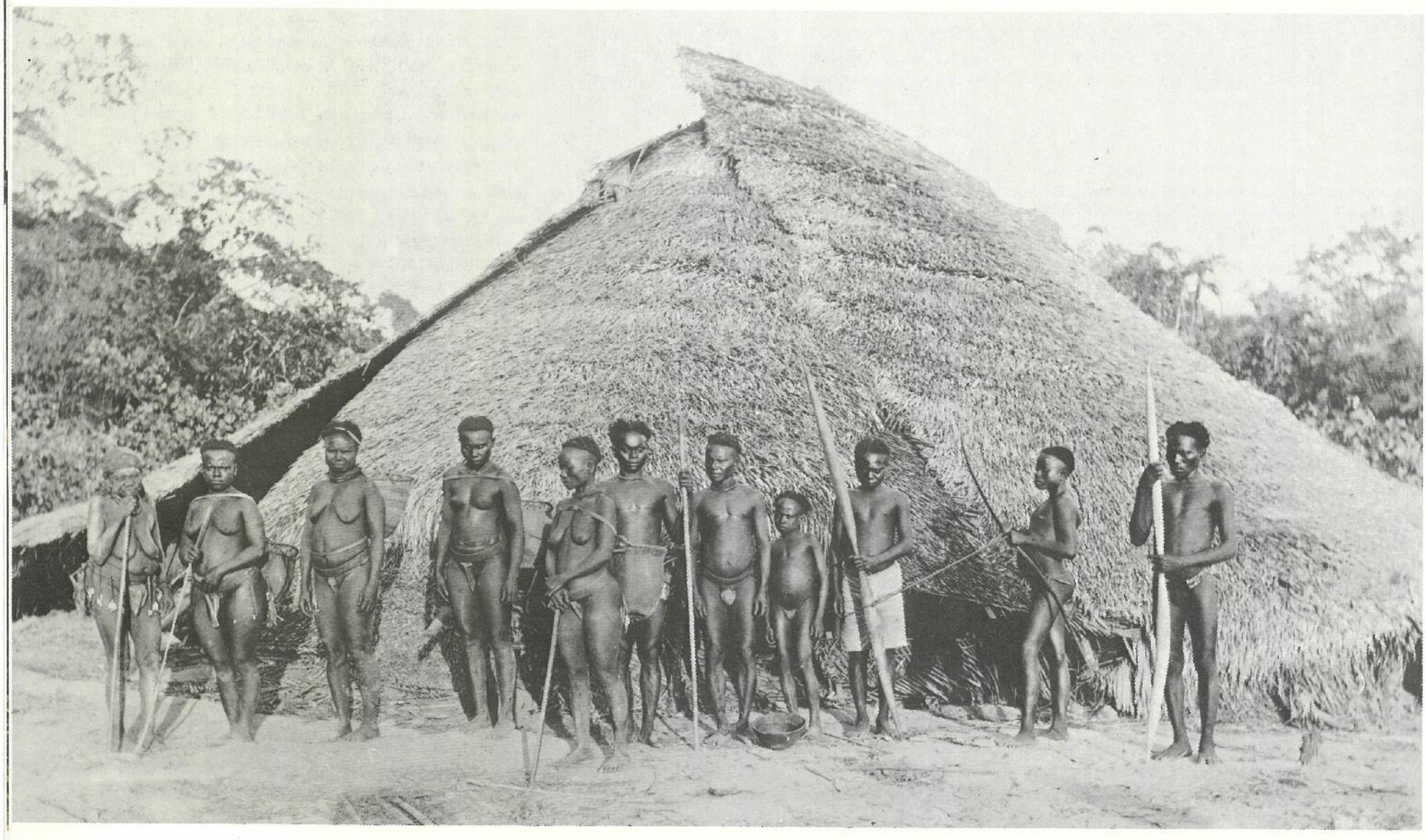
The Ancestors had been eating Bilika's special plants and he was now furious. To learn who the culprits were, he went about smelling people's mouths, and when he found someone who had eaten of the forbidden vegetables, he cut that person's throat. This performance incensed the Ancestors and, coming all together, they killed both Bilika and Mita. Maia-burto [a kind of fish] then carried away their child to the northeast, and it is that child who now lives in that quarter and sends storms.[218]

In a related legend from another tribe, where the name of the deity is Pulugu, the sex again is masculine and the temperament outrageous.

The Ancestors were living along the eastern coast of Henry Lawrence Island, with Pulugu dwelling apart on a little island offshore. They had been digging up his yams and other special plants and, in a passion, he came down on them, destroying their huts and possessions. So they told him to disappear, to get out of this world. "We do not want you here. You are always angry," they told him. So he left and moved away, to the northeast.[219]

The most elaborate of the collected tales is altogether exceptional in that two of the chief food animals, the dugong and the crab, play leading roles.

Sir Dugong had invited everybody to a dance, and Lady Civet Cat warned Sir Tree Lizard that there would be a bird at the party who was going to pick a quarrel with him. "Oh, I don't care," Sir Tree Lizard replied. "I can handle anybody." So when the quarrel started, everybody was afraid. To halt it, Sir Dugong stepped in and caught Sir Tree Lizard by the arm, but was thrown aside with such force that he fell into the sea and became a dugong. A monster called Kochurag-boa was flung into the jungle. Sir Tree Lizard tossed everybody, one after another, into the jungle



221. Photograph, 1883, from the collection of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Within this communal dwelling each family had its portion, as (among other tribes) around the village dance ground each family its hut (see **217**).

or the sea, where they became birds, beasts, and fishes. Then he went home and covered himself with red paint in observation of a custom to be followed by any man who had killed another.

When told what had occurred, Sir Crab went to Sir Tree Lizard, pretending to be sick and to need some protective paint to put on his upper lip, where, when breathing, he would inhale its healing strength. His host, who had no more, suggested, "You'd best take some off me." But when Sir Crab brought his nose to the painted arm, he bit into the shoulder and could not be shaken off. Sir Tree Lizard died. Then the Ancestors attacked Sir Crab, but his skin was so hard they were unable to kill him. So they threw him into the sea, where he became a crab. And Sir Tree Lizard's mother, on seeing her son dead, became so angry that she deliberately cut down one of Puluga's special plants, who, in wrath, sent a storm that wiped out everybody in that place.[220]

The Landscape Mythologized and the Origin of Death

One function of mythology is to open through the forms of the known world a sense of the mystery informing all things (page 8); and within such tight little worlds as those of the simplest hunting-and-gathering tribes, this end is served through a mythologization of the local landscapes (*land-nam*, see page 123). Every possible detail has attached to it the legend of some imagined event, which, though "past," is thus kept simultaneously "present."

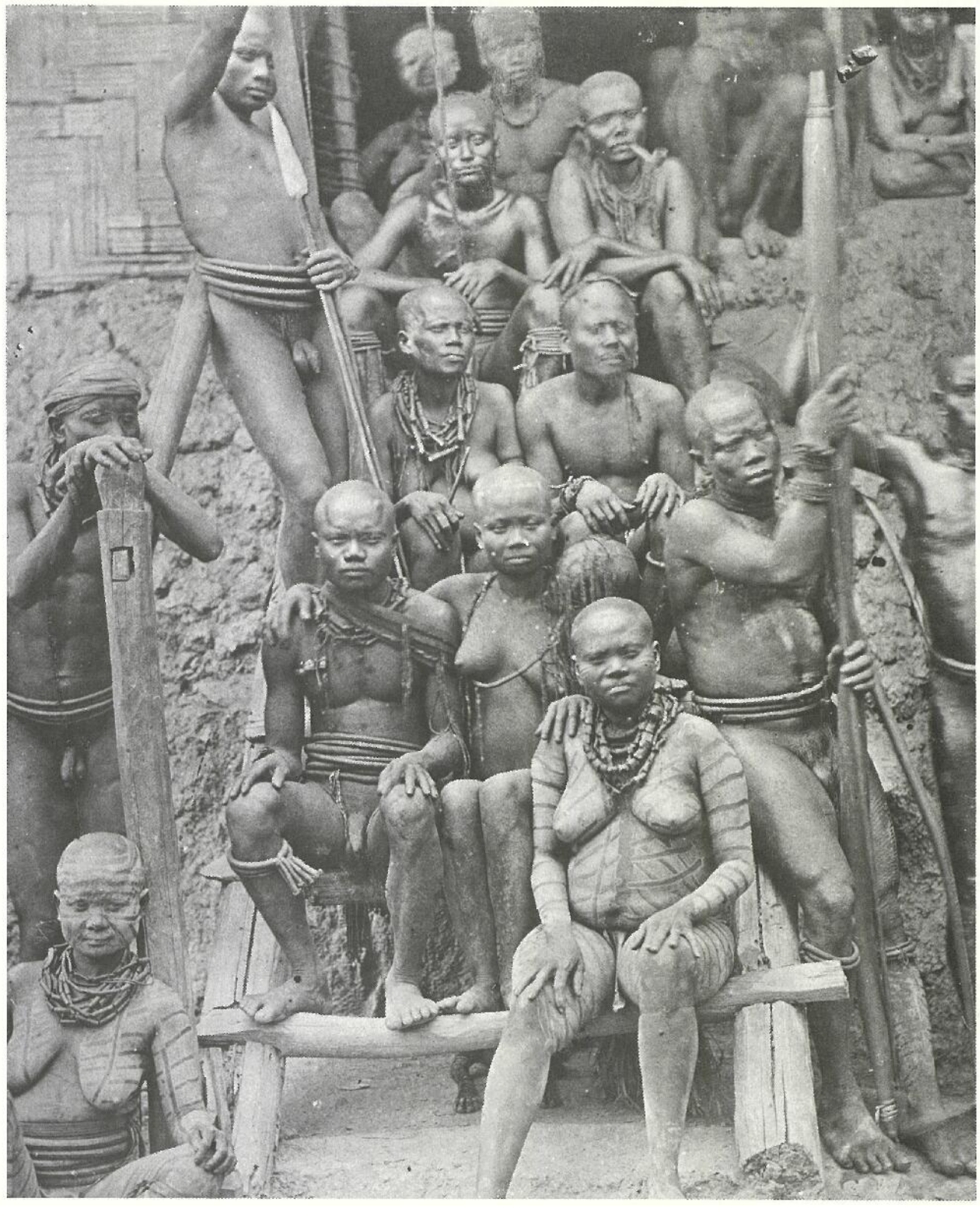
The Ancestors brought a turtle into camp and, since Biliku was sitting there, they asked if she would have some. She declined, but when they left their catch unattended, she ate it all and fell asleep. Returning, they realized what had happened and set out to find another turtle. Biliku woke and, seeing them paddling at sea, called to be taken aboard. "No, indeed!" they called back. "You ate our turtle." This made her angry, and she began throwing her pearl shells at them. Two missed and returned to her feet, but the next hit the boat, transforming it and everybody in it into a rocky reef that is still there. Biliku then set a stone on the water and stepped onto it, to float across the inlet. Halfway, however, both she and her stone went down, and they are now two rocks, still to be seen.[221]

At first, there was only one big island. An ant, however, made a turtle net, caught in it an immense fish and attached a line to its tail; whereupon the fish, plunging to break free, repeatedly struck the island and broke it to pieces.[222]

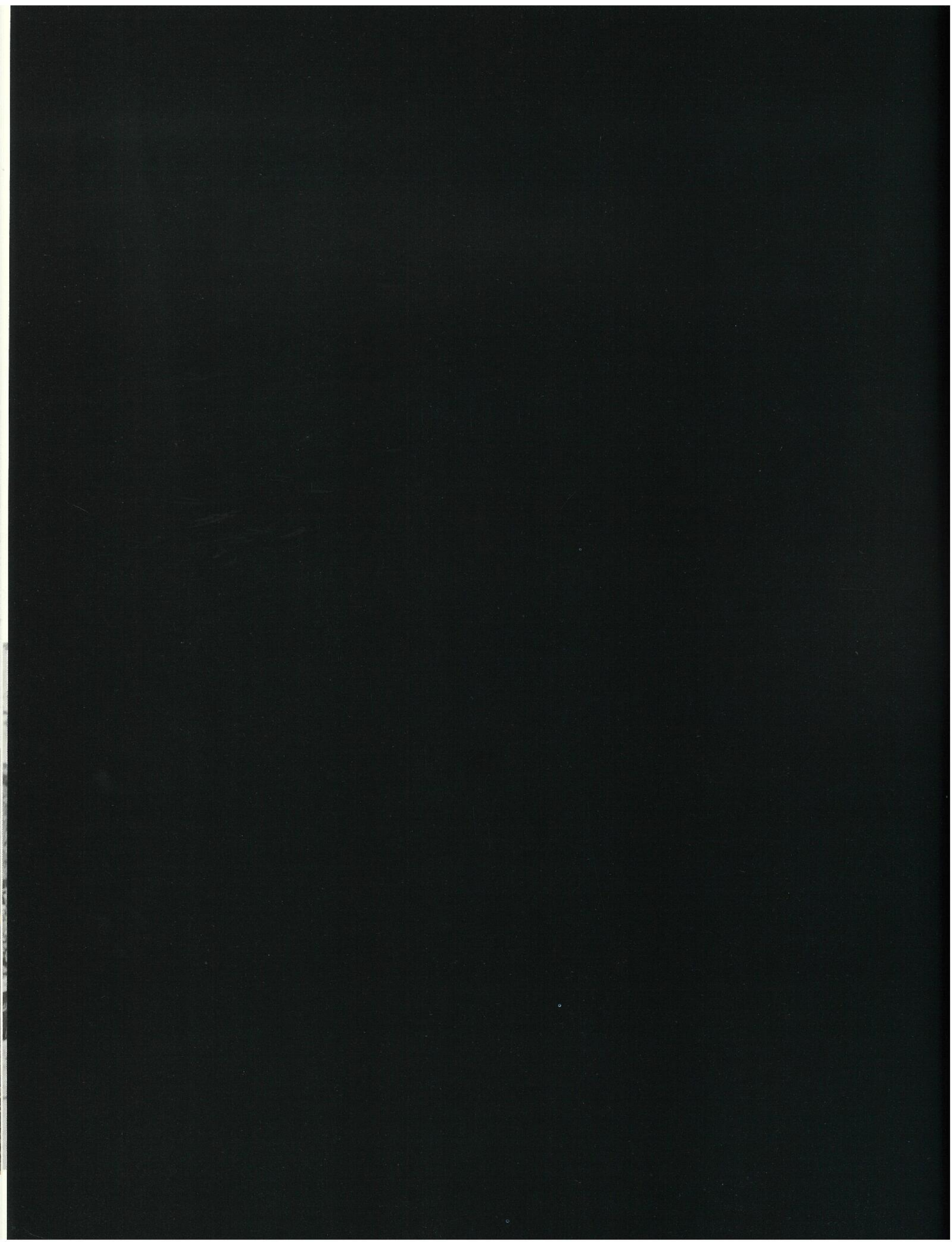
Originally, people did not die. However, when young Yaramurud went to hunt pig for his mother and returned from the jungle with none, she brought out some pork she already had, and he, preparing to carve, cut himself, and his mother watched him die. "You are now dead," she then said. "Get out of here!" She carried him into the jungle, where she buried him and returned home.

But he, too, returned. "Mother," he said, "I wasn't dead. Why did you bury me?" She was sure that he was dead and buried him again. Again he returned. A third time she buried him and a third time he returned. Finally, she took him to a dumla-tree in which there was a big hole, kicked the tree, and said, "Now you go in there!" In he went. "Are you all the way in?" she called. "Yes," he answered. "Then tell me how the spirits talk." "*To kit*," he replied; for that is how they talk. Then she knew that he was among the spirits. "Oh my child," she said, "you are now finished. You will never again come back."

But as a spirit he did come back to see his brother, who was building a hut; and when he saw his brother, he killed him. "You see what has happened!" the mother said then to the people. "We shall all now die, as these two have died."[223]



222. G. E. Dobson, who photographed this group in 1872, calls attention to the woman in the center with a round object on her left shoulder. This is her late husband's skull, decorated with red paint and fringes of wood fiber, to be carried about until she obtains another husband. The man standing upper left (nicknamed Jumbo by Europeans) had recently shot through the heart a sailor "taking liberties" with an Andamanese young woman.



MYTHOLOGIES OF THE GREAT HUNT





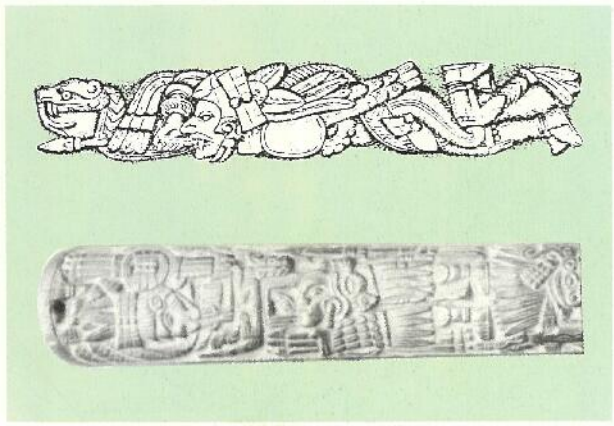
The earth does not belong to
man, man belongs to
the earth.
All things
are connected, like
the blood which unites us all.

CHIEF SEATTLE, 1855

That a fundamental transformation of human consciousness, as well as of weapons and tools, took place during the period of the Riss-Würm glaciation is evident in the sudden appearances in southwestern Europe at that time of the two symbolic arts of rock painting and stone sculpture; respectively, in the great temple caves of the men's hunting rites and in the "Venus" figurines and reliefs associated both with dwelling sites and with sanctuaries in veneration of the female power (see pages 66–72).

Evidence of the skulls suggests that an advance, at just that time, from "archaic" to "modern" *Homo sapiens* must have been an essential determinant in the production of this sudden beginning of the history of the visual arts, which has been termed by John E. Pfeiffer, the "creative explosion."[1] Simultaneously there was an increase, as Pfeiffer points out, in population density, with an associated social problem of conflict control, to which formidable institutions and occasions had to be addressed, incorporating affective symbolic figurations through which the regulations of a corpus of socially constructive rituals became pictorially encoded for storage and transmission through generations. A third factor (and this, the one from which the symbolic forms derived) was the inspiration of the abundant herds of a happy hunting ground, which were being unremittingly slaughtered for the nourishment of the two-legged tribes. The necessity to kill the magnificent beasts and the inevitable Oedipal conflicts engendered by this requirement, with the compensatory mythology, then, of a bonding covenant between the animal and human communities—such as had already been recognized in the earlier cave-bear-skull sanctuaries of "archaic" *Homo sapiens* (see pages 54–56) supplied the moral motivation of this art. The animals were willing victims and the paintings an essential constituent of the system of rites of gratitude and increase by which the mythology of the covenant was not only realized (see pages 73–79), but also maintained and taught through generations—for a season of some 20,000 years, which is a longer period than has elapsed since the end of the Magdalenian era, c. 10,000 B.C. A fourth determinant was the local landscape and especially the experiences of religious awe inspired by its deep caverns—of which there were hundreds, and within the greatest of which the "creative explosion" itself occurred, immortalizing the animals as messengers of occult powers, as well as required food. And finally, a fifth essential factor was the contribution of shamanic visionary trance-seizures, out of which the otherwise unconscious psychological realities of the contemporary *condition humaine* were brought to consciousness and delivered to the tribes through healing rites and initiations.

The inspiration of the female figurines was of another context, namely, the recognition of the identity of the lunar and female cycles and their relevance to the generation of life. The possibility noted by Frobenius (see page 82) of a prehistoric extension of the three-dimensional art of sculpture northward into Europe from equatorial West Africa, where a characteristic three-dimensional art of woodcarving (in contrast to the two-dimensional arts of painting and engraving) has been practiced for as long as anyone knows, suggests that the two mythological contexts implied in the two orders of art may have, originally, been of two distinct and geographically separate populations. The interest of Paleolithic sculpture, whether in the round or in relief, is almost exclusively in the *human* form (and that, female), whereas the paintings and engravings are of *animals* (with here and there a dancing or tranced-out shaman). The animal art was unquestionably a product of the experiences and intentions of the Great Hunt on the open plains. That of the figurines, on the other hand—if it actually represents, as Frobenius believed and argued, the translation of an art of wood into stone—must have originated in a region where wood was available, as it surely was in equatorial West Africa. The arts of engraving and painting, Frobenius points out, are analytical, in that their secret lies in the reduction of three-dimensional forms to illusions on a two-dimensional surface; their purpose, moreover, is magical: atonement with the animals slain and increase of their number. Sculpture in wood, however, is synthetic and in a sense mystical, in that it identifies the object visualized with the material: the female form, for example, with the wood and the tree, or in stone sculpture, with the living stone.[2] In the image of the Woman with the Horn the identification is fourfold: the woman, the stone, the horn, and the moon. Contrast the scene in the crypt of Lascaux of the tranced-out shaman and eviscerated master bison! The two distinct arts are, in any case, of very different styles. They obviously represent two distinct traditions. A sixth determinant of the constitution of the Paleolithic "creative explosion" may well have been, therefore, the coming together and amalgamation of two mythologies.



224. Elaborately-decorated atlatls were common in the New World: (above) the carved handle of a Mixtec model from Puebla, Mexico; (below) a detail of the carved and gilt design on an Aztec version.

223. Spear-thrower, length 13 inches, from Bruniquel (Tarn-et-Garonne), France. Dated Middle Magdalenian, c. 13,000 B.C. Regarded by André Leroi-Gourhan as "one of the greatest Stone Age masterpieces."



THE GREAT WEST-TO-EAST DISPERSAL

As the glaciers retreated and forests from the south overgrew in Europe what had formerly been tundra, then grassland, the great herds moved gradually northward and eastward, followed by their Paleolithic hunters. The way of this dispersal is marked by four unmistakable trace-elements: (1) ceremonials associated with worship of the bear; (2) shamanic practices; (3) an art style, associated with shamanism, in which skeletal and other internal features appear, as if by x-ray; and (4) the Great Hunt with spear and spear-thrower (the atlatl). All four of these items can be followed into America: *atlatl* is an Aztec noun; x-ray features are conspicuous in native North American art; and the elegant, redstone pipe bowl of



the Sioux that shows a bear instructing a shaman (**226**) speaks for the safe arrival of these two trace-elements from across the Bering landbridge. In Australia, as illustrated in the bark painting opposite (**225**), x-ray art and the atlatl are recognized features of the culture. There are no bears, of course, in Australia; but there are shamans.

225. Kangaroo hunt with spear and atlatl. Bark painting in x-ray style. Alligator River region, Northern Territory, Australia.

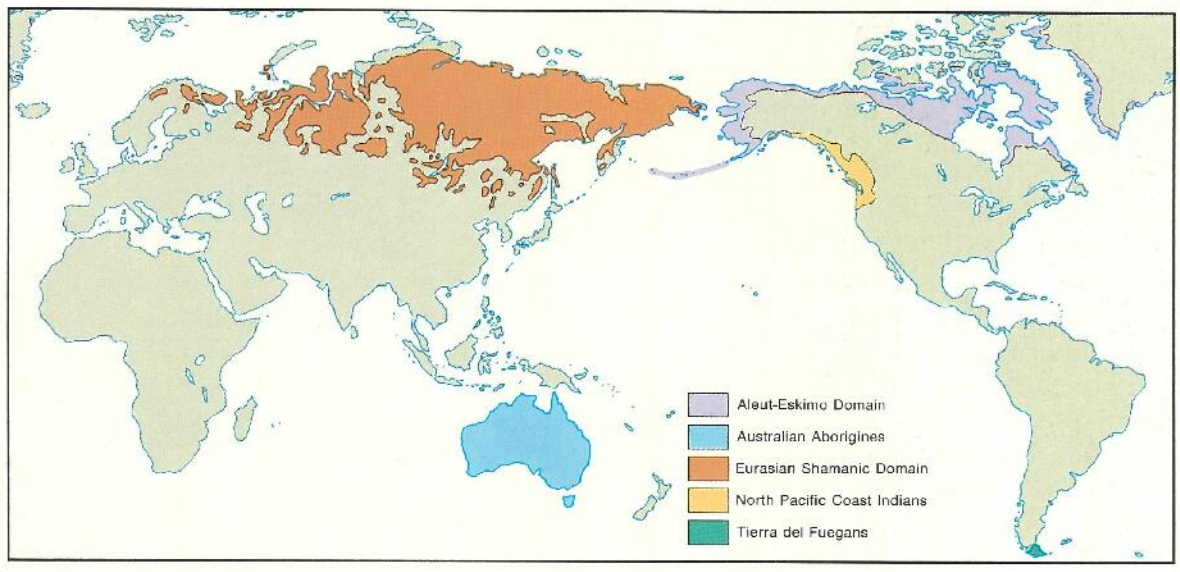
The Migration of X-Ray Style Art

We have already traced the course of the appearance of rock paintings and engravings (without the figurines, however) through Spain and across what once was a populated Sahara, south to the Cape of Good Hope, where the course terminates in the rock paintings and associated myths of the Bushmen (see pages 90–101). Between the life-ways of these little hunters on the open plain and the ways of the forest-dwelling, West-African Pygmies (see pages 102–112) there is today, as we have seen, a radical contrast. Both groups are but vestigial, however, of earlier, greater days: refugees who through the centuries were pressed by the stronger peoples of later cultures into ever remoter retreats, the Pygmies into the deepest jungle and the Bushmen into a desert.

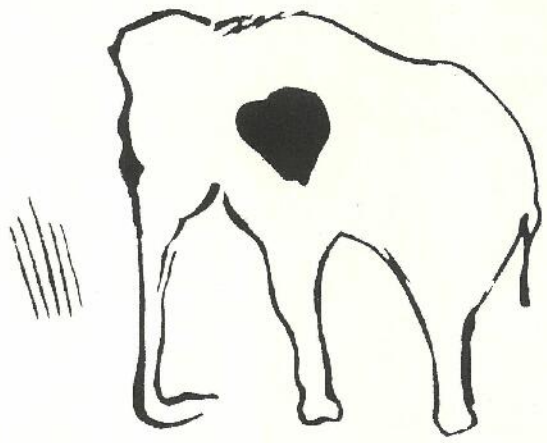
As Carleton Coon has remarked of the Pygmies (see page 108, to Figures 190–194), "we know nothing about these little people except that they have lived in the equatorial forests of Africa for as long a time as is covered by the records of history."[3] "There is some historical evidence," he states further, "that the western Pygmies once extended along the entire coast of Africa as far as Liberia, and that as late as the sixteenth century the Pygmies were the principal if not the only inhabitants of the forest between Lakes Albert and Edward."[4]

The forest-dwelling Tasaday of Mindanao in the Philippines also are refugees. John Nance has suggested that they may be the descendants of town-dwellers from the coast who in the sixteenth century fled deep into the jungle from a raid and pursuit by slave-collecting pirates, there to remain, both lost and afraid.[5] Likewise, the culture of the Andamanese (who are now extinct) was vestigial of more developed systems (see pages 118–119).

None of the cultures considered thus far, therefore, can be regarded as properly representing what Jamake Highwater has suggested should be termed the "primal mind."[6] The Congoid Pygmies have the best claim and may actually represent,



Map 30. The mythologies and rituals of the Great Hunt treated in this chapter are chiefly of: (1) the Aleut-Eskimo Domain, (2) the Australian Aborigines, (3) the Eurasian Shamanic Domain, and (4) the Tierra del Fuegans. Particular note is taken of the dispersal of bear ceremonials, shamanic practices, x-ray-style art, and the atlatl, as suggesting and marking ways by which early and later mythological traditions were diffused.

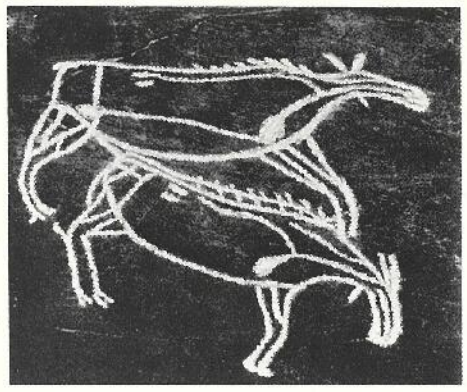


227. Earliest known intimation of x-ray style in Paleolithic art. Mammoth (or elephant, *Elephas antiquus*), from corridor-cave El Pindal, Oviedo, Spain. Early Magdalenian, c. 15,000 B.C.

though in regressed condition, practicing no arts but of music and dance, the type of forest-nurtured living out of which the Paleolithic "Venus" figurines derived. One thinks of the Pygmy dance observed by Colin Turnbull in which an old woman tied up and immobilized all the men and then released them to their duties (see page 111). The Bushmen, however, are clearly on the two-dimensional, painting and engraving side of the contrast recognized by Frobenius.

The Bushmen are the last inheritors of the southerly extension of the great creative explosion of c. 30,000 B.C. There were also extensions northward and eastward that passed across Siberia and not only into America, but also through India and into Australia, together probably with the dingo (see page 33). Map 31 (adapted from Andreas Lommel) traces the course of this great west-to-east dispersal, as marked by the occurrences of the Late Paleolithic, shamanic, so-called x-ray style of art, where the skeletal structure and interior organs of the animal are represented, with special accent, occasionally, on the "lifeline" leading from the animal's mouth or neck to its heart, stomach, or lung. This motif is a prominent feature in the decorative arts of the North American Pueblos and Plains tribes but does not appear in South America below Venezuela. Another feature characteristic of the culture wave that rolled northward and eastward out of Europe across Siberia, was the atlatl, or spear-thrower, the earliest examples of which are from Magdalenian sites in France (Figure 223). The word *atlatl* itself is a noun from the language (Nahuatl) of the Aztecs. Figure 224 shows an Aztec atlatl, and in Figure 225 is one represented in a recent bark painting from Australia.

The earliest west-to-east movement out of Europe into Siberia took place during the last of the four glacial ages, c. 70,000



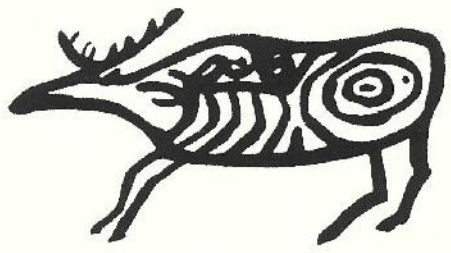
229. Elks mating. Rock engraving in x-ray style, showing "life-line" (from mouth to stomach or lung) and vertebrae. Length of figures, 28 inches. Kløtefoss, Buskerud, Norway, c. 5000 to 2000 B.C.



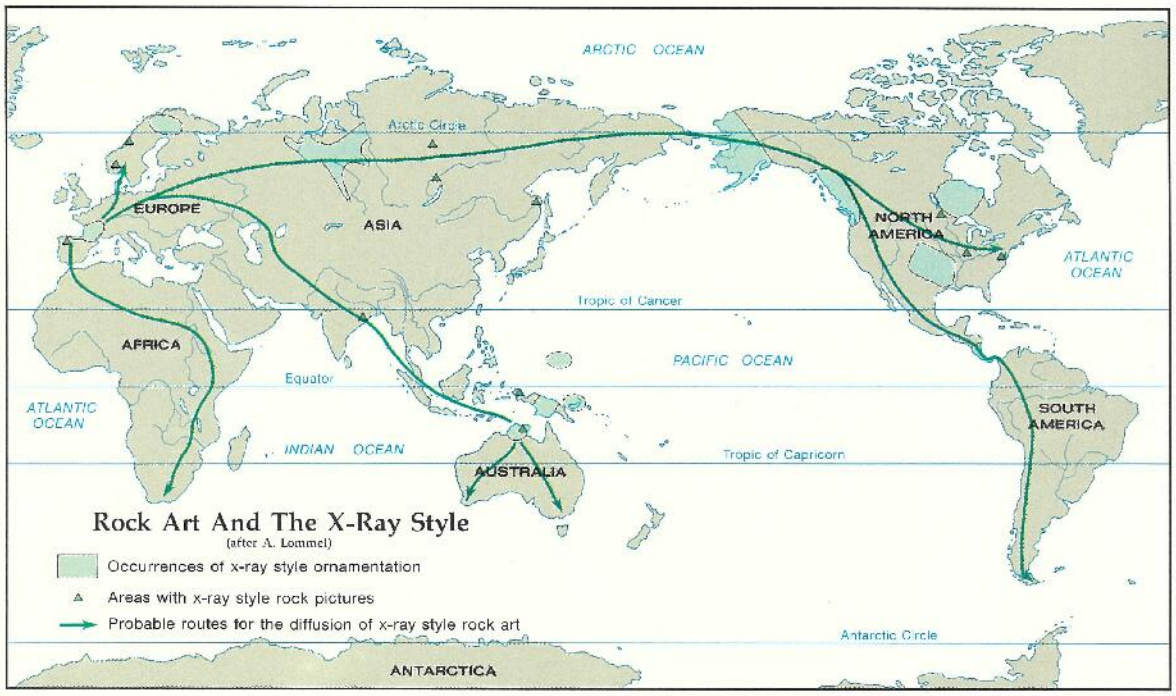
230. Seal. Contemporary Eskimo drawing in x-ray style, showing "life-line" and ribs. Alaska.



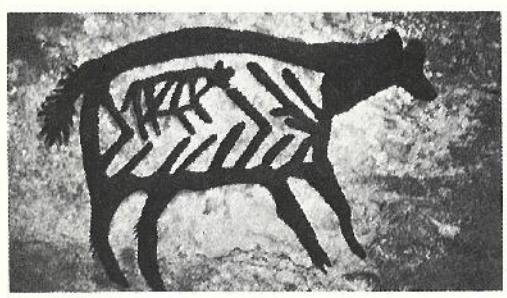
228. Fish (sole) in x-ray style (eyes on opposite side). Bone; length, 1¾ inches. Lespugne (Haute-Garrone), France. Late Magdalenian, c. 10,000 B.C.



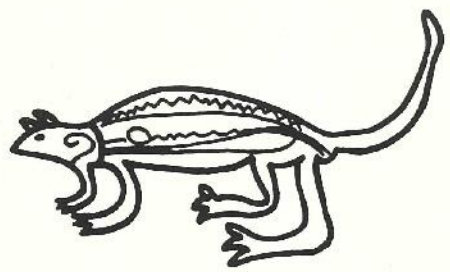
231. Reindeer. Rock engraving in x-ray style, showing ribs. Sakachi, Amur-Ussuri region, Maritime Territory, U.S.S.R.



Map 31. West-to-East dispersal of x-ray (shamanic) art style. "It is curious," states Andreas Lommel, "that the x-ray style does not seem to have spread from its place of origin to any other part of Spain or to northern Africa."[1]

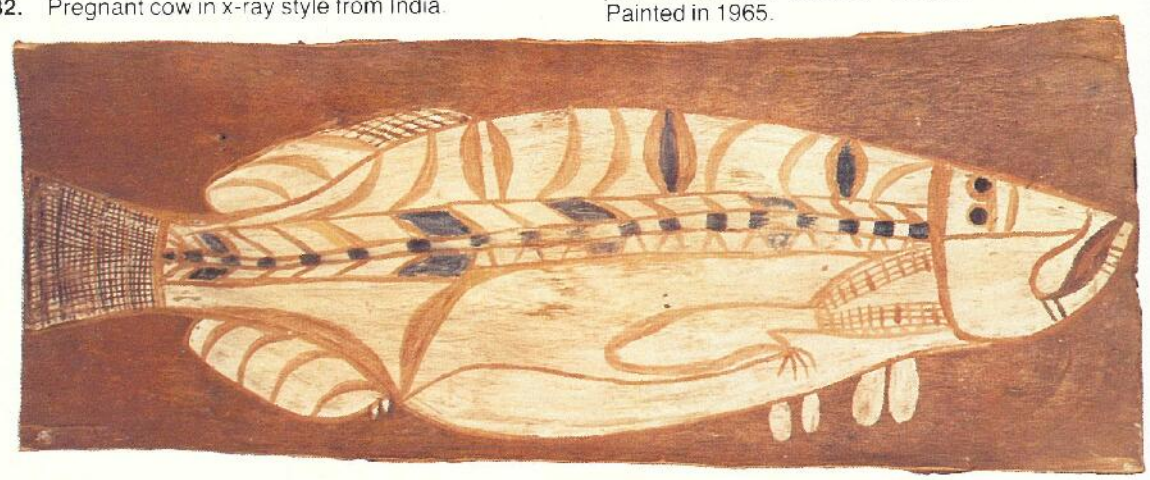


232. Pregnant cow in x-ray style from India.



233. Wallaby in x-ray style from Marind-anim, Western New Guinea. Paint on palm leaf, contemporary.

234. Fish in x-ray style. Bark painting by Mijaumijau, Gunwinggu people, Western Arnhem Land. Painted in 1965.

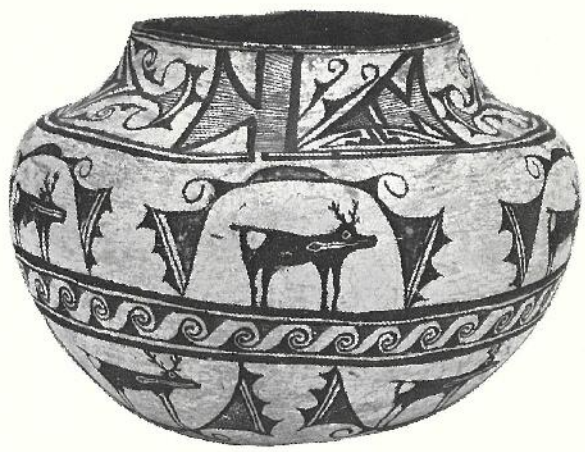


to 40,000 B.C., when Neanderthal Man ("archaic" *Homo sapiens*) was fashioning Mousterian flints. Beyond the Ural Mountains at that time, on the West Siberian Plain, game animals were proliferating, and in the farthest northeast, beyond the Central Siberian Plateau, they were crossing Beringland into America, possibly followed by straggling hunting-and-gathering bands. For as Chester S. Chard has observed: "The possibility cannot be dismissed of a move during early Zyrianka times [i.e. during the early Riss-Würm] from the general North China area to the New World. . . . Another possibility toward the very end of Zyrianka times," he adds, "is the movement of plains-adapted hunters across Siberia from the South Russian Plain into Alaska."[7]

Actually, there is little evidence from those times of early man in any part of Siberia. In the Altai ranges, among the headwaters and upper tributaries of the long, northward-flowing Ob and Yenisey rivers, a few scattered sites have been discovered in the neighborhoods of Rubtsvosk, Gorno Altaysk, and Irkutsk. Farther east, on the Amur River (which flows into the Sea of Japan), possible artifacts have been found in basic gravels at Filomoshki. Mongolia, just to the south, was apparently uninhabited during those years; but Japan, with mixed forests in the north and subtropical in the south, linked by landbridges to Siberia in the north and Korea in the south, was being entered from both regions. Sites in northern Konto have yielded implements of Mousterian type, and from a couple of caves in Kyushu have come choppers and the like.

During the relatively warmer season of the so-called Aurignacian Oscillations, from C. 40,000 to 30,000 B.C. (see Map 9, page 34), the rising waters of the Pacific submerged the landbridges, and both America and Australia, as well as Japan, were for a time cut off. However, with the return of the cold, C. 30,000 to 20,000 B.C. (see Map 10, page 34), the ocean levels dropped again and the landbridges reappeared. The oldest known site in northeastern Siberia, Ust'Nil' (59°45' N, 133°00' E), in central Yakutia, is radiocarbon-dated to this period (C. 33,400 to 28,000 B.C.). And it was then that tools of Mousteroid type were carried to America. But at the maximum of this increasing freeze, C. 18,000 B.C. (Map 11, page 35), the American glaciers closed the corridor from Alaska to the Plains; and it was only with the mounting temperatures of the terminal Pleistocene, C. 11,000 to 8,000 B.C. (Map 12, page 35), that the passage opened again and an advanced Aurignacoid industry was brought in, presently to be followed by the creators of rock engravings in the x-ray style.

Thus there were two distinct tool traditions carried across northern Asia and through Beringland to the Americas during and immediately following the long course of the Riss-Würm glaciation: the first, a Mousteroid tradition, and the second, Aurignacoid. With the first there must have traveled knowledge of the Neanderthal cult of the Master Bear, for it has left its unmistakable traces the entire length of the way. And with the second, we must assume, there traveled not only an interest in the x-ray style of animal art, but also knowledge (or at least some portion of knowledge) of the shamanistic myths and rites of the great French and Spanish caves out of which that art style took its rise. For like the bear cult, shamanism is an essential constituent of the lore of the Hyperboreans—those Dwellers beyond the North Wind who remained



235. Polychrome ceramic vessel. Zuni, western New Mexico. Animals in x-ray style, showing "life-line." Contemporary.

settled along the Arctic way from Lapland, Norway, and Finland to Kamchatka and Alaska.

Thus, of the two Paleolithic traditions, that of the bear cult was the older by many centuries, having originated in Neanderthal Man's veneration of the cave bear as the Animal Master; whereas shamanism, as far as we know, developed as a tradition only in the period of the temple caves and the creative explosion of symbolic forms. Passing eastward across Siberia into America, as well as southeasterly to Australia, shamanism traveled as but one element of a living compound that included— besides the x-ray style of animal painting and engraving, the atlatl, and the bull roarer—an elaborate complex of social regulations, ceremonials, and associated mythological ideas, which scholars have designated by the very broad term *totemism*. The word is from the Algonkian (Cree, *ototama*; Ojibway, *ototeman*) and signified originally a brother-sister blood relationship. As used by anthropologists, it may denote any one or all of a number of related concepts and associated customs stemming from the nuclear idea of a blood covenant between the human and the animal species. Primarily, the anthropological term denotes a mythological identification of the ancestor of a given human family, clan, or tribe with the ancestor of some local animal species; but it has also been used to signify either (1) the identification of some particular animal or plant (or animal or plant species) with the guardianship or heraldic sign of some social group or class or (2) the recognition of some particular animal (or animal species) as the guardian, servant, or alter ego of an individual—which is more properly known as *nagualism*, from the Nahuatl noun *nahualli* ("sorcerer").

In 1851, Lewis Henry Morgan published an important study of the Iroquois *The League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or People of the Longhouse*,[8] in which it was shown that the clans of all the Iroquois tribes, or nations, not only bore animal names, but also were paired, with the requirement that marriages should be contracted only between couples of matched totems. In 1910, Sir James George Frazer (author of *The Golden Bough*) published *Totemism and Exogamy*,[9] in which a worldwide survey is presented of totemic systems and the related social requirement of marriage outside the clan (exogamy). In 1912, Émile Durkheim, founder of the French school of sociology, published *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*,[10] wherein the reported totemism of the tribes of central Australia (which he mistook for the earliest form of the religious life) is interpreted as grounded in the experience of social solidarity. And in 1913, Sigmund Freud, in *Totem und Tabu*,[11] attributing the same symbolic and social phenomena to a psychological guilt reaction, explained this as a consequence of the actual group murder by his sons, in some primeval era, of the domineering father of a horde of hominids.

But the killing can have been, rather, of the animals of the hunt, and the guilt, something such as that reported of the Bushmen slayers of the eland. The social solidarity can have been that hypothesized by Pfeiffer (see page 129) as deliberately enforced in the period of the temple caves for the control of conflict. And the rites, while indeed symptomatic of guilt, are universally—whether in the Australian desert or in any one of the landscapes anywhere in the Americas—in their intention representative, and in their enactments revelatory, of a life-validating identity of the merely temporal individual with the everlasting ground of being made known through participation in the mysteries of the tribe.



Myths of the Australian "Dream Time"

A company of youths and older men of the North Aranda tribe of Central Australia is about to set off on a day's pilgrimage to their totemic center: a cave in the Ulamba region, several miles northeast of the highest peaks of the Western MacDonnell range. As described by T. G. H. Strehlow (who, as he tells, "by reason of his birth and upbringing, is able to think in Aranda as well as English"[12]), the mythological adventure proceeds as follows:

"Spears and all other chattels are left behind at a small soak near the edge of the plain and the men move off in silence towards the steep peak on whose slopes the cave is situated. There is only one correct track by which it may be approached, a track which through long disuse has become almost invisible; hence the oldest and most experienced man of the totemic group leads the way, while the remainder follow in single file. All are silent; for the cave must be approached with awe and reverence.

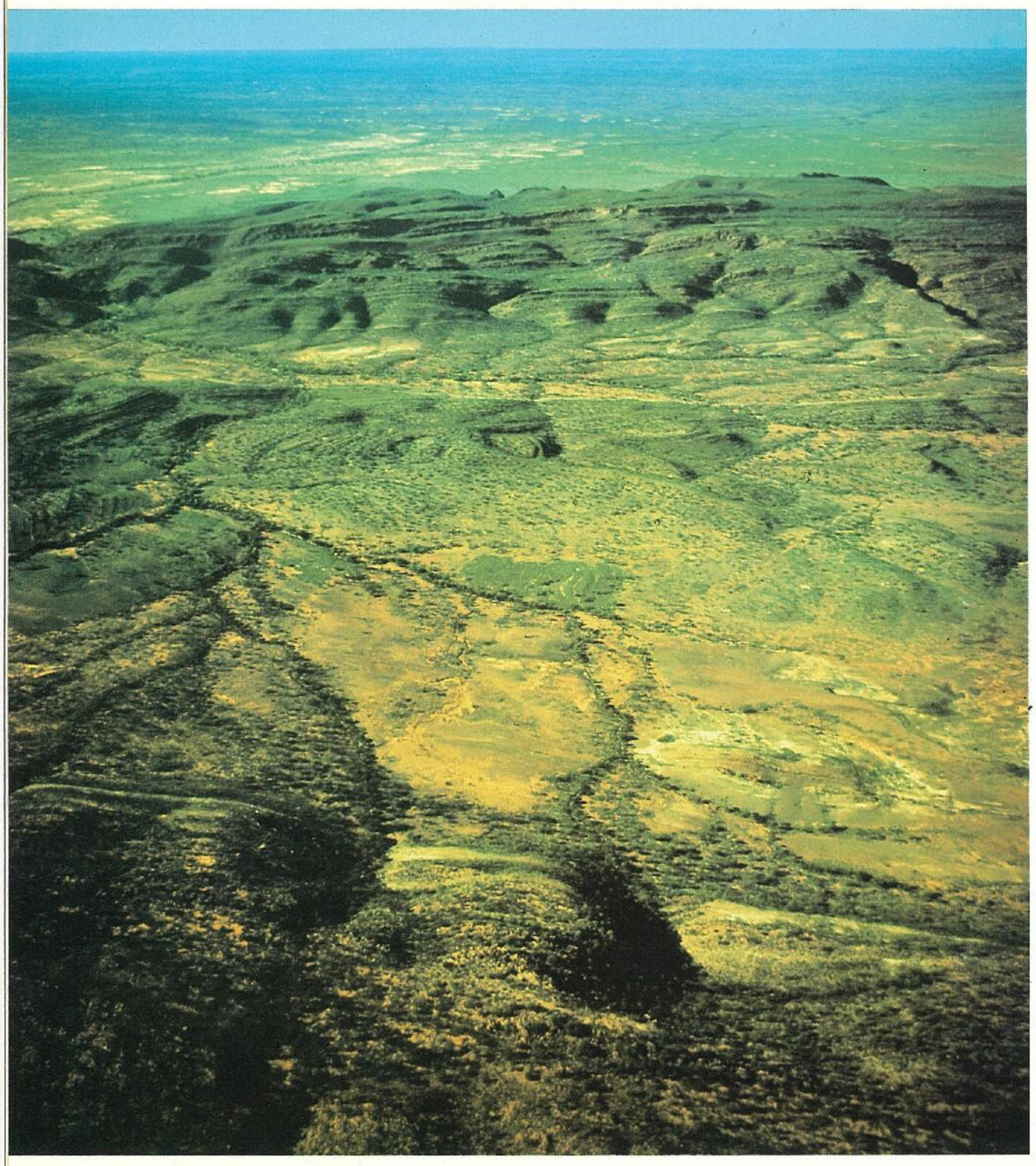
"From time to time the leader halts, points out rocks and trees which figure in the legend of the Ulamba ancestor, and neatly explains their significance by means of sign language. No questions may be asked, the young men must be content with such explanatory remarks as the leader is prepared to give them. If these are insufficient for a complete grasp of the myth, the young men must wait respectfully until another of these rare opportunities presents itself.

"After half an hour's steep climbing the leader stops. He points towards a huge round boulder which is resting on a smooth ledge of rock above them. The boulder has an opening in it; and the leader signals that it was from this rock and through this very opening that the Ulamba ancestor first burst into life. Still higher up another rock represents the body of a bird-totem ancestor who used to hide there, afraid lest the Ulamba chief should kill him. A little further on, the party comes upon a confused heap of rocks which marks one of the night camps of the Ulamba ancestor: the fallen rocks are the bodies of his human victims whom he had killed with his spears in order to make a meal of their 'sweet' flesh. A magnificent view can be gained from here of Mount Hay, whose blue mass dominates the dark sea of mulga in the east; of Mount Sonder and Mount Zeil, the two highest peaks in Central Australia, which raise their pale blue summits on the western horizon; and of the long line of massed parallel ranges to the south which constitute the Western MacDonnells. The leader explains that, in the beginning, the Ulamba ancestor often used to stand here on cold mornings, and scan the horizon around with his keen eyes for human victims. Finally he had set out over the low pass in the first range to the south towards the territory now held by the Western Aranda; but before plunging down to the



236. Ancestral figure crowned with the sun, emanating apparently from a swung bull-roarer. He carries, besides two boomerangs, a harpoon and a throwing-stick, inventions from the period of the European Paleolithic caves. This rock painting is of an earlier tradition than that of today's aborigines. Kimberly, Northwestern Australia.

237. Following in the footsteps of their forefather in his wanderings when spearing Emu, aborigines from the Guambone Station, near the Macquarie Reed Beds, New South Wales.



238. The MacDonnell Ranges, west-southwest of Alice Springs, rise from a plateau 2000 feet above sea level to a maximum of 4955 feet. The "footsteps of the Ancestors" here lead through marvelous rock gorges that change in coloration with changing positions of the sun.



239. A tribal elder maintains a silent and solitary vigil before the sacred soak from which both the sun and the Ancestor once arose (see **241**).



240. At Guri-Guri, a cluster of elders contemplates a ground painting of the Emu ancestor. The tracks are of the mythological Emu himself.

"The leader raises himself to the level of the cave by climbing up on three little stone steps in the lower of the two great boulders. He removes the stones with which the narrow opening has been skillfully blocked up to keep out rain-storms from the south, and also to prevent animals from entering the cave. These stones, it should be added, also serve the purpose of hiding the cave from the eyes of strangers and robbers. He takes out several bundles of *tjurunga,* closely wrapped around with hair-string, and hands them to the men waiting below, who place them on a bed of grass and leaves so that they shall not touch the ground.

"Then the leader steps down, takes up each bundle in turn, unwinds the string, and chants the song which relates the wanderings of the Ulamba ancestor. Gradually the party takes up the verses of the chant; and in low, hushed voices their

basin of the Upper Ormiston on the other side, he had paused on the saddle of the mountain for a brief moment and looked back regretfully towards his native Ulamba. Finally, the leader directs the gaze of his followers to a prominent conical hill just below the narrow pass: this represents the body of the ancestor when he returned to his home from his last trail.

"The party is now close to the cave. At a signal from the leader every man stoops down and picks up a handful of sticks, stones, or pine needles. They turn around a sharp corner; the cave suddenly bursts into view; stones and sticks and pine needles are flung towards it: the spirits of the ancestors must be warned of the approach of human visitors, for to disturb them rudely means to court their displeasure, and this may result in a sudden death in the near future.

"The cave itself consists of two huge boulders piled high upon each other. The dark bottom mass is the body of the Ulamba ancestor himself: thus had he stretched himself out for his final sleep when he returned home from his last venture. Mortally wounded by his victim, he had struggled back to his own home; nowhere else would he close his death-dim eyes. His father had awaited him here and had cast himself down in grief over the prostrate body of his son. They had changed into great rocks, filled with the seeds of life.

"The party halts. In the narrow cleft between the two boulders rest the sacred *tjurunga*. At a signal from the leader, the party sits down in a half-circle on a convenient ledge of rock at the base of the cave. Two hundred feet below them, at the bottom of a steep ravine, several slender white-barked gums are to be seen pointing upwards towards the cave: they represent spears which the Ulamba ancestor had once hurled at his victims.



241. Three Northern Aranda tribesmen, ceremonially attired, sit before a sacred ground-painting representing the Ilbalintja Soak, on the Burt Plain, some thirty miles northeast of Alice Springs.

The ground of this painting has been hardened with men's blood. The white circles are of down. The kneeling celebrants have just performed in three separate ceremonies. The central figure is Karora, with the decorated pole above his head. The other two, from two different sun ceremonies, are wearing the headgear of those rites. For Ilbalintja is revered as the soak out of which the sun, as well as the Bandicoot forefather, first arose.

song bursts upon the silence that has enfolded the cave up to this moment. The *tjurunga* have now been unwrapped. They are spread out side by side; each represents the ancestor at a different stage of his career, and hence has a special verse of the chant assigned to it. The leader takes up each *tjurunga* in turn, chants the words appropriate to it, and hands it around for inspection. Each man presses the *tjurunga* affectionately to his body, and then passes it on to his neighbour.

"All the while the traditional song re-echoes from the steep mountain wall. It requires much explanation. It contains a great number of obsolete and obscure words, which, furthermore, have been dismembered and had their component parts re-grouped in the chant-verses for metrical purposes. This re-grouping of the dismembered parts effectively prevents the uninitiated from being able to understand any portion whatever of the chant when it is being sung. Yet it is upon this old traditional chant, the words of which are jealously guarded by the old men of the group, that the whole of the Ulamba myth is based. Accordingly, the leader, while teaching the younger men the sacred chant in its traditional form, has to spend much time in explaining each verse of the song after it has been memorized. Again, no questions must be asked. The leader explains the general meaning of each verse, mainly by means of sign language. If anything remains unclear, the leaders have to wait for another opportunity for getting further information unasked from their teacher. This chance is usually afforded to them during the elaborate decorations which follow that evening, decorations for the sacred ceremonies in honour of the Ulamba ancestor.

"But the afternoon is waning rapidly. The last *tjurunga* has been rubbed clean of dust, and the last verse has been chanted. No man must be here at nightfall. The leader wraps up the sacred objects with hair-string, replaces them in the cave, blocks up the opening with stones as before; and the party returns to the camp near the soak below.

"The shadows of Ulamba lengthen out across the mulga plain, the sun sinks behind the western peaks. Fires begin to gleam brightly; and the men of the party share at a leisurely meal the meat which they had obtained by hunting earlier in the day. Then they gather around the old leader once more, and begin to decorate themselves under his guidance for a ceremony in remembrance of the Ulamba ancestor, whose life story they have heard that afternoon. The ceremony which is now enacted is intimately connected with the chant and the myth: it is, in short, the dramatic representation of one of the many memorable events in the myth centering around the person of the ancestor. The actors wear a traditional ceremonial pattern in conformity with the scene of the dramatized incident; for the Ulamba chief is stated to have worn a different decorative pattern at each of the many places which he visited on his travels."[13]

There, in the beginning, when all was darkness, the Ancestor of the Bandicoot totem, Karora, lay asleep below ground. Above him the earth was red with flowers, overgrown with many grasses, and from the midst of a patch of purple flowers just above his head there rose as to the sky a decorated sacred pole that swayed to and fro and was a living creature. Its skin was smooth, like that of a man. Though asleep, the Ancestor was thinking. As desires flashed through his mind, Bandicoots began coming out of his navel and from his armpits. They burst through the sod above, and at that instant the first dawn appeared. The sun rose, flooding all with light, whereupon Karora himself burst through the crust that had been covering him, and the great gaping hole that he left behind became Ilbalintja Soak, filled with the sweet juice of honeysuckle buds.

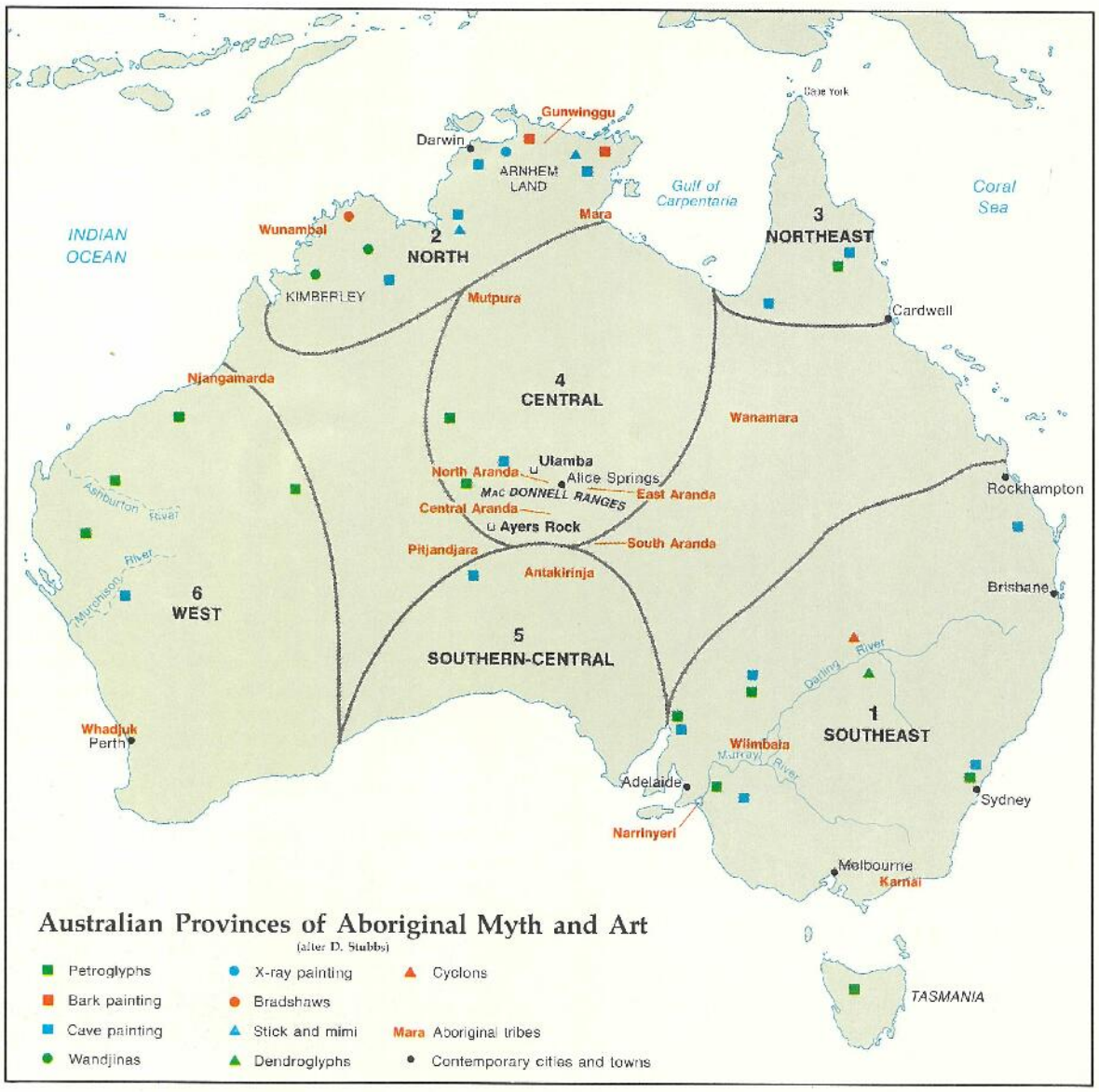
Having waked, Karora felt hungry, for the magic had gone out of him. Fluttering his eyelids and groping about in a dazed state, he felt a moving mass of Bandicoots all around him and, seizing two, roasted them in the white, hot sand.

Evening approached. The sun hid its face behind a veil of hair-string pendants, and Karora, with his thoughts turning toward a helpmate, again fell asleep, stretching his arms out to both sides. Then there emerged from beneath one armpit something in the shape of a bull-roarer. It assumed human form and increased in one night to the stature of a young man. Feeling something heavy on his arm, Karora woke and saw at his side his first-born son, whose hand was resting on his shoulder.

Again dawn broke. Karora rose; and when he sounded a loud, vibrating call, his son stirred with life, got up, and danced a ceremonial dance around him. Karora was sitting adorned with ceremonial designs worked in blood and white feather-down. His son, only half awake, stumbled. Karora's body quivered violently. His son placed his hands upon him, and when this had been done, the first ceremony of the Bandicoot clan came to an end.[2]



242. Stone *tjurunga* of the Central Australian Aranda tribe, showing footprints of the Emu ancestor as he walked around the soak out of which he had emerged. *Tjurungas* may be of stone or of wood, oval, circular (as here), or as long as some 8 to 10 feet.



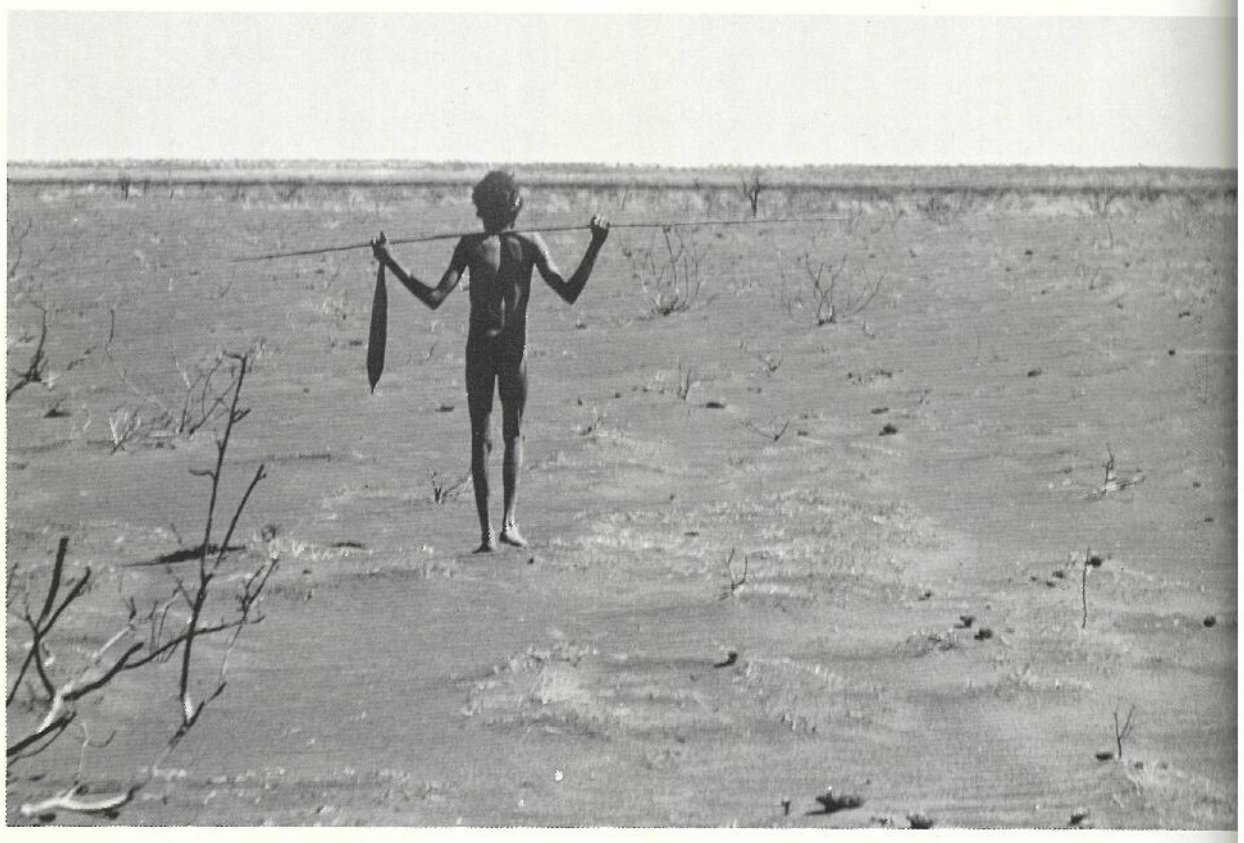
Map 32.
1. Southeast: early Negritic-Tasmanian tribal survivals; All-Father (High God) mythologies; oldest rock arts in Australia; also, dendroglyphs (designs carved into living tree trunks) and cyclons (conical stones ritually scarred).
2. North: Indonesian and West Papuan influences; World Mother mythologies; bisexual gods and powers; in Kimberley: Wondjina and "Bradshaw" rock paintings (named for Joseph Bradshaw, their discoverer, 1840); in Arnhem Land: "stick" and "Mimi" figures; rock and bark paintings in x-ray styles.
3. Northeast: area of entry of East Papuan influences, which then passed to areas 4, 5, and 6.
4. Central: vast desert with rock art in isolated cult sites, such as Ayers Rock and Alice Springs; emphatically patrilineal "tribal ancestor" mythologies.
5. Southern Central: arid, no caves or rock masses; art restricted to ornamentation of portable objects and the body (for ceremonies).
6. West: isolated rock galleries; no extended cult sites.[3]

Also delineated are the territorial ranges of the major aboriginal tribes.

* * *

Myths of the ancestral Dream Time are known to all of aboriginal Australia. The powers therein recognized are not the same, however, in the southeast and in the north as among the Aranda in the central region. For the aborigines of these three areas are of three distinct orders of culture.[14] Those of the southeast, today all but extinct, represent an early Negritic-Tasmanian race for whom the chief mythic power was a unique, creative All-Father, not recognized by other peoples of the Australian continent. In the north and northwest, where a later, West Papuan strain covered and pressed back the Negritic, the dominant presence, not only in the myths but also in the rock paintings of the area, is a power, truly dreamlike, which may appear as one or as many; as male or as female; in human form or as the rainbow. While for the Central Australian Aranda and their neighbors, who represent an East Papuan influence, the dominant powers are the ancestors of their patrilineal totemic clans.

According to A. W. Howitt, whose reports on the southeastern tribes caused a considerable stir in the first years of this century, not only among ethnologists but also in theological and literary circles, the older women of the very primitive Kurnai tribe of Victoria speak of a supernatural



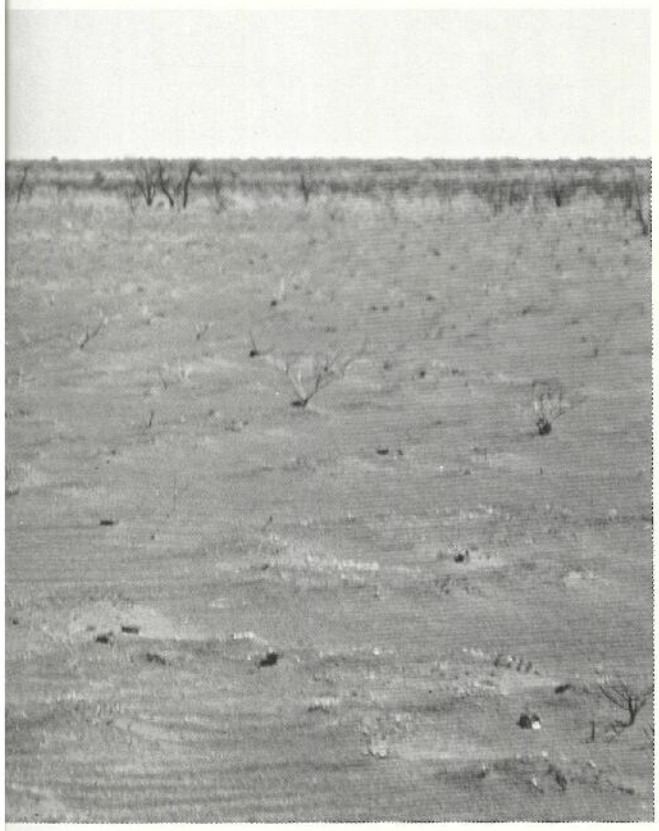
243. A hunter with spear and spear-thrower on the western desert.

being above, whom they refer to as *Mungan-ngaua* (Our Father); but it is only in the most secret part of the male initiation ceremonies that the novices are introduced to the strictly hidden teachings concerning this figure. They are then told that he once lived on earth and taught the Kurnai everything they know.

Mungan-ngaua's son, Tundun, and his wife were the first parents of the Kurnai. Tundun conducted the ceremonies instituted by his father; but when someone revealed their secrets to the women, Mungan-ngaua became furious and sent a fire [the Aurora Australis]

that filled the space between sky and earth. Men then went mad with fear and speared one another, fathers killing their children, brothers their brothers, husbands their wives. The sea rushed over the land and most of the people drowned. Those surviving became the Ancestors of the legends, many as birds, animals, and fish. Tundun and his wife became porpoises. And it was then that Munganngaua left the earth, ascending to the sky, where he remains.[15]

Many other peoples of the southeast told of such an All-Father, now living in the sky. The Narrinyeri, along the Coorong coast, believed that before departing with his family, he gave the people weapons and instituted their rites. The nearby Wiimbaio declared that he had two wives, carried two spears, and ascended from a site on Lake Victoria to which they could point.[16] His name in southwest Victoria was Bunjil, and there his two wives were said to have been sisters with a single name, Black Swan. His son was the rainbow, Binbeal, whose wife was the second rainbow that is sometimes seen. And all were now living beyond the sky in a place that the medicine men described as a mountain. When the medicine men arrived there, they were met by an entrance guardian named Gargomitch, who took their questions to Bunjil and returned with the answers.[17]



While on earth, Bunjil one day held his hand out toward the sun. The sun then became hot and warmed the earth, which opened and emitted the aborigines, who danced the ceremonial known as Gayip.

"It is a striking phase in the legends about him," Howitt states of Bunjil, "that the human element preponderates over the animal element." Other characters of the legends appear as the kangaroo, crane, spiny anteater, and so on, but Bunjil (to quote Howitt again) "is in all cases the old blackfellow, and not the eagle-hawk, which his name denotes." Moreover, he is the only mythic figure to be referred to as Our Father.[18] "Bunjil was the maker of the earth, trees and man," states Howitt, "and his name exists in the language as a term for wisdom and knowledge."[19] His names among other tribes are Baiame, Maamba, Birral, Tharamulun, and Kohin. The domain of his cult can be defined on the map by a line drawn from the mouth of the Murray River to Cardwell on the Queensland coast.[20]

Now the general resemblance of this figure's days on earth to what we have learned of the African Pygmy "creators" surely is obvious. Also evident is a certain resemblance to the Bible stories of that other "dream time" when Yahweh, too, walked on the earth "in the cool of the day" in the garden that he had planted (Genesis 3:8). In fact, it was this latter resemblance that caused the stir when Howitt's publications appeared. Father Wilhelm Schmidt, in his ethnological treatise *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*,[21] argued for an "original monotheism," evident in the lore not only of the Kurnai, but also of all the most primitive peoples known; among others, the African Pygmies and Bushmen, Southeast Asian Negritos, and Ona of Tierra del Fuego. Andrew Lang crossed swords with Herbert Spencer, Frazer, Tylor, and Howitt himself, arguing for such a primitive All-Father as "the germ of, or rough draft of, the highest of religious conceptions";[22] namely, the High God of his own and Father Schmidt's Judeo-Christian belief. Whether either Bunjil of the Kurnai or the Yahweh specifically of Genesis 2 and 3 is actually equivalent to the "idea of God" of any respectable metaphysician today is a nice question for theologians; but in any case, the recognized sharing of such mythic themes by the simplest known religions with some of those we think of as the most advanced would seem, at least, to say something about the constancy of mythological archetypes. Whether interpreted theologically as supernatural revelations, or naturally as effects of the mind, they exist, endure, and undergo significant transformations on a plane little affected, apparently, by any readily identifiable sociological or philosophical influences. And yet they *have* undergone changes, as the myths from other parts of Australia clearly show.



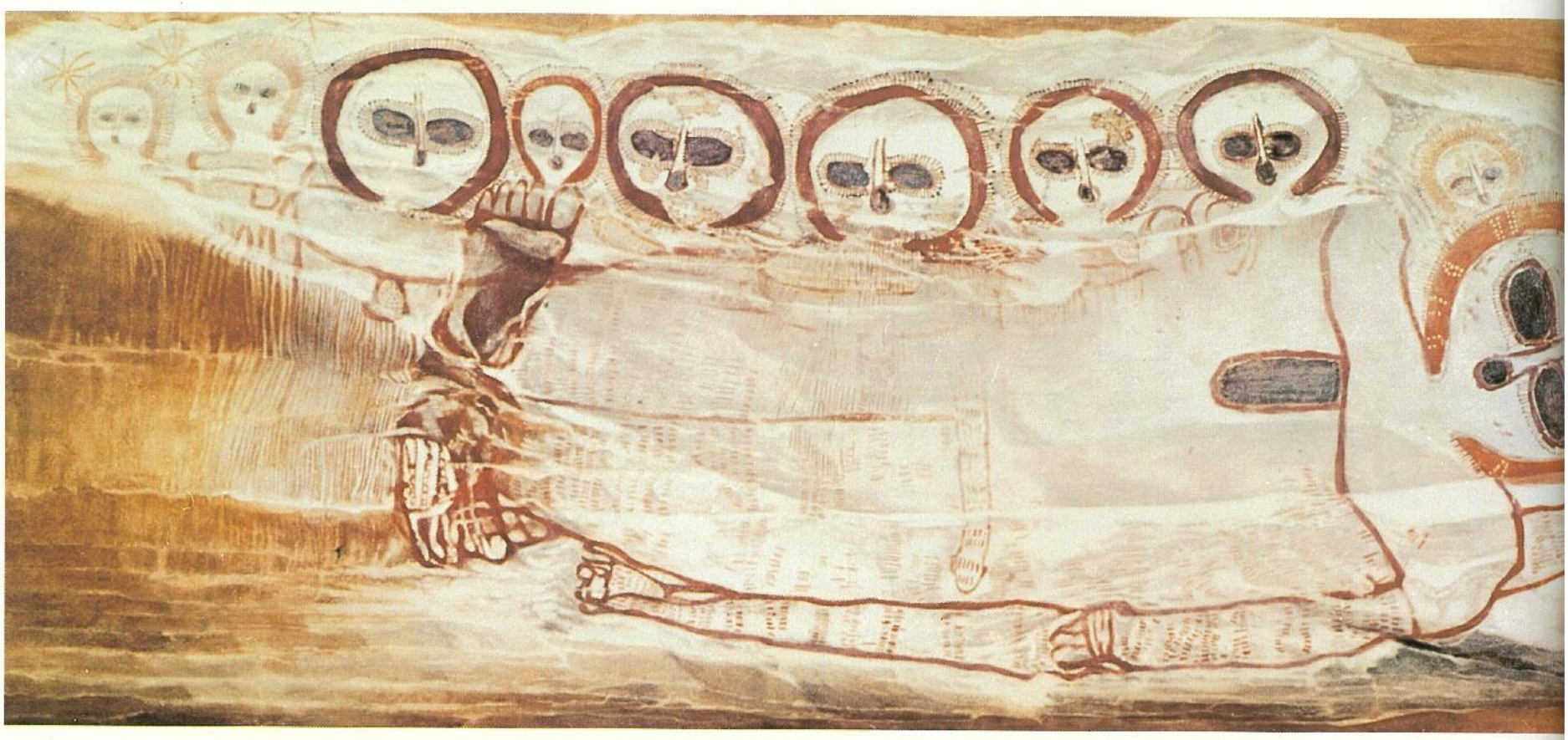
244. The making of string figures, one of the oldest of art forms, flourishes at Yirrkala, an Aboriginal township in northeastern Arnhem Land. The figure here displayed is a stylized, almost abstract, canoe. (Compare **181** on page 101 and **313** on page 187.)

In contrast with the mythological All-Father of the south, the Gunwinngu of Arnhem Land, in the north, tell of a creator known as the Old Woman, who came to Australia underground from a region called Macassar, somewhere to the northeast. According to a version of the legend given to Ronald and Catherine Berndt by a woman of the tribe, this All-Mother arrived in the form of the Rainbow Serpent, Ngalijod, with children inside her—people, who later made more people. "She made us talk like people," the woman said; "she gave us understanding. She made our feet, cut fingers for us, made our eyes for seeing, made our heads, made anger and peace for us, made our belly and intestines, gave us energy to move about—made us *people*."[23] Another female figure, Ngalgulerg, then gave to women their digging stick and the basket they hang from their foreheads and carry on their backs. Kangaroo gave to the men their spear thrower. And all would have died of thirst had the Rainbow Serpent not made water for them by urinating. "She showed us how to dig for food and how to eat it," the woman said.



245. All-Mother, the "Old Woman" of the Northern Australian myths, who in the form of a serpent arrived in Arnhem Land from the sea and gave birth to the Ancestors. Rock painting of the birth scene, Arnhem Land (Map 32, Province 2).

246. Where the Wondjina sank into the ground, leaving his image behind, "child germs," by which women conceive, appear as a row of ancestral heads. Rock painting, Kimberly (Map 32, Province 2).



"Those First People, she scraped them with a mussel shell when they were born, until she saw that their skins were lighter, and she licked them all over. And now, when we are inside our mothers she gives us breath and shapes our bodies."[24]

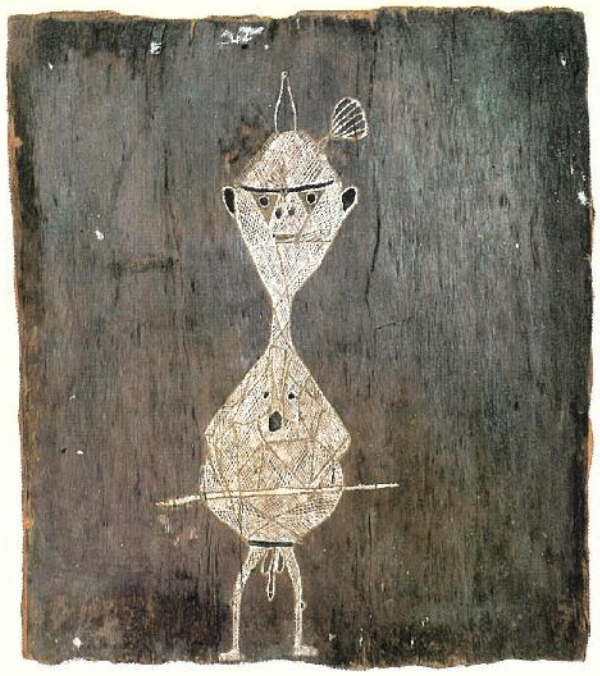
Andreas Lommel has published a specimen of Great Serpent lore from the Unumbal of northern Kimberley, in which the All-Mother appears, not simply as ancestress, but also in a cosmogonic role.

In the Beginning there were only Sky and Earth: dwelling in the earth was Ungud, in the form of a great snake; and in the sky, Wallanganda, the Milky Way. Wallanganda threw water on the earth; Ungud made it deep. And in the night, as Ungud and Wallanganda dreamed, life arose from the watered earth in the forms of their dreams.

From Wallanganda's dreaming a spiritual force went forth as images that he projected onto rocks and into caves, where they can still be seen, painted red and white and black. [Or, according to another version, it was the bird Kujon who did the painting, as he grasped the images of Wallanganda's dream in his own dreaming.] And when these had been painted, Wallanganda multiplied their forms in the shape of living beings, which he sent forth over the land.

The paintings are the spiritual centers of those beings. They are the Fathers; and the living beings of each kind are Brothers. The Fathers were painted without mouths or eyes: these were given by the great serpent Ungud, who is both female and male, dwelling and dreaming in the earth. Wallanganda, too, is dreaming, sending spiritual germs to the earth, and he will not let his creatures die.[25]

On the rocks and cave walls of northern Kimberley there are painted forms, not only of plants and animals, but also of anthropomorphic beings without mouths that personify rain (Figure 231). They are called Wondjina. They are said to have been first discovered by Ungud at the bottom of the waters.



247. Waramurungundi, the "First Woman" of the Gunwinggu people of northern Arnhem Land. Feathered ornaments hang from her head, a net bag is on her back, a dillybag dangles from her elbow, and she holds a digging stick. Her heart is shown above the center of her body. She came underground from "Macassar," bringing children inside her, and for a time wandered with her husband, Wuragog, and his relatives. But when he once rebuked her for being shameless, she and her daughter left him.



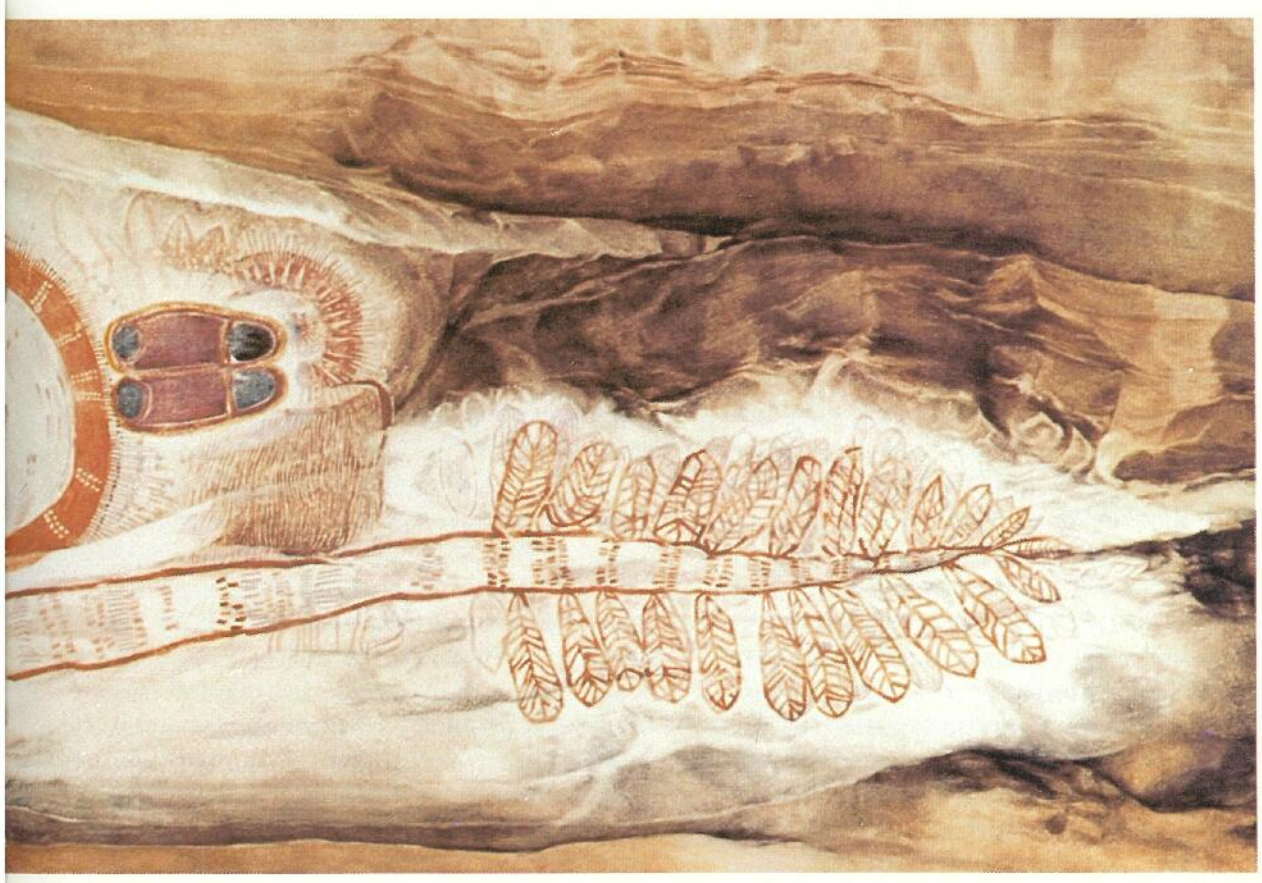
248. Wuragog, Waramurungundi's husband, with his spear, a feather in his hair, and a hair belt. He found the bottle that is on his head while wandering about after Waramurungundi left him. When she later went in search of him, she found that he had turned into the cliff now known as Tor Rock. She and her daughter continued on their way, but when they reached the caves at Banewilngugngug, they too became rocks.[4]

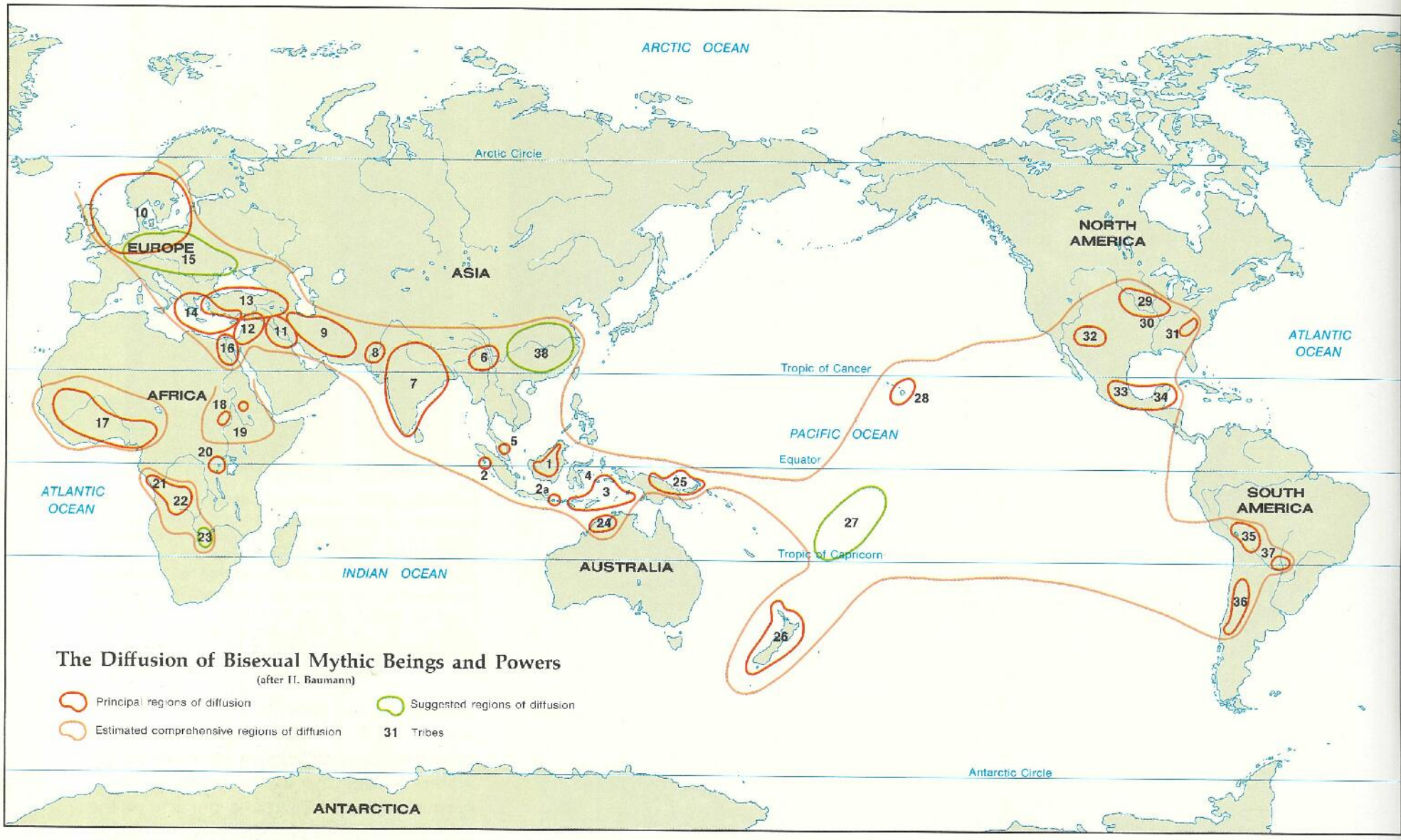
Immediately upon coming into being, the Wondjina went forth over the earth, fashioning hills and plains. Wherever they went they brought rain, and while the rocks were still wet, they lay down upon them here and there and sank into the earth, leaving impressions behind that remain today as rock paintings.

Every lake, river, and natural spring belongs to the specific Wondjina whose image was left in the neighborhood and who dwells beneath the painting in the waters under the earth, creating child-germs, each of which is a particle of the Wondjina, and also, therefore, of Ungud. In dream, a father will find one of these child-germs, and in a second dream, project it into his wife, in whom it assumes a human form. And this germ is that portion of the soul which at death goes back to the waterhole, there to await reincarnation.

All those descended in this way from the same Wondjina source are the rightful owners of the region, the oldest among them being recognized as the incarnate Wondjina itself. When telling of the Wondjina, this one will speak in the first person: "As I came along in the Dream Time," he will say, "I left my impression on this rock." It is his duty to repaint the image before each rainy season, and when about to begin, he will say aloud: "I am now going to refresh and invigorate myself." When finished, he fills his mouth with water, which he blows on the painting, and when the rain comes, it is received as at once his, the Wondjina's, and Ungud's gift.[26]

We have here broken into a mythological space where all things perceived are but the reflexes of an order instituted in the Dream Time. The logic is not of daylight but of dream, where things melt into one another and their apparent separateness no longer holds. "The name *Ungud*," states A. P. Elkin, writing of the rock paintings of this region, "is sometimes used as though it referred to a person, sometimes as though it referred to a far-





Map 33. The appearance in North Australia of such a bisexual creator as Ungud (see page 141) links the heritage of that region to a mythological context that did not originate among hunters, but among planters. There are three major centers out of which early planting traditions arose: Middle America, Southeast Asia, and the Near East (see Volume 2). Mythologies of a bisexual generation either of the universe or of humankind are found only within the zones of influence of these matrices. Hermann Baumann enumerates the regions so influenced as follows:

Indonesia: (1) Borneo [Dayak]; (2) Nias; (2a) Bali; (3) Islands from Sumba to Aru; (4) Ambon [and Ceram?]. *South Asia:* (5) Central Malaysia [Ple-Sakai]; (6) North Burma [Kochin] and Assam [Naga, Abor, Khasi]; (7) India [Bedic Aryan, Hindu, Buddhist, Tantric, and Shakti elements; Bondo, Musahar, and other native tribes]. *Antiquity and the West:* (8) Indus Valley Civilization; (9) Ancient Iran; (10) Old Germanic Zone [and the Balts]; (11) Sumer-Babylonia; (12) Western Semitic Zone [Phoenicians and others]; (13) Asia Minor; (14) Greek-Aegean Zone [including Orphism, Gnosticism, and other cults]; (15) Europe [area roughly indicated: Kabbalah, Talmud, Alchemy, Mysticism; survivals of bisexual themes in European folklore]; (16) Ancient Egypt. *Africa:* (17) West Sudan [Dogon-Bambara], Upper Volta [Senuto? Bobo], Ghana [Akan], Dahomey, Nigeria [Yoruba, Ibo, Etik, Jukun], Saharan Moors; (18) Nubia; (19) Eastern Suden [Kunama]; (20) Northeast Zaire [Hunde]; (21) Lower Congo [Vili-Kongo]; (22) Southwest Angola, Southwest Zaire [Luba, Lulua, Chokwe]; (23) Rhodesia [Tonga-Lala?]. *Australia:* (24) Kimberley [Wunambal, Ungarinyin]. *Oceania:* (25) North New Guinea and Bismarck Archipelago [Widaro, Mbowamb, Yatmul, and so on], New Ireland, Admiralties, and other islands; (26) New Zealand [Maori]; (27) West and Central Polynesia [Tongens, Tahitians, Raiateans]; (28) Hawaii. *North America:* (29) Sauk and Fox; (30) Dakotas [= Sioux] and Omaha; (31) Cherokee; (32) Zuni and Navaho; (33) Aztecs; (34) Maya [Quiche, Tlapanec]. *South America:* (35) Aymaras; (36) Araucanians; (37) Lenguas. *Far East:* China [Yang-Yin philosophies].

Baumann writes of this culture field: "We have here to do with a great number of manifoldly independent centers of development, which, however, have been so bound together through innumerable folk and culture movements that something like a single culture province has become defined, which we can best appreciate as such, not by comparing only the specific elements and complexes of the multitude of aboriginal cultures involved, but by including also those of our modern occidental culture province. Parts of this complex have long since disappeared. . . . Other members of the ancient complex came under its spell only after long delay and with strong resistance. There are primitive groups that, centuries ago, adopted certain more or less essential elements of the context and have held onto them with rare fidelity, often in grotesque contrast to other aspects of their life ways. Indeed, we know how late by many millenia it was that our own European forefathers submitted to the spell of urban civilization. Similarly, it has been only within the last two thousand years that city life has developed in the Sudan.[5]

off time, and sometimes, too, for the rainbow-serpent water spirit. It is also given as the ultimate explanation of such significant things as an obviously artificial arrangement of stones. To the question, 'What is that?' the answer given is simply, 'Ungud'." [27]

* * *

Hermann Baumann has shown in a comprehensive work that the mythological archetype of such a bisexual primordial being is not common to all mankind, but confined in its distribution to areas either formerly of the early high civilizations or affected by influences from those centers (Map 33).[28] We have already remarked that in northwestern Australia there was a West Papuan culture strain that covered and pressed back the Negritic, and that the Gunwinngu, indeed, now claim that their All-Mother came to them from somewhere known as Macassar. "The aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land," states Ronald Berndt, "have for several centuries been in almost consistent contact with Indonesian voyagers to the mainland of Australia. The first phase of this alien contact seems to have been the pre-Macassan or Baijini, while later (possibly in the sixteenth century) came the Malay and Macassans, who have left evidence of their occupation in the way of numerous old camp sites, archeological remains, old graves, tamarind trees, and so on."[29] Ungud and the Old Woman are thus reflections, on the northern margin of the continent, of a mythology that came originally from southeast Eurasia. Whereas in other parts of Australia the Rainbow Serpent is masculine, here it has become identified with a mother goddess who arrived by way of Indonesia and Western New Guinea.

* * *

The influences from eastward of New Guinea that penetrated through Queensland to the center of the Australian continent must have lacked such agriculturally related mother-goddess features as reached Arnhem Land from the northwest, for the myths and rites of the Aranda and their neighbors are of an emphatically patrilineal heritage. And yet, here too, in the final stages of initiation, symbolic forms are revealed that in a silent way point beyond the enacted myths to mysteries such as those that, in the southeast, seem to have been rendered through All-Father figures, and in Arnhem Land, through the great serpent Ungud.

When a boy is about ten or twelve, he and the other members of his age group are told that from now on they will not camp with the women, but with the men. They will not go with the women to grub for roots, but with the men will hunt the kangaroo. They are tossed into the air while the women, dancing around them, wave and shout, and each is then painted on chest and back by a man of the social group from which his wife is to come. As they paint, the men sing: "May he reach to the stomach of the sky!" Each boy is told that he now has upon him the mark of the ancestor of whom he is the living counterpart, who lived in the Dream Time—here known as the *altjurunga*.[30]

The second stage of initiation begins in the men's camp one evening, after three strong fellows have pounced upon the lad and borne him, struggling and frightened, to the ceremonial ground. There the whole camp greets him, women as well as men, the men singing while the women dance. They are now the people of the *altjurunga*. When the boy has watched and listened for some time, fur strings are wound around his head to make a tightly fitting cap, and a girdle of twisted hair is tied around his waist. Three men then lead him through the dancing women to a brake of bushes, where he is painted and warned that he must never disclose to any woman or boy anything of what he is about to learn. And he must remain where he is until called.

The next day, his mother comes, together with his father's sisters and the mother of the girl who has been assigned to be his wife. All night his mother has kept a fire burning, and she now brings two sticks from that fire. While the men sing a fire song, she hands one stick to the future mother-in-law, who, passing it to the boy, ties fur strings around his neck and tells him to hold fast to his own fire; that is, never to interfere with the women assigned to other men. The boy returns to his brake, and the women depart with the second fire stick.

The youngster is next brought into the forest to sit alone for three days with little to eat, after which his season begins of instruction in the mythic lore of his tribe. Blindfolded, he is led from his brake at midnight and made to lie face down at the edge of the men's danceground. When told to sit up and look, he sees lying before him a decorated man who represents, he is told, a wild dog. Another is standing, legs apart, at the other end of the danceground, holding up twigs of eucalyptus in each hand. He utters the call of the kangaroo and moves his head as though watching for something. The dog barks, gets up, and runs on all fours between the other's legs. When he turns and comes through from behind, he is caught, shaken, dashed to the ground, and lies still, pretending to be dead; but then, suddenly, on all fours, he comes running at the boy and lies on top of him. The kangaroo hops over and lies on both. The boy has to bear their weight for about two minutes, after which he is told that what he has just witnessed is an event of the *altjurunga*, when a wild-dog–man attacked a kangaroo-man and was killed.



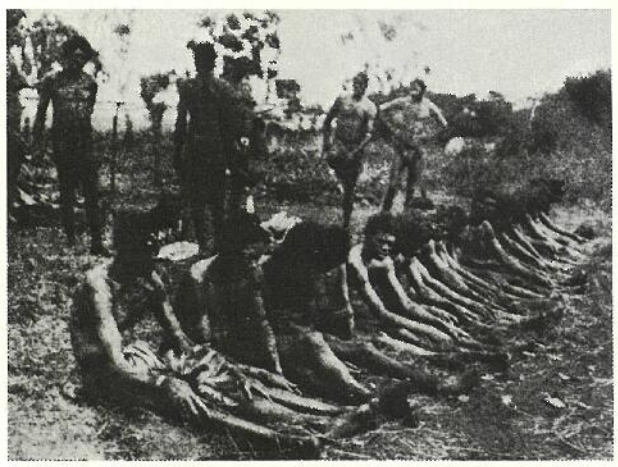
249. In New South Wales (Map 32, Province 1), at the Guambone Station (see **237**, page 135), four novices are being conducted along a symbolic way to the ceremonial high master waiting to receive them. Like the engravings on bull-roarers, the figures on the ground are abstractions condensing ancestral legends.

Six days and nights of such visionary mimes culminate in the ceremony of his circumcision. He is again seated behind his brake with a design in white pipe clay painted on his back. On the danceground, a performance is taking place in which the women are participating. Suddenly, the sound of the approaching bull-roarers is heard. The women flee, and the boy is made to lie on his back while the men pile poles on top of him, lifting and slamming them down to the rhythm of a song they sing:

Night, twilight, a great clear light;
A cluster of trees, skylike,
rising red as the sun

At the western end of the ground, in





250. The dreadful seriousness of some of the ordeals of these rites is grimly illustrated in these historic photographs from Arnhem Land (Map 32, Province 2). Having been exposed both to a broiling sun and to a torment of stinging insects sprinkled over them, those with short white sticks at their heads have expired.



the firelight, appear the two men who are to perform the operation. With their beards thrust into their mouths (signifying wrath), and with their arms stretched forward, they stand perfectly still, the actual operator in front, holding the small flint knife in his extended right hand, and the assistant pressing close behind. The instant they appear, the boy's future father-in-law comes down the line, carrying a shield on his head and snapping the fingers of both hands. Dropping to one knee before the operator, he elevates the shield above his head. The sound of the bull-roarers can be heard in the camp of the women, who are to think it is the voice of the great spirit Twanyirika, who has come to take the boy away. He, on his back beneath the slamming and rising poles, can hear it too.

Abruptly, the poles are removed. He is lifted and carried feet foremost to the shield, upon which he is placed. The assistant circumciser immediately grasps the foreskin, pulls it out as far as possible, and the operator cuts it off.

Instantly, like the images of a dream upon one's waking, all the functionaries of the ceremony disappear, and the boy is told by the two who carried him; "You did well, you did not cry out." He is returned to the place where the brake once stood. It is now gone, and the men who are there congratulate him. The blood from his wound is let flow onto a shield. Bull-roarers are pressed against the wound and he is told that it was they that made the sound: they are *tjurunga*, from the Dream Time. Standing over a fire whose smoke is supposed to be healing the wound, he is introduced to the functionaries by their ceremonial names and given a packet of *tjurungas* by the oldest. As a child is smoked at birth, to be purified, so now is this boy, who has just attained his second birth.[31]

During the weeks of the healing of the wound, another series of mythic mimes is shown, culminating in the planting of a sacred pole, banded with alternate rings of red and white bird down and topped with a tuft of eagle-hawk feathers. The boy is told to embrace the pole, it will keep the next operation from hurting. One of the men has lain face downward on the ground; a second on top of him. The initiate, conducted from the pole, is placed face upward on this living altar, and while the company sets up a great shout, a third man, mounting astride the boy, grasps and holds his penis ready for the knife, at which moment, a fourth, suddenly appearing, slits the length of it from below.

In the women's camp, meanwhile, at the sound of the men's shout, the initiate's female relatives are being slashed across belly and shoulders by his mother.

He is lifted from the altar, and while he squats over a shield into which the blood flows, one or two of the younger men, who have been subincised before, stand up and voluntarily undergo a second operation to increase the length of their incisions. Standing close to the sacred pole, hands behind their backs and legs wide apart, they shout, "Come and slit mine to the root!" They are pinioned from behind, and the work is done.[32]

There has been considerable discussion of the sense of this operation, the best testified and most obvious suggestion being in the likening of the subincision to the vulva and the blood from the wound to menstrual blood.[33] During certain periods of their long ordeal, the boys have been given nothing to eat or drink but the men's blood—in bowls, either in liquid form or coagulated, to be carved like cake. Blood has also been poured over them, so

that they have been soaked, inside and out, in the men's blood. And the men have been obtaining it in great quantities by jabbing their subincision wounds and slashing the insides of their arms, the blood being then used, not only to initiate the boys, but also as paint for the ceremonials and as glue to fix bird down to their bodies when they assume the forms of the Ancestors. The blood is thus the natal blood of the boys' "second birth" from the father into life in the myths, as that of the vulva had been of their first birth from the mother into life in the world. And by virtue of their own subincision wounds, the initiates have now become eligible to give ceremonial birth to spiritual sons.

The terminating ceremony of this whole sensational season is a celebration, symbolically of the mystery of the two sexes. Known as the Engwura, it is solemnized only by a number of tribes together, with eighteen or twenty initiates, its central event being the elevation of a double *tjurunga*, supposed to have been fashioned by a supernatural being called Numbakulla, the Eternal. The name suggests an esoteric reference to some such transcendent power as was represented in Bunjil of the southeastern tribes; while in the double *tjurunga* of this supernatural's creation—obviously symbolizing the principle of duality that is manifest through all things, and most transparently in the sexes—a relationship is indicated to the tradition of a bisexual ground of creation, as in Ungud of the northwest. Again, in the sacred pole, the pivot of the universe, the feathers fastened to the top are of the eagle-hawk, and, as we have heard, the name Bunjil means "eagle-hawk." Further, the alternating bands of the pole, red and white like the double *tjurunga*, a duality. The first song sung to the young initiate—"May he reach to the stomach of the sky!"—suggests, in the context of this symbolic order of the second birth, not the stomach exactly, but the womb of the power on high; while the advice, finally, to embrace the bicolored pole before submitting to the operation, points to the requirement of a spiritual identification with the androgynous ground as prerequisite to its realization in the flesh.

Throughout the four months of the ceremonials, the men's camp has been divided from the women's by the dry bed of a stream. During the first day of the culminating double *tjurunga* ceremony, the young men are sent away on various distant assignments, so that the camp should be empty; and while they are gone, the leader of the festival prepares in secret two large wooden *tjurungas*, each about 3 feet long, which he binds together carefully with a string made of human hair, hiding them completely. The upper three-quarters of the combined symbol is encir-



251. Fathers of the Aranda tribe of Central Australia (Map 32, Province 4) donating blood for ceremonials. As menstrual blood is the medium of natural birth, so this blood from the men's arms and reopened subincision wounds will be the ceremonial medium of their sons' second, tribal or social, birth to manhood.

252. The three high celebrants of the Engwura, the most solemn mystery of the Aranda of Central Australia (Map 32, Province 4). All night the leading master of this culminating ceremonial of the season of initiations has been silently elevating and lowering the double *tjurunga*, the *ambilyerikirra*, symbolic of Numbakulla, the Eternal.



cled with rings of white down. The top is given an owl-feather tuft. When finished, it is known as the *ambilyerikirra,* and taken to be buried in the dry bed of the separating stream.[34]

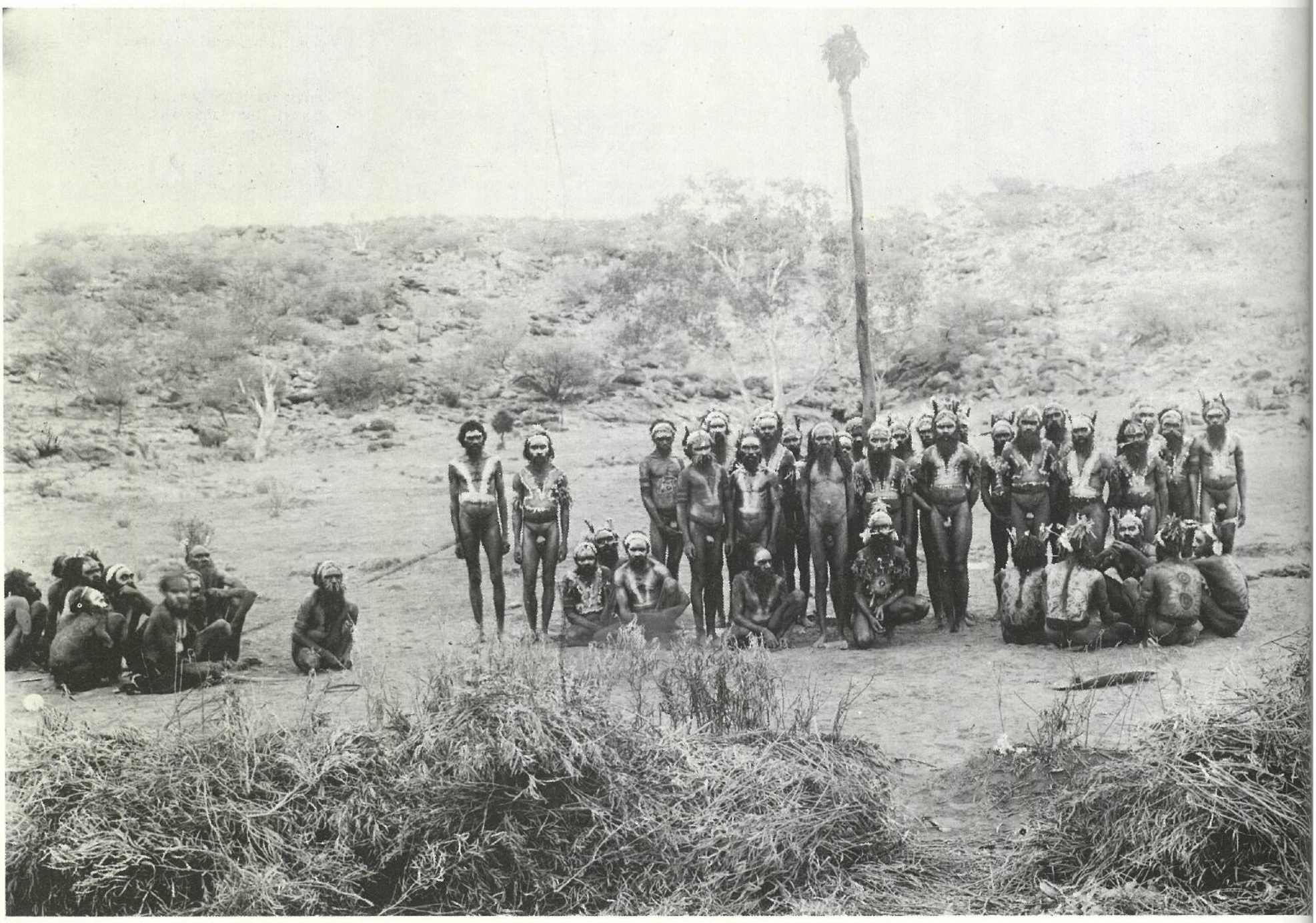
The young men return at the end of the day and are made to lie on their backs in a row. Night falls, and an old man, their guardian, along the line, walks back and forth. There is perfect silence. The youths are lying still. And the leader of the festival, who has now secretly retrieved the *ambilyerikirra* from its symbolic place between the separated camps, is seated, holding it upright before his face by its undecorated lower end. Beside him, at either elbow, is an assistant, supporting his arms. And the man is lifting and lowering the sacred object slowly before his face. All night the old man, with his two assistants supporting his arms, slowly lifts and lowers the symbol.

At a certain moment of the night all the older men begin chanting. The boys remain as they are, with the guardian silently pacing, until dawn, when they are roused and the old leader stops lifting and lowering the *ambilyerikirra,* gets up, with his two aides still at his elbows, and proceeds to the northern end of the ceremonial ground. The candidates are directed to a line of sacred bushes, where they take boughs and form a solid square behind the three with the *ambilyerikirra.* The formation moves out from the ceremonial ground to the stream bed, goes across it and up the opposite bank to the camp where the women are standing, grouped together. Each, with her arms bent at the elbow, is moving her open hands up and down at the wrist, palms upward, inviting, while calling out, *"Kutta, kutta, kutta!",* keeping one leg stiff while bending the other to a gentle sway of the body.

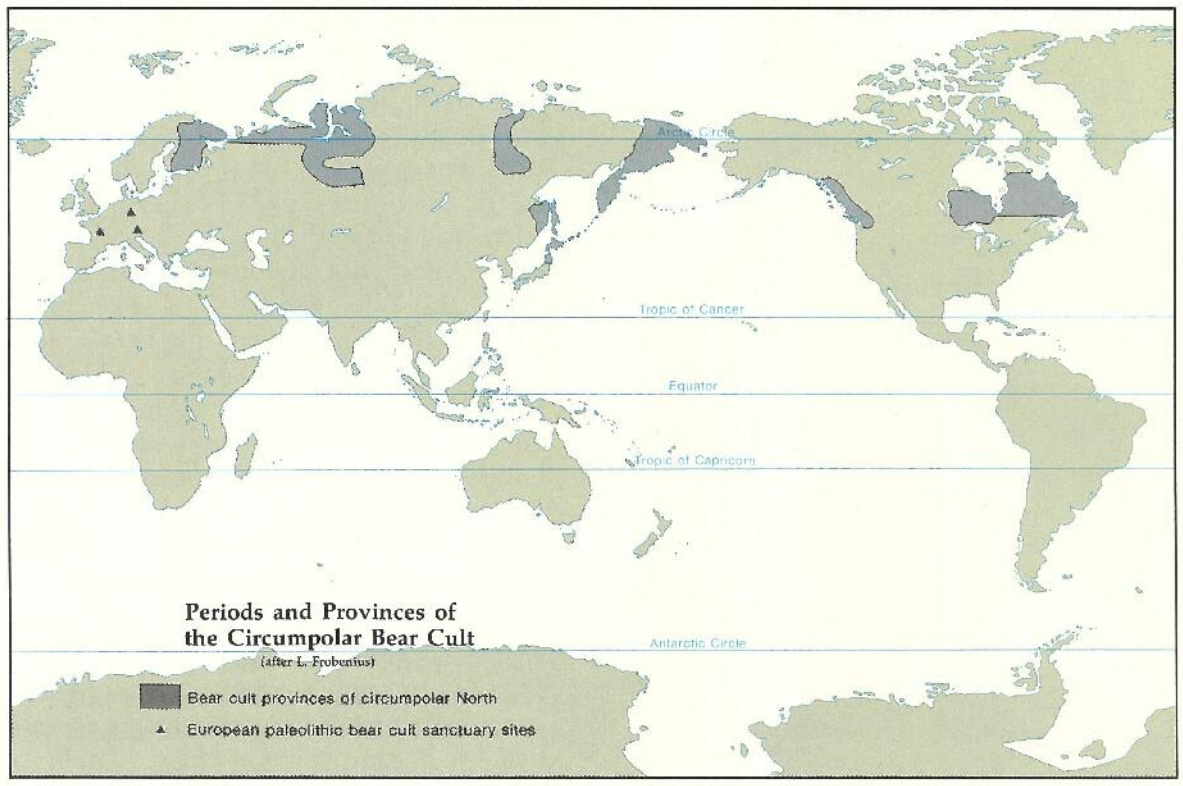
The formation approaches slowly in silence; and then, within five yards of the women's front rank, the men bearing the *ambilyerikirra* throw themselves to the ground hiding the double *tjurunga* from view. The initiates throw themselves on top, so that all that can be seen of the three are their heads projecting from the pile; and when all have remained so for about two minutes, the young men get up and, turning their backs on the women, reconstruct the square. The leaders, quickly coming to their feet, also turn their backs, and are hustled through the square. They lead the group back to the Engwura ground, and the ceremonial ends.[35]

The youths will now be delivered as men to their assigned women. The ritual of their being tossed in the air marked their carriage away as boys—taken by Twanyirika, the spirit of the bull-roarer; the rites of circumcision and subincision were of their transformation; and the ritual, then, of the double *tjurunga,* to the *"Kutta, kutta, kutta!"* of the women of the camp announced their eligibility to return to them from the *altjurunga* as authorized, fully fledged Aranda.

253. Celebrants of the Aranda Engwura ceremony—fathers and initiated sons—gathered about the symbolic pole of Numbakulla, the Eternal. Hanging near its top is the bull-roarer, source of the voice of the initiating spirit, Twanyirika. On the initiates' backs are their special body paintings in white clay.



Circumpolar Cults of the Master Bear



Map 34. The earliest evidence anywhere on earth of the veneration of a divine being is in the Alpine bear-skull sanctuaries of Neanderthal Man (see pages 54–56). A second period and stage is represented in the figures of bears deliberately stabbed in the Magdalenian temple caves of Montespan (**94** on page 62) and Les Trois Frères (**133** on page 76), and a third in the Epipaleolithic finds of Norway and Denmark (**254** below).

Across the Eurasian North, the period from 6000 to 2500 B.C. was an era of climatic optimum, warmer than today, with vegetation zones extending north of their present limits. TIhe bear cult spread northeastward with the advancing populations and is represented in myths and customs from Finland to Labrador.

Of the Paleolithic traditions that spread west-to-east, the bear cult is almost certainly the oldest, dating, as it does, from Neanderthal Man's veneration of the cave bear. The little black bears of the Ainu bear cult of Hokkaido, Japan, might seem to the skeptical observer hardly adequate to match, as counterparts, the gigantic cave bears of Neanderthal Man's experience, to whom they owe the origins of their worship. Yet they are apparently fulfilling the inherited role quite well; for size and ferocity are not the only, nor indeed the most important, qualifications of a divinity—as we have learned from the Bushmen's god Kaggen, the Mantis (see pages 90–93).

When the bear has come forth from his long winter sleep, he is frequently seen walking on his hind legs like a man. What sustained him during those months of his hibernation?

There is a belief, documented from Finland eastward across circumpolar Eurasia and America to Nova Scotia and Labrador, that bears in hibernation nourish themselves on a juice drawn from their paws. The eighteenth-century Danish voyager Knud Leems, in his *Account of the Laplanders of Finnmark* (1767), accepted the belief as an established fact. "It is a matter well known and ascertained through the regions of the north," he reported, "that a bear, during the winter, lies concealed in his den and is sustained by no other aliment than a certain milky juice which he sucks from his forepaws with a growling."[36] Another, earlier traveler in that period of the Enlightenment, Baron La Houton, in his *New Voyages to North America* (1703), had already accepted the belief. "Many people," he wrote, "will hardly believe that these animals can live three months in such Prisons without any other food but the Juice of their Paws which they suck continually: and yet the matter of fact is undeniably true."[37] And a third witness, P. F. X. Charlevoix, in his *Journal d'un Voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (1744), states of the bear in hibernation: *"Il tire alors de ses Pattes, en les lèchant, une substance, qui le nourrit."*[38]

The bear hears everything, even at great distances. He also remembers and will avenge himself for every hurt. One may not talk about him when hunting; he does not allow even the mention of his name. Hence he is called by screening nicknames, such as Crooked Tail, the Chief's Son, or the Old Man in the Fur Coat, and on the hunt one employs a secret language.[39] The following are some of the pet names that have been recorded.

Among the Abnaki of Quebec: Cousin, rationalized by the observation that a skinned bear, in its proportions, looks much like a man. "These tracks," the Abnaki will say, "are our cousin's." The related Penobscot, on the Penobscot River in Maine, speak of the bear as Grandfather; he is grandfather of all the animals. And the Montagnais-Nascapi of Labrador, who likewise call the bear Grandfather, speak of him after his death, respectfully, as Short Tail, Food of the Fire, Black Food, and the One Who Owns the Chin. South of Hudson Bay, the Eastern Cree call him both Short Tail and Black Food, as well as Crooked Tail, Old Porcupine, the Lynxlike Creature, Wrangler, and Angry One, while for the Plains Cree of Saskatchewan, he is the Four-Legged Human, Chief's Son, Crooked, and Tired. The Sauk and the Menomenee of Wisconsin refer to him as Elder Brother and as Old Man; the Blackfeet, north of the upper Missouri, as the Unmentionable One, That Big Hairy One, and Sticky Mouth. All of these tribes are Algonquian, but to the Tsimshian of the Northwest Coast the bear is again Grandfather, as he is also to the Yukaghir, the Tungus, and the Yakuts of Siberia.



254. Amber bear, length 2¾ inches, from the Rosen Bog, Denmark. Maglemosian Culture (from the Danish *magle mose*, "great bog"), c. 9000 to 5000 B.C. Reproduced actual size.

The Yukaghir, a people of Paleo-Siberian speech (together with the Chukchi, Giliaks, Koryaks, and Kamchadals, all classified racially as Americanoid, and inhabiting the northeastern extreme of the Asian continent) have such names for the bear as Owner of the Earth and the Great Man. The Mongolian Tungus (related to the Manchu, and widely spread over eastern Siberia) call him the Old Man. To the Turkic Yakuts, he is known as the Worthy



255. *The Bear Kill.* Eskimo sculpture of soapstone, the knife and bear's teeth of ivory. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Contemporary.

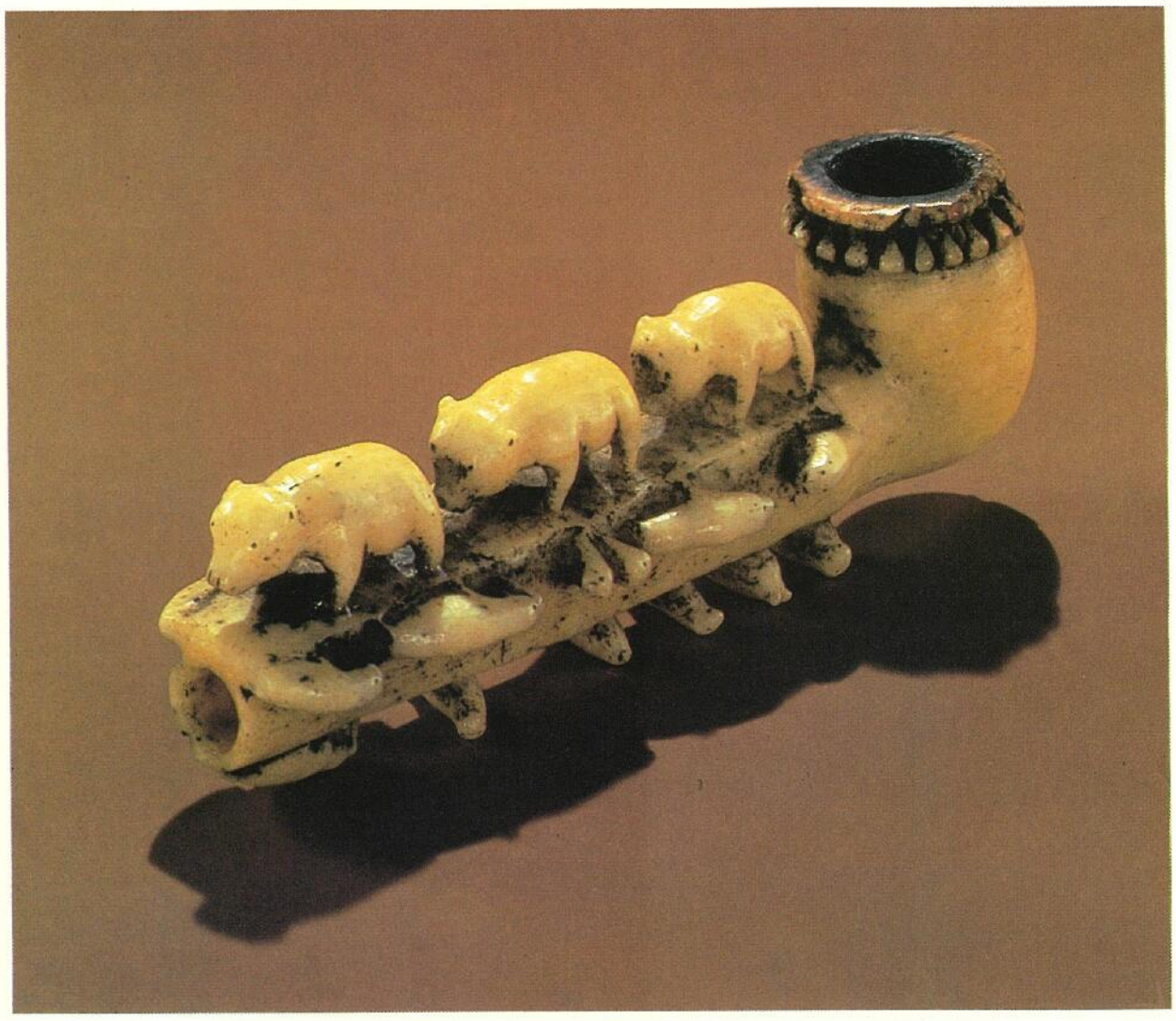
Old Man, Beloved Uncle, Good Father, and Our Lord, while among the various Finn-Ugric peoples of western Siberia and eastern Europe, the names are of the same kind. For example, the Ostyak know him as the Beautiful One, Old Furry Father, and Old Man with the Claws; the Vogul, as the Venerable One; the Votyak, as Uncle of the Woods; and the Estonians of northeastern Europe call him Broad Foot. The Finns speak of the bear as Pride of the Woodland, Forest Apple, Light Foot, and Golden Friend of Forest and Fen; the Lapps, as King of the Woods and Old Man with the Fur Garment, while the Ainu of Hokkaido, Japan, refer to him as That Divine One Reigning in the Mountains.[40]

The likening of this animal to a man, which is already suggested by his posture—frequently upright, standing and even walking on his two hind legs—appears to be confirmed by the resemblance that has often been remarked between the human body and the body of the bear when its fur coat is removed. Karl Meuli, in an article on the funeral customs of the Greeks,[41] points out that among primitive hunting peoples, both men and animals are thought to appear now in the one form, now in the other; and that the white, soft body of a bear, stripped of its hide and lying outstretched on its back, would be a sight particularly suggestive of such a notion. Indeed, one European observer, writing of his own attendance at a bear-eating festival in Kamchatka, reported that he was at first startled on seeing the body laid out on the ground, uncertain as to whether the Kamchatkans might be on the point of making a meal of one of the members of his expedition. Emil Bächler has remarked that in the valley of the upper Yenisey around Turukhansk, the Tungus believe that a man will turn into a bear if, in the forest, he will but crawl three times around a tree stump, growling all the way.[42]

The killing of a bear is generally regarded as a ritual act, to be performed in a special way. Knives and clubs, primitive weapons, are commonly preferred even where guns are available, for they comport with the antiquity of the cult. The Ainu hunter, for example, having drawn his knife, rushes into the animal's embrace, hugs him closely, and thrusts the knife to his heart.[43] The Gilyak of the lower Amur, so as not to excite the animal's posthumous revenge, do not surprise him, but engage him in a fair stand-up fight.[44] In America, the Thompson River, Shasta, and Carrier tribes of the northwest, as well as the Montagnais-Naskapi, Penobscot, Abnaki, and Malecite of the northeast, first invite the bear to come out of his den and then inform him, with apologies, of their challenge.[45]

When the bear has been slain, it is usual to disclaim responsibility for his death. In northern Siberia today, the Ostyaks, Votyaks, Koryaks, Kamchadals, Gilyaks, Yakuts, Yukaghir, and Tungus will say: "Grandfather, it wasn't I, it was the Russians, who made use of me, who killed you. I am sorry! Very sorry! Don't be angry with *me*!" On the other hand, the general practice in North America was to praise the bear and to explain the occasion. For example, the Abnaki would tell the animal frankly: "I have killed you because I need your skin for my coat and your flesh for my food. I have nothing else to live on." The Ottawa, north of Lake Huron, would flatter him and plead: "Do not leave with an evil thought against us because we have killed you. You have intelligence and can see for yourself that our children are starving. They love you. They wish you to enter into their bodies. And is it not a glorious thing to be eaten by the children of chiefs?"[46]

The Ainu of Hokkaido have the following legend of the bear's humanity:



256. Ivory pipe with bears, seals, and walruses. Length, 4½ inches. Made by the Maritime Koryak, Kamchatka. Contemporary.

There was, once upon a time, a young woman whose custom it was to go daily to the mountains with her baby on her back to gather lily roots and other edibles. At the end of each day she would take her roots to a stream to wash them, lift the baby from her back, wrap it snugly in her clothes, and, leaving it on the bank to sleep, go into the water nude. One day, when thus washing her roots, she began to sing a beautiful song, of which the melody so enchanted her that she lost all sense of her surroundings. Coming out of the stream, continuing to sing, she set down the roots and, lost in herself, was dancing naked on the shore, when suddenly the loud crack of a stick stopped her. She looked, saw a bear, and in panic fled, leaving the child.

The bear, discovering the infant and thinking it a pity that such a helpless little thing should have been left alone, said to itself ruefully, "I came here attracted by the lovely song of that woman, approaching quietly lest she hear me and be afraid. But her singing was so beautiful that I became elated and inadvertently made a sound." The child began to cry for its mother's breast, and the bear, in pity, put his tongue into its mouth. Nursing thus, the child was kept alive for several days, during which time the bear never left its side. But then, one day, a company of hunters from the village came to the mountain, frightening the bear, which fled and left the child where it lay. When the villagers, discovering it, realized that the bear had been tending it, they were impressed. "That bear is good," they said to each other. "He has kept this lost baby alive. Surely that bear is a deity deserving of our worship." So they hunted out and shot the bear, returning with its body to their village, where they offered it food and wine along with sacred sticks, sending back its soul with praise and blessings to the other world.[47]

The Lillooet Indians of southern British Columbia had a special Bear Song that was to be chanted solemnly and with genuine emotion over the body of the bear, naming the boons of power they expected to derive from slaying him:

You were the first to die, greatest of beasts.
We respect and shall treat you accordingly;
No woman will eat your flesh,
No dog insult you.
May the lesser animals all follow you
And die by our traps and arrows.
May we now kill plenty of game.

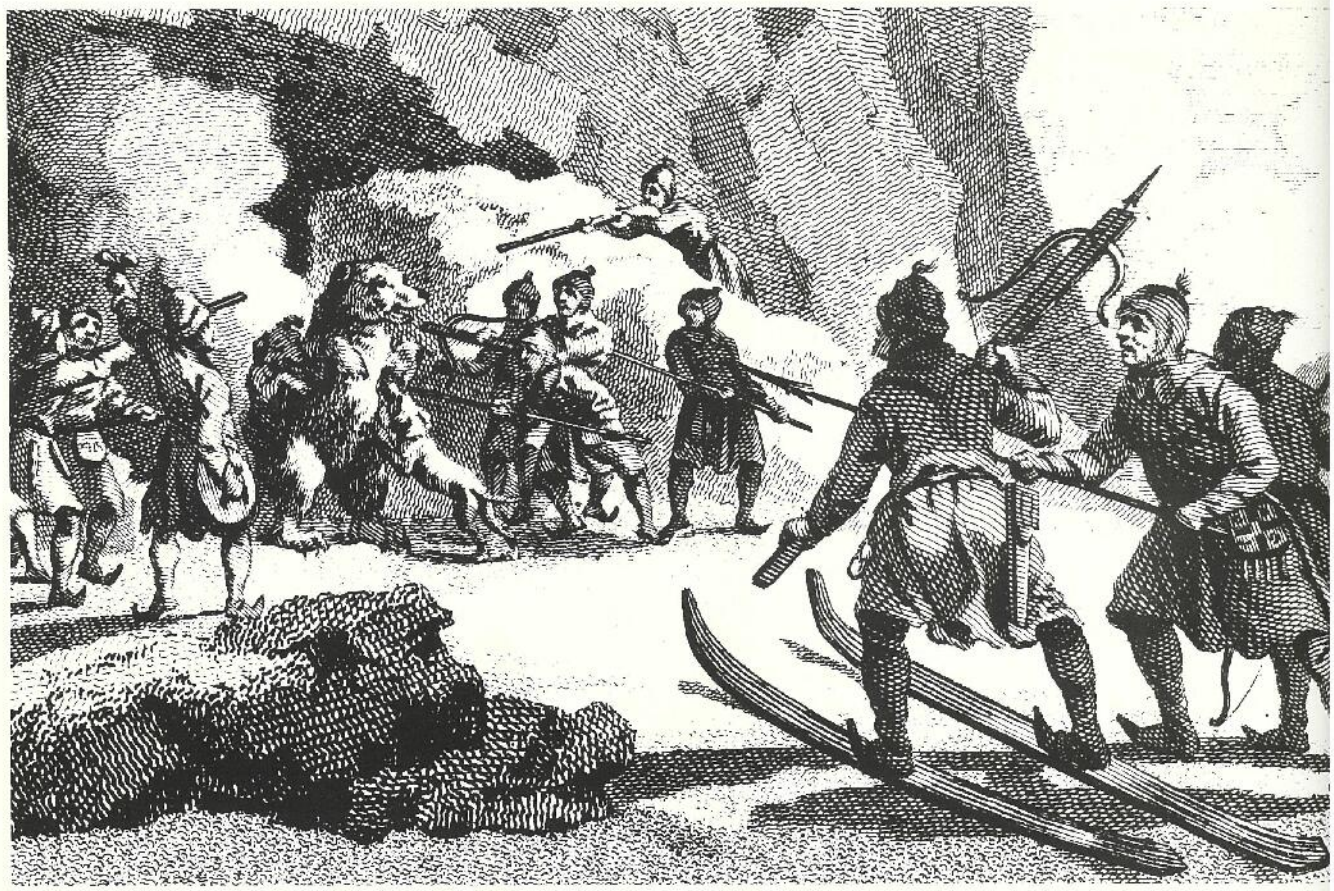
May the goods of those we gamble with
Follow us as we leave the play,
And come into our possession.
May the goods of those we play lehol *with*
Become completely ours,
Even as a beast that we have slain.[48]



257. Bear mask, Haida, Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia. The preeminence of the bear among the animal powers both revered and feared by northern hunting peoples—from Finland, across Siberia and America, to Labrador—has provided inspiration for many of the most impressive works of art of the masterful wood carvers of the American Northwest Coast. The dancer in this ceremonial mask might have impersonated in dance and mime the bear-husband of a favorite mystery play and legend.



258. Heraldic grizzly bear, possibly a house guardian or totem. North Pacific Coast, Bella Coola tribe, British Columbia, Canada.



The bear hunt and sacrifice across Eurasia

259. In Lapland, bear hunters on skis with spears and crossbows close in for the sacrifice.

The nearby Shuswap chant a similar dirge of comfort, praise, and petition:

O thou greatest of animals,
Man among beasts,
Now my friend,
Thou art dead!

May thy mystery make all the other animals
Be like women when I hunt them!
May they follow thee,
And fall to me
Easy prey![49]

It is reported that when a good singer chants such a song earnestly, from the heart, those present become so moved that they weep with tears rolling down their cheeks. Singers of the Thompson River tribes, before chanting, paint their faces with alternate black and red vertical stripes. And the Western Carriers of the Mackenzie River declare that they sing so that the bear, as he dies, may say to himself: "I like that song." The hunters will then be able to kill many bears.[50]

Finally, when the body of the slain bear is brought into the village, the manner of devouring his flesh is everywhere a sacred feast with very special rules. In a letter written in 1634 by the Jesuit missionary Le Jeune, such an event among the Montagnais-Nascapi is reported in detail. The moment the bear had been brought into camp, one early evening, all the young girls and married women without children retired to a shelter of their own making, some distance away. The dogs were ejected from the wigwam in which the feast was to be held "lest they lick the blood," we read, "or eat the bones or even the offal of this beast, so greatly is it prized." The meat was boiled simultaneously in two vessels, the contents of which were consumed separately, the first by the men and older women together, after finishing which the women left; the second was then emptied by the men alone. This latter feast was the more ceremonious, characterized by a special "eat all" feature; namely, a requirement that every morsel of the meat should be consumed, with every person required to eat the entire portion served him. "They will give to one man," wrote Father Le Jeune, "what I would not undertake to eat with three good dinners. They would rather burst, so to speak, than leave a thing. . . . Not a word is said; they only sing, and sometimes the shaman drums. . . . It is a banquet of devotion."[51]

This custom is followed not only by the Montagnais-Nascapi of Labrador, but also by the Tête-de-Boule and Eastern Cree south of Hudson Bay, as well as by the Asiatic Eskimo, the Lamut around the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Ainu of Japan.

No doubt the best-known example of the ceremonious killing of a bear is that recounted in Elias Lönnrot's reconstruction (1835) of the Finnish folk epic *The Kalevala*, "The Land of Heroes," which, by the way, provided the inspiration for Longfellow's invention of an Algonquian-Iroquois epic, "The Song of Hiawatha," even to the detail of the archaic trochaic tetrameter verse. The hero of the Finnish episode is the old magician Väinämöinen, who, as he approaches the bear's den, sings out, using some of the flattering pet names, to let the animal know of his coming:

'Otso, Apple of the Forest,
O thou lazy honey-pawed one:
If thou hearest me approaching,
Hearest me, the hero, coming,
In thy hair thy claws conceal thou,
In thy gums thy teeth conceal thou,
That thou never more shouldst move them,
That they motionless remain there.'

And when the bear has been slain, he again sings out, disclaiming responsibility:

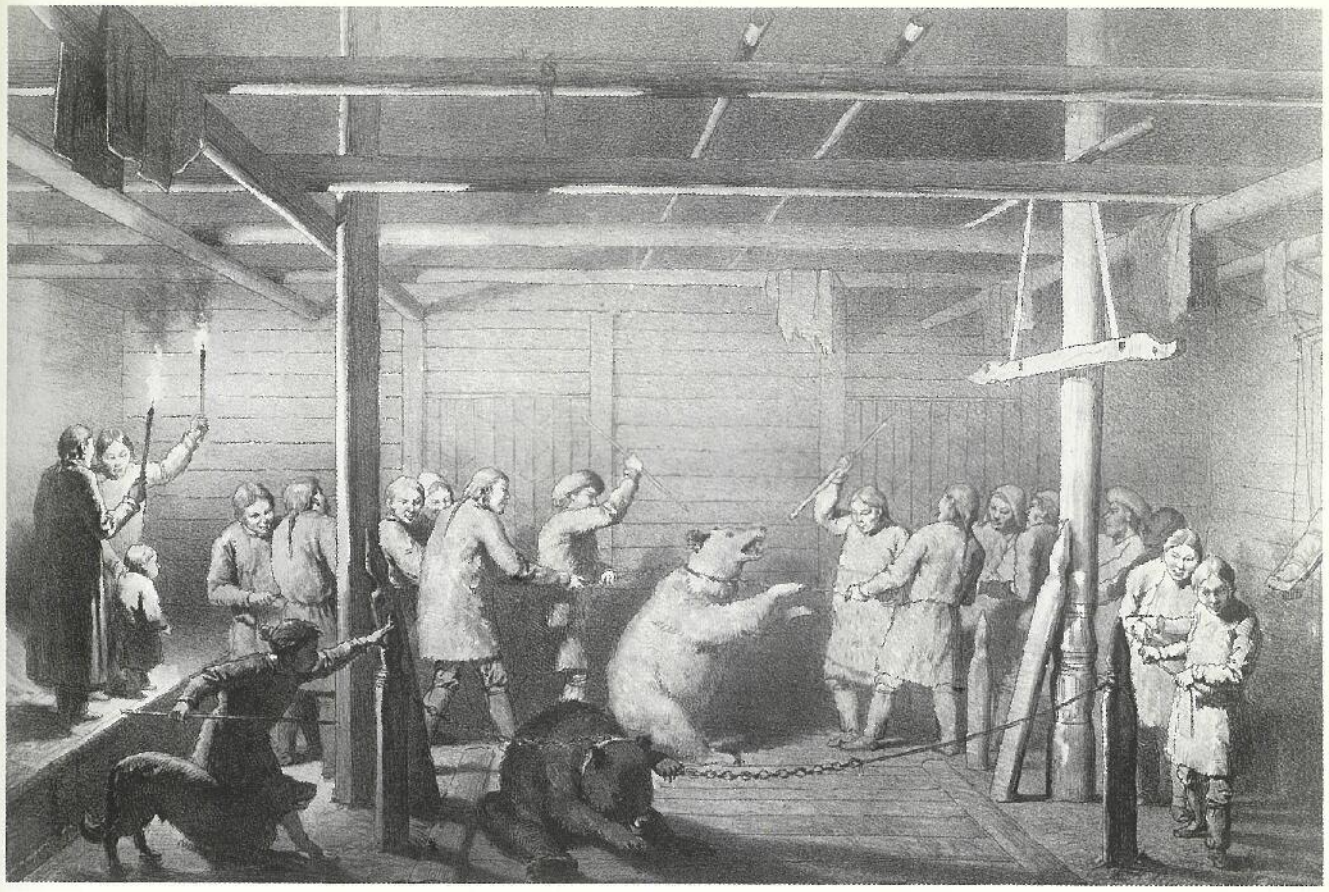
'O my Otso, O my darling,
Fair one with the paws of honey,
Be not filled with causeless anger,
I myself have not o'erthrown thee,
Thou thyself hast left the forest,
Wandered from thy pine-tree covert,
Thou hast torn away thy clothing,
Ripped thy grey cloak in the thicket.'[52]

As he then approaches the village with his prize, he again sings out, to let the people know of the arrival of a great guest:

'What I bring is not an otter,
Not a lynx and not an otter,
One more famous is approaching,
Comes the pride of all the forest,
Comes an old man wandering hither,
With his overcoat he cometh.

'Where's my guest to be conducted,
Whither shall I lead my gold one?
To the barn shall I conduct him,
On a bed of straw to lay him?'

And the people gave him answer,
Shouted all the handsome people:
'Better lead our guest illustrious,
And conduct our golden beauty
Underneath these famous rafters;



260. A bear festival of the Gilyaks of the lower Amur river region (East Siberia); the bear is about to be sacrificed.

261. Conclusion of the Gilyak festival, when the sacrificed bear, as a revered guest, is served a ritual meal of its own flesh.

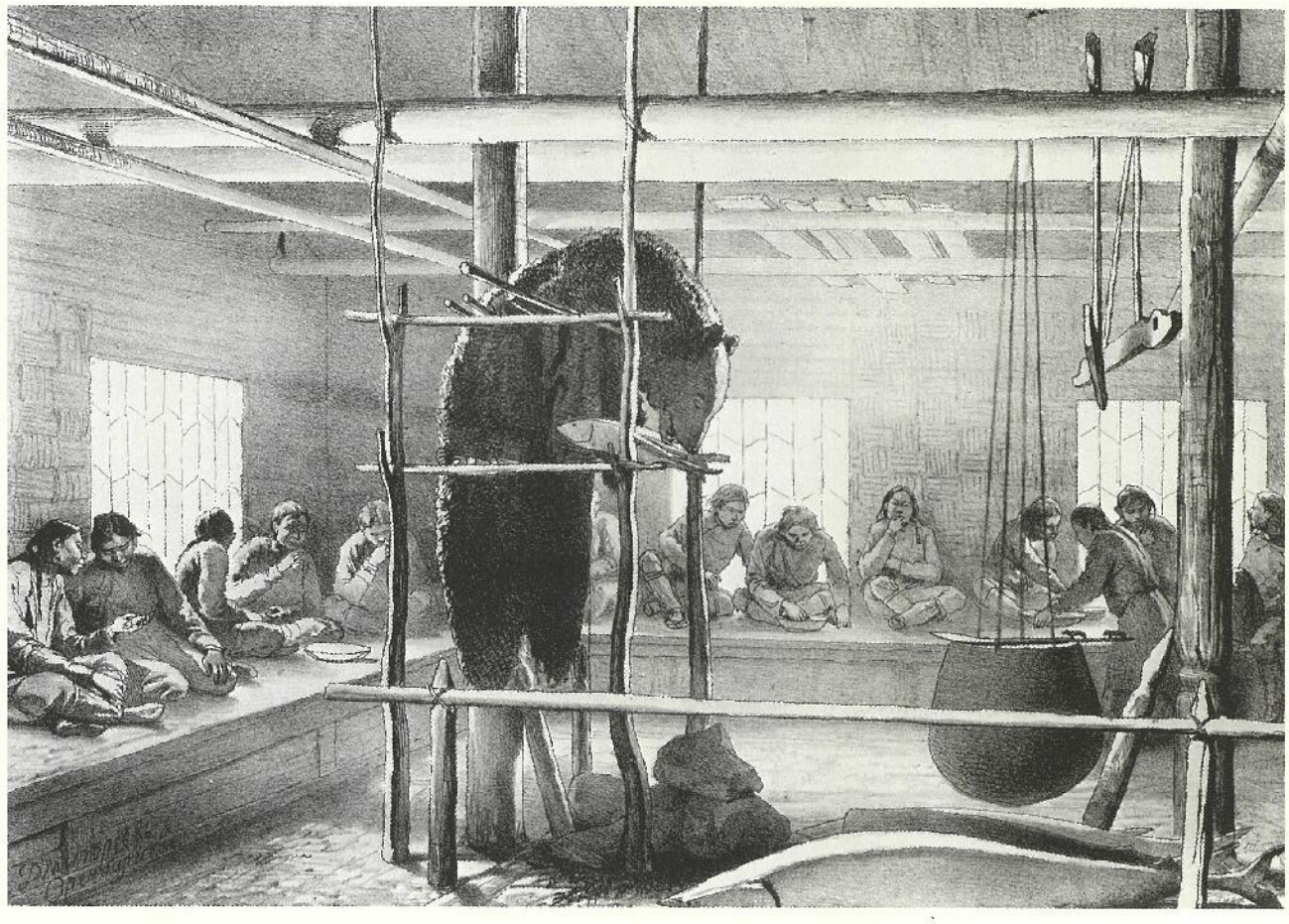
Underneath this roof so handsome.
There is food arranged for eating,
There is drink poured out for drinking,
All the floors have here been dusted,
And the floors been swept most cleanly,
All the women finely dressed them,
In their very finest garments,
Donned their headdresses the finest,
In their finest robes arrayed them.'[53]

And when the inert guest has been carried into the fine house prepared for him, Väinämöinen reassuringly sings:

'Otso, Apple of the Forest,
Fair and bulky forest dweller,
Be not frightened at the maidens,
Fear not the unbraided maidens,
Be not fearful of the women,
They the wearers of the stockings.
All the women of the household
Quickly round the stove will gather
When they see the hero enter
And behold the youth advancing.'

And the people spoke in answer:
'Be not grieved of this, O Olso,
Neither let it make thee angry,
That we take thy hide an hour,
And thy hair to gaze on always.
For thy hide will not be injured,
And thy hair will not be draggled,
Like the rags of evil people,
Or the clothing of the beggars.'[54]

Then the aged Väinämöinen stripped the bearskin from the body, laid it on the storehouse floor, and put the flesh into copper kettles, adding salt to the stew. The meat was placed in dishes on the long table, beer was poured, and Tapio, the God of the Forests, was invoked; also his



daughter Tellervo, son Nyyrikki, and all the rest of his people, to come to the feast where the Honey-Pawed One was to be eaten.

And when the people then asked for the legend of the bear's honorable birth, Väinämöinen sang to the accompaniment of his harp the Kantele of a maiden clad in "stockings blue," with gaily colored shoes and with a hair-filled basket on her arm. She walked, one night, through clouds near the moon, on the shoulders of the Great Bear, whence she cast from her basket the hair upon the sea. The wind tossed it, rocked it. The waves carried it to shore at the edge of a wooded headland. And there it was that Mielikki, Mistress of the Forest, took the soft fur from the water's edge, put it in her basket, and hung this beautiful cradle where the forest branches were thickest and the forest leaves most abundant. She rocked the charming object where it hung on the limb of a broadly spreading fir tree. And it was thus that the furry beast was nourished to life in a forest all dripping with honey.[55]

The Bear Sacrifice

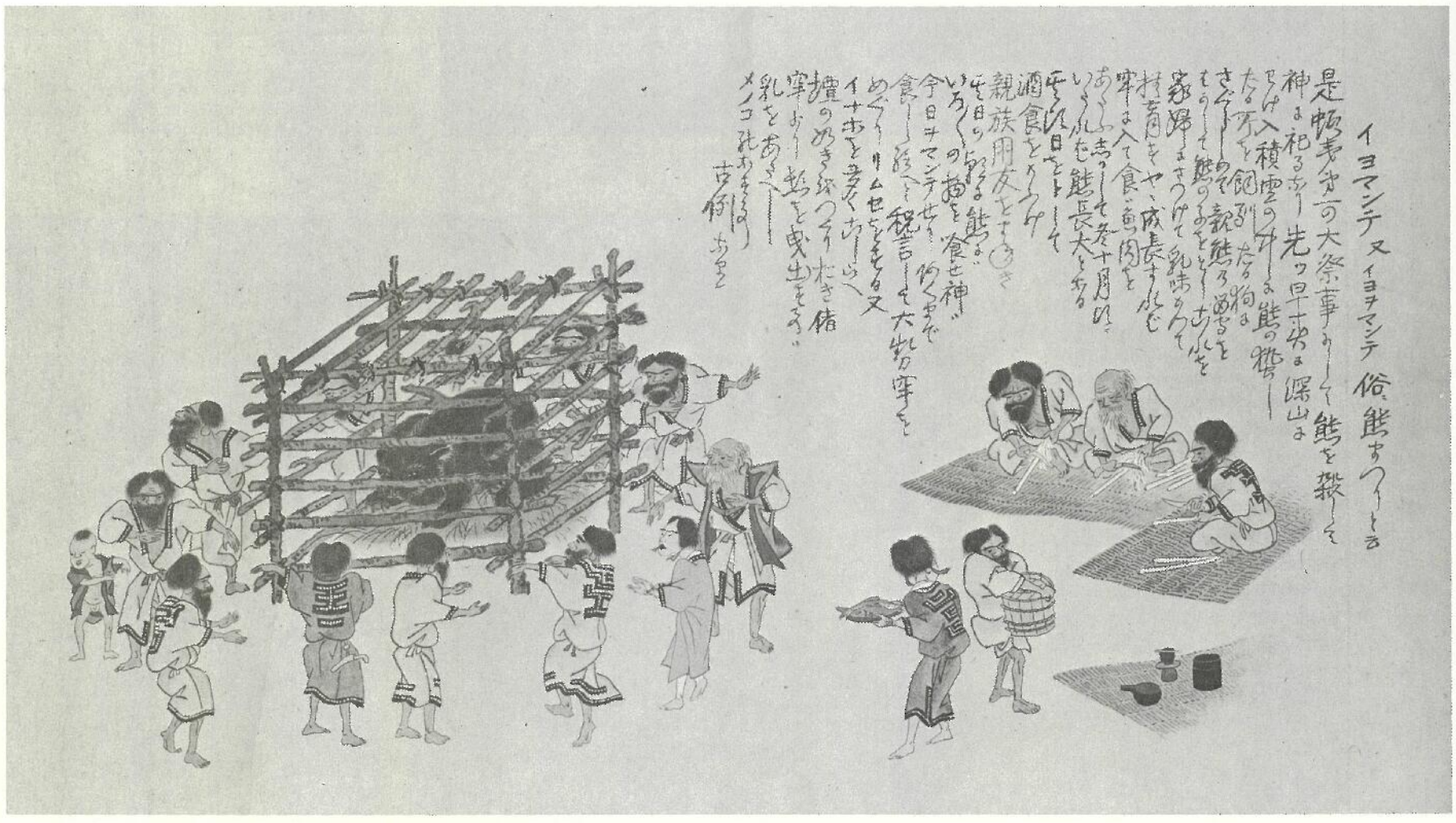
That the way to pay homage to a deity is by sacrificing and eating it is a notion justified, among the Ainu of Hokkaido, by their idea of the animal as a visitor from the spirit-world, to which they are returning it. *Iyomande,* "to send away," is the Ainu word for "sacrifice." For the deities like to visit this earth, and to do so they assume disguises; but they are then locked into their animal forms until relieved of them through the sacrifice. They consign their pelts and meat willingly, in gratitude, to those who have released them.[56]

and they are supposed to have a good happy time of communion together." [58]

The bear is a visiting mountain god, the owl a village god, the dolphin a god of the sea. The greatest visible power, however, is that which lives in the sun, the spirit by whose influence that body or "ball" (*num*) is made to shine and to move. And the chief power here below is fire, whose spirit is feminine and known as Ancestress or Grandmother (*Fuji*); also as Iresu-Kamui, "that divine spirit [*kamui*] who sustains and rears us [*iresu*]." [59] Plants are divinities, and of especial importance are the food plants. Even things made by man have spirits of their own—swords, for example, to wear one of which confers strength. Indeed, the whole environment is enspirited and recognized with gratitude as alive.

seated according to rank around the long, rectangular central hearth, play music and sing to entertain them. The bear is slaughtered the next day, cooked, and eaten. Offerings are made of his own meat to his pelt, which has been placed, with head attached, in the seat of honor. Words of thanks and praise are addressed to him, presents bestowed, and finally, with the most cordial expressions possible, the visitor is ceremonially dismissed to his spiritual mountain home.[61]

When a very young black bear cub has been brought alive into the village, he is adopted by one of the families and treated as one of the children, suckled by the mother, and affectionately pampered. When it becomes big enough to hurt the others when playing, however, it is put into a strong wooden cage, fed on fish



Three paintings from a Japanese scroll of 1840 depicting the bear sacrifice of the Ainu:

262. A black bear, captured as a cub, is raised in a cage.

263. Taken from its cage, the bear is held by two cords, led about before its worshippers, and shot at with blunt little bamboo arrows so as to bring it to a heat of temper, at which time it will be suddenly slain.

264. At the ritual meal that follows, the pelt of the bear, revered as a divine guest, is served a stew of its own meat.

Further, as J. Batchelor points out in his fine piece on the Ainus in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethnics:* "The very essence of Ainu religion consists in communion with the greater powers, and the people imagine that the most complete communion they can possibly hold with some of their gods—animals and birds, to wit—is by a visible and carnal partaking of their very flesh and substance in sacrifice. At the time of offering, the living victim is said to be sent to his ancestors in another place."[57] Therefore, as this observer recognized, "the bear festival is a kind of mutual feast—a feast of friendship and kinship—in which Bruin himself also participates. Indeed, the bear is offered to himself and his worshippers in common,

But, of all the visiting presences, the bear is the most important. When one has been killed in the mountains, the body is carried ceremoniously to the village and brought into the hunter's house, not by the door, but by a special opening known as the "god's window." To peer into a home through this opening is an insult and a sacrilege to be atoned for by a fine, which is interpreted as a gift and an apology to the god.[60] The bear's arrival by this portal is known as a "god's arrival"; and when he appears, he is welcomed by the fire-goddess, whose long, rectangular hearth occupies the center of the one room. The god and goddess will now converse together through the night, while the fire burns and while the people,







265. A photograph taken by Edward S. Curtis of a Kwakiutl canoe with an upright bear effigy arriving for a festival in 1910. The Kwakiutl are a prominent canooing and fishing people of the totem-pole culture of British Columbia, Northwest Pacific Coast.

and millet porridge, and kept for about two years, until the time is thought to have arrived for it to be released from its body and returned to its parents in their mountain.

The man who is to host the ceremony calls out to the people of his village, inviting them to the sacrifice of their dear little divine visitor from the hills. A number of prayer sticks are fashioned, whittled in such a way as to leave a head of shavings attached and clustered at one end. These sticks are stuck in the ground around the hearth of the house in which the bear has been raised, then brought out to the place where he is to be killed, and again stuck in the ground. Alongside them are laid two long, thick poles, known as *ok-numba-ni*, "the poles for strangling." The men approach the bear cage; the women and children follow, dancing and singing, and when the whole company has seated itself in a circle before the bear, one of its number comes very close to the cage and lets the little god know what is about to happen.

"O Divine One, you were sent into this world for us to hunt. Precious little divinity, we adore you; hear our prayer. We have nourished and brought you up with care and trouble, because we love you so. And now that you have grown up, we are about to send you back to your father and mother. When you come to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been. Please come to us again and we shall again do you the honor of a sacrifice."

The bear, secured with ropes, then is taken from the cage and made to walk around in the circle of the people. Blunt little bamboo arrows, bearing a black and white geometrical design and a compact clump of shavings at the tip (called *hepere-ai*, "cub arrows"), are let fly at the animal and he is teased until he becomes furious. Then he is tied to a decorated stake; two strong fellows take hold of him and a third thrusts a kind of long wooden bit between his jaws; two more take hold of his back legs, two others of his front; one of the poles for strangling is held under his throat, the other above the nape of his neck, a perfect marksman sends an arrow into his heart in such a way that no blood spills to the earth; the poles are squeezed together, and the little guest is gone.

The bear's head is removed with the whole hide attached, carried into the house, and arranged among prayer sticks and valuable gifts by the east window, where the guest is to share the feast. A succulent morsel of its own flesh is placed beneath the snout, along with a hearty helping of dried fish, some millet dumplings, a cup of sake or beer, and a bowl of its own stew. Then the bear is honored with another speech.

"O Little Cub, we give you these prayer sticks, dumplings, and dried fish; take them to your parents. Go straight to your parents without hanging about on the way, or some devils will snatch away the souvenirs. And when you arrive, say to your parents, 'I have been nourished for a long time by an Ainu father and mother and have been kept from all trouble and harm. Since I am now grown up, I have returned. And I have brought these prayer sticks, cakes, and dried fish. Please rejoice!' If you say this to them, Little Cub, they will be very happy."

The feast is celebrated, and there is dancing, while the woman who suckled the bear alternately weeps and laughs, along with some of the older women who have themselves suckled young bears and know something of the mixed feelings of saying good-bye. More prayer sticks are made and placed upon the cub's head; another bowl of his own stew is placed before him, and when time has been allowed for him to finish, the man presiding at the feast calls out, "The little god is finished; come, let us worship!" He takes the bowl, salutes it, and divides the contents among the guests, each receiving a small portion. The other parts of the beast are then eaten also, while some of the men drink the blood for strength and smear a portion upon their clothes. The head of the bear is then separated from the rest of the pelt and, being set upon a pole called *ke-omande-ni*, "the pole for sending away," it is placed among a number of other skulls remaining from earlier feasts. And for the next few days the festival continues, until every bit of the little god has been consumed.[62]

Continuations and transformations of the cult of the bear in Europe are evident in many contexts. In classical times the goddess Artemis was identified with the bear. There was a Celtic bear-goddess, Artio, an image of whom (see Figure 267) was found at Berne (Bear City), which still preserves a trace of the ancient Celtic cult in its famous den of bears. And as the last secular echo of the bear sacrifice from pagan times, there were the popular bear-baiting arenas in the form of theaters, which in Elizabethan England competed with Shakespeare's stage for the patronage of a cultivated public. At a spectacle attended in 1575 by Queen Elizabeth, thirteen bears were provided; of which event Robert Laneham wrote:

"It was a sport very pleasant to see, to see the bear, with his pink eyes, tearing after his enemies' approach, the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage and the force and experience of the bear again to avoid his assaults; if he were bitten in one place how he would pinch in another to get free; that if he were taken once, then by what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, with tossing and tumbling he would work and wind himself from them; and when he was loose to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the slaver hanging about his physiognomy." [63]

The sport survived until 1835, when prohibited by act of Parliament—the same Parliament which in that year forbade human sacrifice in India.

266/267. The Celtic bear-goddess, Artio, who was worshipped by the Helvetians in the neighborhood of Bern, feeds her attendant animal, a she-bear. (The City of Bern shows a bear in its coat of arms.) The inscription, in translation, states that "Licinia Sabinella [dedicated this] to the goddess Artio." There is a slit in the box pedestal through which coin offerings can be dropped. 7⅞ inches high and 11½ inches wide, this bronze artifact dates from c. A.D. 200.



Artio is the Celtic counterpart of the great Greek goddess Artemis, at whose temple at Brauron, a few miles southeast of Athens, dances were performed by little girls between the ages of five and ten who were called αρκτοι ("bears") and wore dresses that were saffron-dyed.[6] Iphigenia must have been one, for in Aulis, as she was being carried to be sacrificed at the goddess's shrine, her saffron-dyed dress slipped from her, and her bosom lay bare to the knife.[7] She was translated by Artemis to the Crimea (the "Tauric Peninsula") where, as the goddess's priestess among the barbarians, she supervised rites of *human* sacrifice. There is thus a long history of sacrifice of one kind or another associated with the bear. And something similar must surely be recognized in the bizarre Old Testament episode of II Kings 2:23–25: when some small boys jeered at the prophet Elisha (immediately after his companion-prophet Elijah had ascended in a fiery chariot into heaven) by shouting at him—"Go up, you bald-head!"—he cursed them in the name of the Lord, and two she-bears came out of the woods and tore forty-two of the small boys to pieces.

The name "Arthur" of King Arthur (from the Celtic verbal root *art*, "bear") was earlier the name of a Celtic god of about the sixth century B.C.: Ardehe, or Arthe (Latinizing as "Artio"), to whom there is inscribed an altar in the town of St. Pé-d'Ardet (Christianization of *Saint Père Ardehe*, "Our Holy Father Ardehe"), which is situated in the Pyrenees, in the *Vallée de l'Ourse* "Valley of the Bear"), not far from the miraculous waters of Lourdes.[8]

The name of the earliest legendary hero of England's Anglo-Saxon literature also means "Bear": Beowulf ("Bee-Wolf," so named because of the bear's passion for wild honey). And we have—have we not?—those two celestial bears, the Great Bear and the Little Bear, revolving forever as constellations around the Pole Star, *axis mundi* of the heavenly vault.

Moreover, the names, not only of the city of Bern, but also of Verona and Bayern (Bavària) derive from the German noun *Bär*. Legends of the medieval hero Dietrich von Berne date from the reign in Italy of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric the Great of Verona (A.D. 493–526).[9] Dietrich = Theodoric – Theodore = Teddy – Teddy-Bear: the favorite doll of little girls between the ages of five and ten.

268. Bear-baiting scene on the lid of a bronze Etruscan vessel, c. sixth century B.C. Collection of the Villa Giulia, Rome. Whether the scene is of a religious rite or already degenerated to such a pastime as remained popular in England until Shakespeare's time is unknown.



Shamanic Lore of Siberia and the Americas

The shaman is a particular type of medicine man, whose powers both to cause illness and to heal the sick, to communicate with the world beyond, to foresee the future, and to influence both the weather and the movements of game animals are believed to be derived from his intercourse with envisioned spirits; this intercourse having been established, usually in early adolescence, by way of a severe psychological breakdown of the greatest stress and even danger to life. The extraordinary uniformity in far-separated parts of the earth of the images and stages of this "shamanic crisis" suggests that they may represent the archetypes of a psychological exaltation, related on one hand to schizophrenia and on the other to the ecstasies of the yogis, saints, and dervishes of the high religions. Moreover, the typical way of functioning of the shaman everywhere is by passing into a state either of trance or of semitrance, and thus abstracted, performing his mysterious work.

In the Upper Paleolithic cave sanctuaries of Lascaux, Les Trois Frères, and Le Gabillou, at least six (and possibly nine) essential features of the shamanic art are illustrated:

1. The shaman's ritual dance (at Les Trois Frères and Le Gabillou)
2. His wearing of an animal costume (at Les Trois Frères, Le Gabillou, and Lascaux)
3. His identification thereby with a bird (Lascaux), a stag (Les Trois Frères), or a bull (Les Trois Frères and Le Gabillou)
4. His passage into an ecstatic trance (Lascaux)
5. His service as master of game animals (Les Trois Frères)
6. His role as master of initiations (Les Trois Frères)

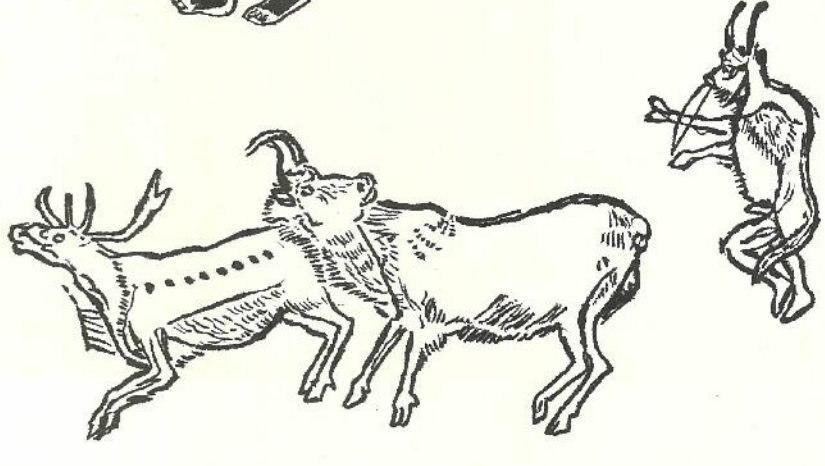
Also possibly indicated are:

7. His possession of a wand or staff (the bird-on-a-staff at Lascaux and several actual *bâtons de commandement* that have been found at other Upper Paleolithic sites in France)
8. His control of a magical animal-familiar who supports him in his conjurations (possibly the rhinoceros at Lascaux)
9. The association of an animal sacrifice with his labors (the disemboweled bison at Lascaux) [64]

Like the cult of the master bear, that of the master shaman passed, at the close of the last glacial age, from northern Europe through Siberia to the Americas, along with the Aurignacoid industries that at that time were being carried across the inhabited Arctic to Alaska. (See maps, pages 34–35.) In Central Asia, subsequently, there were important developments that never crossed the Bering Strait; likewise, in the Americas, local developments occurred that were never carried back to Asia; so that there has been, through time and space, a history of shamanic forms. Yet, in all essentials, the complex remains constant from Norway to Alaska and south to Tierra del Fuego. Mircea Eliade has described shamanism as "one of the archaic techniques of ecstasy."[65] And since in ecstasy it is the rapture, the inward psychological flight that is of the essence, and since, furthermore, the central nervous system of our species has hardly changed in the mere 12,000 to 15,000 years following the period of the shamans of the caves, there is an invariable, generally human strain that runs through all the historical modifications. The differing social systems within the bounds of which shamans have functioned have little affected the character of their experiences—as, indeed, the varieties of the historical religions have little affected the realizations of the mystics, the voices of whose raptures rise from the battlefields of world history in one polyphonic chorus of accord. "We have termed the ecstatic experience a 'primary phenomenon,'" states Eliade, "because we see no reason whatever for regarding it as the result of a particular historical moment, that is, as produced by a certain form of civilization.









In southern France, four prefigurements from the Magdalenian phase of the Paleolithic "creative explosion" (see page 129), showing shamans in costumes and roles that have remained classic through millenia:

269. The initiating *Sorcerer* of Les Trois Frères (see **132**, page 76).

270. The *Animal Charmer* of Les Trois Frères (see **131**, page 74–75).

271. The *Masked Shaman in Trance* of Lascaux (see **105**, page 65).

272. The *Dancer of Le Gabillou* (see **135**, page 78).





Three transformations, west to east, of the antlered shamanic mask of Les Trois Frères:

273. Tungus shaman of sub-Arctic northeastern Siberia. Eighteenth-century engraving. Note the tipi-like dwellings.

274. Antlered mask from the Spiro Mound, Oklahoma (see **3**, page 11).

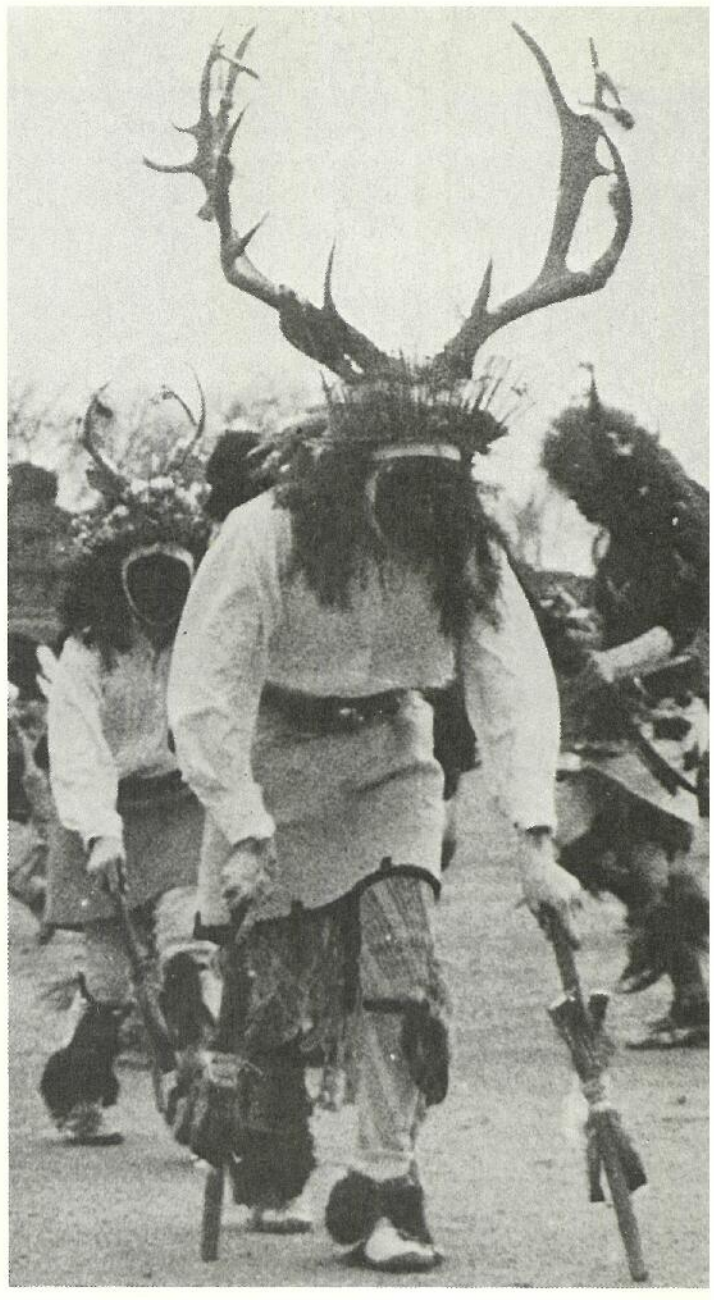
275. Deer and Buffalo Dancers (faces painted black) at San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico, 1940.

Rather, we would consider it fundamental in the human condition, and hence known to the whole of archaic humanity; what changed and was modified with the different forms of culture and religion was the interpretation and evaluation of the ecstatic experience."[66]

Through the centuries—indeed, the millennia—that have elapsed since the first passage of the bear and shaman complexes through Siberia to Beringland, most of the important later influences that have touched and transformed the original Paleolithic heritage in Siberia have entered the field from the southwest. Affecting first the peoples of the Uralo-Altaic ranges, they diffused northward along the valleys of the great rivers Ob, Yenisey, Lena, and Amur. The last peoples to be touched, of course, were those of the extreme northeast, beyond the Verkhoyanskiy mountains, namely the Paleo-Siberian (Americanoid) Chukchi, Koryak, Yukaghir, and Kamchadals. These stand, therefore, at the opposite historic pole to the Neo-Siberian Uralo-Altaics: the Ugrian Ostyaks, Finnic Voguls, Turkic Yakuts, Samoyedic tribes of the Arctic West, Tungusic peoples of the Siberian Far East, and Mongolic Buriats, Khalkas, and Kalmucs.

Among the historical forces that in the course of the long centuries shaped the cultures of these Neo-Siberians were the mythologies of the great Near Eastern Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages, and the Indo-European of the horse and its rider, Zoroastrian dualism, Indian yoga, and the Tantric Buddhism of Tibet. Indeed, the word "shaman" itself, from the Tunguso-Manchurian *šaman*, is thought by many (but not all) authorities to have come ultimately, by way of China, from the Sanskrit *śramana* (Pali, *samana*), meaning "Buddhist monk." An apparent justification of this etymology is seen in the evident interactions throughout eastern Asia between Buddhist and shamanic forms and practices. However, another, and more likely, etymology has been proposed: of *šaman* simply as a noun derived from the Tunguso-Manchurian verb *ša*, "to know," meaning "he who knows." In the strictest use of the term, "shaman" is applied by anthropologists only to those classic Neo-Siberian masters of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who, costumed in a certain type of gown, performed to their own beating of a sacred single-headed drum, and functioned finally by going into trances, either when their souls departed on visionary journeys or when spirits took possession of their bodies and spoke through them as oracles. A broader use of the term, however, recognizes the shamanic crisis and its aftermath as the essential component of an immemorial tradition, to which a number of characteristic and related features are attached, of which some may be accented in one region, others in another, but always in relation to the unmistakable crisis of vocation. It is in this larger, more inclusive sense that the term is understood in this chapter.

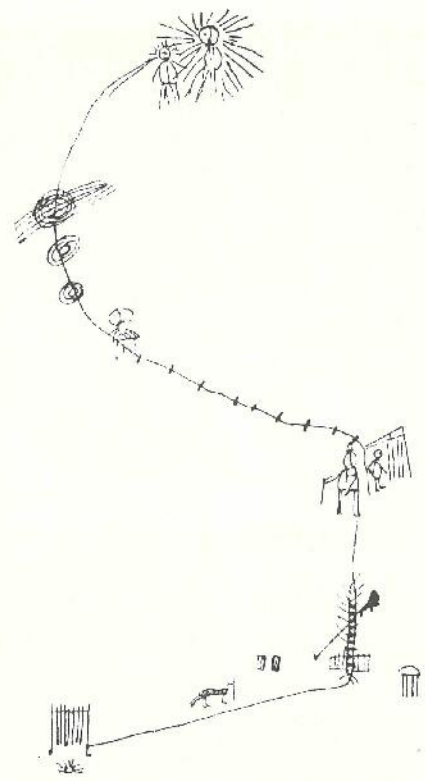
But to begin with a classic Neo-Siberian example (Figure 276): The horse shown tied to a sacrificial stake in this sketch of an Altaic shaman's visionary journey is evidence of an already-existing Indo-European influence. The great horse sacrifice (*aśva-medha*) of the Vedic Aryan war-



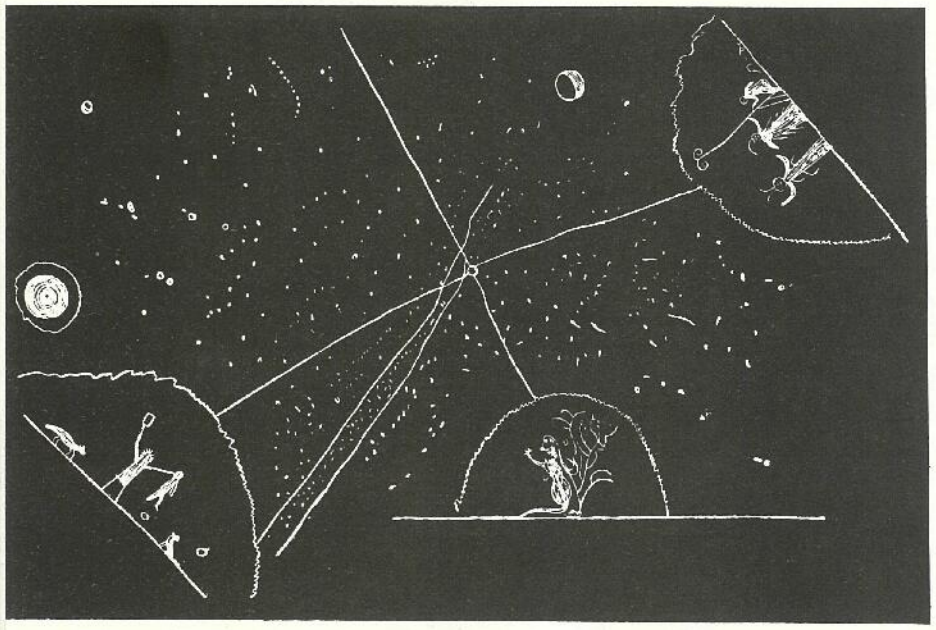
rior kings, through which they hoped to achieve world rule, has here become, in reduced form, the offering of a primitive shaman for access to the god Ülgen. His tent with a fire before it is seen at the start of the journey. Like the World Tree, the sacrificial post to which the horse is tethered is symbolic of the pivot of the storied universe. The branches of the tree are nine in number, as are the stages of the heavens, the importance of this number 9 and the notion of heavenly stages being of Mesopotamian origin. The slanting line across the head of the tree represents a pole on which the hide of the sacrificed horse has been hung, while the two little forms to the left and one to the right of the tree are offerings to the deities to be met: Bogdygan and Bobyrgan at the polestar gate, Kökysh along the way, and finally, the radiant Ülgen himself. Incongruously, the three regions beyond Kökysh are of water, sand, and cloud, representing perhaps some earlier, more primitive notion of the dangers of the visionary journey.

When an Altaic shaman has been summoned to a sickbed, his first task is to determine by divination the cause of the illness. If he finds that an object of some sort has been projected into the patient's body by the magic of another shaman, the healer will first perform a series of rites, to the beating of his drum, to break the power of the magic, and then will apply his lips to the affected part and suck until—eureka!—he will spit from his mouth some pebble or even worm or roach that will represent the affliction. If it is found, however, that the reason for the indisposition is that the patient's soul has been abducted by the Messengers either of Ülgen above or of Ärlik below, the shaman will have to undertake a visionary voyage in trance to retrieve it. The voyage on high will be about as just described; that below, more dangerous and awesome.

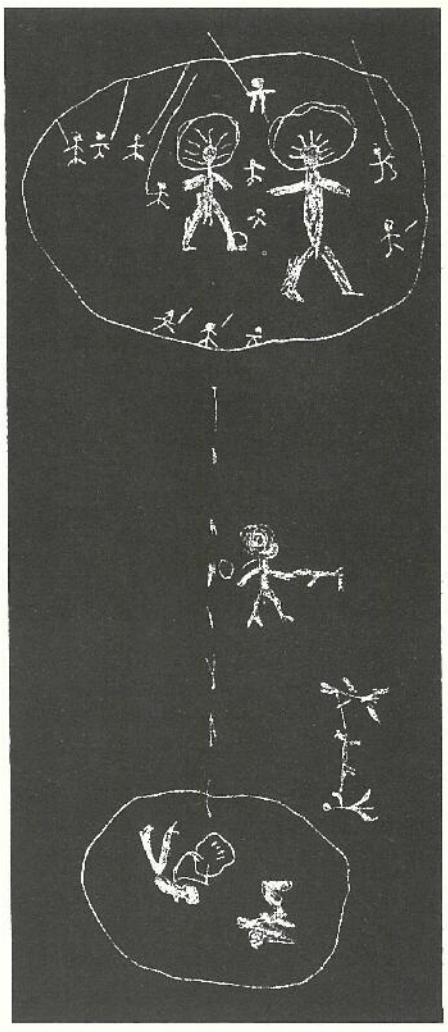
"Passing through dark forests and crossing prodigious mountain ranges, where, time and again, he sees strewn the bones of shamans and their mounts who have met death in these terrible wastes, the shaman arrives at last at an opening in the earth. Here the most difficult stages of his journey are faced as he descends into abysmal underworld depths with their myriads of uncanny apparitions—all of which, in the course of his performance, the shaman illustrates in word and gesture, with especial emphasis on those awesome scenes of punishment where the souls of sinners are tortured and tormented. And when he has mollified the guardians of these regions and escaped their perils, he comes face to face



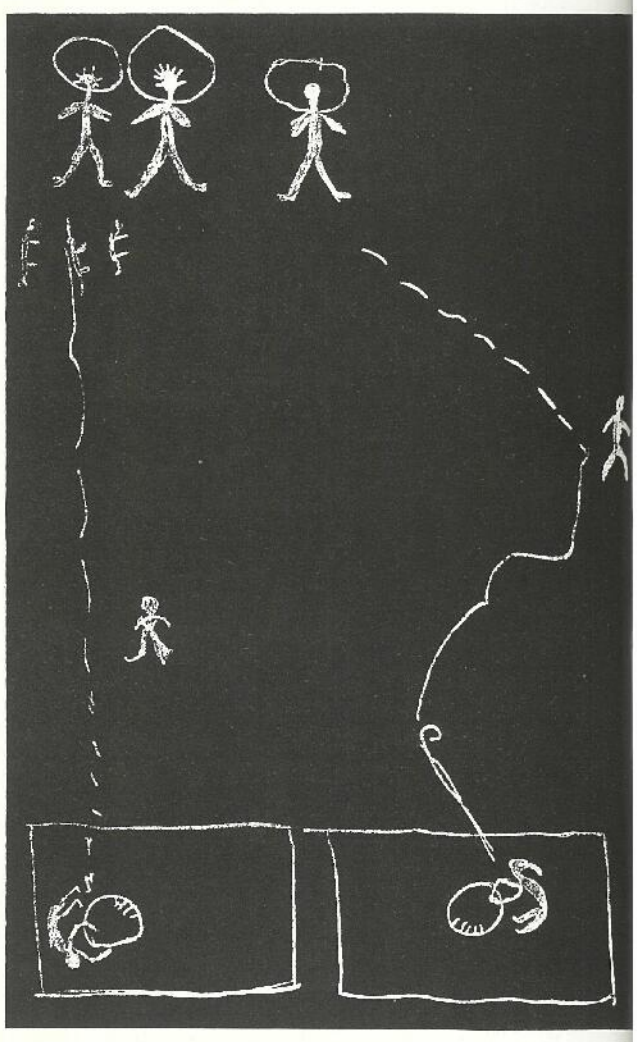
276. An Altaic shaman's map of his visionary journey. Having sacrificed a horse, he proceeded from his tent and fire to the World Tree, hung the horse's pelt on a pole by the tree, and set down three offerings: to Bogdygan, Kökysh, and Ülgen. Then, mounting the nine branches (actually climbing, in the shamanic performance, the central pole of the yurt), he came to Bogdygan and his attendant, Bobygan, at the heavenly gate; next, he traversed nine fluctuating thresholds, to be welcomed by Kökysh; and finally, after three more trials—of water, sands, and cloud—he attained the radiant presence of Ulgen.[10]



277. A Chukchi map of the heavenly ways. Two paths cross at the Pole Star's House: one, the sun's course from Dawn Man's House (lower left) to Evening Man's House (upper right); the other, the path of shamanic flight from the House of Darkness (below) to heaven. The Milky Way (double lines left of center) leads from the earth to the Pole Star's House. In the lower left portion of the map: Dawn Man, with rays around his head, holds high in his left hand a tray on which a sacrifice has been offered; in his right hand he holds a fox that he is giving in exchange; on one side of him sits the soul of the dog that was offered; a second fox comes on his other side; and two more sacrificial trays lie on the ground. In the upper right portion of the map: the family of Evening Man pays sacrifice to the gods of the sea. The members of his family are costumed in the guise of those gods: their faces are black; they wear ceremonial headbands; and they are clothed in loose white garments with walrus-gut tassles. The tall wand in their midst is symbolic of the axial pole.[11]



278. The soul of a Koryak shaman's sacrificed dog is intercepted in its flight to heaven by a demon. Above is the Heavenly Family; below, the shaman drums to heal a patient.[12]



279. A preliminary sacrifice (right, drummer facing west) is performed to appease the obstructing demon, who then allows the dogs of the main sacrifice (on left, drummer now facing east) to pass to their destination.



280. Shamans of the Huichol Indian tribe of Nayarit in western Mexico are today fashioning "yarn paintings" of their visionary flights: colorful pictures, about 2 feet square, made of vividly dyed wool yarns pressed onto beeswax-coated plywood. This "painting" by Ramón Medina is of a journey inspired by a supernatural summons to bring back to earth, in the form of a rock crystal, the soul of an ancestral shaman wishing to return. The star is the rock crystal to be found. The four wavy lines hanging to the left are the fiery curtain of solar rays through which the shaman had to pass. The path of his ascent is indicated by the footsteps; the beauty of the vision is betokened by the flowering plants; and the whole is framed by the mountains of the quarters: three in each direction, the ascent having begun from the central mountain (not depicted) of the West.[13] This visionary journey of a shaman from Mexico obviously resembles that of the shaman from Central Asia (**276**), even to the detail of the tree, which appears in the Altaic map at the start of the shaman's flight into space, and here in the Huichol painting at the center of the composition. Compare this tree with the Ladder and the World Tree up which the South American shaman climbs (**281**), thence to pass in trance to celestial heights.

with Ärlik himself, Prince of the Land of the Dead, who threatens terribly, violently bellowing, until the shaman (if clever enough) pacifies him with promises of rich offerings. The ceremony climaxes in this dialogue with Ärlik when the shaman collapses in ecstasy. In many regions it is believed that, returning from the Land of the Dead, the shaman rides a wild gander, as when returning from his voyages to heaven. With him is the patient's soul; and as he approaches in this flight, the prostrate shaman's agitation gradually subsides, until his eyes open at last, as though waking from sleep, and those present ask for an account of all that happened on his perilous journey."[67]

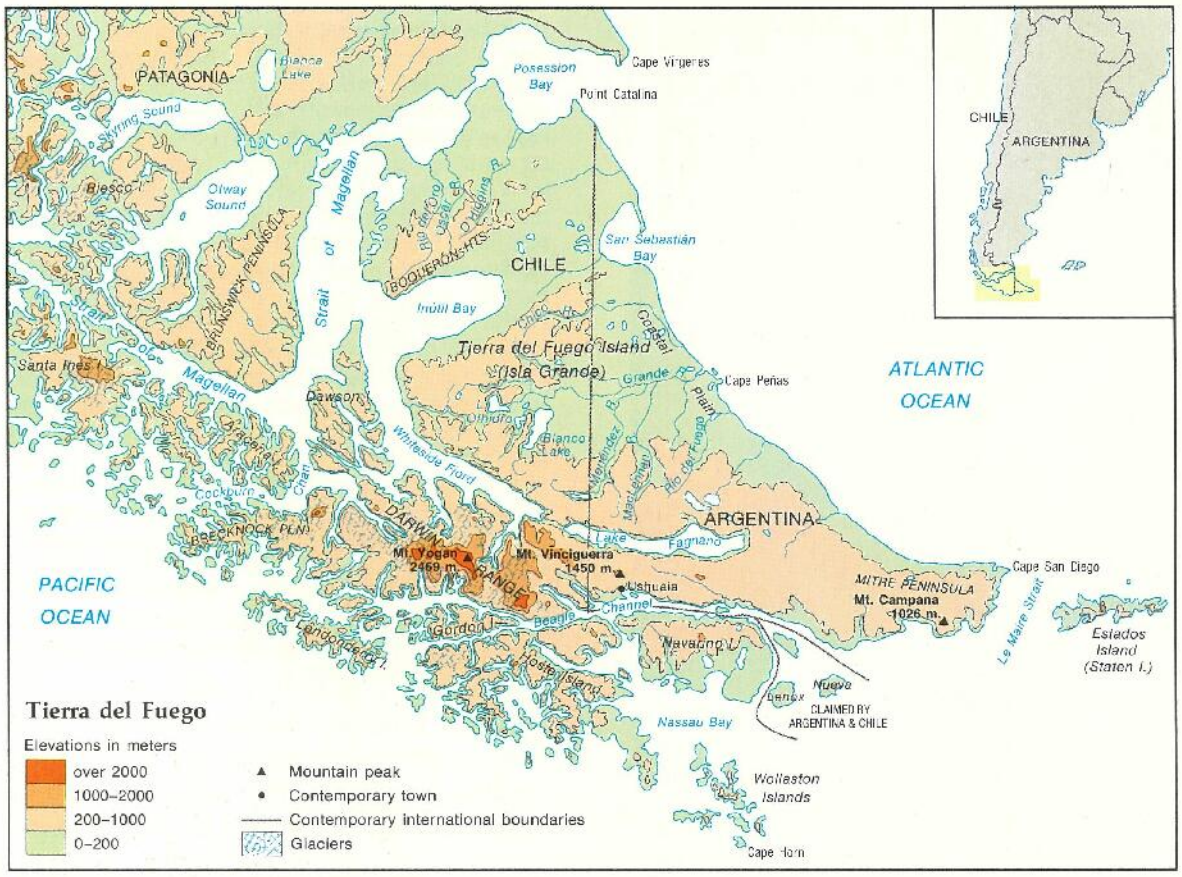
"Although the descriptions of the Land of the Dead associated with these ceremonies are undoubtedly of late and alien origin," comments the Finnish ethnologist Uno Harva, from whose work this passage has been quoted, "the belief that a shaman can transport himself to the other world to release souls is an authentic feature of Siberian shamanism."[68] It is a feature, also, of the medieval theme of Jesus's Harrowing of Hell—following his apparent death on the cross and before his resurrection—to release from Limbo the souls of the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets. "He descended into hell. . . . He ascended into Heaven"[69] Dante also descended and ascended, with especial attention (as in the shaman's journey) to the sufferings of the damned. There is an Iranian visit to the scenes of hell, followed by a flight to heaven, described in the seventh-century *Vision of Arda Viraf*, which is an account of the journey of a Zoroastrian seer. Moreover, the bull-like bellowing of Ärlik calls to mind the bull-headed figure of Yama, the Judge of the Dead, as represented in Tibetan tankas; while shamanic flight on a wild gander suggests, on one hand, the flying gander figurines of the Late Paleolithic Mal'ta site at Lake Baikal (see page 72), and on the other, the Vedic Indian meditation on the wild gander (*hamsa*), as symbolic of the spirit and of spiritual flight.

To escape these high-culture influences and uncover a shamanism more primitive, one must leave the Eurasian mainland, where such themes and images have been dispersed (even though with diminishing force) to the farthest reaches. In many parts of the other continents also, higher-culture influences are evident, as in the drum of the Mapuche shaman (Figure 281) and the ladder on which she stands, which has been clearly identified with the World Tree and, moreover, is topped by a sculptured head that is not of a primitive type. The Mapuche are an agricultural people, as are the Huichol of western Mexico, to whom we owe the colorful yarn painting of the shamanic visionary journey (Figure 280), here reproduced as a New World counterpart to that of the Central Asian Altaic shaman.

In Tierra del Fuego, the uttermost part of the earth, the Alacaloof and Yahgans, the Ona, and the Aush were as innocent of agriculture and the virtues of civilization as the penguins, dolphins, whales, and guanacos of their environment, when, on January 14, 1869, the Rev. Whait H. Sterling was left standing alone on the north shore of Beagle Channel, to inhabit



281. A female shaman of the Mapuche tribe of central Chile stands atop her carved ladder, symbolic of both the World Tree and her own power of spiritual ascent. Beating her drum, she will presently pass into trance; her spirit will rise with her people's prayers to the "Mother-Father" of all things, and her body, falling, will be caught in a blanket.[14]



Map 35.

a little wooden house, 20 feet long and 10 wide, that had been set up there as his mission. Three previous attempts to bring the Gospel to the Yahgans had ended in disasters. The first had been of a young clergyman who arrived on the *Beagle* with Charles Darwin. He had been so threatened, mauled, and even stoned by those meant to have been his parishioners that he was immediately removed. The second, in the winter of 1850–1851, was a mission of seven, who had to flee for their lives into the wilderness, where they perished. A third attempt, in 1859, the year of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, got as far as to the building of a chapel; but on Sunday morning, November 6, in the middle of the first verse of the first hymn of their opening service, the little group of four was set upon, clubbed, speared, and stoned to extinction. The Reverend Sterling's mission, on the other hand, survived; and when, on the first day of October 1871, the Rev. Thomas Bridges disembarked there, with his wife and infant daughter, to inherit the mission and take charge, there were awaiting them on the shore a five-room bungalow and surrounding scatter of brush wigwams smelling of rotting whale blubber and smoke. Canoes were drawn up, and a naked congregation, squatting and standing, watched them as they landed.[70]

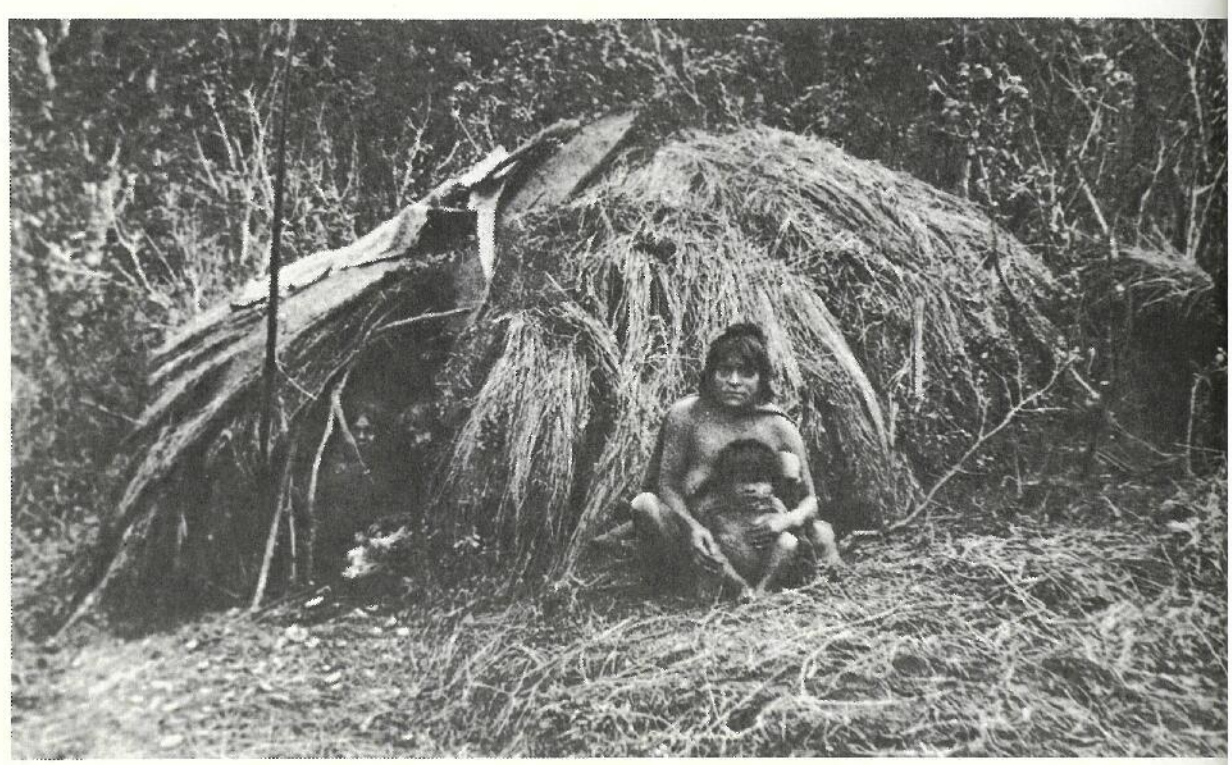
The Yahgan (or Yamana), whose huts and canoes these were, were a short and sturdy canoe people, inhabiting the coasts of the southern archipelago from Beagle Channel to the Horn, living largely on mussels, seals, fish, occasional whales harpooned or washed ashore, porpoises, gulls, and birds' eggs. North of the Channel and eastward to the Atlantic coast were the Ona (known also as the Selk'nam), a tall, well-built and handsome, mountain-dwelling people living chiefly by the hunt. The Catholic Father Martin Gusinde has published two magnificent monographs based on his field studies of these two peoples from 1919 to 1923,[71] and of the greatest interest and importance to the student of primitive religions are his chapters on the myths, rites, and shamanism of these utterly primitive, marginal, hunting, fishing, and gathering tribes. Among both he found traditions of a High God of the kind that Andrew Lang and Father Schmidt had credited to the Kurnai of Australia.[72] (See pages 138–139.) In neither context, however, did the practices of the shamans have anything to do with this divinity.[73]

They were inspired and motivated, rather, by the practitioner's own familiars, acquired through visionary experiences of such profound, affective impact that the subject's personality and whole manner of life were radically—"to the root" —transformed.

* * *

Among the Yahgan (or Yamana), as Father Gusinde learned: "A man could be strolling alone along the seashore, lost in dreamland, without thought or purpose, when he would suddenly find himself in the midst of a visionary spectacle of what are known as *asikaku*, 'apparitions.' Around him crowds an immeasurable company of herrings, whales, swordfish, vultures, cormorants, gulls, and other creatures. All are addressing him in flattering terms, respectfully, in the most friendly way; and he is beside himself, has no idea what is happening. His whole body numb, he drops to the ground and lies there without moving. His soul (his *kešpix*), that is to say, is consorting with the spirits, and feeling, while among them, an inordinate joy. Then suddenly, they are gone.

"Waking from this heavy sleep, the man stumbles home. He hardly knows where he is. He falls onto his bed; is back in his dream; and again there appears the animal swarm. All the beasts are extremely friendly. They are inviting his soul to join them. And it does so, following them, presently, out onto the high seas. Moreover, there is one that is being especially amiable, in the most extravagantly attentive way, and this will become



282. Yahgan mother and child before a typical temporary hut. Although inhabiting a region hardly 1300 miles from the Antarctic Circle, these coastal, canoe and fishing people were practically naked, indifferent to the cold.

his familiar; though the others, too, will be at his call as friends and helpers."[74]

Or similarly, when strolling, musing, in the forest, one may suddenly find oneself in the midst of a large company of spirits, little people, very like men; and passing into a deep sleep, one then will see them sitting about a fire, keeping warm, talking quietly. In a friendly way they will invite one's soul to join them, and again, there will be one of the company especially cordial. Forest spirits of this kind are called *heštaka*-shamans. They like to live in the dead boughs of trees, and will sometimes cause such boughs to bend deeply down, turn on their axes, or quiver. Old rotten stumps are favorite resorts.[75]

In the Andaman Islands, it is recalled, the *oko-jumu* ("dreamers"), who functioned as medicine men, came into possession of their spiritual powers by consorting with spirits in the jungle, by dreaming, or by dying and returning to life. Similarly, in the early Celtic epics of the British Isles, those heroes who, when riding through a forest, allow themselves to be led into the pursuit of some visionary beast, presently find themselves inside the fairy hills, engaged in adventures of a timeless, dreamlike surreality. For the forest speaks to deeper centers than do city streets. And for those who have never been quite convinced of the high importance of the deeds and gossip of the marketplace or village compound, the excitement of the imagination that a forest fastness or wild seacoast can awaken may become an irresistible fascination, leading in the end to a transformed life. The annals of psychiatry provide examples, as for instance, the following report from the case of a sixty-eight-year-old widow:

"When she was between the ages of seven and nine, she was walking along a woodland path in the backwoods hill country near the mining town in Kentucky where she lived. It was a warm summer day, and she was aware of buzzing insects in the foliage. But behind the drone she became aware of music, faint and distant at first, but gradually getting louder and closer. Finally she could distinguish a chorus of voices very light and high, but not children's voices. She stopped to listen, entranced, became aware that someplace on the path ahead there was an aura of light—not bright, but soft and luminous: it blotted out the landscape beyond. It seemed to pull her onward, and, as the singing grew louder, she began to move in its direction. Although she walked towards it, she could not get closer. It was always the same distance from her. It did not fade for some time. She was enchanted and then grieved by her experience.

"Many people have had such experiences," comments the physician of this report. "Their presence suggests another life hidden within us." And indeed, in the instance of the interesting case of this aging widow: "There was in her an underlying current of intense sadness, at times approaching a tragic grief. She felt . . . that she had not lived her life."[76]

Among the Yahgan, as Gusinde found, when an apparitional spirit has attached itself to a person, it never lets go. The person is forced to become a shaman. Should he refuse, the apparition takes revenge and the person dies. Gusinde cites the example of a Christian convert, Nelly Lawrence, who was walking one day with her little daughter in the forest when she heard break from the trunk of a tree a loud "Pah!" "I looked around," she told him, "and saw a cute little spirit in that rotten trunk who beckoned to me in a friendly way. I did not realize that it was an apparition (*asikaku*), but took it for an ordinary soul (*kešpix*). But an uncanny fear unstrung my limbs, and as though in a coma, I dragged myself on. Overcome then by a fatigue that was irresistible, I flung myself onto my bed, where I dreamed; and again there was that spirit before me, smiling in the friendliest way. It loaded me with presents: furs, baskets, necklaces and so on; even gave me a special song. And when, later, I woke with heavy senses, that song continued to sound for a long time within me."[77]

For many days the woman was faint and ill, feeling weak and helpless; but then she was visited by a female shaman who, when served a cup of tea, started back in horror. "Why," she asked, "do you hand me this disgusting beast?" Terrified, Nellie Lawrence replied, "But I gave you a cup of tea!" The shaman left, greatly troubled for her friend, but in a dream then realized what had happened to her. The apparition had thrown a leather noose around the woman's neck and a heavy cloak was upon her shoulders and was killing her because she had not begun to shamanize. "It was that cloak," the afflicted woman told Gusinde, "that had been so greatly oppressing and exhausting me that frequently I fell down." The shaman sent for her and, in a violent scene, tore from her throat and back those invisible things, the gifts, even the song, and so saved her life.[78]

Among the Ona it is understood that a child who frequently sings in its sleep, or in a half-abstracted state by day, will become a shaman; likewise, the young man or woman who, in a circle of companions, breaks unconsciously into song.[79] The Tierra del Fuegians do not have drums; their medicine songs are dull drones; and yet, in those strangely compelling songs there is heard a voice that is not of this practical life, but of a state of mind ordered to rapture. And it is through his personal song that the shaman invokes his familiar, as it was through that song, when it first came to him, that he was drawn from the normal world and way of life of the ungifted. The song sounds at the interface of the waking mind and dream. "Through it," in Gusinde's words, "a state of autosuggestion is induced, a kind of self-hypnosis, out of which the medicine man functions. . . . Most often," Gusinde continues, "it is after midnight





283. Shaman of the Ona tribe.

284. Shaman of the Yahgan.



285. A family of the Ona tribe, skillful hunters of the guanaco, are wrapped in the robes of guanaco fur, which, in spite of the sub-arctic cold, were their only garments.

or in the earliest morning hours that he can be heard intoning his song."[80] For the time for shamanizing is of darkness and the night mind of which the shaman is the incarnation.

Those to whom a song has come turn to a practicing shaman for induction into the mystery out of which their song arose, and the instruction then effects in them a total transformation, not of the mind alone, but of the body as well. As Gusinde learned among the Ona: "The whole external appearance of the medicine man is but an illusion. He is not made, as we are, of skin, bone, flesh, and blood, but of a thin, skinlike outer covering, beneath which his whole interior is filled with a soft, light substance that most closely resembles—according to an image of the Indians themselves—the most delicate feather-down . . . of which substance, when at work healing, he may on occasion bring forth a particle[81] . . . And it is thanks to this strange condition that medicine men possess the power of unhindered motion. Upon them there are no limitations, either of solid bodies or of great distances. Their power of sight can penetrate any object and traverse any reach of space."[82]

When the young aspirant, moved by the song that has come to him, goes to an elder for instruction, the accomplished master begins by singing his own song, kneading and squeezing his own body until, in a state of the highest half-conscious agitation, he brings forth a parcel of his own substance about the size of the head of a child—soft, white, and like the lightest down—which he then transfers to the other's body by pressing and rubbing it in. There it begins immediately to take effect, and in the course of the next four years or so it works a complete transformation. Commencing in the belly, it fills the breast, the head, the legs, and finally the arms. Meanwhile, the power of sight is increasing and exercises are undertaken to enhance it. And toward the end of the training time, the novice gives himself more and more to his dreams, until the experience comes upon him of being taken over by the *wáiyuwen*, the soul- or spirit-substance of some earlier medicine man; with that the initiate's own personality is wiped out; so that henceforth, it will not be he who acts, but the *wáiyuwen* of that earlier shaman acting through him.[83]

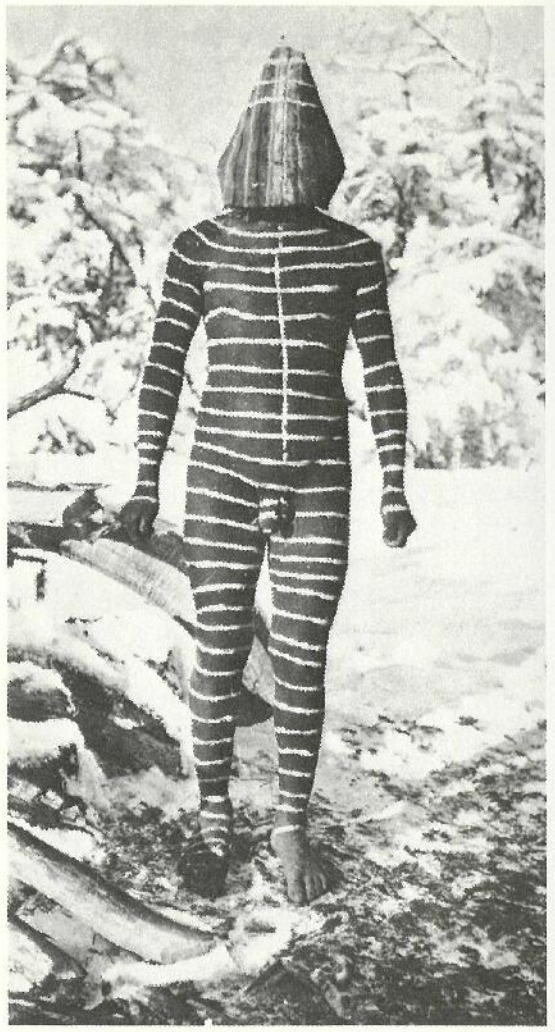
E. Lucas Bridges, the second son of the courageous couple who in 1871 stepped ashore with their infant daughter among the Yahgans of Beagle Channel, was invited by his Ona friends to study to become a shaman. But after an unpromising beginning, he thought better of the invitation, for, as he explains: "Medicine men ran great dangers. When persons in their prime died from no visible cause, the 'family doctor' would often cast suspicion, in an ambiguous way, on some rival necromancer. Frequently the chief object of a raiding party, in the perpetual clan warfare of the Ona, was to kill the medicine man of an opposing group. No, I would not become a *joön*, to be blamed, maybe, for a fatal heart attack a hundred miles away."[84]

"Some of these humbugs," he wrote, describing their shamanizing, "were excellent actors. Standing or kneeling beside the patient, gazing intently at the spot where the pain was situated, the doctor would allow a look of horror to come over his face. Evidently he could see something invisible to the rest of us. His approach might be slow or he might pounce, as though afraid that the evil thing that had caused the trouble would escape. With his hands he would try to gather the malign presence into one part of the patient's body—generally the chest—where he would then apply his mouth and suck violently. Sometimes this struggle went on for an hour, to be repeated later. At other times the *joön* would draw away from his patient with the pretence of holding something in his mouth with his hands. Then, always facing away from the encampment, he would take his hands from his mouth, gripping them tightly together, and, with a guttural shout difficult to describe and impossible to spell, fling this invisible object to the ground and stamp fiercely upon it. Occasionally a little mud, some flint, or even a tiny, very young mouse might be produced as the cause of the patient's indisposition. I myself have never seen a mouse figure in one of these performances, but they were quite common. Perhaps when I was there the doctor had failed to find a mouse's nest."[85]

An occasion to observe a considerably more mysterious exhibition of the shamanic arts occurred when a celebrated *joön* named Houshken, who had never seen a white man before, was induced to put on a performance. Here follows Bridge's account:

"Our conversation—as was always the case in such meetings—was slow, with long pauses between sentences, as though for deep thought. I told Houshken that I had heard of his great powers and would like to see some of his magic. He did not refuse my request, but answered modestly that he was disinclined, the Ona way of saying that he might try to do it by and by.

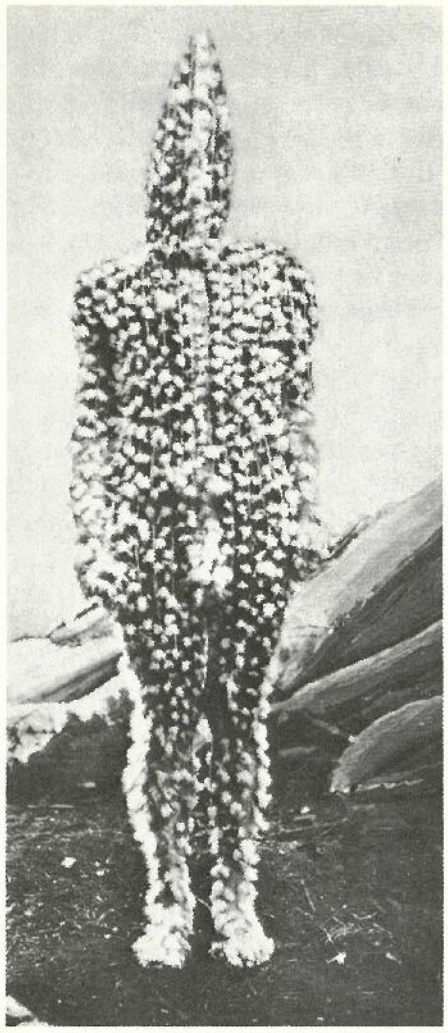
"After allowing a quarter of an hour to elapse, Houshken said he was thirsty and went down to the nearby stream for a drink. It was a bright moonlight night and the snow on the ground helped to make the scene of the exhibition we were about to witness as light as day. On his return, Houshken sat down and broke into a monotonous chant, which went on until suddenly he put his hands to his mouth.

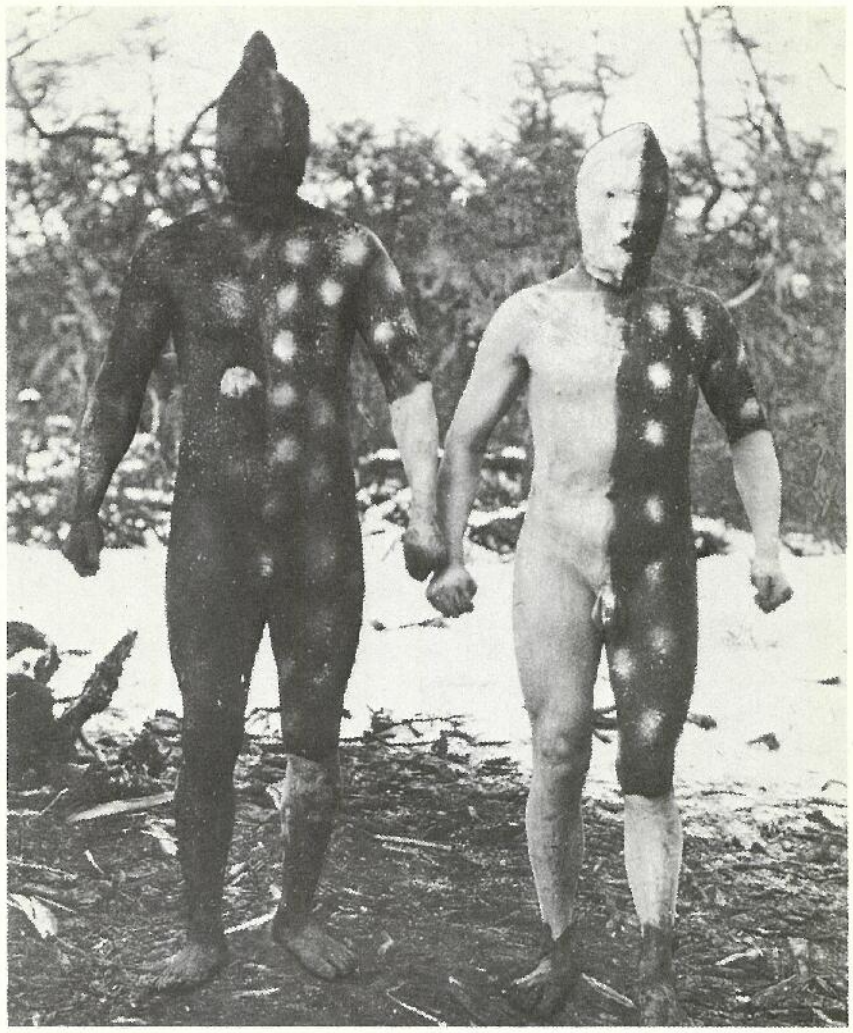


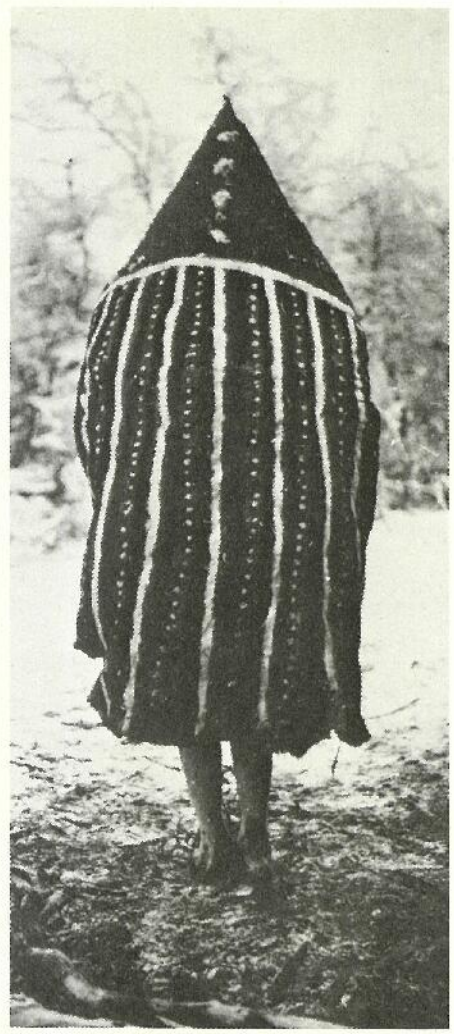
286. The male initiation rites of the Ona were conducted in a special lodge of the men's society, the *klóketen*, from which women were excluded; and associated with the mystifications of this institution were a number of such Hallowe'en spooks as we see here. These apparitions would appear from time to time, ranging through the bush of areas about the men's house, and any woman or child seeing one or more of them was to suppose that they were the inhabitants of the *klóketen* with whom the men held converse in their meetings. An important moment in the initiations of a boy took place when he was compelled to get up and wrestle with one of these characters, who would let the youngster put him down, after which the masquerade was uncovered, and the boy turned into a man. There was a legend of the *klóketen* having been originally of the women, but taken and kept from them by the men.

When he brought them away, they were palms downward and some inches apart. We saw that a strip of guanaco hide, about the thickness of a leather bootlace, was now held loosely in his hands. It passed over his thumbs, under the palms of his half-closed hands, and was looped over his little fingers so that about three inches of end hung down from each hand. The strip appeared to be not more than eighteen inches long.

"Without pulling the strip tight, Houshken now began to shake his hands violently, gradually bringing them farther apart, until the strip, with the two ends still showing, was about four feet long. He then called his brother, Chashkil, who took the end from his right hand and stepped back with it. From four feet, the strip now grew out of Houshken's left hand to double that length. Then, as Chashkil stepped forward, it disappeared back into Houshken's hand, until he was able to take the other end from his







brother. With the continued agitation of his hands, the strip got shorter and shorter. Suddenly, when his hands were almost together, he clapped them to his mouth, uttered a prolonged shriek, then held out his hands to us, palms upward and empty.

"Even an ostrich could not have swallowed those eight feet of hide at one gulp without visible effort. Where else the coil could have gone to I do not profess to know. It could not have gone up Houshken's sleeve, for he had dropped his robe when the performance began [and, like all male Onas without their robes, was naked]. There were between twenty and thirty men present, but only eight or nine were Houshken's people. The rest were far from being friends of the performer and all had been watching intently. Had they detected some simple trick, the great medicine man would have lost his influence; they would no longer have believed in any of his magic.

"The demonstration was not yet over. Houshken stood up and resumed his robe. Once again he broke into a chant and seemed to go into a trance, possessed by some spirit not his own. Drawing himself up to his full height, he took a step towards me and let his robe, his only garment, fall to the ground. He put his hands to his mouth with a most impressive gesture and brought them away again with his fists clenched and thumbs close together. He held them up to the height of my eyes, and when they were less than two feet from my face slowly drew them apart. I saw that there was now a small, almost opaque object between them. It was about an inch in diameter in the middle and tapered away into his hands. It might have been a piece of semi-transparent dough or elastic, but whatever it was it seemed to be alive, revolving at great speed, while Houshken, apparently from muscular tension, was trembling violently.

"The moonlight was bright enough to read by as I gazed at this strange object. Houshken brought his hands further apart and the object grew more and more transparent, until, when some three inches separated his hands, I realized that it was not there any more. It did not break or burst like a bubble; it simply disappeared, having been visible to me for less than five seconds. Houshken made no sudden movement, but slowly opened his hands and turned them over for my inspection. They looked clean and dry. He was stark naked and there was no confederate beside him. I glanced down at the snow, and, in spite of his stoicism, Houshken could not resist a chuckle, for nothing was to be seen there.

"The others had crowded round us and, as the object disappeared, there was a frightened gasp from among them. Housken reassured them with the remark: 'Do not let it trouble you. I shall call it back to myself again.'

"The natives believed this to be an incredibly malignant spirit belonging to, or possibly part of, the *joön* from whom it emanated. It might take physical form, as we had just witnessed, or be totally invisible. It had the power to introduce insects, tiny mice, mud, sharp flints or even a jelly-fish or baby octopus into the anatomy of those who had incurred its master's displeasure. I have seen a strong man shudder involuntarily at the thought of this horror and its evil potentialities. It was a curious fact that, although every magician must have known himself to be a fraud and a trickster, he always believed in and greatly feared the supernatural abilities of other medicine men."[86]

What Lucas Bridges had been shown, of course, was a living particle of that soft, light, interior substance "like delicate feather-down," the *wáiyuwen*, of which Father Gusinde later learned.

The Ona shamans undertook ascensions to the Moon when she appeared red in the sky, which was taken to be a certain sign of her displeasure with mankind and her intention to send some sort of plague. On such nights the various *wáiyuwen* of all the Ona shamans of Tierra del Fuego would be in flight to her, to appease her. For the Moon is a powerful shaman herself, and can send down death or life at will. The Sun-Man is even more powerful, and when he makes known his wrath by turning a burning red or by going into eclipse, even the shamans duck into their huts and wait in silence for his mood to pass; for, so powerful is the Sun-Man that, should they send up their *wáiyuwen*, he would burn them out of existence.[87] Lucas Bridges learned that not only the sun and moon, but also mountains, trees, and animals, could be shamans. There was a mountain near his father's mission at Ushuaia, on Beagle Channel, that was



287. Colored nineteenth-century engraving of a Siberian shaman clothed in a costume hung with animal skins, embroidered, and beribboned with a miscellany of magical features. Compare Catlin's painting of a similarly festooned Mandan "Wolf Shaman" (Figure 406, page 239).



288. The Sorcerer, an engraving published in 1590 by Theodore de Bry from a watercolor by John White, made in 1585, during his visit to Walter Raleigh's colony at Roanoke, Virginia (see pages 209–213). "They have sorcerers or jugglers," states the commentary, "who use strange gestures and whose enchantments often go against the laws of nature. . . . A small black bird is fastened above one of their ears as a badge of office."

thought to be a witch. To show her ill will, she could conjure up a storm.[88] He also tells of having once shot, high in the mountains, a solitary guanaco, which he and his Indian companions then discovered had been living alone in a small cave. "These guanaco recluses, braving the long winter in the mountains alone," he declares, "were very rare. . . . That night, discussing the matter round our campfire, I suggested that the hermit might have remained there alone in the cave to study guanaco magic. Instead of laughing, my companions agreed, with serious expressions on their faces, that this was quite likely."[89]

Thus, among the utterly primitive hunting, fishing, and gathering tribes of the southernmost inhabited pieces of land on this planet Earth, some eighteen or twenty of the typical features of shamanism have been identified by two qualified observers as follows:

1. The summons received in solitude from spirits of the wilderness
2. An association of song with this enchantment
3. Its compulsive character, illness and death ensuing if it be disregarded
4. The especial association of a spiritual familiar with this call
5. Its healing by way of a long season of intensive spiritual training
6. The sense thereby of an inward physical transubstantiation
7. The gaining thereby of supernatural powers

The powers thus gained are:

8. To see and to move through barriers and across distances
9. To mediate between man and the supernatural
10. To advise and guide in the search for game
11. To heal, whether by massage and suction, or by spiritual flights to the heavenly sources of the ill will; for example, the moon
12. To injure by occult means: projecting stones and other objects into enemies
13. To perform magic by sleight of hand or by actual necromancy
14. To assume the forms of animals or of mountains

In relation to this last faculty, there are:

15. The power of animals, mountains, trees, and such, to shamanize
16. The power of shamans (whether human, animal, vegetable, or geological) to influence the weather.

Also to be noted as typical shamanistic conditions are:

17. The vicious atmosphere of rivalry and malice between practicing shamans

18. Schools of shamans dedicated to the search and fostering of likely talents
19. Perfected shamans who undertake the initiation of the young

Still another important feature noted by Gusinde is:

20. The shaman's reliance on dreams for information and warnings

Regarding this last point, the dreams to which the shaman pays attention are unexceptionally those foreboding evil. In such he believes that he is being shown the hostile intentions of his enemies, whether professional rivals or lay members of his tribe.[90] For, as Bridges also recognized, the shaman's life is beset on every hand by danger.

When this considerable list is compared with the above-numbered nine of the shamans of the caves (see page 156), only the following of that list are here missing: (2) the animal costume, (7) the (possible) wand or staff, and (9) the (possible) animal sacrifice. The function of the ritual dance (1) is served here by the enspelling song, while the passage into full trance (4) is reduced to the state of a semitrance. The animal transformation (3), mastery of the game animals (5), supervision of initiations (6), and the animal-familiar (8) remain. The additional fourteen or so features of the Tierra del Fuegian series are such as could not have been readily illustrated in the rock art; more than a few, nevertheless, must have been known. The arts of healing by massage and suction, and by spiritual flights to celestial realms, as we have already seen, were practiced by the Bushmen, who were also inheritors of the cavern legacy. The vocational call by way of a summons from spirits of the wilderness is recorded of the Andamanese. Reasonably, these may be assumed to have been features of a common Paleolithic inheritance, surviving among the most widely separated primitive peoples remaining alive to this day.

Between the Bushman and Tierra del Fuegian branches of this ancient heritage, an important distinction is evident in the contrast between the communal accent of the African rites (the women seated in a circle, singing, while the men dance around them and go into trance), and the solitary experiences and exercises of the South American masters. The relation between the Bushman experience of the heating and rising of the *ntum* to trance (see page 94) and the Tierra del Fuegian of the transubstantiation of the shaman's body has not, as far as I know, been studied. Nor do we know what to think of the possible relation of the haunting childhood experience of the Kentucky woman (page 161) and the mystic summonses reported generally of shamans.



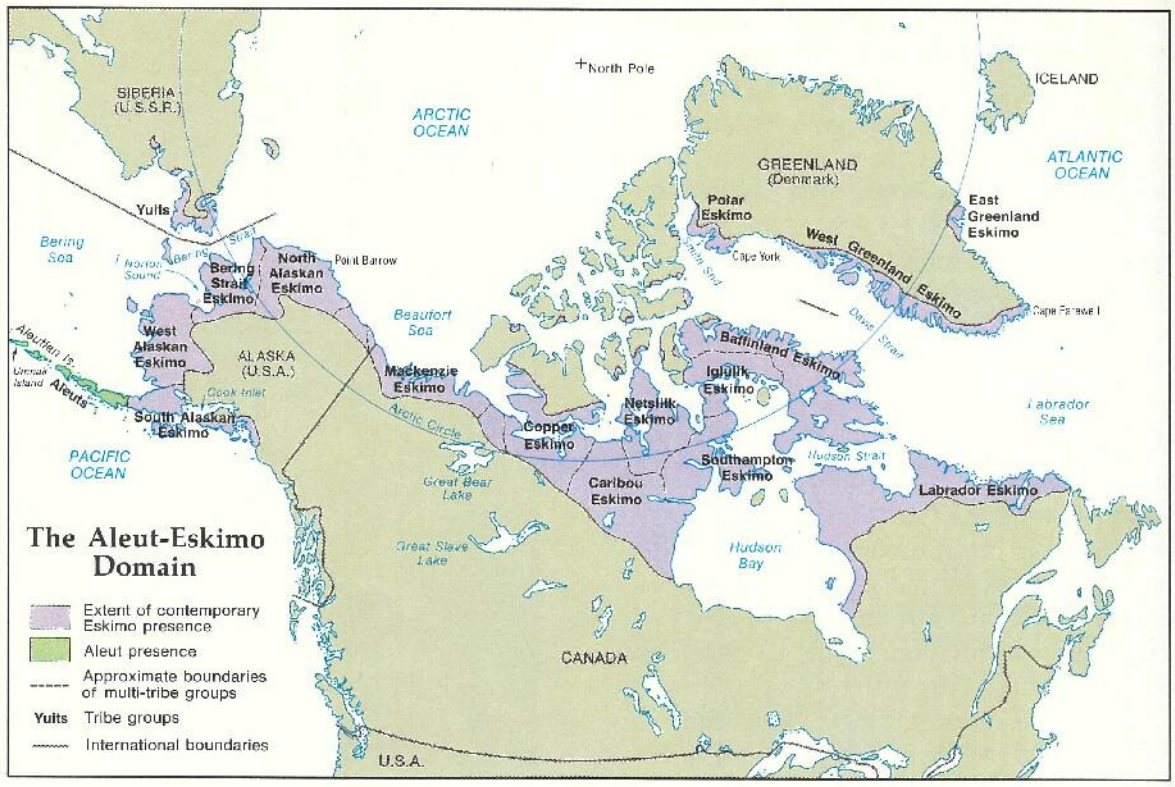
289. One chieftain, wearing the usual cap and robe of guanaco fur. As hunters of the guanaco, the Ona dwelt chiefly inland, on the main island of Tierra del Fuego.

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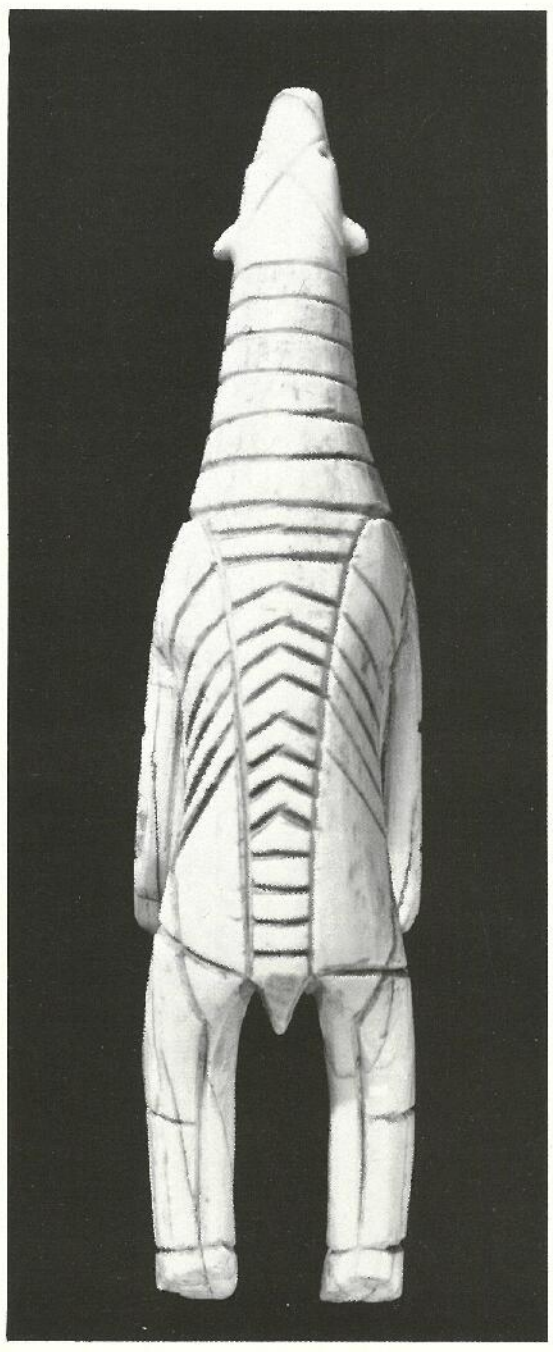
Only a little less remote than Tierra del Fuego from the painted caves of Europe are the coasts of glaciated Greenland; yet there again one meets shamans, called and trained in much the same way as those of the southernmost inhabited piece of the earth. Knud Rasmussen, in his trek from Greenland to Alaska across the whole of arctic North America in the early 1920s, collected from the shamans of those parts an extraordinary series of accounts of their visionary summonses and ordeals. "When my father died," he was told, for example, by the best-known and most feared of the Greenland shamans of that time, Autdaruta by name, "I often went out for long rambles among the hills, because I felt that I had been left alone. It was at the season when stonecrop springs up, and I gathered it, to preserve in blubber for the winter.

"One day, up among the rocks, I heard someone begin to sing; I looked, but could see no one. 'Now why should I have heard this song?' I thought to myself, and went home. The next morning, towards daybreak, I went up again to the hills, and then I heard the same thing again; it was someone beginning to sing. 'Now why is this happening to me?' I thought. Just then I saw two men coming toward me. They were inland-dwellers. 'We are sorry for you, because you are an orphan,' they said; and so they became my first helping spirits. Then I began to be a magician, but did not speak to anyone about it.

"The next year we moved south: that was in the season when the small birds come, and we settled down in company with an old and much venerated magician. He could not stand upright, and could walk only by propping up his thighs with his arms. He could not carry his kayak up and down himself, and so it came about that I used to help him. One day he came and said to me, 'Travel east with me, and I will teach you something. You may yet need help, my poor, fatherless boy.' So we traveled together, and he told me on the way that he was going to



Map 36. The earliest confirmed evidence of a true Eskimo culture is from Umnak Island in the Aleutians, c. 1000 B.C. The occupation of the whole American Arctic seems to have been accomplished by the first centuries A.D., and a fairly constant population of 40,000 to 50,000 seems then to have been maintained in scattered enclaves throughout the region.



290. Polar bear of walrustusk ivory. Dorset culture, Melville Peninsula, Iglulik area, c. A.D. 1200. Both the posture and the skeleton in the x-ray style have shamanic associations. Compare the polar bear of the Eskimo Autdaruta's shamanic initiation (see text).

291. Ivory bow drill from Norton Sound showing shamans drumming inside a house and, outside, a magnificent catch of whales.

make a great magician of me. We went ashore up a fjord, close to a cave, and the old man took off his clothes and crept inside. And he told me to watch carefully what happened next. I lay hidden a little way off and waited. It was not long before I saw a great [polar] bear come swimming along, crawl ashore, and approach the magician. It flung itself upon him, crunched him up, limb for limb, and ate him. Then it vomited him out again and swam away.

"When I went up to the cave, the old man lay groaning. He was very much exhausted, but was able to row himself home. On the way, he told me that every time he allowed himself to be devoured alive by the bear he acquired greater power over his helping spirits.

"Some time afterward, he took me again on a journey and this time it was so that I myself might be eaten by the bear. This was necessary if I wished to attain to any good. We rowed off and came to the cave. The old man told me to take my clothes off, and I do not deny that I was somewhat uncomfortable at the thought of being devoured alive. I had not been lying there long before I heard the bear coming. It attacked me and crunched me



up, limb by limb, joint by joint, but strangely enough it did not hurt at all. It was only when it bit me in the heart that it did hurt frightfully. From that day forth I felt that I ruled my helping spirits. After that I acquired many fresh helping spirits and no danger could any longer threaten me, as I was always protected." [91]

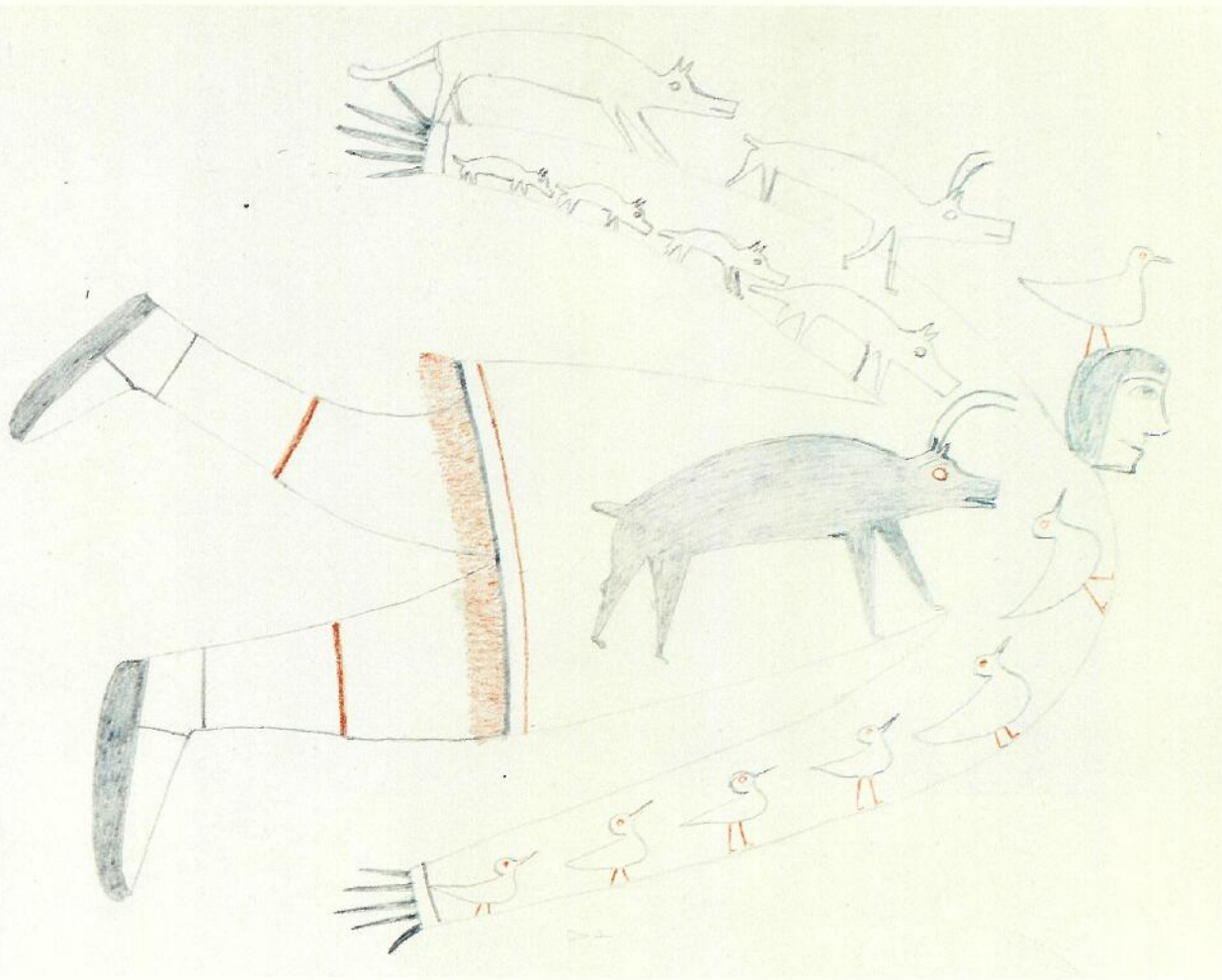
The Animal Master of the circumpolar north has here become the initiator of a shaman. An externally venerated figure, that is to say, of the folk cultures of the region has been experienced inwardly by a hypersensitive individual in a symbolic role of the most profound personal import. We may term such a displacement from an outward to an inward space "the crisis of the object," using an expression coined by the surrealist artist Salvador Dali in the 1920s, when a bold generation of twentieth-century painters was recovering for Western man the understanding of art as a discipline of the interface between waking consciousness and night, as is shamanic song. Such an interiorization, furthermore, is an intrinsic element of the "mystical way," which opens when the generally venerated images and clichés of a popular cult—revered externally as agents and formulas for the production of health, wealth, progeny, victories, and good weather—become, through a crisis of introjection, operative as living symbols, initiating and enabling a spiritual transformation. The essential experience in all such crises is of a death and resurrection: death to the Old Adam (to use a technical Christian term) and rebirth in the image of the New, in Christ. In such primitive initiation rites as those, for instance of the Aranda (see pages 142–144), the sense is of a death to infancy and return to life as men. Significantly, the psychological shamanic crisis typically occurs with approaching puberty. The affected child, in other words, undergoes spontaneously the transformation that in the general cult is ritually imposed; and since it is intimately inward and spontaneous, the shamanic-mystical experience is of a deeper, more authentic kind than anything the outward rituals can produce. Hence, in many tribal cultures, it is the medicine men, the "dreamers," who are the principal custodians and expositors of the myths on which the rites repose.

In the wastes of central Canada, just west of Hudson Bay, Rasmussen gained the confidence of Igjugarjuk, a Caribou Eskimo shaman, whose people, in Rasmussen's view, were the most primitive encountered on the expedition. When young, this master shaman, who now served as an initiator as well as healer and seer, had been visited by dreams that he could not understand. As summarized by Rasmussen:

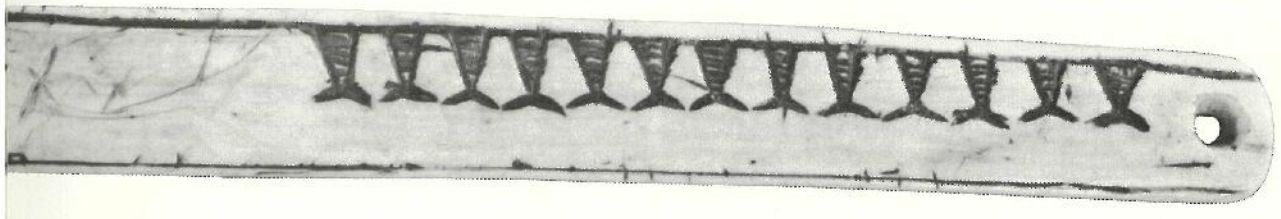
"Strange unknown beings came and spoke to him, and when he awoke, he saw all the visions of his dream so distinctly that he could tell his fellows all about them. Soon it became evident to all that he was destined to become an *angakoq*, and an old man named Perqanaoq was appointed his instructor. In the depth of winter, when the cold was most severe, Igjugarjuk was placed on a small sledge, just large enough for him to sit on, and carried far away from his home to the other side of Hikoligjuaq. On reaching the appointed spot, he remained seated on the sledge while his instructor built a tiny snow hut, with barely room for him to sit cross-legged. He was not allowed to set foot on the snow, but was lifted from the sledge and carried into the hut, where a piece of skin just large enough for him to sit on served as a carpet. No food or drink was given him; he was exhorted to think only of the Great Spirit and of the helping spirit that should appear—and so he was left to himself and his meditations.

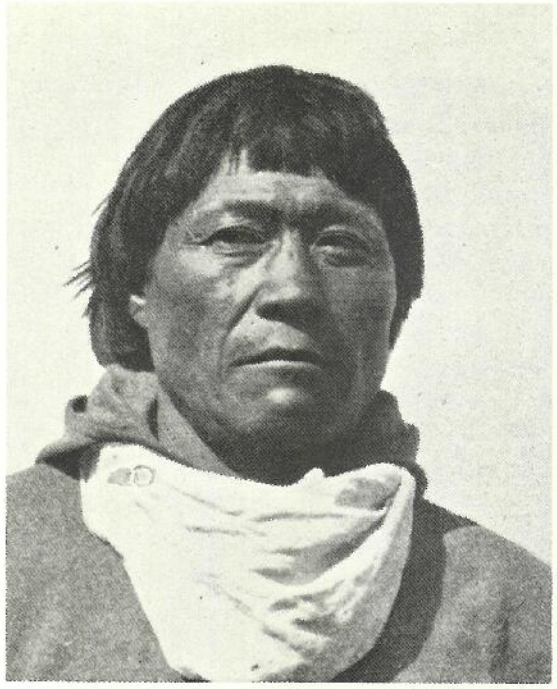
"After five days had elapsed, the instructor brought him a drink of lukewarm water, and with similar exhortations, left him as before. He fasted now for fifteen days, when he was given another drink of water and a very small piece of meat, which had to last him a further ten days. At the end of this period, his instructor came for him and fetched him home. Igjugarjuk declared that the strain of those thirty days of cold and fasting was so severe that he 'sometimes died a little.' During all that time he thought only of the Great Spirit, and endeavored to keep his mind free from all memory of human beings and everyday things. Toward the end of the thirty days there came to him a helping spirit in the shape of a woman. She came while he was asleep and seemed to hover in the air above him. After that he dreamed no more of her, but she became his helping spirit. For five months following this period of trial, he was kept on the strictest diet, and required to abstain from all intercourse with women. The fasting was then repeated; for such fasts at frequent intervals are the best means of attaining to knowledge of hidden things. As a matter of fact, there is no limit to the period of study; it depends on how much one is willing to suffer and anxious to learn." [92]

The accent upon suffering, solitude, and silence in this perhaps exaggerated account of an older man remembering his youth was matched, when Rasmussen reached Nome, Alaska, in the life story of another old shaman, Najagneq, who had

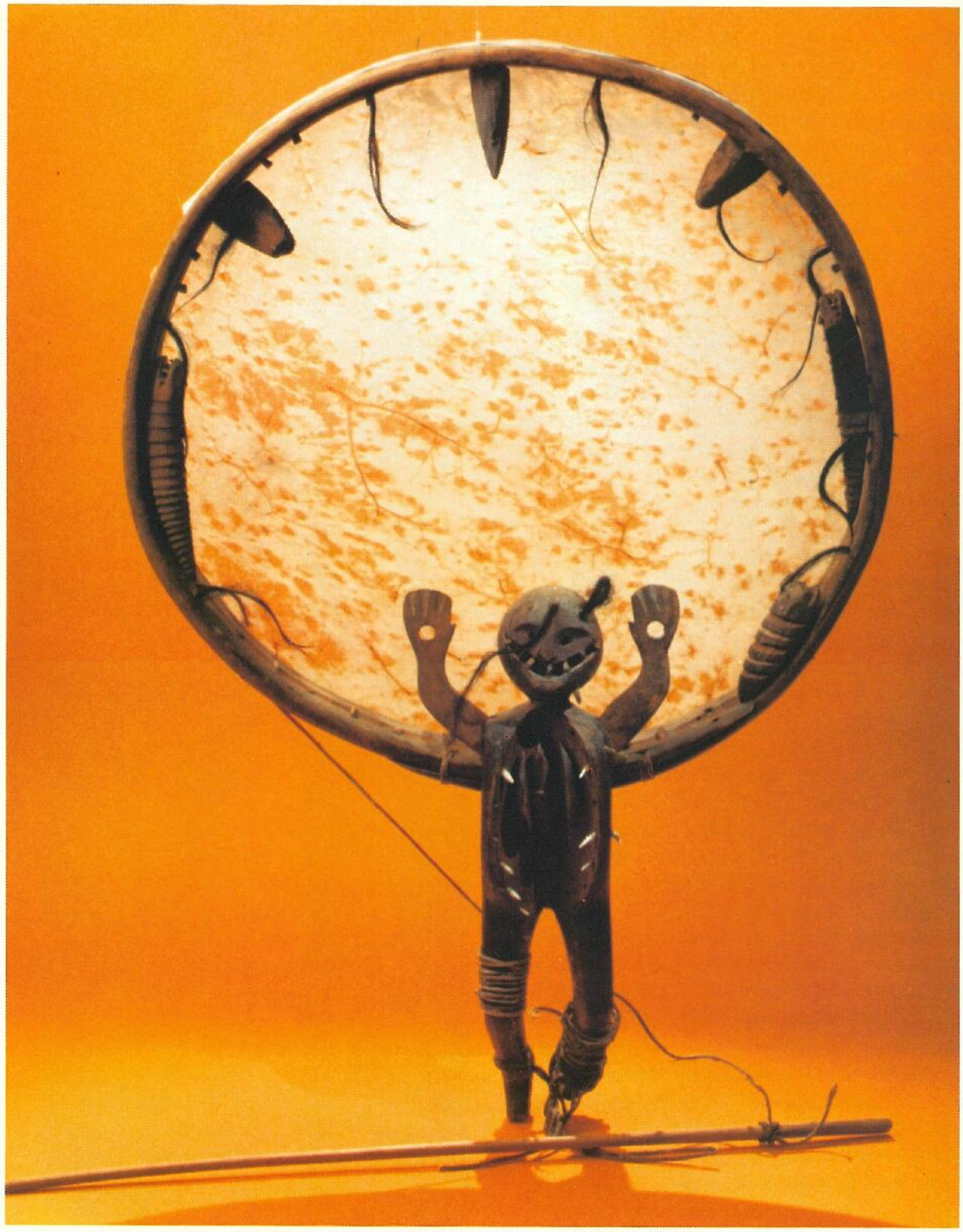


292. Eskimo shaman in flight, empowered by his animal familiars. Eskimo drawing by Jessie Oonark, 1971.





293. The Caribou Eskimo Igjugarjuk, who described to Knud Rasmussen the thirty-day ordeal of solitude, silence, and fasting of his shamanic initiation (see page 167).

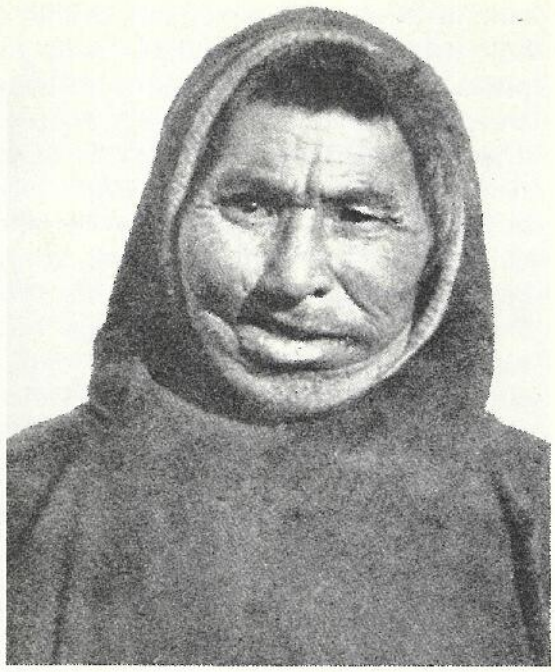


294. Eskimo shaman's drum and drumstick, West Alaska. The figure serving as the handle is in the x-ray style, cut open to exhibit ribs and inner organs. The shamans of Tierra del Fuego had no drums, nor do we find any drums depicted in Paleolithic art. The invention belongs, apparently, to a secondary development in the shamanic tradition.

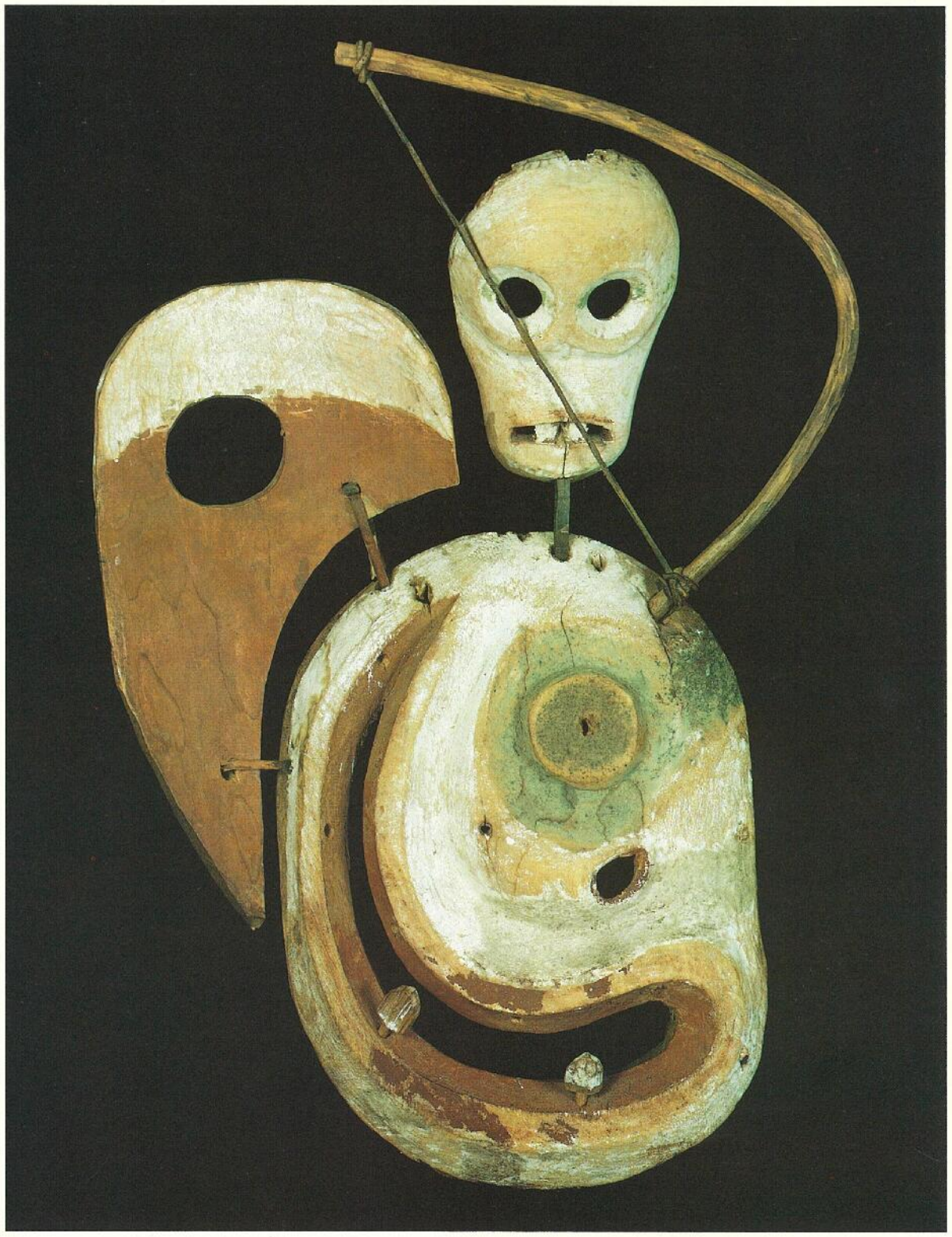
just been released from a year in jail. For these fearless fellows were not exactly saints. When the primitive Caribou Eskimo Igjugarjuk, in his youth, had decided to take to wife a certain girl whose family objected to the union, he and his brother lay in hiding not far from the young woman's hut, and from there shot down her father, mother, brothers, and sisters—seven or eight in all—until only the girl whom he wanted remained. Autdaruta, in Greenland, had such a grim tally of murders to his credit that a Catholic missionary, zealous to instruct him, reported of their confrontations: "Sometimes I have a feeling that it is Satan incarnate that I have before me." Indeed, on one occasion, when about to meet his cluster of catechumens, the priest was seized with such a terror before facing this man that he wrote: "I was obliged to let them wait while I went down to the seashore to fortify myself in solitude by prayer to Almighty God." [93] Each of his own solitude and familiar, one might say.

Najagneq, the old shaman just released from jail in Nome, had been apprehended for murdering seven or eight members of his village, where he had made a fortress of his house and from there waged war on the whole of his tribe. Taken by stratagem by the captain of a ship, he had been ferried to Nome and held in jail until ten witnesses of his killings could be fetched from his settlement to accuse him. Brought before them, Najagneq's small piercing eyes met theirs. His jaw hung in a slack bandage, his face having been injured by a man who had tried to kill him. And when the ten who had come expressly to get rid of him met his look in the witness box, they lowered their eyes in shame, the charges were dropped, and the case was dismissed.

Our usual association of the spiritual life with "virtue," in the modern sense of the word as referring to "moral excellence and practice," breaks down here. If applied at all to the spirituality of the shaman, "virtue" must be read in the earlier and now archaic sense of the word as referring to "the supernatural influence or power exerted by a divine being." The elementary mythology of shamanism, that is to say, is neither of truth and falsehood nor of good and evil, but of degrees of power: power achieved by breaking through the walls of space and barriers of time to sources unavailable to others. Shamanic combat is but one manifestation of this interest. The use of magical tricks and deceptions to impress and intimidate the uninitiated represents another. The crucial characteristic of this power quest is in its will and disciplines toward the mastery of spirits—which is to say, of the sha-



295. The Alaskan shaman Najagneq, who in Nome revealed to Rasmussen the message to be heard in the gentle voice of *silam inua,* the inhabiting soul of the universe. His jaw was broken by a man attempting to kill him (see page 168).



296. The Spirit of Water Bubbles, an Eskimo mask from West Alaska before 1900. The realm into which the shaman is transported by the sound of his drum is of such spirits: mythic apparitions from behind and within the appearances of things.

man's own projected and personified spiritual resources. And the fruits of these conquests, in the way not only of self-knowledge but also of what the Icelandic skalds knew as "the wisdom of the runes," were sometimes impressive indeed.

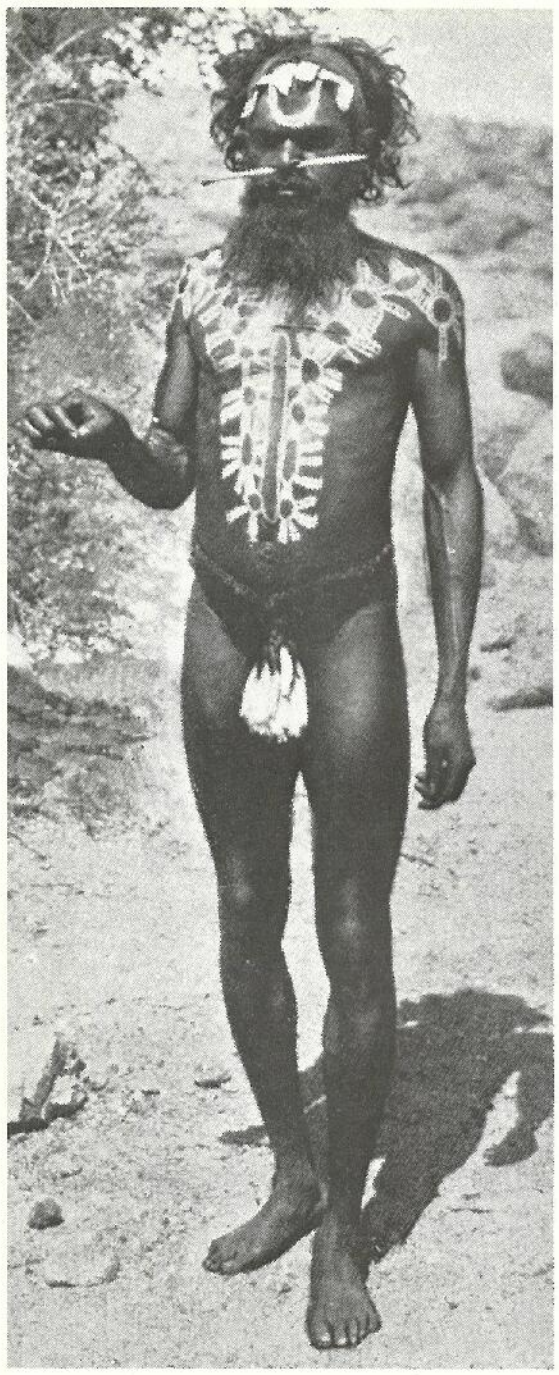
Najagneq, for example, had frequently employed deceptions to protect himself from his neighbors by playing on their superstitions, and he was not afraid to admit that he had made an art of pulling their legs. But when Rasmussen asked if he really believed in any of all the powers to which he pretended, he replied: "Yes, a power that we call Sila, one that cannot be explained in so many words. A strong spirit, the upholder of the universe, of the weather, in fact all life on earth—so mighty that his speech to man comes not through ordinary words, but through storms, snowfall, rain showers, the tempests of the sea, through all the forces that man fears, or through sunshine, calm seas, or small, innocent, playing children who understand nothing. When times are good, Sila has nothing to say to mankind. He has disappeared into his infinite nothingness and remains away as long as people do not abuse life but have respect for their daily food. No one has ever seen Sila. His place of sojourn is so mysterious that he is with us and infinitely far away at the same time." To which Rasmussen comments: "Najagneq's words sound like an echo of the wisdom we admired in the old shamans we encountered everywhere on our travels—in harsh King William's Land or in Aua's festive snow hut at Hudson Bay, or in the primitive Eskimo Igjugarjuk, whose pithy maxim was: 'The only true wisdom lives far from mankind, out in the great loneliness, and it can be reached only through suffering. Privation and suffering alone can open the mind of a man to all that is hidden to others.' " [94] When pressed concerning the mystery of Sila, or *silam inua*, "the inhabitant or soul *(inua)* of the universe," the old Alaskan shaman Najagneq replied: "All we know is that it has a gentle voice like a woman, a voice so fine and gentle that even children cannot become afraid. What it says is: *sila ersinarsinivdluge,* 'be not afraid of the universe.' " [95]

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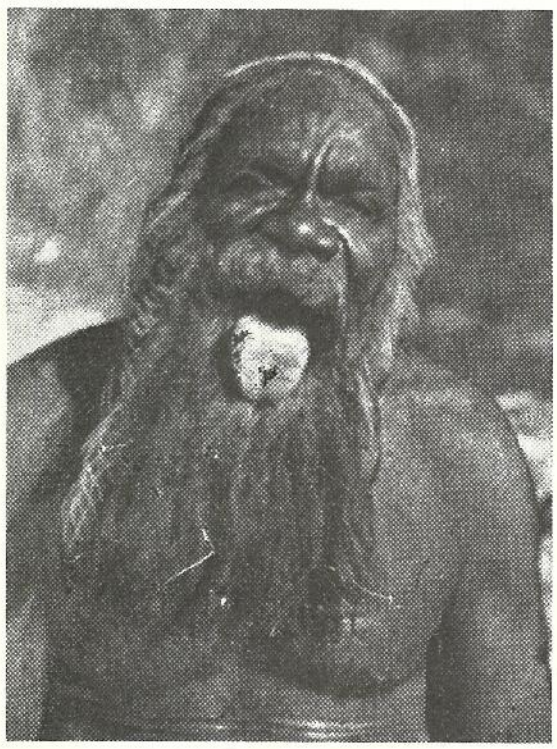
Spencer and Gillen have reported that in Australia, among the Aranda, those transformed into medicine men are supposed to have had magic crystals introduced into their bodies either by spirits of the Dream Time or by other medicine men. There is a cave near Alice Springs that is supposed to be occupied by such

spirits, and when a man feels that he is capable of enduring their transformation, he goes alone to its entrance and lies down there to sleep. At break of day, one of the spirits, coming to the mouth of the cave and finding him there, hurls at him an invisible lance that strikes and penetrates his neck from behind, goes through his tongue, and leaves there an actual hole large enough to admit the little finger. A second lance goes through his head from ear to ear, and, falling dead, he is carried deep into the cave, which is supposed to run to a spot beneath the Edith Range some 10 miles distant. There the spirit removes his internal organs and implants an entirely new set, along with a supply of magical stones, after which the man returns to life, but in a condition of insanity. He is led back to his village by the spirit, who is invisible to all but the most gifted medicine men and to dogs, and after a certain number of days, the man paints himself in a certain way and the state of insanity ends. For a year, he does not practice, but consorts with other medicine men and acquires from them their secrets, "which consist," state Spencer and Gillen, "principally in the ability to hide about his person and to produce at will small quartz pebbles or bits of stick; and, of hardly less importance than this sleight of hand, the power of looking preternaturally solemn, as if he were the possessor of knowledge quite hidden from ordinary men." [96] If during this period the hole in the tongue closes, his virtues have departed and he will not practice. Otherwise, so long as the stones remain inside him, he is able to project them, either to heal or to injure. How the hole in the tongue is really made, Spencer and Gillen remark, it is impossible to say, but it is always present in the genuine medicine man.[97] (See Figure 298.)

A second sort of spirit, inspiring a second order of medicine man, takes aspirants underground instead of into a deep cave. Initiation by other medicine men, however, is a very different affair. The aspirant is taken to a secluded spot and told to stand with hands clasped behind his head and not to make a sound. Small quartz crystals, drawn (apparently) from the bodies of the initiators, are placed in the hollow of a spear thrower. The aspirant is clasped from behind and, one by one, the crystals are taken from the spear thrower and pressed slowly and strongly along the front of his legs and up his body to his breast bone. This scoring is repeated three times, it being supposed that by this means the crystals are forced into his body. The man is next told to lie down on his back and a pretext is made of projecting crystals into his head; after this, his legs, body, and arms are subjected to another scoring, and a crystal placed against his head is struck hard, as though to drive it into his skull. Next, a pointed



297. Shaman of the Aranda tribe of Central Australia. His body is not as of ordinary men but filled with quartz crystals and endowed with incorruptible internal organs.



298. Aranda shaman exhibiting the hole in his tongue that was made by an invisible lance hurled by spirits of the cave in which he received initiation.

stick is driven deeply under the nail of the middle finger of his right hand, making a hole into which a crystal is seemingly pressed. Two more scorings of his body are executed that day; he is given water to drink in which there are crystals to be swallowed as well as meat to eat in which he is to believe there are also crystals; and the next day there is more scoring, drinking, and eating. The third day, after yet another scoring, he is told to stand with his hands behind his back and his tongue out as far as it will go. The initiator then pretends to take a crystal from the back of his own neck and with this carves a hole in the other's tongue. The initiate is now painted in a certain way and told to remain in the men's camp until his wounds have healed, keeping his right thumb pressed, all the while, against the hole in his right middle finger, lest all the crystals now inside of him escape.[98] His shamanizing—even after all of this—will never be as effective as that of the men and women initiated by spirits. He will have gained a certain prestige, however, and will have the power to project lethal splinters of crystal into his enemies and to cure by suction.

The Western Aranda believe that, besides having a body full of crystals, the healer also has inside him a particular kind of lizard, supposedly endowed with great suctorial power.[99] Moreover, among tribes west of the MacDonnell Ranges, the medicine man can assume the form of an eagle-hawk, fly long distances at night, and bring suffering and death to the people of enemy tribes by digging into them his sharp claws.[100]

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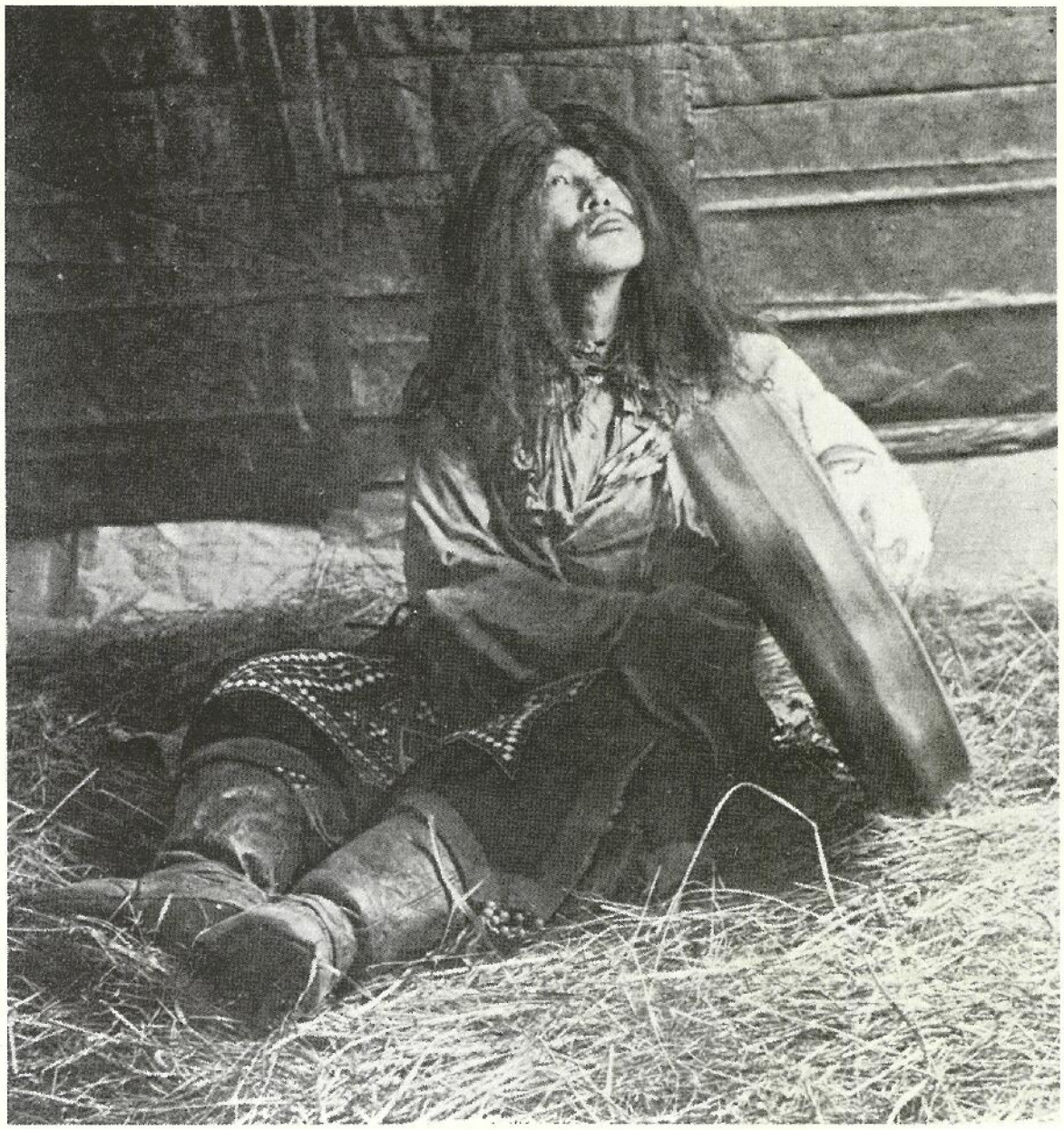
Not all the elements of what appears to have been a shared heritage of "techniques of ecstasy" from the period of the Upper Paleolithic caves have been equally well retained and cultivated in all the terminal provinces of the tradition: South Africa, in the trance dances of the Kalahari Bushmen; Tierra del Fuego, in the songs and visions of the Ona and Yahgan magicians; arctic America and Greenland, in the mystic realizations of the rugged challengers of the polar ice; and Australia, where the tradition seems to have devolved into a sort of sadomasochistic parody of itself. Father Gusinde's observation that in Tierra del Fuego the medicine men's protective spirits have nothing whatever to do with the High God of their traditions contrasts radically with Rasmussen's report of the role of Sila in Najagneq's thinking. It is possible that Gusinde simply failed to penetrate as deeply as Rasmussen into the secrets of shamanic thought and experience. It is also possible, on the other hand, that the shamans of Rasmussen's area may themselves have penetrated more deeply than did

those of Gusinde's report, into the mysteries of their inward life. But in any case, from Rasmussen's Eskimo findings four distinct, yet related, levels of shamanic mythic thinking can be identified, the profoundest being of an unqualified "ultimate ground," experienced by the shaman as at once immanent and transcendent, not grasped but only suggested in images and speech: something very much more like the *ntum* of the African Bushman and the *megbe* of the Pygmies than like the High God of any monotheism, or the Sky God of academic anthropology. One has to wonder, indeed, whether either a missionary locked to the image of his own Almighty God, or an anthropologist professionally bound to the concepts of positivistic science would be able to recognize and follow a truly mystical and transtheological statement, even if he heard one. As remarked by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy: "To have lost the art of thinking in images is precisely to have lost the proper linguistic of metaphysics and to have descended to the verbal logic of 'philosophy.' " And as a consequence, in his view, our general inability to recognize the metaphysical content of primitive traditions "is primarily due to our own abysmal ignorance of metaphysics and of its technical terms." [101]

The second level of the shamanic mythic ambient, then, is that of those personal guardians, helpers, and familiars who capture and bind the imagination; and if the first level can be termed metaphysical, truly mystical, this second is more properly psychological, being conditioned both by cultural and by intimately personal circumstance. It may finally open to transpersonal, transcultural, metaphysical realizations by way of a pathological "crisis of the object" (as defined, page 167), which then becomes a destiny, setting the affected one spiritually and even physically apart from the commonality of his race. There are many mysterious features associated with the phenomenology of this level, occult features suggesting the actual acquisition of such powers as the Hindu yogis claim (and may, in fact, to some measure, acquire). But there is also a great deal of quackery involved; and it is with this that we come to the recognition of level three: that of the mythological image of the shaman, created in the popular mind by mystifications, theatrical scenes, and sleight-of-hand illusionism, the effects of which, however, turn back upon the mind of the shaman himself and become the aids and generators of his own translation to ecstasy.

The fourth level of the shamanic range is, finally, of those spooks and powers deliberately invented to intimidate and hold at bay the philistines. H. Ostermann, Rasmussen's posthumous editor, tells of the old shaman Najagneq, that when he was brought from his distant village to Nome, although knowing only earth huts, kayaks, and sledges, he was not impressed at all by the large houses, steamers, and automobiles, but fascinated by the sight of a white horse hauling a big lorry; and when his villagers then arrived to accuse and undo him, he announced to them that the white man had killed him ten times that winter, but that he had had as helping spirits ten white horses which he had sacrificed one by one, thus saving his life. "He was no humbug," is Ostermann's comment, "but a solitary man accustomed to hold his own against many and therefore had to have his little tricks." [102]

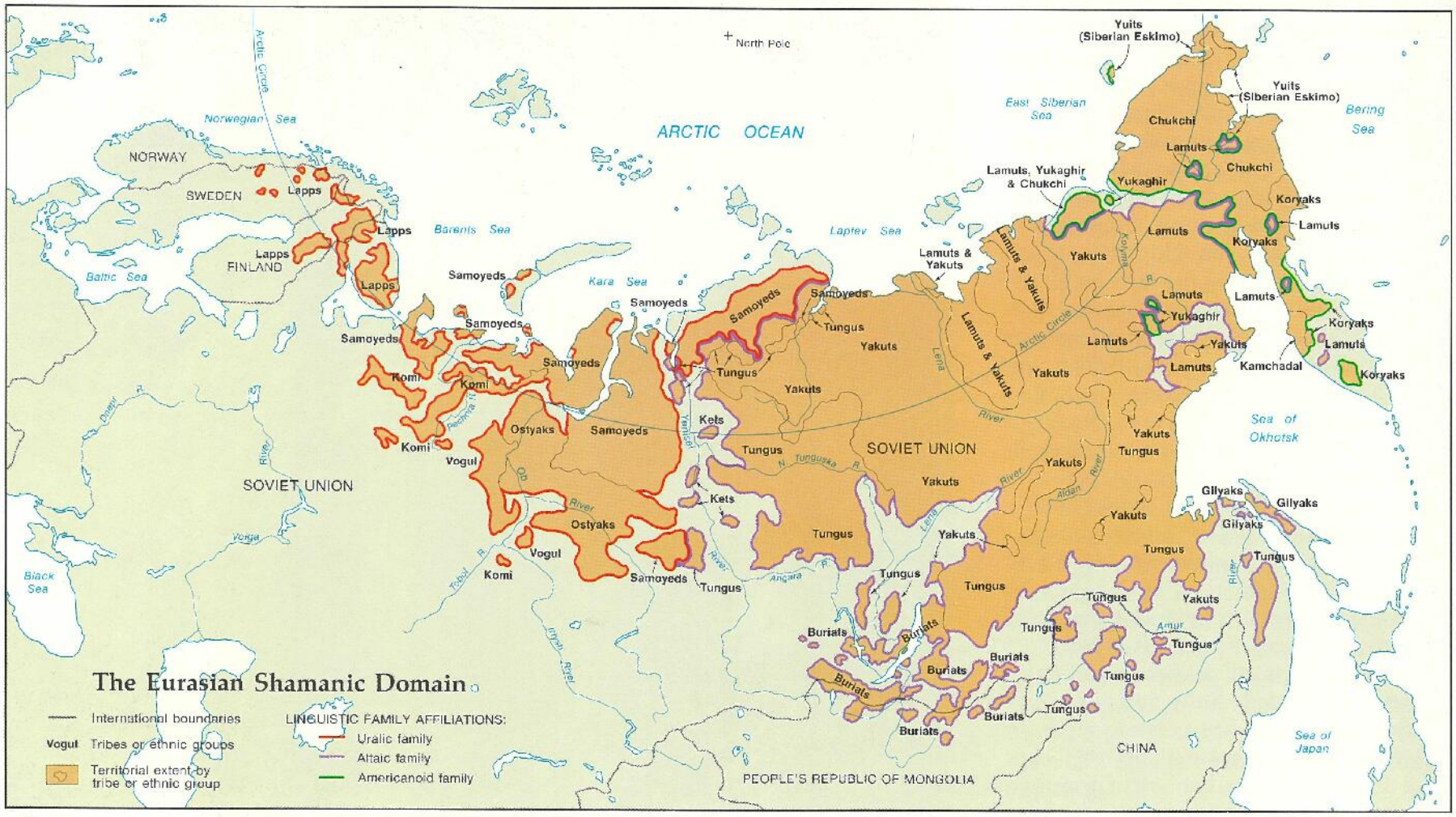
We may call the first of these four levels the "metaphysical"; the second, the "psychological"; the third, the "social-historical"; and the fourth, the "exploitative." And not only in the matter of shamanism, but in every department of mythic and religious schooling, these four levels can be distinguished. That which is properly of moment for a historical atlas, of course, is the social-historical, treating of the variations in time and space of the forms through which psychological and metaphysical realizations are inspired and expressed. But the other three cannot be dismissed. And in some traditions—the biblical, Judeo-Christian-Muslim, for example—the exploitative, racial or institutional, as well as masculine-sexual accent, has been to such a degree dominant that everything else has been structured to support it.



299. An East Siberian Yakut shaman invoking his familiar spirits, beating his single-headed drum, preparatory to passing into the trance of his shamanizing.

* * *

The historical development of shamanism that took place in Central Asia among the Neo-Siberian Tungus, Vogul, Yakut, Ostyak, and Buriat tribes brought into play a number of spectacular, post-Paleolithic ritual and mythic forms, which, however, did not alter the essential sense of the experience but, on the contrary, gave it accent. "When I shamanize," said the Tungus shaman Semyonov Semyon, when interviewed in his home on the Lower Tunguska River in the spring of 1925, "the spirit of my deceased brother Ilya comes and speaks through my mouth. My shaman forefathers, too have forced me to walk the path of shamanism. Before I commenced to shamanize, I lay sick for a whole year: I became a shaman at the



Map 37. The peoples named above are classified according to linguistic affiliations. Of those named, the Finno-Urgic, Turkic, Tunguso-Manchurian, and Mongolian are of the Uralo-Altaic family, while the Paleo-Siberians and Aleut-Eskimo are Americanoid. Until Russian colonization in the mid-seventeenth century, there were three distinct domains of reindeer-herders (in the Arctic), as well as one of horse and cattle breeders (in the south): (1) *Northwest of the Ob:* Finn-Urgic Lapps and Komi, Voguls and Ostyaks; (2) *From the Ob to the Sea of Okhotsk:* Turkic Samoyeds and Yakuts, Tunguso-Manchurian Tungus and Lamuts, Mongolian Buriats and Mongols, Paleo-Siberian Kets and Gilyak; (3) *Northeast of the Lena:* Paleo-Siberian Yakaghir, Chukchi, Koryak, and Kamchatadal, with a few Aleut and Eskimo.

age of fifteen. The sickness that forced me to this path showed itself in a swelling of my body and frequent spells of fainting. When I began to sing, however, the sickness usually disappeared.

"After that, my ancestors began to shamanize with me. They stood me up like a block of wood and shot at me with their bows until I lost consciousness. They cut up my flesh, separated my bones, counted them, and ate my flesh raw. When they counted the bones they found one too many; had there been too few, I could not have become a shaman. And while they were performing this rite, I ate and drank nothing for the whole summer. But at the end the shaman spirits drank the blood of a reindeer and gave me some to drink, too. After these events, the shaman has less blood and looks pale.

"The same thing happens to every Tungus shaman. Only after his shaman ancestors have cut up his body in this way and separated his bones can he begin to shamanize." [103]

"Up above there is a certain tree," this same shaman continued to his interviewer, G. V. Ksenofontov, a Russianized full-blooded Yakut, "a tree where the souls of the shamans are reared before they attain their powers. And on the boughs of this tree are nests in which the souls lie and are attended. The name of the tree is Tuuru. The higher the nest in this tree, the stronger will the shaman be who is raised in it, the more will he know, and the farther will he see.

"The rim of a shaman's drum is cut from a living larch. The larch is left alive and standing in recollection and honor of the tree Tuuru, where the soul of the shaman was raised. Furthermore, in memory of the great tree Tuuru, at each seance the shaman plants a tree with one or more cross-sticks in the tent where the ceremony takes place, and this tree too is called Tuuru. This is done both among us here on the Lower Tunguska and among the Angara Tungus. The Tungus who are connected with the Yakuts call this planted tree Särgä. It is made of a long pole of larch. White cloths are hung on the cross-sticks. Among the Angara Tungus they hang the pelt of a sacrificed animal on the tree. The Tungus of the Middle Tunguska make a Tuuru that is just like ours.

"According to our belief, the shaman climbs up this tree to God when he shamanizes. For the tree grows during the rite and invisibly reaches the summit of heaven.

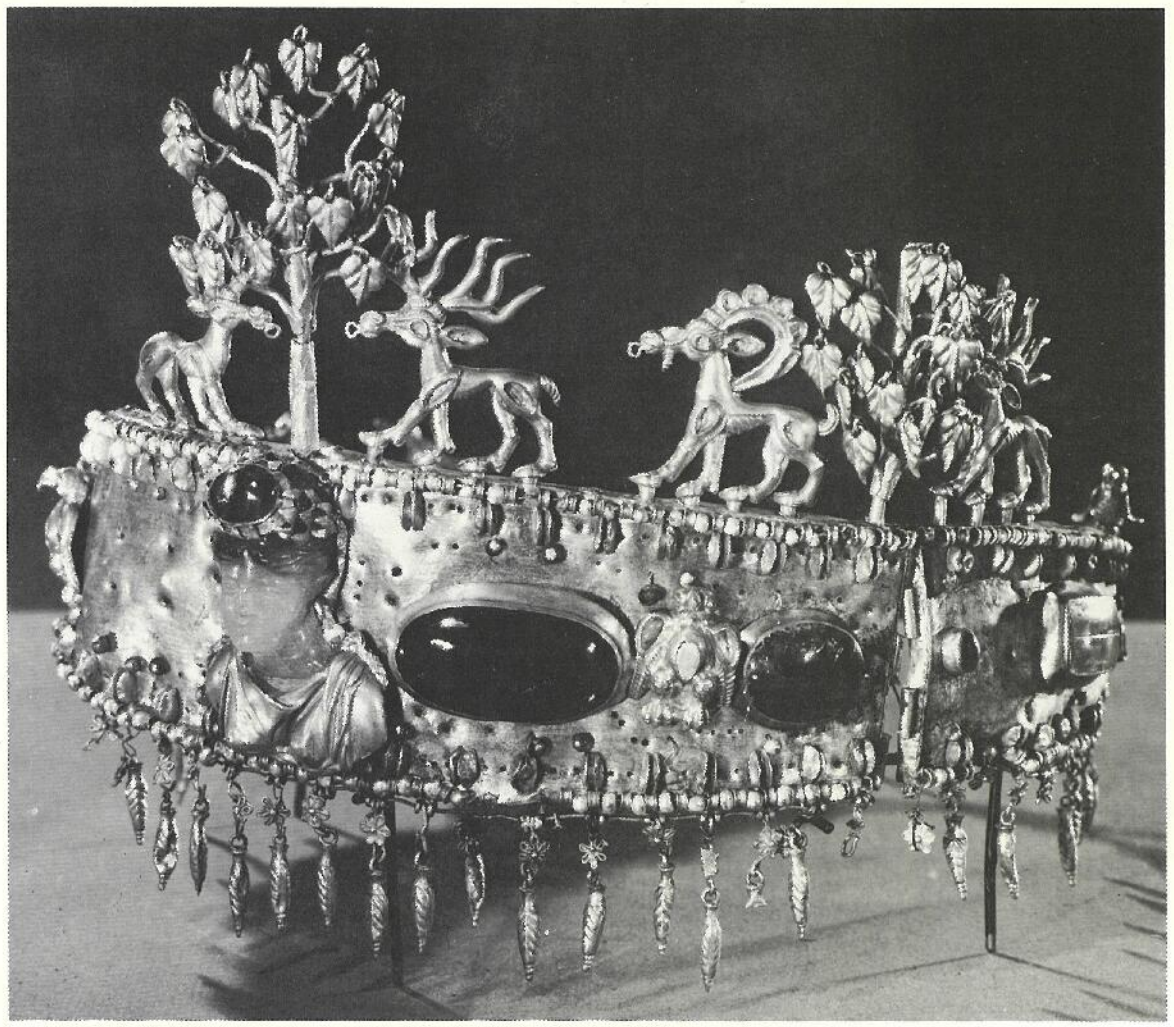
"God created the two trees when he created the earth and man: a male, the larch; and a female, the fir." [104]

The drum and the World Tree are post-



300. The axial World Tree on a Tungus (Gold tribe) shamanic garment.

301. Crown from a Scythian royal tomb, sixth to fourth century B.C., southern Russia, that illustrates the range of Scythian contacts. Head of goddess: Greek. World Tree with browsing reindeer: compare the Old Germanic World Tree, Yggdrasil, with four browsing deer consuming its leaves. Crowned king beneath the World Tree: Indo-Aryan idea of the World Ruler (*Cakravartin*) or World Savior (*Buddha*) enthroned at the *axis mundi*. The engraved boss on the animals' haunches also appears on ivory carvings at Ipiutak, Alaska (see pages 38–39).

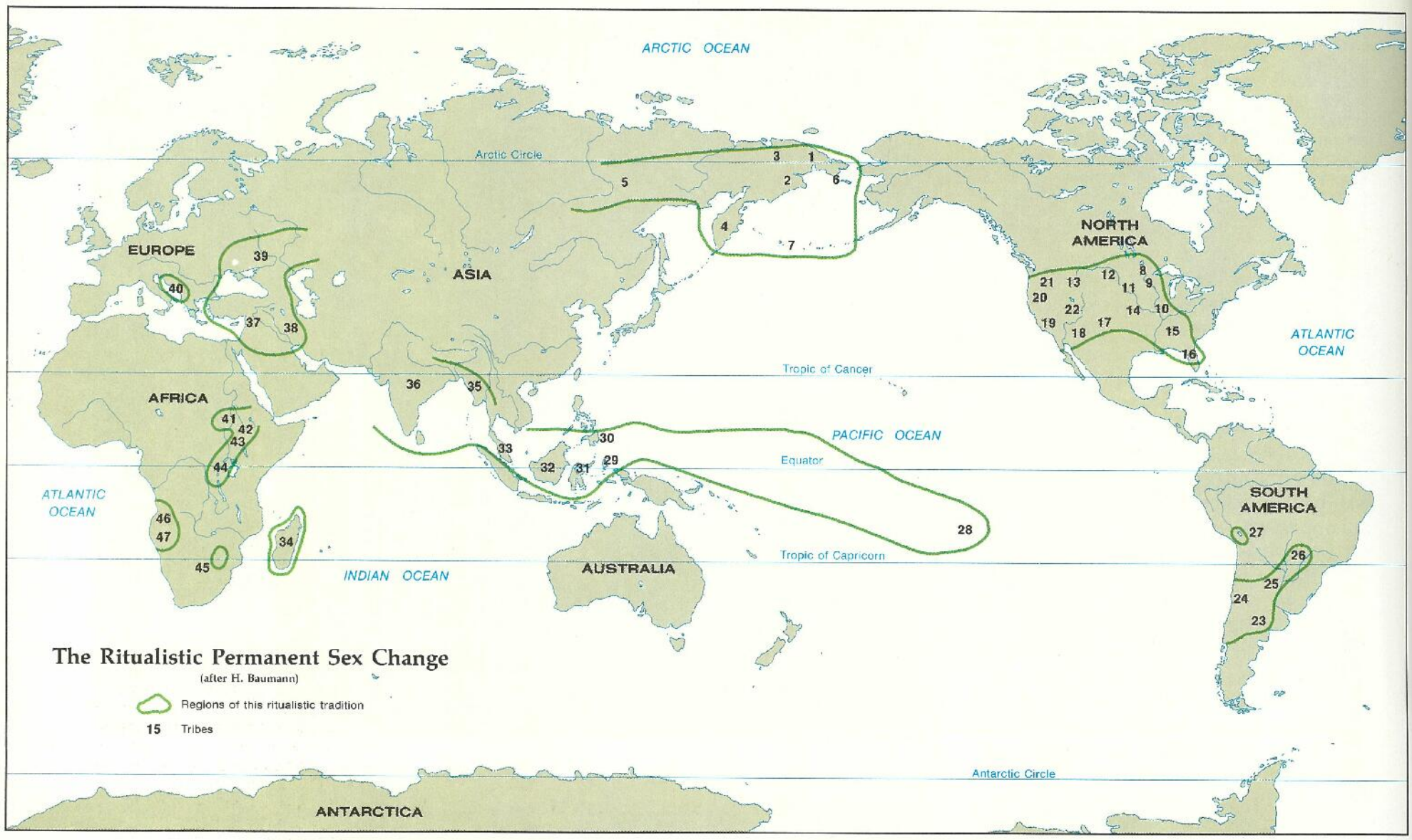


Paleolithic innovations here; the feature of the *two* trees introduces a male-female polarity theme that is also new to the tradition and derived, as Hermann Baumann has shown, from the Near Eastern Neolithic and high-culture matrices.[105] A commonly recognized corollary of the male-female polarity theme is represented in the image of a single, androgynous, higher source or power out of which the opposites have sprung, as, for example, in Genesis 1:27, where we read, "God created man in his own image . . . male and female. . . ." (See, also, the image of Shiva the Great Lord, Figure 5, page 13.) Transvestite priests who castrated themselves in the service of Artemis at Ephesus, or of Attis and Cybele at Hierapolis on the Euphrates, were supposed to reflect, and so to approach, the condition of the Primal Bisexual Divinity. We have seen something of the kind in the subincision rites of the Aranda. Herodotus (I.105 and IV.67) in the fifth century B.C., wrote of what was known as the "female sickness" of the Scythian priests and soothsayers, the Enaries or Anandrieis ("non-men"), whose condition was supposed to have been inflicted upon them by the gods. W. Bogoras and Waldemar Jochelson discovered among the Paleo-Siberian tribes of the Chukchi Peninsula both male and female shamans who had ritually, psychologically, and to some extent even physically, "changed sex." We have already recognized a Scythian art motif in Alaskan ivories of the first centuries after Christ (see pages 38-39). It is not unlikely that some of the practices of the Scythian Anandrieis also crossed the Bering Strait at that time. "Transformation takes place," states Bogoras of the Chukchi, "by command of the ke'let [the spirit], usually at the age of early youth



302. Lappish shaman in trance, his drum on his back, with a female associate watching, brush in hand, to keep flies away; for it is believed that at this delicate time even the touch of a fly might break the power of the shaman's departed spirit to return to the vacated body. Seventeenth-century engraving.

The figure in a reindeer-drawn sleigh may have been added to remind us that the idea of the annual flight of Santa Claus in his reindeer-drawn sleigh (midnight of the winter solstice) was originally inspired by tales of the flights of the Lappish shamans. It was also once believed that the Old Germanic god Otlin (Odin, Wodin, or Wotan) flew through the air with his Howling Host on that night of the birth of the new year, delivering gifts to those who were his worshippers and punishments to those who were not.



Map 38. Generally hunters-and-gatherers maintain a scrupulous distinction between the sexes: such a bisexual power as the Mapuche "Mother-Father" of all things would find no place in their mythologies. North Australian hunting mythologies are grounded, however, in a bisexual creator, Ungud (pages 140–142; and Baumann has shown this concept to have been imported and proper rather to planters than to hunters (Map 33, page 142). Map 38 is of a related topic: for, where a bisexual creator is recognized, the contingent notion may follow of bisexuality as a condition spiritually superior to that of the untransformed male or female—hence, characteristic of shamans supremely endowed.

Mythologies based on the idea of a creative bisexual power that split into male and female and generated the universe first appear in documents from ancient Mesopotamia; and it was in areas proximal to that cultural matrix that ritualized transvestism, castration, and similar practices first became identified with the rites of a Universal Goddess. The extension of these practices southeastward to Indonesia, and thence eastward to Polynesia and westward to East Africa, accompanied the diffusion of an archaic megalithic temple complex. The northeastern thrust across Siberia to the Chukchi Peninsula, on the other hand, was an effect of Scythian influences in the eighth to second centuries B.C. The crown (**301** on page 173) is of these people. And we have already remarked the appearance in Alaska of Scythian art motifs (pages 38–39). Since, in all high-culture areas, ritual transvestism and sex change have been abolished, their former prevalence in the Americas is known only from historical accounts of their extirpation by the Spaniards and from ethnological notices of their continuation into modern times in the zones indicated above.

Baumann's tribal catalog is as follows: *Northeast Asia:* (1) Chukchi; (2) Koryak; (3) Yukaghir; (4) Itelmen; (5) Yakut; (6) Asiatic Eskimo. *America:* (7) Aleut; (8) Ojibwa; (9) Sauk-Fox; (10) Illinois; (11) Dakota; (12) Mandan-Minitari; (13) Crow; (14) Ponca, Omaha, Kansas, Oto, Osage; (15) Choktaw and other Muskogee; (16) Seminole; (17) Pueblo [Zuni, Acoma, Laguna], Navaho; (18) Yuma, Mohave; (19) Juaneño; (20) Yakut, Yuki, Yurok; (21) Shahaptan-Flathead; (22) Ute-Shoshone; (23) Puelshe; (24) Araucanian; (25) earlier Guaycuru tribes of the Chaco; (26) Caduveo; (27) Titicaca villagers. *South Seas:* (28) Tahiti, Marquesas; (29) Palau. *Indonesia:* (30) Subanum [Mindanas]; (31) Celebes [Bugis, Makas, and such]; (32) Borneo. (33) Malaysia. (34) *Madagascar. Burma:* (35) Lushai, the Arakan Coast. *India:* (36) Vallabhacharyas and such. *Near East:* (37) Ancient Babylonia; (38) Nogai. *Eurasia:* (39) Scythians; (40) Serbo-Croatians; Albanians. *Africa:* (41) Nuba, Kunama; (42) Konso, Galla[?]; (43) Lango; (44) Rundi, Hunde; (45) Shona-Karanga, Lamba, Venda; (46) Humbe, Handa, Musho, Ovimbundu, Kimbundu; (47) Ambo-Kwanyama.[14]

when shamanistic inspiration first manifests itself. It is, however, much dreaded by the youthful adepts." Indeed, as he learned, the youths in some cases prefer suicide to answering this call.[106] And yet, as Jochelson avers: "The transformed shamans were believed to be the most powerful of all." [107]

Hermann Baumann has devoted an important work to the study and interpretation of this phenomenon: its beginnings in the archaic Near East in the cults of deities regarded, not merely as androgynous, but as beyond *all* "pairs-of-opposites"; its relevance to the post-Paleolithic mythological themes of bisexual gods, bisexual souls, the world parents, the world egg, world giant, and divine twins; the truly astonishing reach of its distribution, not only throughout the Old World, but also into the New; and its relationship, on the one hand, to mythology, and on the other, to biology and psychology.[108] Among the Araucanians of Chile, of whom the Mapuche are an important tribe, the male shamans of earlier times were commonly transvestites; [109] and in a large part of North America, transvestite shamans have continued to be important up to the present. According to Bogoras, among the shamans of the Chukchi, various degrees of transformation are recognized. In the first, the shaman changes only the manner of braiding and arranging his hair; in the second, he adopts female dress; in the third, he leaves off all the pursuits and manners of his own sex and takes on those of a woman. "Even his pronunciation changes from the male to the female mode. At the same time his body alters, if not in its outward appearance, at least in its faculties and forces. . . . Generally speaking, he becomes a woman with the appearance of a man. . . . He seeks to win the good graces of men, and succeeds easily with the aid of 'spirits.' Thus he has all the young men he could wish for striving to obtain his favor. From these he chooses his lover, and after a time takes a husband.[110] . . . Moreover, each 'soft man' is supposed to have a special protector among the 'spirits,' who, for the most part, is said to play the part of a



303. A "soft man," transvestite, or transformed, shaman of the Chuckchi.

supernatural husband." [111] In the case of a woman transformed into a man, she cuts her hair, dons the dress of a male, adopts the vocabulary of men, and even learns in a very short time to handle a spear and to shoot with a rifle. She easily finds a quiet young girl who consents to becoming her "wife," and at last she marries. She obtains from the leg of a reindeer a gastrocnemius which serves her as a male organ; and should she wish to have children in this union she and her wife will enter into a bond of mutual marriage with some neighboring youth.[112]

An interesting feature of Baumann's map, charting the distribution of the evidence of these practices, is the large gap through Central Asia, between the time and place of Herodotus's report on the Enaries and Bogoras's and Jochelson's of the Paleo-Siberian "soft men." The period of development of the intervening Altaic complex must, therefore, have been later than that of the rise and spread of the Paleo-Siberian Scythian-Chukchi tradition. "The shamanism of the Chukchee has not reached a stage of development," states Bogoras, "high enough to have drums or clothing of peculiar form, or, indeed, any special belongings characteristic of itself. The Chukchee shaman uses the ordinary drum of his family, or perhaps he may make an extra drum for his own use; but this drum will have exactly the same form, and, moreover, it will probably be employed in all the family ceremonials, where additional drums are used for making as much noise as possible. As to the shamanistic garb," he continues, "the Chukchee have nothing similar to the well-known type of coat covered with fringes and images, which is in general use among the Yakut and Tungus, and which probably was borrowed from the latter by the Yukaghir." [113]

Animal sacrifice in association with shamanic practice, on the other hand, is a feature known to both the Paleo- and the Neo-Siberians, and may be an original trait of the Paleolithic complex, as the rock painting at Lascaux of the shaman in trance before the bison pierced by a lance would seem to suggest. In our illustrations on page 158 we have already seen the account of an Altaic sacrifice of a horse, with the hide then hung on a pole (Figure 278); the sacrifice of a dog by a Koryak shaman, who is beating his drum while curing a patient (Figures 278/279); and a Chukchi map of the sky (Figure 277), where Dawn Man receives the sacrifice of a dog and offers a fox in exchange, while the family of Evening Man, costumed in the guise of the gods of the sea, pays sacrifice to those gods.[114]

These last two sketches, Koryak and Chukchi, are of the earlier, Paleo-Siberian tradition, among the characterizing features of which, the following seven may be named:

1. The dog sacrifice: which may represent a continuation from the Late Paleolithic; the offering then, however, was of game animals (the bear and possibly the bison), whereas here it is of a domestic beast
2. A reindeer sacrifice, which is again of a domestic species; the ancestors of these tribesmen having followed the great European herds northeastward as the glaciers melted, first as hunters, but then as owners and breeders of the herds
3. A family of anthropomorphic sky gods and another of sea gods, to whom the sacrifices are addressed: these necessarily of a post-Paleolithic, Neolithic vintage, very likely from the period of reindeer domestication
4. Intervening anthropomorphic enemy spirits, who may intercept and capture the offered sacrifices
5. The idea of a World Axis with the Pole Star at its head, along the line of which the sacrifices rise to their destination
6. The use of a drum in accompaniment to shamanistic rites, but a drum not yet especially sacred
7. Transvestite shamans: representing a sphere of spiritual power transcending the male-female polarity, this being a theme from the high Bronze Age of the Near East, carried into Central Asia by the Scythians about the fifth century B.C.



304. Northeastward of the River Lena and the Verkhoyanskig range are the Americanoid, Paleo-Siberian sea-mammal-hunting and reindeer-breeding Chukchi, Koryak, Yukaghir, and Itelmen or Kamchatadals. Among their most precious possessions are their dogs, and among their most important rites are reindeer and dog sacrifices, for which only the best are chosen. The animals are stabbed to the heart with a spear, an unsuccessful blow signifying the deity's displeasure. This early photograph is of a Koryak underground house with its best dogs' noses pointed to the sky, where their souls have flown.[16]

Of the later shamanic Uralo-Altaic system, these nine features may be noted:

1. The wearing of a special ritual costume, a trait already evident in the Paleolithic rock paintings
2. The sanctification and mythologization of the drum
3. The drum's association with the Neolithic image of the World Tree
4. The drum's association with the sacrificed reindeer, of whose hide the drumhead is made
5. An association of the World Tree with the central pole of the yurt, and of the shaman's ascent of this pole with his heaven journey
6. Anthropomorphic deities as guardians of the gates of the way
7. A horse sacrifice, which is an Indo-European feature
8. A radical dualism—a late Zoroastrian feature—of light and dark, sky and underworld, benign and terrible divinities and their worlds
9. An extreme development of the shamanic-crisis theme, with elaborate dismemberment and death-and-resurrection accents

Undoubtedly the most important, as well as most characteristic, of all these

Uralo-Altaic features is the drum. The shaman rides on his drum; and the Buriat of Irkutsk declare that by virtue of the power of his originally double-headed drum, their first shaman, Morgon-Kara, could bring back souls even from the dead.

Erlen Khan, the Lord of the Dead, complained to the great god Tengri, on high, that because of Morgon-Kara he was no longer able to hold the souls brought to him by his Messengers; and so Tengri himself determined to make trial of the shaman with a test. He took possession of the soul of a certain man, slipped it into a bottle, and then, sitting with the bottle in hand, his thumb covering its opening, he waited to see what the mighty Buriat would do.

The man whose soul had been taken fell ill, and his family sent for Morgon-Kara. The shaman immediately recognized that the soul of the man had been taken, and, riding on his wonderful drum, he searched the forests, the waters, the mountain gorges, indeed the earth, and then descended to the Underworld. The soul being nowhere in any of these, there remained but one domain to be searched: High Heaven. So, sitting on his drum, he flew aloft. And he cruised the heavens for some time before noticing that the radiant High God was sitting there with a bottle in his hand, over the top of which the ball of his thumb was pressed. Studying the circumstance, Morgon-Kara perceived that within the bottle was the very soul he had come to retrieve. So he transformed himself into a wasp, flew at the god, and gave him such a hot sting on the forehead that his thumb jerked from the opening and the soul escaped. The next thing Tengri knew was that the shaman, together with his prize, was on his drum again, sailing back to earth. He reached for a thunderbolt, let it fly, and the drum was split in half. And that is why shaman drums today have but one head.[115]

The Siberians

The Yakuts tell of a shaman of earlier times named Aadja, the younger of two brothers whose parents had died when they were very young.

Aadja's brother was thirty years of age, and he twenty when he married, and that year, there was born a red piebald stallion with all the signs and promise of an exceptionally beautiful steed. But that same fall, Aadja died. And although he lay there dead, he could hear everything that was being said around him, and felt as though he had simply fallen asleep. He could neither move nor speak, yet could distinctly hear them making his coffin and digging his grave. And so there he lay as though alive, unhappy that they should be coming together to bury him when he might very well have come back to life. They placed him in the coffin, put the coffin in the grave, and shoveled in the dirt.

As he lay in that grave, his heart and soul sobbed and cried. But then he heard someone





305. The Mongol (Bajongol) shaman Otsir Böö, in full regalia. On the vertical strut at the back of his drum is the image of his spirit helper.

306. "The Three Worlds" on a Lapp drumhead, from northern Sweden, c. 1800. In the Upper World: the sun and the moon (or, perhaps, the sun setting and rising) are seen along with heavenly beings and their tent. In the Middle World (left to right): the Mistress of the Beasts sends animals to be hunted; a hunter shoots a reindeer; and a shaman, riding upward in a sleigh drawn by a reindeer, is followed by a dog. In the Lower World: three goddesses suggesting the Norns are pictured.

up there begin to dig, and he was glad to think that his brother, believing that he might still be alive, had returned to disinter him. However, when the cover of his coffin was at last removed, he saw four black men whom he did not know. They took up his body and stood him upright on his coffin with his face turned toward his house. Through the window he could see a fire burning, and smoke was coming from the chimney.

Then, from somewhere far in the depths of the earth, he heard the bellowing of a bull. The bellowing came nearer, nearer; the earth began to tremble; he was terribly afraid; and from the bottom of the grave the bull emerged. It was completely black and its horns were close together. It took him sitting between its horns and went down again through the opening from which it had just emerged. And they reached a place where there was a house, from within which there came the voice of what seemed to be an old man, saying, "Boys, it is true. Our little son has brought a man. Go out and relieve him of his load!" A number of black, withered old men came hopping out, grabbed the arrival, carried him into the house, and set him on the flat of the hand of an old man, who held him to estimate the weight and said: "Take him back! He is predestined to be reborn up there!" With that, the bull again took him between its horns, carried him up along the old way, and set him down where he had been before.

When the living corpse came to its senses, night had descended and it was dark. Presently a black raven appeared. It shoved its head between the dead man's legs, lifted him, and flew directly upward. In the zenith was an opening through which they passed to a place where both the sun and the moon were shining and the houses and barns were of iron. All the people had the heads of ravens, yet their bodies were like those of men. And there could be heard inside the largest house something like the voice of an old man saying: "Boys! Look! Our little son has brought us a man. Go out and bring him in." A company of young men dashed out and, seizing the newcomer, bore him into the house, where they set him on the flat of the hand of a gray-haired old man, who first tested his weight and then said: "Boys, take him along and place him in the highest nest!"

For there was a great larch up there, whose size can hardly be compared with anything we know. Its top surely touched heaven. And there was on every branch a nest as large as a haystack covered with snow. The young men lay their charge in the highest of these, and as soon as they had set him down, there came flying a winged white reindeer that settled on the nest. Its teats entered his mouth, he began to suck, and there he lay for three years. And the more he sucked, the smaller became his body, until finally he was no bigger than a thimble.

Thus resting in his lofty nest, he one day heard the voice of the same old man, who now was saying to one of his seven raven-headed sons: "My boy, go down to the Middle World, seize a woman and bring her back." The son descended, and in time returned towing a brown-faced woman by the hair. They all danced in celebration. But the one lying in the nest then again heard the voice saying: "Shut this woman up in an iron barn, so that our son, who lives in the Middle World, may not come and carry her away."

They locked the woman in a barn; and in a little while, the nestling heard the sounds of a shaman's drum and song coming up from the Middle World. The sounds gradually grew, coming nearer—nearer—until, from below, a head appeared in the exit opening. From his nest, the watcher could then see a man of nimble body and moderate stature with hair already gray. Hardly had he fully appeared, when, pressing his drumstick to his brow, he was immediately transformed into a bull with a single horn projecting from the middle of its forehead. The bull shattered with a single blow the door of the barn in which the woman had been locked and galloped off with her, down and away.

Following him, there went up cries and shouts, laments and mourning, and the son of the old man again went down to the Middle World. He returned with a white-faced woman, who was first transformed into an insect and then hidden in the central structural pole of the heavenly yurt. Soon again the drum and song of a shaman could be heard. And this time, again, the one who arrived very soon discovered the patient, broke the pole in which she was hidden, and carried her off.

Whereupon the son of the old man went his way a third time, returning with the same white-faced woman, and this time the raven-headed spirit-people of the Upper World did better than before for her protection. They set fire to a pile of wood at the exit hole, took glowing brands in their hands, and stood ready at the aperture, watching. When the shaman appeared, they smote him with the firebrands and forced him back to earth.

At last, the little watcher in the nest at the end of his three years, heard once again the voice of the old man. "His years are up," the voice said. "Throw our child down to the Middle World. He is to go into a woman to be born with the name Shaman Aadja, which we have given him. He shall be famous: no one shall take his name in vain in the holy month."

With songs and blessings, the seven hurled the nestling down into the Middle World, where he immediately lost consciousness, unable to recall by what means he had come to be where he was. It was not until he was five that this recollection returned—and then he knew that he had been born before, how he had lived on this earth, and how he had been born above and heard with his own ears and seen with his own eyes the arrival of a shaman.

Seven years after his new birth, he was seized by the spirits, compelled to sing, and cut to pieces. At eight, he began to shamanize and to perform the ritual dance. At nine, he was already famous. And at twelve, he was a great shaman.

It turned out that he had this time come into the world some 15 versts [about 10 miles] from the place of his former residence. And when he paid a visit to his former brother, he found that his wife had again married and that the colorful stallion foal which had been born the

307. The Yakut (Karagasy) shaman Tulayev, of Irkutsk, wearing his reindeer-leather swan costume. On his cap of green cloth is sewn a wolf's muzzle with the moon above and stars on each side. A ribbon adorned with stars, representing his spine, hangs from the cap down his back. An x-ray-style representation, in a blue Chinese fabric, of his breast bone and ribs has been sewn to the chest of his garment; a similar x-ray of spine and ribs appears on the back; arm-bone applique, on both sleeves. And, whereas the shaman's left foot is bare, embroidered on the right boot are toe and leg bones in white reindeer hair. The head of the great drum is of reindeer hide, as is the cover of the head of the drumstick. Eagle-owl feathers on the shaman's shoulders are his wings. Photographed c. 1927.



year of his death was now, indeed, a famous steed. But his relatives failed to recognize him and he told them nothing.

One summer day, however, when a man of property was celebrating the Isyach Festival of the blessing of the sacred kumiss, which is accompanied by a ritual known as the Lifting Up of the Soul of the Horse, the young shaman met the one whom he had seen come into the Upper World while lying in his nest. The older shaman immediately recognized him and said in a voice loud enough for others to hear: "When I once was helping another shaman recover the soul of a sick woman, I saw you in the nest on the topmost ninth bough, sucking the teats of your animal mother. You were looking out of the nest." And the young Shaman Aadja, hearing these words, became furious. "Why do you bring out here, before everyone, the secret of my birth?" he asked. To which the other replied: "If you are planning evil against me, destroy me, eat me! I was formerly nurtured on the eighth bough of the same larch on which you were nurtured. I am to be born again and nurtured by the Black Raven, Chara-Suorun."

"And they say," concluded Ivan Popov, the Yakut narrator of this legend, on March 22, 1925, "that the young shaman that night killed the elder. The young shaman's spirits swallowed him and thus brought about his death, and no one saw.—This ancient tale I was told by a old man."[116]

* * *

The Paleo-Siberian Yukaghir, now confined to the northern rim of the Chukchi Peninsula between the Lena and Kolyma Rivers, have adopted from their Tungus and Yakut neighbors the Altaic costume and drum. Their term for the drum, *ya'lgil,* means "lake," referring to the mythic lake through which the shaman descends to the underworld; and the infinitive, *yalgi'ne,* means both "to have a drum" and "to shamanize."[117] The shaman himself is called *a'lma,* from the verb *a,* "to do"; also *i'rkeye,* "the trembling one"; and he occupies, according to Jochelson, a very special place in the social system of the Yukaghir.

"He was the protector and priest of a definite group of relatives or of a clan," according to this author. "But he was not a professsional shaman in the sense of modern days. A'lma attended to the sick of his group, offered sacrifices, prayed to the gods for successful hunting and other benefactions, and had intercourse with the supernatural world and the kingdom of the Shadows. The ancient Yukaghir shaman represented his clan. Every Yukaghir clan traces its origin to some shaman. From the merging of the ancestor and the shaman in one person there developed the cult of the shaman-ancestor."[118]

Bogoras found that among the Chukchi, just eastward of the Yukaghir, shamanism is largely affiliated with the family ceremonials. "Each family," he reports, "has one or more drums of its own, on which its members are bound at specific periods to perform; that is, to accompany the beating of the drum with the singing of various melodies. Almost always, on these occasions, one member at least of the family tries to communicate with 'spirits' after the manner of shamans. Such a one will usually, with violent shouting and continuous exercise on the drum, work himself up to the highest pitch possible, and in this condition pretend that the 'spirits' have entered his body. In proof of this he acts in exactly the same way as do the shamans—jumping about, twisting his body in the most violent contortions, and uttering gibbering sounds and unintelligible words supposed to be the voice and the language of 'spirits.' Oftentimes he essays soothsaying and foretelling the future, though such attempts do not usually' receive much attention. All this is done in the outer tent, where all the ceremonials are performed, and mostly in the daytime.

"The acts of real shamanism, on the contrary, are for the most part performed in the sleeping-room, at night-time and in perfect darkness."[119]

In October 1896, Jochelson recorded from the lips of a Yukaghir named Samsonov the following account of his people's way of disposing of the body of a deceased shaman:

"Our ancient people, when a shaman died, used to separate the flesh of the corpse from the bones. For that purpose they put on gloves and masks. Then they took iron hooks, and having caught the flesh of the corpse, drew it to them and cut it off. It was considered a sin to touch the corpse with bare hands, or to look at it with uncovered face. Thus they separated the flesh from the skeleton through its entire length. Then they made drying frames and hung up the flesh outside, to dry in the sun. After the flesh had been dried, the relatives of the dead shaman divided it among themselves. Then they made a tent of larch-tree rods, and each of them put his share in the middle of the larch tent separately. Then the relatives of the shaman killed dogs as offerings. They did not kill bad dogs; they killed only good ones. Then they added the killed dogs to their portions of dried flesh. After that they left the tent with the shaman's flesh and the offerings.

"Then they divided the bones of the corpse, and after having dried them, they clothed them. They worshiped the skull of the shaman. They made a trunk of wood and set on it the skull. Then they made for it a jacket and caps—two caps, a winter and a summer one. They embroidered the coat all over. For its face they made a mask, with openings for eyes and mouth. Over the embroidered coat they put a coat of fawn-skins; and over that, a blanket of soft reindeer-skins.

"Then they placed the figure in the front corner of the house. Whenever they were going to eat something good, they first threw a piece of it in the fire and held the figure over the smoke. This they did at every meal; and thus they fed the figure, which they worshipped as a god."[120]

Pieces of the shaman's dried flesh were sewn into bags of waterproof smoked hide and worn under the clothes as amulets and, when traveling, the tribe carried in a wooden box the figure with the skull. It is called by the same name, *xiol,* that today is used when referring to the Christian god, to ikons, or to saints.[121]

The extraordinary reverence here shown before the remains and mystery of an extraordinary man is but an effect, intensely focused, of a general sense of wonder before the mystery of the universe and of all things, which inspires the secular, as well as religious, modes of experience and action of the Paleo-Siberians. Bogoras found among the Chukchi the belief that every material object can act, speak, and walk by itself. Everything is spoken of as "having a voice." A stone endowed with a voice might roll down and crush a person against whom it had a grudge, or induce another person to pick it up and wear it as an amulet. The trees of the forest talk to one another. Both the rainbow and the sun's rays have "masters," who live above, on the highest part of the rainbow and at the place from which the sun's rays emanate, descending to earth along these paths of light. Even the shadows on the wall constitute definite tribes and have their own country, where they dwell in huts and subsist by hunting.

As Bogoras was told by a shaman of the Chukchi: "On the steep bank of a river there exists life. A voice is there and it speaks aloud. I saw the 'master' of the voice and spoke with him. He subjected himself to me and sacrificed to me. He came yesterday and answered my questions. The small gray bird with the blue breast sings shaman-songs in the hollow of the bough, calls her spirits, and practices shamanism. The woodpecker strikes his drum in the tree with his drumming nose. Under the ax the tree trembles and wails, like a drum under the baton. All these come at my call.

"All that exists lives. The lamp walks around. The walls of the house have voices of their own. Even the chamber-vessel has a separate land and house. The skins sleeping in the bags talk at night. The antlers lying on the tombs arise at night and walk in procession around the mounds, while the deceased get up and visit the living."[122]

It is because he hears the voices of the stones and trees that are speaking, unheard to us all, that the shaman does not live like other men in relation only to the appearances of things. Hearing their songs, he is led by them to the song within himself, through which he is sustained in a life inflated by the breath and winds of the unseen. The powers of which he thus becomes the vehicle may seem to be supernatural, but they are actually of nature itself. One thinks of the lines of the poet Wordsworth:

For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing often times
The still sad music of humanity,
Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
To chasten and subdue. And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.[123]

The really great and final function of the shaman, then, is that of representing to his people the voices of things, their masters, opening behind their mere appearances intuitions of a power unseen; so that, as the rocks and trees once spoke to *him* of that something "far more deeply interfused," *he* now speaks to his tribe of that *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* which has become so evidently the substance of his life that, even through the influence of his relics, it is able to sublimify theirs.

The living universe of the Chukchi is composed of planes both above and below the earth—variously, two, three, or four above, with equal numbers below. These planes are connected by a vertical succession of holes, culminating at the Pole Star. Through these the souls of the dead and spirits of shamans pass from one world to the next. Or one may ascend on a rainbow, on a ray of the sun, or in the smoke of one's funeral pyre; and there is also an alternate way, an exceedingly steep path toward the dawn. Some of these worlds have as many as eight suns. Game, when scarce on the earth, is abundant there, and when abundant here, is scarce there. The lowest plane is occupied by souls that have died twice; which is to say, are not only dead, but forgotten: these will never be reborn. There is a world in every direction of the compass (of which there are twenty-two); there is another under water; and on distant constellations there are those to which the clouds are the station stops.[124]

The power that pervades and sustains all this is imprecisely personified and variously named. Bogoras writes of it as similar to the *manitou* of the Algonquians and *wakanda* of the Sioux. It may be referred to as the Creator, the Zenith, Midday, and the Dawn; addressed in prayer as the Upper Being and the Outer One; known further as the Merciful Being, the Life-giving Being, and the Luck-bringing Being; it is also the Reindeer Being who looks after the herds. This power is specifically connected with the amulets and the images by which specific herds are protected. Also, in its character of the Luck-bringing Being, it may be represented as a raven—and here we see connections, on the one hand westward, to the seven raven-headed sons of the Old Man on High in the Yakut legend, and on the other hand eastward, to the mythological Raven of the tribes of the American North Pacific Coast.[125]

Big Raven, among the Koryak, both is and is not the Creator; for when the Creator becomes Big Raven by putting on his raven coat, he is then subordinate to himself as the Supreme Being. Moreover, there is a folktale character, the bird raven, known as Raven Man, or Raven, who, as Jochelson describes him, is "a droll and contemptible personage, who feeds on dog carcasses and excrement, and has nothing to do with the cult."[126] We remember here the ambiguity of Mantis in Bushman folktales.

Jochelson has discussed in detail the similarities in myth and custom of the Koryak and American Indian tribes—not only the nearby peoples of the North Pacific Coast, but also those of the interior: Athapascans, Algonquians, and even Iroquois. As he remarks:

"Nothing points so plainly to a very ancient connection between the Koryak and Indian mythologies as the similarity of the elements of which they are composed; for while some of the religous customs and ceremonies may have been borrowed in recent times, the myths reflect, for a very long time and very tenaciously, the state of mind of the people of the remotest periods. . . . We find in the Koryak myths elements of the raven cycle of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian; those of the cycle of tales about Mink of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes; of myths about wandering culture-heroes, totem-ancestors; and of tales about animals current among tribes of British Columbia; also myths of the Athapascan of the interior, and the Algonquin and Iroquois east of the Rocky Mountains."[127]



308. A Koryak shaman with his congregation and the great single-headed drum to the sound of which his spirit flies. Dwelling in a region with a population of one person per ten square kilometers, this little company represents a considerable piece of the northern part of Kamchatka. The landscape is rugged, the climate severe, vegetation consists of tundra or thin birch forest, and the principal occupations today are fishing—mostly for crab—fur hunting and reindeer herding.

Myths and Tales of the North Pacific and Arctic

The Great Kwakiutl Shaman Named Fool

I am a hunter of all kinds of animals, always paddling about for seals, which are what I want most; for I try out the oil from the blubber and sell it to my tribe for gravy. I have always killed lots of hair seals and so have never been poor. I used to be the principal doubter of shamans: what they said about curing the sick and about seeing people's souls. I would tell them out loud, they were lying. I would be sitting with those beating time for their curing ceremonies, and those shamans really hated me.

Well, I was out paddling for seals, one fine day, with the brave fellow named Leelameedenole who always served as my helmsman. Nothing ever frightened him, neither gales nor vicious animals, dangerous fish, or the sea monsters that we frequently see when hunting at night. That is why we have to have courageous fellows for our steersmen. I was paddling along at Axolis, when I saw a wolf sitting on a rock, scratching with both paws the two sides of his mouth. He whined as we approached and was not afraid of us; not even when I got out of my small traveling canoe and went to where he sat. He whined and I noticed that his mouth was bleeding. I looked in and saw a deer bone stuck crosswise between his teeth on both sides, very firmly. He was evidently expecting me to do something: either to kill him or to help him out of his trouble. So I said to him, "Friend, you are in trouble and I am going to cure you, like a great shaman—for which I expect you to reward me with the power to get easily everything I want, the way you do. Now you just sit still here while I fix up something to help me get rid of that bone." I went inland and picked up some twigs from a cedar tree which I twisted into a string, and when I returned the wolf was still sitting there on the rock with his mouth open. I took hold of the back of his head and put the string, thin end, into his mouth, tied it to the middle of the bone and pulled. Out came the bone. The wolf only sat staring at me. "Friend," I said, "your trouble is ended. Now don't forget to reward me for what I have just done for you."

When I had said that the wolf turned around to the right and trotted off—not fast. And he had gone only a little way when he stopped, turned his muzzle to me and howled—just once. He howled and went into the woods. I stepped into my small canoe and paddled away with my steersman. Neither of us spoke of the wolf. We paddled and anchored in a cove where no wind ever blows, called Foam-Receptacle; lay down in our small canoe, and our eyes immediately closed in sleep; for we had risen before daybreak and were very tired.



309. Wooden dance hat bearing the features of a wolf. Haida(?) The tower, composed of eight potlatch rings representing so many potlatchs, contains sacred white eagle down, which is thrown out during the dance by quick head movements of the performer.

And I dreamed, that night, of a man who came and spoke to me, saying, "Why did you stop here? Friend, this island is full of seals. I am Harpooner-Body, on whom you took pity today, and I am now rewarding you for your kindness, friend. From now on there will be nothing you want that you will not obtain. But for the next four years you must not sleep with your wife." I woke and called to my steersman. He rose and pulled up the anchor. We went ashore, where I washed in the sea and stepped back into the canoe, eager to see whether, as Harpooner-Body had said in my dream, there were actually a lot of seals on the rocks of the island. For I did not believe in dreams, or in shamans, or in any of the beliefs of my people; but only in my own mind. We paddled out before dawn and approached the rocky, treeless shore, which I beheld covered with seals, all tight asleep. I took my yew-wood seal club, stepped ashore and clubbed four big ones, while the rest tumbled off into the water. I put the four aboard, and we traveled home.

So now there was at least one thing in which I believed, namely the truth of Harpooner-Body's words, delivered to me in dream. And from that time on it was easy for me, when out hunting, to get seals and every other kind of game.

Two years later, in the summer of 1871, I went to Victoria with my three nephews, my wife, and their wives and children. Returning home in our large traveling canoe, we came to Rock Bay, on the north side of Seymour Narrows, and went ashore there. Stepping out of the canoe, my eldest nephew saw four nice boxes on the beach, full of very nice clothing, two bags of flour, and all kinds of food. We could see no one around who might own those things and so, carried them aboard and moved on. When we came to Beaver Cove, a northeast wind sprang up and we stayed there for six days. It was then ten days after we had found the box, and my whole company was now sick. In the morning we set off: it was calm. And when we arrived at Axolis we unloaded our cargo—all of us sick with the great smallpox, which had been contracted when we picked up the boxes. We all lay in bed in our tent. I saw that our bodies had swelled and were a dark red. I did not realize that the others were dead, but presently thought that I was dead. I was sleeping; but then woke because of all the wolves that were coming, whining and howling. Two were licking my body, vomiting up foam, trying hard to put it all over me; and they were rough when they turned me over. I could feel myself getting stronger, both in body and in mind. The two kept licking, and after they had licked off all that they had vomited, they vomited again; and when, again, they had licked this off, I saw that they had taken off all the scabs and sores. And it was only then that I realized that I was lying there among the dead.

Evening fell and the two wolves rested. I must have become afraid, being the only one alive there; for I crawled away, to the shelter of a thick spruce, where I lay all night. With no bedding and only the shirt I had on, I was cold. The two wolves approached and lay down on each side of me, and when morning came, got up and again licked me all over, vomiting up white foam and licking it off. I was getting stronger, and when strong enough to stand, I realized that one of those two wolves was the one from whose mouth I had taken the bone. All the others had remained in attendance too. And I now was, in fact, quite well. I lay down, and there came to me the figure that in my dream, in the place called Foam Receptacle, had told me that his name was Harpooner Body. He sat down seaward of me and nudged me with his nose until I responded by lying on my back, whereupon he vomited foam and pressed his nose against the lower end of my sternum. He was vomiting magic power into me, and when he had finished he sat back. I became sleepy and dreamed of the wolf that was still sitting at my side. In the dream he became a man, who laughed and said, "Now, friend, take care of this shaman power that has gone into you. From now on you will cure the sick, you will catch the souls of the sick, and you will be able to throw sickness into anyone in your tribe, who you wish should die. They will all now be afraid of you." That is what he said to me in my dream.

I woke and was trembling, and my mind, since then, has been different. All the wolves had left me, and I was now a shaman. I walked the way to Fern Point, where I remained alone for a long time in one of the seven abandoned houses there. On the way I met a man whom I told of the deaths of my whole crew, and he left me in fear and hurried home. I was not



depressed, but just kept singing my sacred songs, evening after evening, the four songs of the wolf. For I was just like someone drunk, completely happy, all the time. And I stayed there, at Fern Point, for more than the period of one moon.

A passing canoe-man heard my song, one evening, and spoke of it to the people at Teeguxtee; who immediately decided to invite the new shaman whose song had been heard to come and cure their sick chief, whose name was Causing-to-be-well. Meanwhile, the wolf had again appeared in my dream, warning me to make ready for the chief, who was indeed seriously ill. "You must suck out his sickness and fling it upward," he said to me in that dream. "When you are treating him do not apply your mouth more than four times." I woke and at once my body and stomach began to tremble. I sang my sacred song, and continued till late in the day, when I heard a number of men outside my house, talking. One whose name was Endeavoring-to-Invite said, "We have come to ask you, great treasured one, to have pity and to restore to life with your water of life our friend, our chief, Causing-to-be-well." They all got into their big traveling canoe, while Endeavoring-to-Invite, coming into my house, begged me to join them: which I did, and we proceeded to Teeguxtee.

When we arrived at the beach before Causing-to-be-well's house, not I, but the others, stepped ashore and, entering the building, built a fire in the middle of it, and, when it had been lighted, four shamans came out and summoned everybody to come in—men, women, and children—to watch the new shaman. They then came and called me, still sitting in the big canoe. I rose and walked with the four of them into the house, where the song leaders were already beating time for me. And there I saw, in the rear of the house, Causing-to-be-well, sitting on a mat. The rhythm of the beating quickened as I entered, the beating of the batons on the boards. My body and my belly started to tremble, and, standing in the doorway together with the four shamans, I sang my sacred song. Then I went to where Causing-to-be-well was sitting, the four shamans following, and I treated him as instructed by the wolf. And I have now, as my shaman name, the name Fool.[128]

310. Regalia and mask of a Tsimshian shaman arriving to cure a patient. To warn of his approach, he taps the ground with his carved staff. Hanging from his beaded necklace is a carved ivory soul-catcher; his crown is of twenty-two grizzly-bear claws; and with the rattle in his left hand he will accompany the hum of his curing song, which, as the curing spirits begin to appear (visible only to himself) will gradually grow louder. A helper (often the shaman's wife) will be beating a large box drum to the rhythm of the shaken rattle. And the song sung will be something like the following:

O Supernatural Power, I beg you to take pity and to cure this our friend.
O Supernatural Power, I implore you, take pity and remove this sickness of our friend.
Take pity, O Supernatural Power, that I may make this friend of ours to live again.
O Great Real Supernatural Power, Great Life-Bringer, Supernatural Power,
Help me to remove easily this sickness of our friend.

The payments to shamans for this kind of work are serious. According to Franz Boas, they include canoes, chilkat blankets, sea otters, slaves, houses, and the daughters of chiefs. The goods accumulate during the course of the cure as inducing payments to the spirits; but in the end, of course, they are carried away by the shaman.[17]

Folktales of the Maritime and Reindeer Koryak

Already by the end of the last century, the old myths of the Paleo-Siberians—the Yukaghir and the Chukchi, the Koryak and the Kamchadals—had disappeared, little more remaining than ill-told, fragmented folktales. Yet something of a long-forgotten mythological base can be discerned even through these. Moreover, analogous tales among the Eskimo and, more especially, the Indian tribes of the American North Pacific Coast, point back to a shared heritage—possibly from old Beringland—with elements also evident from the very much later East Asian, Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages. Recounted here for comparison are Koryak tales collected in 1900 and 1901, Eskimo stories from as far east as Greenland, and Raven episodes from the Indian tribes of the American North Pacific Coast.

Grass Woman's Abduction and Rescue

In this tale from the remotest northeast corner of Eurasia, it is difficult not to suspect a reflex of the distant Eleusinian legend of the wheat-goddess Persephone (here known as Grass Woman), who was abducted to the Underworld by the Lord of the Abyss, Hades (here appearing as Triton Man). But whatever the explanation may be, the Neolithic vegetation myth has in this story become incorporated in the context of an earlier, Paleolithic, shamanic tradition, centering on an ambiguous Creator and Trickster, known as Raven. As in Koryak folklore generally, so here, this figure is represented in two distinct, yet somehow related, characters: (1) Big Raven, who in Koryak tales represents primarily the "creator" aspect of the mythic being, and who, as "ancestor" of the Koryak, is known as Big Grandfather, Outer One, World, and Creator, and plays (or once played) an important part in religious observances; and (2) Raven Man, who represents primarily the Trickster aspect of the mythic being and is a more distinctly popular, inferior personification of the actual bird, the raven, represented as a greedy, droll, and contemptible, yet clever, magician. In the following folktale, he is shown to be a serviceable shaman, as well.

"Let us go to Big Raven," Gull Man said, "and serve for his two daughters." Raven Man agreed. And when they had served for some time, Big Raven said to Miti, his wife, "What shall we do? Shall we give them our daughters?" Miti consented, and so, Gull Man married Chanái-nyáut, and Raven Man, Yinyé-a-nyéut. Then Big Raven's son, Ememqut, said, "I, too, shall serve for a wife." And he went to the house of Root Man, whom he found at work making snowshoes.

Root Man looked up. "Oh, here's a visitor," he said. "Come in!" They went into the house, and though refreshments were brought out, Ememqut, impatient to announce his suit, ate very little. "I have come to serve for your daughter," he said. "All right," said Root Man, "you may stay."

The daughter's name was Grass Woman. They married and she bore a daughter. Then Ememqut told his father-in-law he would like to take his wife home, and Root Man gave them four driving-reindeer for the journey.

One day, when Grass Woman had gone to pick berries, she failed to return, and Ememqut looked everywhere. Gull Man told him that Triton Man had carried her off, and his father warned, "Don't follow her. You will be killed." "Oh, I'm not afraid to die," said Ememqut, and he set forth.

Triton Man was out with his reindeer herd when Ememqut walked into his tent, took Grass Woman by the hand, and started for home. But Triton Man immediately felt something and jumped to his feet. "How my heart flutters," he muttered. "Something has happened at home." He rushed to the tent. "Where is my wife?" he asked. "Ememqut took her," his mother replied. And he started after, overtook the couple, slew Ememqut, and carried Grass Woman back to his dwelling.

Big Raven waited long for his son, then said to his two sons-in-law." "Go out and look for your brother-in-law." They found the body and returned with it. "You must do something to revive him," Big Raven said. And Raven Man replied, "I'll try. But first you must kill a white reindeer."

Big Raven waited long for his son, then said to his two sons-in-law, "Go out and look for Raven Man ordered the meat removed and only the blood left on the hide. Then he took up a drum, and, when he had beat it several times, he poured some of the blood over Ememqut's head. The body stirred. Raven Man pressed bone marrow to the mouth. "Do you taste the sweetness of the marrow?" he asked. "No." Emequt responded. "It tastes like wood." Raven Man returned to the drum, poured more blood over Ememqut's head, and again gave him some marrow. "Do you taste the sweetness?" "Yes!" said Ememqut. "When I shot wild reindeer and ate the marrow of their bones, it was as sweet as what I taste now." "You have completely revived," said Raven Man. "You may rise."

However, the moment Ememqut got to his feet, he said, "I must set out again for my wife." "No!" his father urged. "Triton Man will again kill you." "I don't care if he does," said Ememqut; and he made away to Triton Man's place. "Come, Grass Woman, let's go!" he said. And again the couple made off. But Triton Man was again alarmed, ran home, heard the news, overtook the two, slew Ememqut, and cut him into small pieces. "This time you will not revive," he said; and taking hold of Grass Woman, he carried her back to his tent.

Big Raven waited long, and when Ememqut failed to return, sent his sons-in-law to find him. They came back with the body in pieces. "Well, Raven Man," said the father, "revive him!" "I don't know whether I can, but I'll try," said Raven Man. "You will have to kill two reindeer." He beat the drum, and when he had drummed for some time the pieces reunited. He again poured reindeer blood on the head and pressed bone marrow to the mouth. "It tastes like wood," said Ememqut. More drumming, another pouring of blood, and again the marrow: "Do you taste the sweetness?" "It is as delicious," came the answer, "as the marrow I used to take from the wild reindeer I killed." "You may rise," said Raven Man. "You are completely revived." And Ememqut stood up.

A third time the adventure was attempted, and a third time, Big Raven's son slain. Titon Man, this time, burned the body and flung the bones into various lakes. And Big Raven, a third time, sent his sons-in-law to the search. They found the ashes. Then Gull Man flew out over the lakes, dove into them, and, one by one, came up with Ememqut's bones.

The two returned to Big Raven, who a third time ordered his son revived. "This time, I can't" said Raven Man. "Oh, try!" Big Raven pleaded. "Well then," said Raven Man, "Let four white reindeer be killed." They were killed, and he beat his drum all day and night until at last the bones reunited and covered themselves with flesh. The blood was poured and the marrow put to the mouth. "Is it sweet?" "No," came the answer, "it is like wood." Raven Man again beat the drum, poured blood, and again asked about the marrow. "It is as sweet as the marrow from the leg bones of the wild reindeer I used to kill," Ememqut said; and up he stood, hale and well.

One whole day and Ememqut did not even mention his wife. Then he asked his father, "Should I not try again?" "No!" his father said. "Better go hunting!" So, next day, Ememqut went hunting, and when he had killed a wild reindeer, he lay down to rest beneath a stone-pine bush. And he had not been resting long when he heard a voice from underground, a child's voice. "Grandma, tell me a story." "What can I tell you?" an old woman's voice replied. "I don't know any stories, unless I tell you the one about Ememqut." "Well then, tell me that one," said the child.

"Triton Man," the old woman began, "carried Ememqut's wife away, and Ememqut took her back three times; but Triton Man overtook him each time and killed him." "And how is Ememqut going to get his wife back?" the child's voice asked, and the old woman replied: "He would be able to, if I told him how."

Ememqut searched beneath the stone-pine bush and found a hole leading to a house underground. Down he went and found old Spider Woman, who lived down there with her granddaughter. She greeted him and served him food, which, however, he did not touch. He only said to her, "You just told your granddaughter that you knew how Ememqut



Map 39. A full circle of taiga, tundra, and ice! Culturally, the Eurasian half differs from the American in that reindeer herding is there practiced, and racially, it is more various. Animal sacrifices, like those of the Koryak to mythical beings (see **304** on page 175), are unknown in the American Arctic, since they are functions of a herding-culture stage, where the animals offered are valued possessions. Life in both halves depends on meat, however, and their fundamental festivals are of petitions to the beasts. Furthermore, the shaman's drum resounds throughout, and there is everywhere an especial reverence for the bear.

The complexity of the Eurasian mixture follows from the number of its sources: first, Paleolithic Europe; next, the matrix (unidentified) from which the Paleo-Siberian races sprang; and finally, the Altai-Baikal region, whence migrants followed northward the Yenisei, Ob, and Lena valleys.

Whereas to the American Arctic there was but one gate, and as already noted (pages 34–36), after Beringland submerged there appeared in Alaska, c. 3000 B.C., a microlithic, small-tool industry, apparently of caribou hunters. By 1000 B.C. this Denbigh Flint complex had reached Greenland; and it was probably out of this base that the prehistoric Dorset Culture developed (c. 800 B.C. to A.D. 1200) in northeastern Canada and Greenland.

The Eskimo tradition emerged from a Bering Sea, seal-hunting culture, c. 500 B.C. By the first centuries A.D., influences were appearing in Scythian Ipiutak art (see pages 38–39). By A.D. 1200, this culture had reached Greenland, overlying the Dorset. In the next century the Norse arrived, and the circle was completed.

might get his wife back. I am Ememqut. Will you tell me?"

"'Go to Triton Man's place," Spider Woman said, "but do not take your wife. First, you must open the box that stands in a corner of the tent. In that box is Triton Man's heart. Take his heart out of the box, and when you have done that, carry it away."

Ememqut gave the old woman the reindeer he had just killed, and hastened home. Big Raven was lying down, but on seeing his son, he sat up. "Why so cheerful?" he asked. "You must have heard good news." "Spider Woman," Ememqut answered, "has just told me how to get my wife back." "Then try once more," Big Raven said, and Ememqut hurried away.

When he arrived at the tent, he opened the box, took out the heart, and when he had reached home with it, built a great fire into which he threw it. The moment it began to burn, Triton Man—who again was out watching his herd—felt ill; and when the heart was completely burnt up, he died.

Then Ememqut went and brought his wife back home, after which they lived quietly with Big Raven.[129]

When Raven Man Swallowed the Sun

In this amusing fragment of a larger tale, the negative aspect of the Trickster appears, but with a hint, also, of his cosmic role and power. In his service for a wife, he loses out to Little Bird Man, and in a pique creates a general disaster.

Raven Man and Little Bird Man went to Big Raven's place to serve for a wife. They both wanted to marry his elder daughter Yinyé-a-nyéut, but Little Bird Man won her hand. Some time later, when the couple had come to pay a visit to the bride's parents, it suddenly grew dark: someone had swallowed the sun. The second daughter, Chanái-nyáut, had a husband who claimed to be a shaman. Given a drum to beat, he tried his skill for a while and then cried, "I see! It's Raven Man! It's he who has swallowed the sun."

Yinyé-a-nyéut got up. "I'll go to him. I'll set it free," she said. She put on her reindeer-leather coat and went to Raven Man, whom she found in bed. He did not get up, but remained in silence so as not to open his mouth. Approaching, she said slyly, "I have left Little Bird Man. I have a longing for you." And, embracing him firmly, she tickled him under his arm. He laughed: his mouth had opened, the sun escaped, and again there was light.[130]

Glutton, the Cannibal Giant

The character of the Glutton, the Voracious One, or Gourmandizer, takes the form in the following story of a young giant whose original identity with the Raven Trickster becomes evident in the end, when he marries Yinyé-a-nyéut, who is normally Raven Man's wife. Significant is the identification of Glutton's belly with the Underworld. Yinyé-a-nyéut's release of a multitude from this belly is a counterpart to the medieval legend of Christ's Harrowing of Hell releasing from the Devil's keep the souls of the

Old-Testament patriarchs. It is analogous also to Yinyé-a-nyéut's release of the sun from Raven Man's mouth in the preceding tale. Or one may think of Little Red Riding Hood (the Sun-girl) released from the wolf's belly. For both in folktales and in major myths the great theme of the release of light, of life, or of innocent beings from the belly or keep of some evil power has been a universal favorite.[131]

Yinyé-a-nyéut was living alone, at that time, in the wilderness. Upstream was the young giant, Glutton, who had turned into a cannibal. He had devoured his mother, relatives, and neighbors, and was now going from village to village devouring the inhabitants. When he came to Big Raven's place, Yinyé-a-nyéut in her sleep saw him enter and eat Big Raven himself, Ememqut, and everyone else except Ememquet's wife, Grass Woman, whom he then married.

When Yinyé-a-nyéut woke, she hurried to her father's village, where there was no one; then to Glutton's place, where Grass Woman was alone. She had turned into a cannibal and threatened to kill her sister-in-law and feed her to her husband; but her intended victim contrived to extract her cannibal stomach and return her to her senses.

"What brought you here?" Grass Woman then asked. "When my husband returns, he will kill you." "Let him," said Yinyé-a-nyéut, "since he has already eaten my father, mother, and brothers!" Grass Woman hid her inside a bead, and presently Glutton was heard arriving outside, dragging a dead man on a sledge.

He shouted, "Grass Woman, come out!" She went out and unloaded the sledge. "Why don't you exclaim over the catch?" he asked. "I am pleased," she replied, "but have just eaten." They hauled the body into the house and stowed it with many others. Then Glutton cut off a head to fry, and Yinyé-a-nyéut, watching from her place in the bead, saw that it was her father's.

Glutton sniffed the air. "It smells of human flesh here," he said. From within her bead Yinyé-a-nyéut whispered to Grass Woman, "Let him eat me. I'll revive all those he has killed." So Grass Woman drew her out and threw her to the cannibal, who devoured her at once.

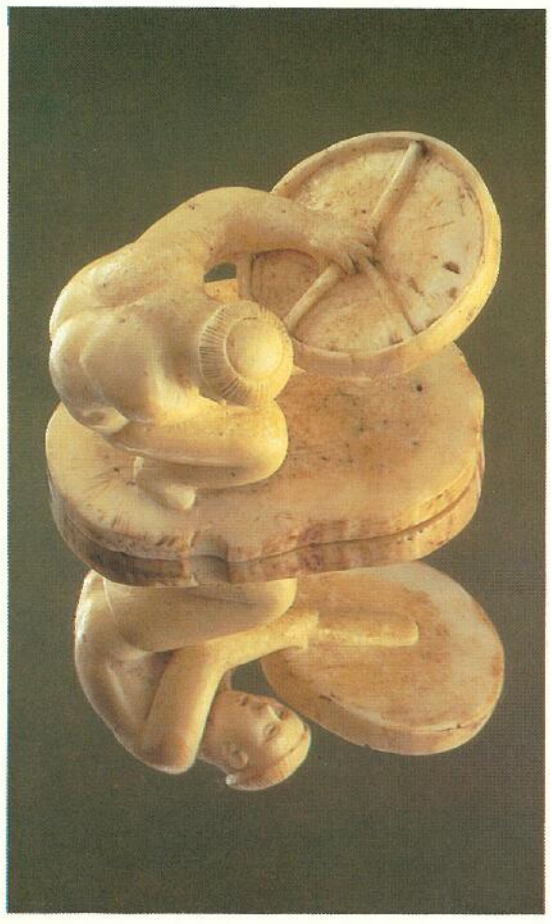
Yinyé-a-nyéut found herself in the Underworld, with all her relatives and the others he had killed. "Hurry!" she cried. "Before the sides of the road come together!" She turned, they followed, and when Glutton, next morning, set out on his daily hunt, they all came up from underground into his house, filling it so full that the walls were pushed apart. And when Grass Woman saw among them her father and former husband, she said, "Why have you all come back? Glutton will eat you again." "Never mind!" Yinyé-a-nyéut answered. "Let him eat!"

Presently he arrived, and when he saw the multitude, he shouted, "What a lot of meat I shall have!" But Yinyé-a-nyéut walked up to him and with an iron hook pulled out his cannibal stomach, and he became sane. The people who had returned from underground departed for their homes. Glutton married Yinyé-a-nyéut, and at first would eat only once a month, but later he ate all kinds of food, as of old.[132]

How Universe the Supreme Being Makes Rain

Universe, the Koryak Supreme Being, and his wife, Rain Woman or Supervisor Woman, dwell in a heaven-village inhabited by people of the sky. Big Raven, dwelling on earth, is an aspect of this heavenly power. In the following tale, Universe and Big Raven are seen as separate; for, like the Father and Son of the Christian tradition, though theologically of "one substance," mythologically they are "two persons."

The following tale might be told to put a stop to rain or to a snowstorm. It was not to be told in fair weather.



311. Koryak shaman beating his drum. Walrus-ivory carving from the Chukchi Peninsula. Photographed reflected. Height, 2½ inches. Carried away on the sound of his drum, the shaman's spirit is said to ride on the animal whose hide has been stretched over the drum-frame. The drumstick is then his knout or whip. And lest his body, too, be carried away and possibly not return, the shaman is sometimes bound while in trance. The Northern Lights may be the flashing of shaman spirits somewhere in combat.

One time, when Big Raven was living on earth, it rained for so long that everything he owned got wet, his clothes and provisions began to rot, and his underground house filled with water. At last he said to his eldest son, Ememqut, "Universe must be doing something up there. Let us fly up and see." They went outside, put on their raven coats, and flew to Universe's place, where they heard the sound of a drum from within. It was Universe who was drumming. His wife, Rain Woman, was beside him. He had cut off her vulva and hung it on the drum; he had also cut off his own penis and was using it as a drumstick; and when he beat the drum, water poured from the vulva as rain.

When Universe saw Big Raven coming in, he hid the drum, and the rain stopped. Big Raven said to Ememqut, "The rain has stopped; we can leave." They went out, the drumming resumed, and the rain poured down as before. They returned, Universe put away his drum, and the rain stopped. Big Raven whispered to his son, "We'll pretend to go, but hide and see what they are doing." Then he said to Universe, "This time we're really going." Pretending to leave, the two turned into reindeer hairs and lay on the floor. They saw Universe ask his wife for the drum, she gave it to him, he beat it, and the rain poured as before.

Big Raven said to Ememqut, "I'm going to make them fall asleep. You watch where they put the drum and stick." Immediately, Universe and his wife fell asleep. Big Raven took the drum and stick and roasted them over the fire until they were dry and crisp, then returned them to their places and broke the sleeping spell. Universe picked up and beat the drum, but the more he beat it, the finer the weather became, until there was not a cloud in the sky. Universe and his wife then went to bed.

"Now," Big Raven said to his son, "let us really go home." The clear weather continued for days, but they had no luck in their hunting either of sea mammals or of reindeer. Everybody was starving because Universe was sleeping. "I'm going back to see what he's doing now," said Big Raven, as he again put on his raven coat and flew.

"We're now having very good weather," he told Universe when he arrived, "but everybody's starving. We can't find any game." "That's because I'm not looking after my children," Universe replied. "Go back home. From now on you'll have good hunting." Big Raven left, and when his sons thereafter went hunting, they got sea mammals and wild reindeer. Big Raven pulled from the ground the post to which his dogs were tied, and out came a whole herd of reindeer. He sacrificed many of these to Universe, and after that, he had only good luck in his hunting.[133]

Eskimo Tales

The uniformity of the Eskimo culture over its whole reach from Bering Strait to Greenland has been frequently remarked. However, a certain differentiation has also been remarked, east and west of the Mackensie River. A linguistic distinction pertains to these areas, the Inupik dialect

being spoken in the east, and the Yupik in the west. Moreover, influences from both Asia and the neighboring North American Indian tribes are significantly stronger in the west than in the east; and these find expression, as Franz Boas observed, "in a higher development of decorative art, in the occurrence of a few inventions unknown to the eastern Eskimo (such as pottery and the use of tobacco), and in religious observances, beliefs, and current tales not found in more eastern districts."[134] The tales of the following brief selection are chiefly from the eastern zone: Greenland, Baffin Land, Labrador, and Hudson Bay; the last two are from the northern slope of Alaska.

When the Earth Was Made

From a Polar Eskimo of Smith Sound, at the northernmost point of the western coast of Greenland, comes the following extraordinary recollection of an ancient cosmology. "Those who lived long before our day did not know how to store their words in little black marks, as you do," Rasmussen was told by the narrator. "They could only tell stories. And they told many things, and therefore we are not without knowledge of these things, which we have heard told many and many a time, since we were little children."[135]

A long, long time ago, when the earth was to be made, it dropped from the sky; earth, hills, and stones came down and thus the earth was made.

And when the earth had been made, came men. It is said that they came from the earth. From among the willow bushes, out of the ground came little children all covered with willow leaves, and there they lay among the bushes, lay and kicked, for they could not even crawl. And they got their food from the earth.

Then there is something told about a man and a woman: something not clearly known. When did they find each other? Where had they grown up? The woman sewed, made children's clothes, wandered forth and found the little ones, dressed them, and brought them home. And in this way men became many.

Being many, they desired dogs. So a man with a dog leash in hand stamped on the ground crying "Hok—hok—hok!" And the dogs came hurrying, each from its tiny mound, and violently shook themselves. For their coats were full of sand.

In those days, a long, long time ago, nothing was known of death. Children were born and grew to be old; and they were increasingly many on the earth, until at last they could neither walk nor lie down. They went blind. Nor did they know the sun: they lived in the dark. There was light only inside their houses, where they burned water in their lamps; for in those days water would burn.

Then there came from the sea a mighty flood. Many were drowned, and men became fewer. The marks of that flood can still be seen on the high hilltops, where mussel shells are found. And when men had thus become fewer, two old women debated: "Better to be without day," said one, "if thus we may be without death." "No," said the other, "let us have both light and death." And as she spoke, it was so: light came, and death.

It is said that when the first man died, others covered the body with stones, but the body, not rightly knowing how to die, tried to come back. It stuck out its head and tried to get up, but an old woman thrust it back, saying: "We have much to carry and our sleds are small." For the people were about to set out on a hunting journey. Having got light, they were able to go on journeys and to hunt. They had no longer to eat of the earth. And with death came also the sun, the moon, and stars; for when men die, they ascend to the sky and become brightly shining things up there.[136]

Sun Sister and Moon Brother

The action of these Eskimo tales is not assigned to the timeless Dream Time of a true Mythological Age, but, to quote again Franz Boas: "The general conditions of life supposed to prevail at the time of the story are the same as the conditions of life at the present time."[137] This fact results in such incongruities as those in the following tale, where, before there were sun and moon, there were already daylight and night. Likewise, in tales such as "The Old Woman, Sedna, of the Sea," where seals and whales are produced from Sedna's finger joints, they are not the first of their kind. As Boas states of these legends, "The animals created are rather individuals than the first of their species."[138] The version here reproduced of the Sun Sister and Brother Moon adventure is from the Central Eskimos of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay; it was published in 1888 by Franz Boas.

A brother and sister lived in a large village in which there was a big singing house where the sister and her friends went every night to enjoy themselves. One time, when the lights had been extinguished, a youth approached unseen and made love to her. This then happened several evenings, until finally she decided to find out who her unseen lover was. In the soot of the fire she blackened the palms of her hands and that night, when receiving his embrace, left the mark of her palms on his back. When the lamps were again lighted, she was appalled to see that he was her brother. She cut off her breasts and flung them at him with the words, "Since you relish me, eat these." She then fled from his pursuit about the room, and as they ran they were elevated to the sky. She became the sun, he the moon, with her black handprints still upon him. Occasionally he catches her, and then there is an eclipse.[139]

The Old Woman, Sedna, of the Sea

"Evidently," remarked Boas in 1888, "this tale is known to all the tribes from Greenland westward to Alaska, since fragments have been recorded in many places."[140] Robert F. Spencer, on the other hand, in northern Alaska some seventy years later (1959), found that "no ramifications of this myth, or the tale in any form of the goddess of the sea could be tracked down in the area."[141] W. Bogoras, among the Paleo-Siberian Chukchi in c. 1900, found a counterpart of the Eskimo Sedna in a sea-goddess known as Mother of the Walrus. She was supposed to have had two walrus tusks originally, but one had been recently broken, and this had so incensed her that she had thereafter reduced the game supply. When the second tusk is broken, all game will disappear from the surface of the earth. (There was also a Chukchi Reindeer Master with one eye closed, who had diminished the reindeer supply. When the other eye closes, the reindeer will disappear.) Bogoras discovered, among these people, the legend of a girl who was tossed overboard and whose fingers were chopped off; but she was not identified by the Chukchi with their Walrus Mother, as she is identified in the Eskimo legend with Sedna.[142] There was thus, at one time, a continuous province of the mythology of this sea-goddess extending from the Chukchi Peninsula to Greenland. She is known in Greenland as the Food Dish. And that she was once present in Alaska we know from a report published in 1886.[143] Her disappearance from the Barrow area, therefore, may be due to the success there of the Presbyterian mission, which has completely broken the power of her attendants, the local shamans, the last of whom died in 1939.[144] The folklore of the area now has the character, rather, of wonder-tales told for entertainment during the long winter night, than of myth.[145]

The best-known version of the legend of this old sea-goddess features a refusal-of-suitors motif. In folk traditions generally, and in those of North America especially, such a refusal of suitors is followed inevitably by a supernatural courtship.

Sedna, beautiful and proud, lived alone with her widowed father on a solitary Arctic shore and spurned every suitor who came to her. One springtime day, therefore, at the time of the breaking of the ice, a fulmar [an Arctic sort of seagull] came flying over the ice floes with a flattering song that seduced her. "Oh, come with me to the land of birds, where there is never hunger. My tent is made of the most beautiful skins. Your lamp will always be filled with oil, your pot with meat, you will rest on the softest bearskins, and my comrades will clothe you warmly with their feathers." She could not resist, and joined him in flight over the ice floes. His tent, however,

was of broken fishskins, his bed of walrus hides; and there was no pot of meat, only miserable fish from the beaks of birds.

"Oh my father," Sedna sang, "if you knew my sorrow, you would take me away in your boat!"

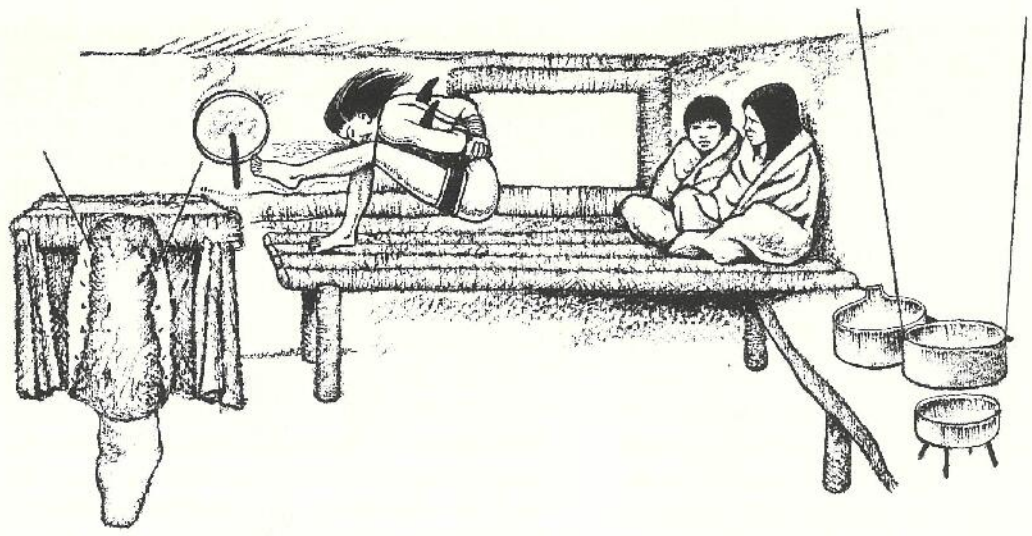
Next spring, her father arrived in his boat, and when he saw the condition of his daughter, he killed the fulmar, took her aboard, and paddled for home. However, the fulmars very soon discovered their comrade slain and cried in mourning as they have been crying ever since. Then they flew, still crying, in pursuit of the fleeing couple, and conjured up such a terrible storm that the father and daughter in the tossing boat were in danger of their lives. And it was then that the ugly miracle occurred which transformed those two into underworld powers.

The father, in terror, to appease his pursuers, threw his daughter overboard, but she clung to the edge of the boat. He chopped off the first joints of her fingers, which fell into the sea and became whales. He chopped off the second joints, which fell into the sea and became seals. She continued to cling, so he chopped off her hands, which fell into the sea and became ground seals. The storm then subsided, for the fulmars thought she had drowned. And the father took his daughter back into the boat.

But she now bore him such resentment that when they had landed home and he had fallen asleep, she called her dogs, and they gnawed off his feet and hands. Waking in a fury, he so roundly cursed his daughter, and himself that the earth opened and swallowed the hut, daughter, father, dogs, and all. And they have lived ever since in the place down there called Adlivun.[146]

Sedna sits in her dwelling, alone in front of a lamp beneath which is a vessel to receive the oil that continually flows from it. And it is either from this vessel or from the dark interior of her house that she sends forth the animals of the hunt. When angry, however, she withholds them and people starve. The Greenland Eskimos ascribe her anger to a plague of filthy parasites that fasten themselves to her head and are called by a name that means "abortions" or "dead-born children." As these accumulate, she becomes wrathful and withholds her herds, at which time it becomes the task of the *angakok,* the shaman, to go down to her and relieve her of her pain.

The Eskimos' earth plane of land and sea rests, like a vast table, upon four pillars. Above is the solid vault of the sky, revolving around a pivotal high mountain in the farthest north. Above the sky there is a land of mountains, valleys, and lakes, and below the earth another such land, which can be entered either by way of the sea or through certain mountain clefts. The shaman going to meet Sedna will first have his body tied with thongs. He then invokes his guardian spirits and his soul departs. The perils of the way are: first, a



312. Eskimo shaman preparing for a spirit flight, bound head to knees and hands behind. Bird wings are fastened to his back. His drum is beating itself. From an Eskimo drawing collected by Rasmussen.

passage through the region of the happy dead; next, the crossing of an abyss on the flat of an ever-turning wheel, as slippery as ice; next, a boiling kettle full of ferocious seals; and, at the entrance to the Old Woman's house itself, the seals and dogs by which it is guarded. Beyond these there is the crossing of a second gorge on a bridge as narrow as the edge of a knife. Other dangers are a large burning lamp, two rocks that strike together, and a pelvis bone. The task of the shaman, finally, on arrival, is to free the Old Woman's head of the unconfessed abortions that infest it and are the whole occasion of her anger.[147]

The Fox Wife

From the Eskimo of the Ungava district, Labrador, comes the following folktale, recorded in the 1890s, which is of a type known to scholarship as the Mysterious Housekeeper: Men find their house mysteriously put in order and discover that it is done by a girl, frequently an animal transformed into a girl.[148] The plot and action are certainly not of Eskimo invention, but originally from Asia—possibly Southeast Asia or Indonesia. Variants are distributed through Europe and Africa, as well as through both North and South America. There is a charming Japanese version, "The Crane's Wife," which the playwright Junji Kinoshita has turned into a popular children's theater piece, *The Twilight Crane.*[149]

A hunter, returning to his lodge, found it nicely put in order, as it would have been if he had had a wife. A hot meal was ready to be eaten. His leather clothing and boots had been cleaned and hung out to dry. Yet there were no tracks or signs to suggest who might have done these things. The next day, likewise, and so, too, the next; until the hunter determined to learn by ruse who this was that was being so attentive to his needs. He went out, as though as usual to go hunting, but circled back and hid in the brush within sight of the entrance to his lodge.

Presently there came a fox that trotted in through the entrance, in quest—he suspected—of food. When it did not reappear, he cautiously approached the lodge and, on entering, saw a very beautiful young woman, dressed in skin clothing of wondrous make, and the skin of a fox hanging on a line. The man's entrance startled her, and he asked if it was she who had done these kind things, the past days. She replied that she was his wife and that to do these things was her duty; she only hoped that they had been done as he would have wished.

She then remained with him, and when they had lived together a number of days, the man detected a musty odor about the lodge and asked what it might be. She replied that the odor was hers and that if he was going to find fault with her because of it, she would leave. Throwing off her clothing, she resumed her fox-skin, slipped quietly away, and has never served any man since.[150]

The Wild Goose Wife

From the northwesternmost corner of Greenland, Smith Sound, some 900 miles from the North Pole, there comes this classic rendition (though with an ugly ending) of the folktale of the Swan Maidens: A man sees on a lake some geese who have taken off their feathers and become women. He steals the feathers of one, and the rest fly away as geese. She remains and marries him, but one day finds her feathers when she and her children fly away as geese.[151] Like the Fox Wife tale, this is not an invention of the Eskimo, but an importation from Asia—possibly first known in Central Asia. In the Arabian *Thousand Nights and One Night,* there are two fine examples: "The Story of Janshah" (Tale 131 b) and "Hassan of Bassora and the King's Daughter of the Jinn" (Tale 155). It is the fairytale of Tchaikovsky's popular ballet, *Swan Lake,* and in medieval India, it provided the inspiration for the episode of the trickster hero Krishna's stealing the Gopis' clothes.

A hunter once came to a lake upon which a

number of wild geese had descended. They removed their feather garments, and became young women bathing. Approaching stealthily, he gathered up the feather cloaks and hid, so that when the bathers came ashore they were dismayed. He then returned all the cloaks but one, whose owner, when the others had flown, became his wife.

They lived together some years, and she bore two children. But when her husband was away one day, she found some wings which she hid among the skin coverings of the walls, and when he was next away, she put these on herself and her two children and together, away they flew.

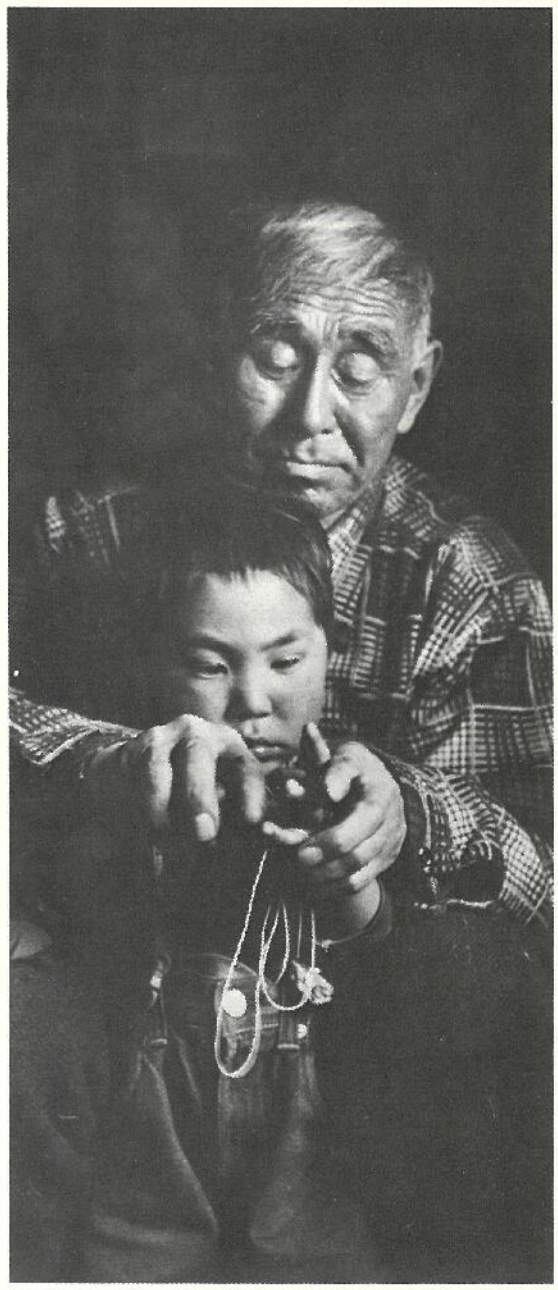
They were already far away, when the husband, returning, realized what had happened and decided to follow and recover them. He walked along the beach, and when he had walked for many days, saw before him a large man chopping with an axe and making of the great chips that flew walruses and seals. The man listened to his story and proposed to take him in his boat to the land of birds, but with the warning to keep his eyes shut all the way. There were times when he greatly wanted to look, but he was warned and reminded constantly, until finally they landed on a shore.

It was the children who first saw him coming. They ran and told their mother, who was incredulous, for they had flown, she thought, much too far for him ever to reach them. She refused to come out to see him, and when he walked into her tent, she feigned death. He took her out, buried her, covered the grave with stones, went back into the tent, and pulled down his hood in mourning. However, his wife, alive, broke out of the grave, strode into the tent, and began pacing about, when he took up his spear and killed her. A great many geese came down around him, and he killed them. But his two boys, meanwhile, had fled.[152]

The Raven Who Wanted a Wife

This piece and the two that follow are from the Old North Pacific Raven Cycle. In the first, from Upernavik in northern Greenland, the Trickster appears in his inferior character as the impudent, greedy bird, very like Raven Man of the Koryak; whereas, in the following two pieces, from Barrow, Alaska, he is in human form but with a raven's beak, like the Paleo-Siberian Big Raven in his higher role of the Creator—or more precisely, not the Creator, but the World Transformer, since the world was already in being when he arrived to reshape it. Noteworthy in these tales are: the virgin-birth motif; conception through the mouth; the origin of light (that is, of daylight-consciousness) through the accident of an infant's play; and the use of a spear to fix the earth upon the cosmic waters, this last being a motif prominent in the early Japanese cosmogony of the *Kojiki*.

A little sparrow was mourning for her lost husband, of whom she was very fond, for he caught worms for her. And as she sat there weeping, a raven came up to her and asked,



313. In western Alaska, an Eskimo grandfather teaches cat's cradle figures to his granddaughter. Compare the young Bushman girl exhibiting a cradle (**181** on page 101).

"Why are you weeping?" "I am weeping for my lost husband. I was fond of him because he caught worms for me," said the sparrow. And the raven said, "One who can hop over high blades of grass should not be weeping. Take me for a husband. I have a fine high forehead, broad temples, a long beard, and a big beak. You will sleep under my wings and I shall give you lovely offal to eat." "I will not take you for my husband," she said, "for you have a high forehead, broad temples, a long beard, a big beak, and will give me offal to eat." So the raven flew away.

He went to seek a wife among the wild geese. He was so lovesick that he could not sleep. But when he came to the wild geese, they were about to fly off to other lands. The raven said to two of them, "Seeing that a miserable sparrow has refused me, I will have you." "We are just about to fly away," said the geese. "I'll go too," said the raven. "But consider," they warned. "No one can go with us who cannot swim on the surface of the sea; for along the way we go there are no icebergs." "That's nothing," said the raven. "I shall sail through the air." And the wild geese flew away, the raven with them.

Very soon the raven felt himself sinking from weariness and lack of sleep. "Something to rest on!" he cried, gasping; and to his two wives "Sit on the water, side by side!" They did so, while their comrades flew on. The raven settled down on them and fell asleep. But they saw the other geese flying farther and farther away, and so dropped that raven into the water, and flew off. "Something to rest on!" the raven again gasped, as he met the water, sank to the bottom, and drowned. After a while his body broke into little pieces, and his soul turned into those little black mollusks that are known as "sea ravens."[153]

In the Beginning: Two Tales

In the beginning there was only darkness and a woman living with her father at the edge of the sea. She went out one time to get water, and, while scraping snow together, saw a feather floating toward her from the sea. She opened her mouth, it floated in, she swallowed it, and became pregnant. When the baby was born, it had a raven's beak, and the woman tried to find toys for it. There was a blown-up bladder hanging in her father's house, and the child, whose name was Raven, continually pointed at it and cried for it. At last she took it down and let him have it; but in playing, he broke it, and immediately there was light. When the father came home, he scolded. But Raven had disappeared.[154]

Men say that the world was made by Raven. He is a man with a raven's beak. When the ground came up from the water it was drawn up by Raven. He speared down into it, brought up the land, and fixed it into place.

The first land was a plot of ground hardly bigger than a house. There was a family in a house there: a man, his wife, and their little son. This boy was Raven. One day he saw a sort of bladder hanging over his parents' bed. He begged his father for it, again and again, but his father always said, "No!" until finally, he gave in. While playing, Raven broke the bladder, and light appeared. "We had better have night too," said the father, "not just daylight all the time." So he grabbed the bladder before the little boy could damage it further. And that is how day and night began.

Now the father had a kayak. "There is more land far away," he said, and Raven asked to be allowed to go there. At first his father said, "No!" but then agreed to let him go. The boy paddled a long time, and finally came to a place in the sea where there was land bobbing up and down on the water. It would rise and then sink. He was afraid and slowed up. As he watched, the land rose, then sank, then rose again. He had his spear in the kayak, and when the land again came up, he speared and held it fast with the lead rope. This secured it, and getting out of his kayak, he walked around upon its surface. The place where that was done is to this day called Umiat, "the landing place" [Colville River, 69° 30'N, 152° 16'W]. After the land had become fixed, the sea began to move away and there was dry ground all around. So it was because of Raven that people are now able to live in this world.[155]

Four Raven Episodes from the American North Pacific Coast

The Paleo-Siberian thrust eastward into America was carried by the Eskimo along the Arctic Coast to Greenland, and by Indian tribes both southward along the Pacific Coast and southeastward into the continental interior. Only in the interior was the role of Raven taken over by other trickster figures: in the Woodlands by the Great Hare, and on the Plains by Coyote. In the Arctic, his adventures are recalled in folktales half-remembered, while on the Pacific Coast, the full mythology survives, reflected in works of an extraordinary art and enacted in great, masked, mid-winter ceremonials.

He Whose Voice Is Obeyed

The Haida of the Queen Charlotte Islands know Raven as He-Whose-Voice-Is-Obeyed. A distinction is made, however, between the cosmogonic legends of the first portion of his story and the tales of his trickster adventures. The first portion is called "The Old Man's Story," and the chiefs permit no laughter when its legends are recited.

Not long ago there was no land to be seen. Then there was a little thing on the ocean. The rest was all open sea. Raven sat upon this little thing. "Become dust!" he said, and it became the earth.[156]

The Greater and the Lesser Raven

The two aspects of Raven are held distinct by the Tlingit: one, as Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass (the Nass River), and the other, as Raven. (Compare Big Raven and Raven Man of the Koryak, pages 182–183.)

At the beginning of things there was no daylight; the world was in darkness. At that time there was Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass with the sun, moon, stars, and, dwelling in his house along with daylight, two old men: Old-Man-Who-Foresees-All-Trouble-in-the-World and He-Who-Knows-Everything-that-Happens. In darkness, underneath the world, was Old-Woman-Underneath.

Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass brought mankind into existence. He undertook to make people out of a rock and, at the same time, out of a leaf; but the rock was slow, and the leaf, quick; therefore, human beings are from the leaf. Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass showed the leaf to the new race and said: "You see this leaf. You are to be like it. When it falls from its branch and rots, there is nothing left of it." So death came into the world.

Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass had a sister, the mother of many children, who all died young because of her brother's wish that she should not bear any male offspring. [Compare the Greek Kronos and Rhea; also, the Hindu Kansa and Devaki, uncle and mother of the Savior, Krishna.] Advised by Heron, the woman circumvented her brother by swallowing a redhot stone. [Inversion of Rhea's giving the stone to Kronos.] From this she conceived and gave birth to Raven, who was hard as rock and so tough that he could not be killed. Raven-at-the-Head-of-Nass made this second Raven head man over the world.[157]

Raven Becomes Voracious

Throughout this episode and the following, both from the Raven Cycle of the Tsimshian, there is an atmosphere of shamanic magic and wonder that is far stronger than anything surviving to us either from the Chukchi or from the Eskimo. It is possible that we have something here of the quality of the Paleo-Siberian originals, adapted to the landscape and sociology of Queen Charlotte Sound.

At the time when all was darkness, the animals lived in a village named Kungalas, on the southern point of the Queen Charlotte Islands. A chief and his wife resided there with their only child, a little boy, for whom the chief built a bed above his own in the rear of his large house. When the boy had grown to young manhood, he fell suddenly ill and died and when the chief, in his great sorrow, had invited all the animals to his house, he ordered the boy's body laid out, and said to the attendants, "Take out his intestines." They were removed and burned at the rear of the house, and the body was then laid to rest in the bed that the father had built above his own.

The chief and his wife mourned every day at dawn beneath the body of their dead son, and the whole tribe wailed with them, until one morning, early, the chief's wife rose, climbed up to the bed, and there saw a youth, bright as fire, where the body of her son had been. She roused her husband. "Our beloved child has returned to life," she said; and the chief went to the foot of the ladder that reached to the place where the body had been laid, climbed up, and said, "Is it you, my beloved son?" "Yes," replied the shining youth. "It is I."

When the people entered to participate in the wailing, they were amazed at what they saw. The youth spoke to them. "Heaven was much annoyed by your constant wailing, so He sent me down to comfort your minds." The tribe was indeed comforted; and the chief and his wife loved their glorious son now more than ever. However, the shining youth never ate. He would only chew a little fat, but swallow nothing. His parents tried to give him food, but he declined and lived without it. Then one day he went alone for a walk, and while he was out, the chief ascended the ladder to the bed, and—behold!—there lay the corpse of his earlier son. Nevertheless, he and his wife continued to love the new arrival.

The chief and his wife had two big slaves, a miserable man and wife called Mouth-at-Each-End, who every morning brought to the house all kinds of food to eat. One day, when the chief and his wife had gone out on a round of visits to the tribe, these two brought in a large cut of whale meat, threw it on the fire and were eating it, when the shining youth approached and asked what it was that made them so hungry. "We are hungry," they replied, "because we have eaten scabs from our shin bones." "Do you like what you eat?" he asked; and the man replied, "Yes, my dear." "I should like to try those scabs myself," said the youth; and the woman broke it: "No, no, my dear! Don't wish to be as we are!" "I'll just taste," the youth said, "and then spit it out." So the male slave cut off a small piece of the whale meat and put into it a small scab. The woman scolded, "Oh, you bad man! What are you doing to our poor prince?" The youth put the piece into his mouth, tasted, spit it out, then left the two, and returned to his bed. When the chief and his wife came back from their tribal visits, the mother went to the bed and the prince said to her, "Mother, I am hungry." "Oh, dear!" she said, "Is it true, is it true?" and she ordered the slaves to prepare rich food. They did so, and he ate it all. Still he was hungry; the slaves prepared more food and gave it to him, and then more and more.

This went on for several days, until all the provisions in the chieftain's house had been eaten. Then the prince began to go about from house to house consuming whatever could be found. Very soon the chief realized that the provisions of his tribe were almost exhausted, and was ashamed. He called the people to his large house and said, "I am going to send my child away before he consumes everything we have." They agreed; and the father summoned his son bidding him sit in the rear of the great room. "My dear son," he said, "I am going to send you inland, to the other side of the ocean." He gave the shining youth a small round stone, a raven blanket, and a dried sea-lion bladder filled with berries of all kinds. "When you are flying across the ocean and feel weary, drop this round stone on the sea and rest upon it; and when you reach the mainland, scatter these fruits over the land; scatter also the salmon and trout roe in all the rivers and brooks, so that you may not lack food as long as you live in this world."

Then the youth started out. And his father named him Giant.[158]

Raven Steals Light from Heaven

Giant flew eastward and, presently tiring, dropped the little stone that had been given him. It became a large rock, far out at sea, upon which he rested, removing his coat. There was no light in the world at that time. He resumed the raven coat and flew on, reached the mainland at the mouth of the Skeena River, and there scattered the salmon and trout roe, saying as he let it fall, "Let every creek and river have every kind of fish!" From the sea-lion bladder he then scattered the fruits over the land saying, "Let every mountain, hill, valley, plain, and the whole land, be full of fruits!" It was very dark. When the sky was clear there was only a little light from the

stars; and Giant, thinking it would be hard for him to find food if it remained that way, remembered that there had been light in the heaven from which he had originally come.

The following day he put on his raven coat and flew upward, came to the hole in the sky, and went through it. Removing the coat, he left it near the hole in the sky and, going on, came to a spring, not far from the house of the chief of heaven, where he sat himself down and waited. The chief's daughter presently appeared with a little bucket in which to fetch water, and when Giant saw her coming, he transformed himself into a cedar leaf floating on the surface. She dipped it up in her bucket and drank, then returned to her father's house, and in due time, gave birth to a son.

The chief and his wife were delighted. The boy began to grow and to creep about. He was strong, and they raised him with great care. But he was continually crying, "Hama! Hama!" This troubled the chief, and he invited his wise men to interpret the child's crying. What he wanted, the chief was told, was to play with a box that was hanging in one corner of the building. This was the box in which daylight was kept. Its name was Mā, and Giant had known of it before.

The chief, on learning of his grandchild's desire, ordered the box to be taken down and placed by the fire. Immediately the boy stopped crying, sat down beside it, and pushed it about. Sometimes he would carry it to the door. For four days he played with the box this way, until the chief stopped paying attention. Then he picked it up, put it on his shoulders, and ran out with it. Someone shouted: "Giant is running off with the Mā." But he came to the hole in the sky, put on the raven coat, and flew. The hosts of heaven returned to their houses, and Giant descended into this world with the Mā.

He came down near the mouth of the River Nass, and with the box intact went upstream in the dark. Then he heard a noise of people out in their canoes, catching olachen in bag nets. He sat on the shore and called to them, "My dear people, throw me something of your catch." Recognizing him, they called back, "Where did *you* come from, great liar?" "Throw me something of your catch," he called again, "or I'll break the Mā!" They made fun of him: "Where did you get what you are talking about, you liar?" Twice more he called; twice more they mocked him; and when he had said his say four times, he broke the Mā, and there was daylight in the world.

A great gale then blew from the north, and all those people who had made fun of Giant could be seen to be frogs being blown downstream. They were blown to a mountainous island where, when they sought to make their way up the rocks, they became stuck, frozen to stone by the wind—and they can be seen there still.[139]

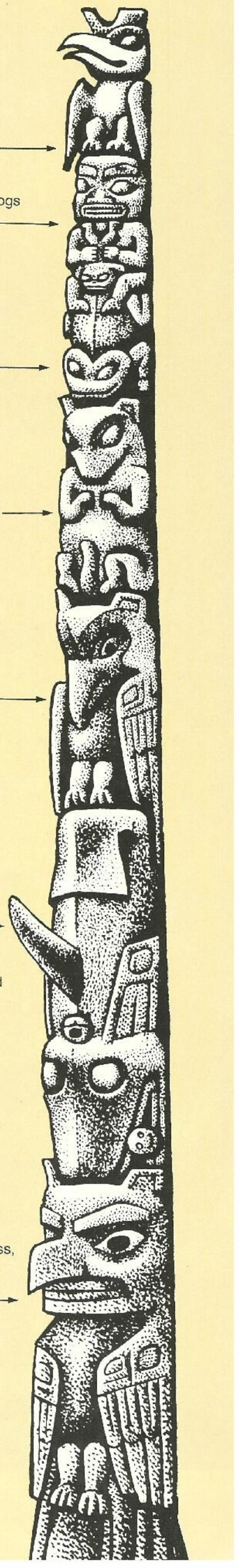


314. Haida "chief's rattle" from Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, c. 1850 to 1875. Length, 13 inches; carved of cedar wood in a design common to several Northwest Coast tribes. The underside of the raven's body is carved to represent the sparrow hawk; the frog has emerged from a hawk's head; and from the frog's tongue, the man reclining on the raven's back is sucking a poison believed to give shamans the power to work spells. In *The First Kwakiutl Totem Pole* retold below, the frog has become a chieftain's guide to the acquisition of tokens of prestige.

The First Kwakiutl Totem Pole

Wakiash had never had a dance of his own, and since all the other chiefs had dances, he was unhappy and went into the mountains to fast. He remained four days, fasting, bathing, and on the fourth, early in the morning, was so weary that he lay on his back and slept. Then something dropped onto his chest. "Wake up," it said, "and see where you are going!" His eyes opened and he saw a frog. "Lie still," it said; "you are on a raven's back that is going to fly you around the world, so that you may see what you want and take it." They flew around the world in four days, and on the fourth, Wakiash saw a beautiful totem pole and a house with a noise inside of singing. He wanted that pole; so the frog, who knew his thoughts, told the raven to stop.

"Hide behind the door," said the frog; "and when the people in the house begin to dance, jump out." However, when the people tried to begin their dance, they could neither dance nor sing. One said, "There is something doing this." And their chief said, "Let the one who runs faster than fire go around the house and see." So the mouse said, very well, she would



go. She was in the form of a little woman, for she had taken off her mouse clothes, to dance. All those people were animals that had taken off their animal skins. Their chief was Beaver.

When Mouse ran out, Wakiash caught her. "Ha, my friend," he said, "wait, and I'll give you a nice present!" He gave her a piece of mountain-goat fat, which so pleased her that she asked him what he wanted. He said he wanted the totem pole, the house, and the dances and songs that went with them. "Wait here," she said. "I'll be back."

Mouse told the people she had found nothing, but when they tried to dance, they were still unable to move. Three times they tried, and each time, sent Mouse out to run. Each time she talked to Wakiash and finally told him to make ready, then went back, and again they tried. Whereupon Wakiash sprang forth, and the people all hung their heads in shame; for a man had seen them looking like men. "Let's not just stand here!" said Mouse. "Let's ask him what he wants!" So Beaver asked what Wakiash wanted. Mouse knew his thoughts and reported them. Then Beaver said, "Let our friend sit down. We'll show him how we dance, and he can choose whatever he likes." So they danced, all wearing masks. Wakiash wanted the Echo mask; also, the Little Man mask, who goes around the house, talking. Beaver told him he could have these, and along with them the totem pole and the house. He wrapped them all up in a little bundle. "When you reach home," he said, "throw this bundle down. The house will become as it was when you saw it, and you can then give your dance."

Wakiash returned with his bundle to the raven, who flew with him toward the mountain from which they had set out. But before they arrived, Wakiash fell asleep, and when he woke, the raven and frog were gone. He started home, and when he arrived, threw the bundle down and there was the house with its totem pole. The whale painted on its side was blowing. The animals on the totem pole were all making their noises and the masks inside were talking. Immediately, Wakiash's people woke, coming out to see what was going on. Then he learned that he had been away, not four days, but four years.

Wakiash taught his people his songs and they sang. He danced and Echo arrived, and whoever made a noise, the Echo mask made the same, changing its mouths to fit. And when they had finished dancing, the house disappeared, returning to the animals. And all the other chiefs were ashamed, because now Wakiash had the best dance.

He made masks, a house, and a totem pole of wood, and that was the first totem pole this tribe ever had. Its name was Kalakuyuwish, "Sky-supporting Pole." It made a creaking noise, the sky was so heavy. They made a song for it, and Wakiash took the name of his totem pole as his own.[160]



316. On the brink of madness, the Kwakiutl Indians of the North Pacific Coast enact in spectacular mystery plays the violence and brilliance of shamanic visionary ordeals. A youth undergoing initiation here will be seized and possessed by a cannibal spirit, become cannibalistic himself, and dash about crying "Eat! Eat!" while snapping and biting at those who strive to restore him.





THE NORTH AMERICAN TWILIGHT OF THE PALEOLITHIC GREAT HUNT



319. Letakots-Lesa. His otter-skin bonnet connotes wisdom; his necklace, the bear's virtue. His feathers are two: male and female, sun and moon.[19]

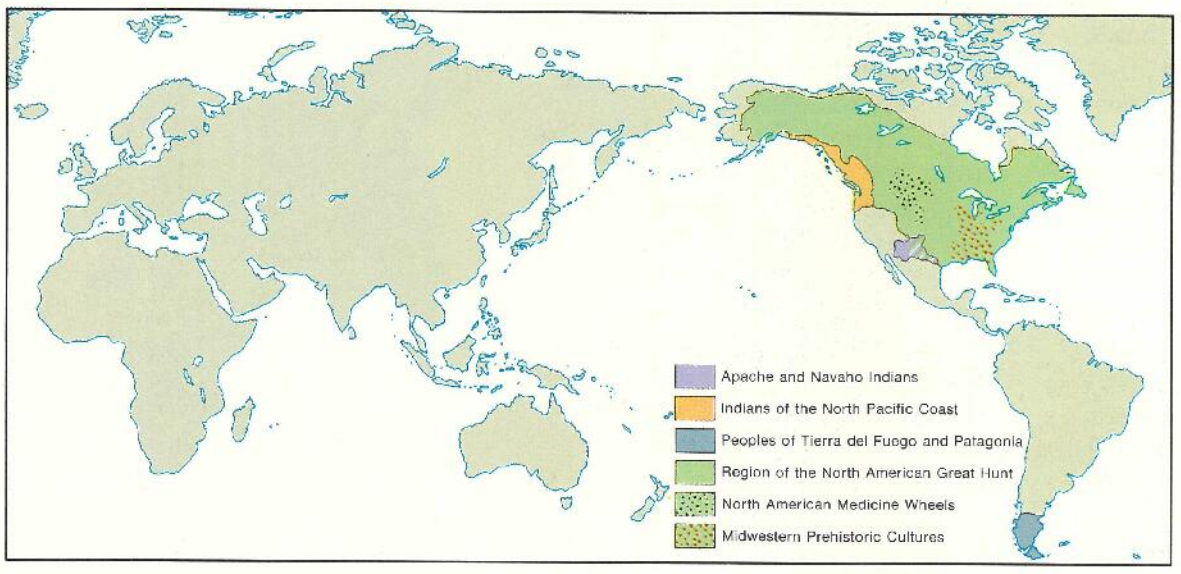
317. The calumet is held, stem to sky, so that the One Above may be the first to smoke. Then the Indian will himself send puffs in reverence to the four directions. His tobacco is an incense; his medicine pipe, an altar. The buffalo skull at his feet is a relic and sign of the necessary sacrifice of life to life and, in this regard, a token of the mysterious covenant of man and nature. Between its horns two decorated eagle feathers have been laid in symbolic offering: they are white and black, as in life and death all things are two. Consider Letakots-Lesa's feathers (**319**). That on his right is male; on his left, female. And each is two, half light, half dark; daylight and darkness, summer and winter. Man himself is two: two eyes, ears, nostrils, hands, and feet: one for man, one for woman. Or stand in the sun and—behold!—body and shadow, body and spirit.

The Idea and Ideas of God

On the banks of the Orinoco c. 1795, Alexander von Humboldt met a missionary who reported that a local jungle native had once said to him: "Your God keeps himself shut up in a house, as if he were old and infirm; ours is in the forest, in the fields, and on the mountains of Sipapu, whence the rains come."[161]



318. Rabbit-man, rock painting at Lake Mazinaw, Ontario. On vertical rock walls along the numerous waterways of this Canadian province, from Lake Mazinaw (north of Belleville) to the Manitoba border, more than 1000 petroglyphs have been recorded from approximately 100 sites. They were produced, apparently, by Algonquians of about the sixteenth century A.D. Most could have been painted only from the artist's bark canoe, at varying water levels. A paint of red earth (ferrous oxide) predominates, though white and black also occur, and the figures are of deer, caribou, rabbits, heron, trout, animal tracks, hand prints, canoes, and various mythic beings. The rabbit-man from Lake Mazinaw is undoubtedly an apparition of the Algonquian trickster hero, Nanabozho, the Great Hare.[18]



Map 40.

Indians of the higher civilizations of America also recognized divinity as immanent in all things. The Aztecs of Tenochtitlan (old Mexico City), for example, as Richard Frazer Townsend has observed, "saw the relationship between their city and its natural environment as an integrated cosmological structure—an ordered universe within which the natural phenomena were regarded as intrinsically sacred, alive, and intimately related to the activities of man. This outlook contrasted with that of the Europeans, who saw cities as artifacts of civilization—places where religious and legal institutions sharply distinguished man's identity from that of untamed nature. The Spanish friars and soldiers automatically placed themselves as human beings on a higher level than other forms of life in a hierarchy of Creation. But the Indian approached the phenomena of nature with a sense of participation: the universe was seen as reflections of relationships between life forces, and every aspect of life was part of an interpenetrating cosmic system."[162]

The words of the Pawnee chieftain, Letakots-Lesa, already cited at the opening of this volume (page 8), are of the same mythic tone: "Tirawa spoke to man through his works." Not through any special, privileged revelation, but universally! Nor is only man made in the image of God: so, too, are the jaguar, buffalo, bear, eagle and serpent, butterflies, trees, rivers and mountains. For "All things speak of Tirawa."

This monistic philosophy is on the order of the Hindu and Chinese, in contrast to the biblical separation of nature and man.

This philosophy, in fact, is fundamental to archaic thought generally, and must have been carried to the Americas by the earliest Paleolithic immigrants. It would have been carried also by all those other Asians who subsequently crossed the Pacific to these shores, whether from Neolithic Japan, Shang, or later, China, North Vietnam, or Cambodia. There has been, of course, considerable argument concerning the possibility of such crossings; but the evidences now multiplying can no longer be denied. Questions of the possible number and extent of the influence of such later Asian arrivals cannot qualify our recognition of the obvious and fundamental fact that, from the period of the first immigrants, American Indian mythologies have been grounded in this monistic "elementary idea" (see p. 9), which is in irreconcilable contrast to the later, ecclesiastical doctrine of a special, supernatural revelation, first to a chosen people, and then to an authorized church, which doctrine is a provincial, "ethnic idea," which originated in the Near East in historic times.

The idea of a god, whether of gods or of a High God, that is fundamental to the earlier, archaic mode is not theological, but mythical—transtheological. The god, that is to say, is not a final term (like Yahweh), but the personification or agent of a power that is transcendent of deification and definition. American names for this *mysterium* include: Manito (of the Algonquians), Wakan (of the Sioux), Orenda (of the Iroquois), and Tirawa (of the Pawnee). Personified, the power can be thought of as a being "out there" to whom prayers are addressed. Absolutely, however, it is the informing life and energy of all things; so that the prayer is actually a meditation, the calling up of a power from within. Ramakrishna, the great Hindu saint and teacher of the last century, used to ask those coming to him for consolation: "How do you like to speak of God, with form or without?"[163] We have already remarked the African Bushman experience of this energy as *ntum* (pages 90–101), and the Pygmy as *megbe* (pages 103–112). In Melanesia, it is *mana;* in India, *brahman;* and from China we read in the *Tao Teh King*, "The Tao that can be comprehended is not the eternal Tao."[164]

And from an Indian Upanishad:

> *Thou art the dark-blue bird and the green parrot with red eyes,*
> *Thou hast the lightning as thy child.*
> *Thou art the seasons and the seas.*
> *Having no beginning, thou dost abide with immanence,*
> *Whereof all beings are born.*[165]

The variations throughout America of the culturally conditioned ways of experiencing, interpreting, and applying the shared recognition of this elementary ground are represented in Map 41 on the opposite page.



320. Chinese jade ornament of the Chou period. The mask at the center of the *t'ao-t'ieh* (the "Glutton"), a characteristic ornament on early Shang and Chou sacrificial vessels, being there evidently symbolic of the consuming energy of life, which thrives on sacrifice.



321. Kwakiutl wood carving of Sisiutl, a demiurgic monster familiar to mythologies of the Northwest Coast. To attempt to explain the resemblance of this complex symbolic form to its Chinese counterpart by any such mechanistic term as "convergence" would be ridiculous.



322. The association of *t'ao-t'ieh* with sacrifice is confirmed by this Shang bronze. The ornaments over the tiger's body are of snakes and deer, indicating that the vessel represents the fruitful earth. On its back is a large *t'ao-t'ieh* mask.



323. Mochica jar, c. A.D. 500, from North Coastal Peru. Again, "convergence"?

Three examples of "hockers" (German, "squatters") in the posture best known in Europe as that of the Gorgon:

324. A Shang, or Early Chou, bronze drum.

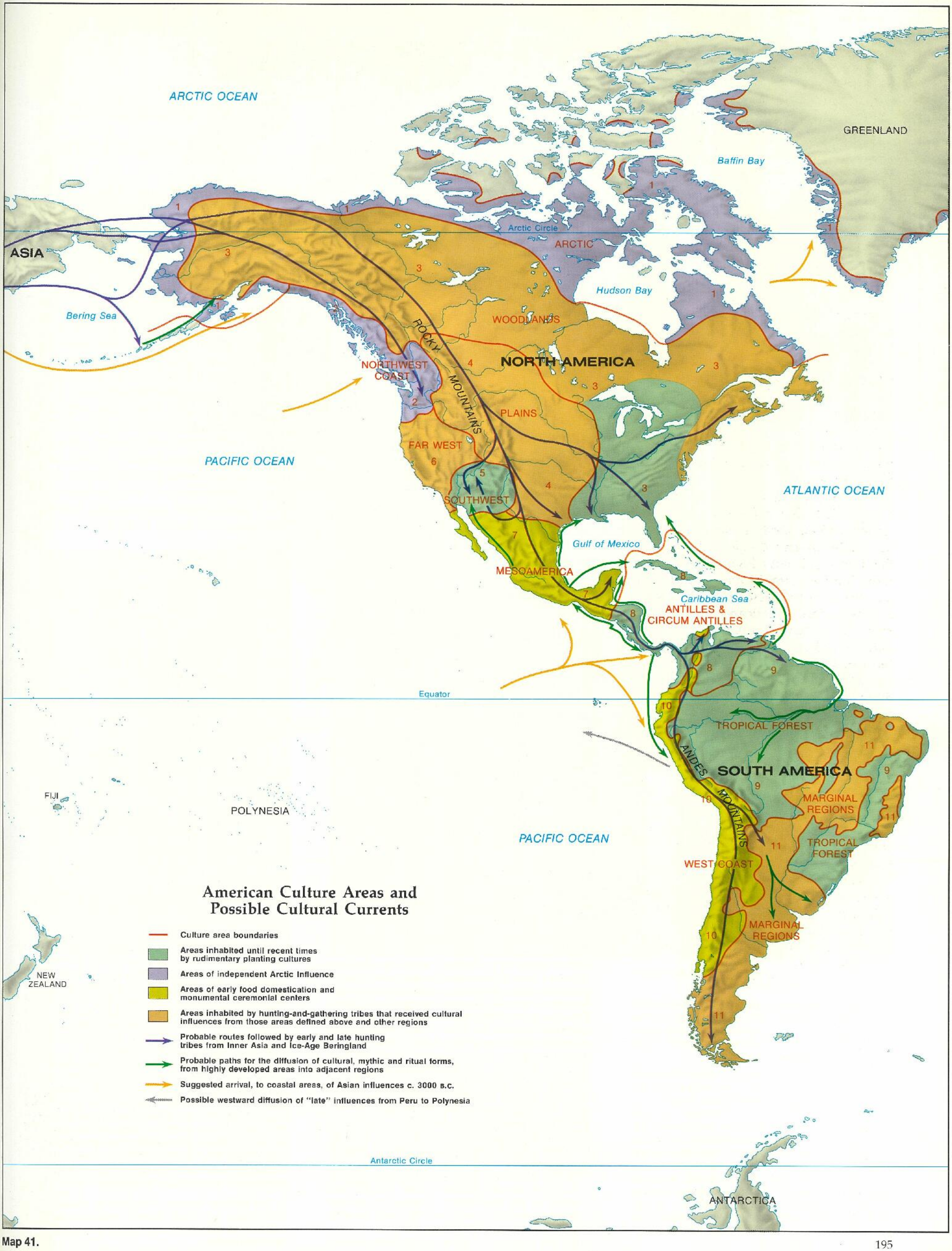


325. A Dyak wood carving from Borneo.



326. A funerary urn from Marajó Island, Brazil.





American Culture Areas and Possible Cultural Currents

- Culture area boundaries
- Areas inhabited until recent times by rudimentary planting cultures
- Areas of independent Arctic Influence
- Areas of early food domestication and monumental ceremonial centers
- Areas inhabited by hunting-and-gathering tribes that received cultural influences from those areas defined above and other regions
- Probable routes followed by early and late hunting tribes from Inner Asia and Ice-Age Beringland
- Probable paths for the diffusion of cultural, mythic and ritual forms, from highly developed areas into adjacent regions
- Suggested arrival, to coastal areas, of Asian influences c. 3000 B.C.
- Possible westward diffusion of "late" influences from Peru to Polynesia

Map 41.



Map 42. CULTURE AREAS OF NORTH AMERICA

1. *The Arctic:* Home uniquely of the Eskimo, homogeneous in its ecology, culture, mythologies, and art. The mythologies exhibit influences both from Asia (shamanic traits) and from America (animal tales), but differ from most American traditions in that they lack a Mythological Age: that is, conditions of life at the time of the beginnings were the same as they are now in the Eskimo's living present.

2. *The Northwest Coast:* A culturally isolated zone of salmon-fishing villages that is distinguished by a heraldic art based on monumental cedarwood sculpture and is motivated, like its rites and myths, by an obsession with caste and wealth.

3. *The Woodlands:* The formative zone of the whole North American development, this area comprises three distinct, yet culturally interlocked, regions:

(a) *The Northern Woodlands:* first region entered by Asian immigrants: the most recent were the Athapascans; earlier, the Algonquians; and much earlier, the ancestors of all other New World races.

(b) *The Mississippi Basin:* this region (with that of its tributaries, the Ohio, Arkansas, and Missouri) was the homeland of prehistoric builders of effigy mounds (the Adena culture, c. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 200, of burial mounds (the Hopewell, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700), and of temple mounds (the Mississippian, c. A.D. 700 to 1600).

(c) *The Atlantic Seaboard:* once a region of advanced agricultural villages, from here tobacco and the potato were brought to England.

4. *The Plains:* An area with a history beginning in the Late Pleistocene, the period of Clovis, Sandia, and Folsom points. By c. 7500 B.C., when ice-age mammals had disappeared and climatic conditions approached those of today, a bison-hunting culture flourished here with Eastern Woodland affiliations. The equestrian "Wild West" developed only after Coronado entered the area (1540–42) and introduced the horse, sheep culture, and Catholicism.

5. *The Southwest:* From c. 5000 B.C., the terrain of a hunting-and-gathering Desert culture known as the Cochise: small family groups in search of acorns, nuts, and various seeds, roots, berries, and small game. Towards the close of the first millennium B.C., signs of settlements appeared: food-storage pits and pithouse dwellings. When pottery arrived, c. 100 B.C., the Desert culture gave way to four distinct regional developments:

(a) *The Mogollon Culture* (of southern New Mexico and Chihuahua): earliest maize, squash, and beans of the Southwest; subsequently arriving potteries were of a characteristic black-on-white ware and the graceful Mimbres designs.

(b) *The Hohokam Culture* (of southern Arizona and Sonora): ceremonial ball courts of Maya-Aztec inspiration, carved stone bowls, and palettes, a fine red-on-buff ware.

(c) *The Anasazi Culture* (of northern New Mexico and Arizona, southern Colorado and Utah): from c. 100 B.C., maize farming without pottery (the Basketmaker phase); from c. A.D. 700, the development of the Pueblo culture, of which the period of greatest expansion was A.D. 700 to 1300 (Mesa Verde, Canyon de Chelly, and so on). About the time of this greatest expansion, Athapascan tribes now known as the Navaho and Apache began arriving from the Canadian Northwest.

(d) *The Yuman, Patayan, or Hakatay Culture* (variously so named, along the Colorado River): poorly documented, but possibly ancestral to the Yuma tribe; maize and brown pottery from c. A.D. 600.

6. *The Far West, the Great Basin, and California:* early hearth of the Desert culture, where it persisted into historic times. Tribes of the area were the master basket weavers of the continent.

7. *Mesoamerica:* a major matrix of plant domestication and of Pre-columbian civilization.

8. *The Antilles:* formerly inhabited by Arawak and Carib tribes from South America that were exterminated in the early sixteenth century and supplanted by African slaves.

Mythologies of the North Pacific Coast

Landscape and Culture

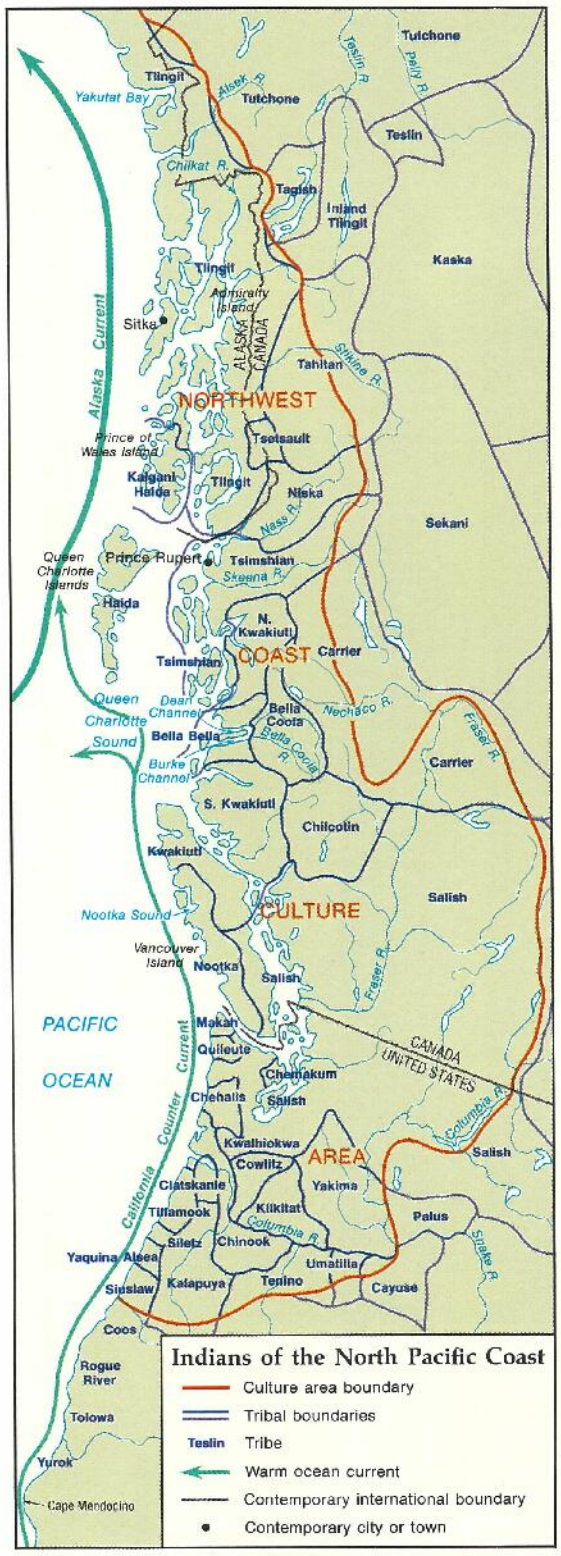
The magnificent forests of the North Pacific Coast—the culture province defined landward by the Coast Range and extending from Yakutat Bay, Alaska, to Cape Mendocino, California—provided prodigious timber for the fashioning of totem poles, planks and beams for capacious buildings, and logs for the shaping of huge canoes, worthy of comparison with the greatest of Southeast Asia and Polynesia. Abundantly watered by its rivers from the mountains and by the warm rains carried from southern seas by the Kuroshio current, the region was rich in game, and its coastal waters, in fish. Indeed, salmon fishing was everywhere at the center of both the economic and the religious life, the fish being blessed and thanked in annual "First Salmon" cere-



327. The host of a Kwakiutl potlatch exhibiting to his guests an extremely precious "copper" that they are about to see destroyed. Hammered copper implements appeared early in North America, the richest known deposit of native copper in the world being on the Keweenaw Peninsula of northern Michigan. Tools and weapons of this material appeared in the upper Great Lakes area about 3000 B.C. in assemblages of what is known as the Old Copper Culture, which endured for about 2000 years. How or when knowledge of the metal reached the Northwest Coast, no one seems to know; but the prominence in potlatch ceremonials of such elegantly decorated, well-fashioned, hammered copper slabs as that exhibited by this chieftain testifies to a long history. One such copper—of no practical use whatsoever—would equal in value many hundred priceless Chilkat blankets.



328. Setting for a Kwakiutl potlatch at Alert Bay, Vancouver Island. The distinctive Northwest Coast institution of the potlatch was of a lavish, extremely formal, gift-giving ceremonial offered by a wealthy host to a large invited company, usually for the purpose of gaining or confirming social rank, prestige, or privileges for himself, or (alternately) of passing on the like to his inheritors. With the increase in trade goods during the last half of the nineteenth century, a trend developed of extravagant display, with competitive challenge and face-saving aspects that led in extreme cases to the ostentatious burning of valuable objects. The fire in the foreground of the scene was for this purpose. Tales are told of incinerated grand pianos. But of traditional objects, the most valuable to be either given away or destroyed were coppers such as that of Figure 327.



Map 43.



329. Possession by the Cannibal Spirit, which is by magic induced and by magic dispelled, is elegantly suggested in this double dance mask of the Haida, from the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia.

monies dedicated to the return of their vital bones to their own villages under waves for renewal the following year. Up and down the coast, these ceremonies differed in detail, but typically included: welcoming speeches delivered to the salmon schools of the year; the cooking, blessing, and sacramental distrbution of their flesh; and the performance, for their pleasure as well as for their renewal, of dances and other entertainments.

The people of this distinctive province were of a number of unrelated linguistic stocks. Brought and held together by the readily navigable waterways, however, they had come to share and elaborate a common culture, of which the typical settlement pattern was of villages, large and small, of wooden dwellings and ceremonial structures along protected beaches. The basic household consisted of a man, his wife or wives, and their children (or in the north, the man's sister's sons), and each village was composed, typically, of a group of such nuclear families tracing descent from a common legendary ancestor, to whose legendary deeds were credited their rights to certain fishing, hunting, and berry-picking sites, as well as their claims to such intangible goods (of the greatest social and ritual importance) as family names, crests, songs, and dances.

Rank was a highly regarded value throughout this opulent region, and though reckoned according to the supposed genealogical proximity of each member of a village to the group's legendary ancestor, it was never automatically inherited, but had to be formally assumed in the lavish gift-giving ceremony known as the "potlatch." The word is from the Chinook *patshatl*, "gift" or "giving." Guests from villages far and wide were invited to a potlatch, the magnitude of the gathering being itself indicative of the host's rank. He and his kin exercised themselves to the limit in hospitality and generosity, the values of their gifts corresponding to the relative ranks of the recipients. Births, deaths, marriages, and initiations into any of the numerous secret societies of the region were standard occasions for such spectacles; but personages of great wealth, and with a taste for such affairs, might seize upon almost any incident (the first singeing of a baby's hair, for example) as an excuse.[166]

During the relatively mild winters, a number of related village groups would assemble in some well-sheltered cove for the season of ceremonials, and it was during this festive time that the masked theatrical displays (unique on the North American continent) were presented. Judging from all accounts, they were both magnificent and terrifying; for, in not a few, the final aim was ecstasy (madness being a supernatural portent), when the chief dancer—wearing a prodigious Raven mask and dropping, perhaps, from a rafter into the middle of the performing area—might be expected finally to lose himself. Furthermore, associated with the secret-society initiations were ceremonies in which the madness could go very far indeed. Some time before such a ceremony, the candidate for initiation would be snatched away by the spirits and remained in the woods (in the keep, it was said, of the supernaturals, the powers that destroy man's reason), fasting and preparing for the demonstration of frenzy expected of him upon his return, when it would be the task of those in charge of the occasion to bring him back to secular consciousness.

Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture* has devoted a major section to the review of a Kwakiutl Cannibal Society initiation. From the Paleo-Siberians we have already learned something of the nature of Cannibal Spirits (see page 184). A Kwakiutl so possessed had a passion for human flesh, bit pieces out of the spectators, and on great occasions, in the old days, even consumed portions of the bodies of slaves killed for his purpose. After such a defilement, however, he would be held tabu and kept alone in a small inner sleeping room for as long as perhaps four months, with a Bear Dancer keeping watch. On emerging, he would pretend to have for-

gotten how to be human, and would have to be taught to walk, to speak, and to eat. For some four more years, there would be further tabus put upon him until, at a Winter Ceremonial of a type intended for the taming of a Cannibal, he would be cured. An old man would be set out as bait to be bitten, and when the Cannibal approached to bite, he would discover himself surrounded. A woman co-initiate dancing naked before him with a corpse across her arms would be receding steadily backward, enticing him into the ceremonial building, where four priests with inherited supernatural powers for the exorcising of Cannibal Spirits took him in hand, and by means of fire, steaming water, and a smoke from cedar bark impregnated with the menstrual blood of four noble women, returned him to his senses.[167]

Cosmology

The mythic image of the universe that invisibly completes for these people the visible experience of their island-dotted waterways is best represented by an account received in the early years of this century from the Bella Coola tribe of British Columbia. These are a Salishan people from the south, now settled inland of Queen Charlotte Sound, along the lower Bella Coola River and the upper Dean and Burk channels. Their image is of a universe of five levels: two above, and two beneath the earth, those above being of the gods, those below of the dead, the earth-plane between being everywhere alive with the in-dwelling spirits of rocks and trees, watercourses, mountain peaks, and the ocean—also the Elders of the animal species. As Hartley Burr Alexander has remarked,[168] in every fire and along every trail are listening ears and watching eyes: the eyes that are so conspicuous in the Northwest Coast decorative arts. At the place of the sunrise, a great Heaven Bear stands watch. This is the warrior spirit that inspires battle frenzy. In the west, where the sun sets, a great pillar supports the sky; the Sun's way across the heaven dome is along a bridge as wide as the distance between the winter and summer solstices, at each of which turning places the Sun, as they say, "sits down." In summer he walks with his torch along the right side of this bridge; in winter, along the left. Three dancing Guardians surround him, and when he drops the torch, there is an eclipse.

The first of the two realms below the earth is of the remembered dead, who will be reborn. The second is of those forgotten, who have thus died a "second death" and passed into oblivion. The first of the heavens above is a mansion known as the House of Myths, where dwell the gods to whom prayers are addressed and of whom the Sun is the master. But the second heaven is a windswept, treeless plain occupied by a single female presence named Qamaits. She is known also as Our Woman and as Afraid of Nothing; for, in the beginning, she waged war alone against the mountains, who had made the earth uninhabitable. She reduced them in height and now lives beyond them: not, however, quite alone; for a double-headed, horned serpent dwells behind her house in the saltwater pond in which she bathes.

The Sun, who is called the Sacred One, is also known as Our Father, since it was he, together with a goddess named Alkuntam, who generated mankind. This goddess's mother is a Cannibal who inserts her long, mosquito-like snout into people's ears and sucks away their brains. (When a Cannibal's body is burned, they say, its ashes turn into mosquitoes.) Other deities in the House of Myths include: ten who preside over the Winter Ceremonies; a flower-goddess and a cedar-bark goddess; the Sun and Alkuntam's two sons, who inspire Cannibal frenzy; the Guardians who dance around the Sun as he moves across the sky; various sky-guardians and messengers; and four diligent brothers, forever carving and painting, who taught mankind the arts of hunting and fishing, canoe making, house building, box making, carving, and painting.[169]



330. The idea of deceptive dual presences (animals in human guise and human beings as animals) which is so prominent in the folklore and myths, especially of peoples of the Arctic and north temperate zones is tellingly suggested in this Bella Coola grave post. For the Bella Coola, the remembered dead are not absolutely dead, but can return, reborn, so that behind the appearance of death there is life—which is again a deception. One notes that the uprights behind this mask were originally nine. Nine is the number of underworlds traversed by the dead in Maya-Aztec mythologies and may be here related to an equivalent Bella Coola mystery unknown to us.

Of greater interest than any of these, however, is the world-generating goddess Qamaits with her mysterious hidden consort. She is an altogether exceptional figure in North American mythology, and her associations appear to point to Asia, as do those—even more obviously—of the horned, double-headed demiurge in her pond. This serpent figure is known as Sisiutl to the arts and folklore of the Kwakiutl, where his representation so closely resembles the Chinese jade of Figure 320 that their kinship can hardly be doubted. Another evident association is with the Mayan "ceremonial bar."

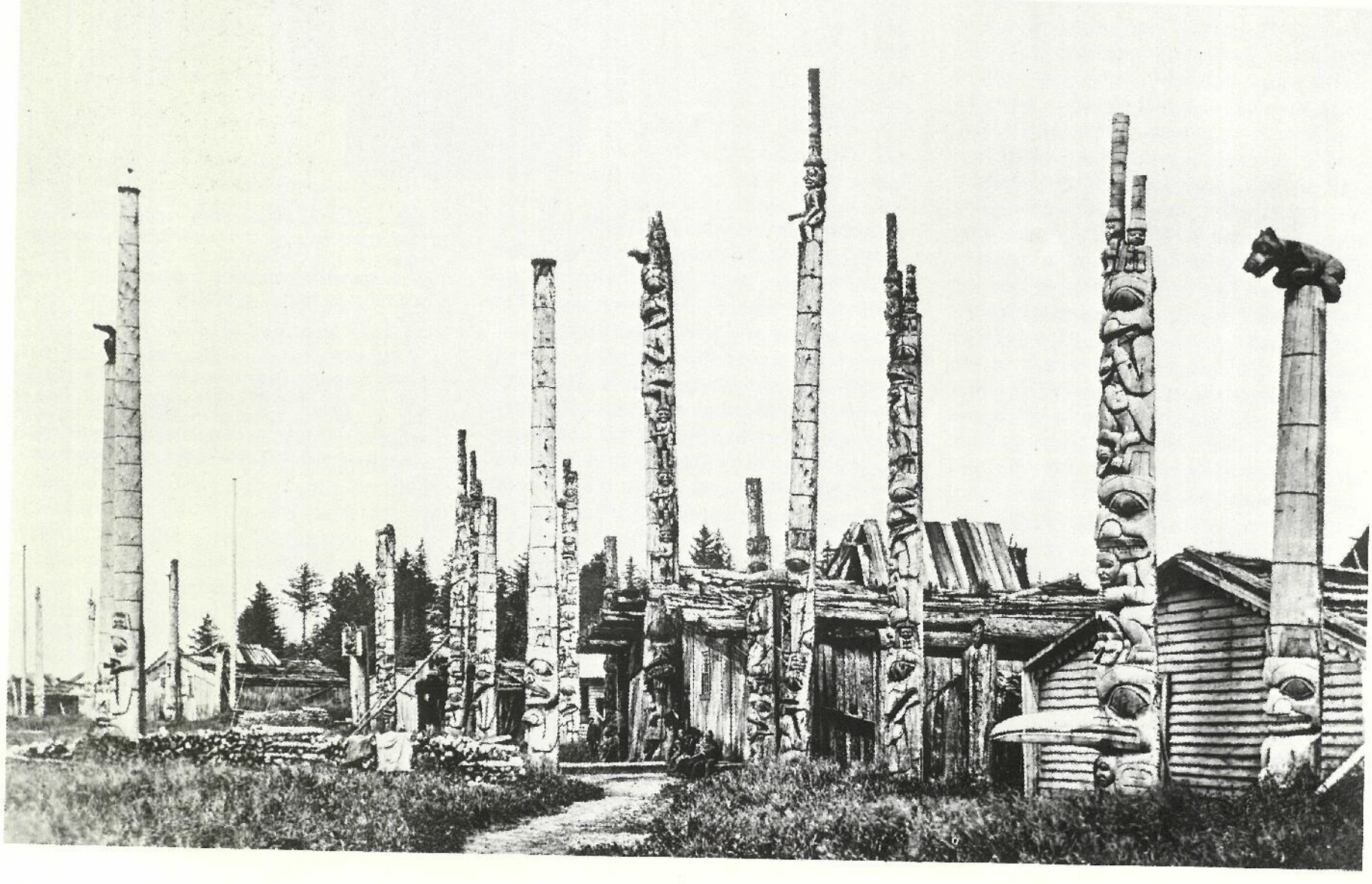
Translated into the language of the Orient, the earth-plane of this Northwest Coast cosmology corresponds to what in India is known as the realm of the mind in its "waking state" (*jāgaritha-sthāna*), where it is outward turned, perceiving gross material objects in a field of extended space. The first planes below and above the earth (where reside, on one hand, individuated souls and, on the other, a pantheon of anthropomorphic gods), are the matched aspects (subjective and objective) of the "dreaming or envisioning state" (*svapna-sthāna*), where the mind is inward turned, perceiving subtle luminous forms that are of the substance of the mind itself. And the second planes below and above (where, on one hand, individuated souls are dissolving into oblivion, and on the other, a primal couple is ever regenerating a universe out of an abyssal sea) are the matched aspects of a realm of "deep dreamless sleep" (*sushupta-sthāna*), into which all the worlds known to the mind dissolve and out of which they reappear. Covered with darkness, full of bliss, the mind there resides in itself, in wisdom, and is known as "the mask, mouth, or door, of consciousness" (*cetomukha*), since it opens both backward to the timeless ground of being and forward to the passing forms of dream and of waking.[170]

In India, the image at Elephanta of Shiva the Great Lord (see Figure 5, page 13) is symbolic of this "door." Out of its central face, which is the mouth or mask of Eternity, the pairs-of-opposites—left and right, female and male, mercy and justice—arise and proceed; back into and through it, they dissolve in death. In the Chinese ornamental jade pictured in Figure 320 (page 194), the central mask or face (known as *t'ao-t'ieh*, "the Glutton") is likewise flanked by a pair of symbolic (dragon) profiles. The pursed lips of the

331. Sisiutl, a Kwakiutl wood caving (see **321**, page 194).



332. Photograph, taken in 1880, of the Haida village of Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia.



Kwakiutl cannibal ogress Tsonoqua (Figure 333) represent that door in its negative aspect, breathing out and inhaling death. And the central visage of the Sisiutl is symbolically of the same door, but dual in that it breathes both death and life. So that in the Bella Coola cosmological image of the horned and double-headed serpent (Sisiutl) in the lake at the top of the universe, we may now recognize the same demiurgic insight as that symbolized in India in Shiva the Great Lord.

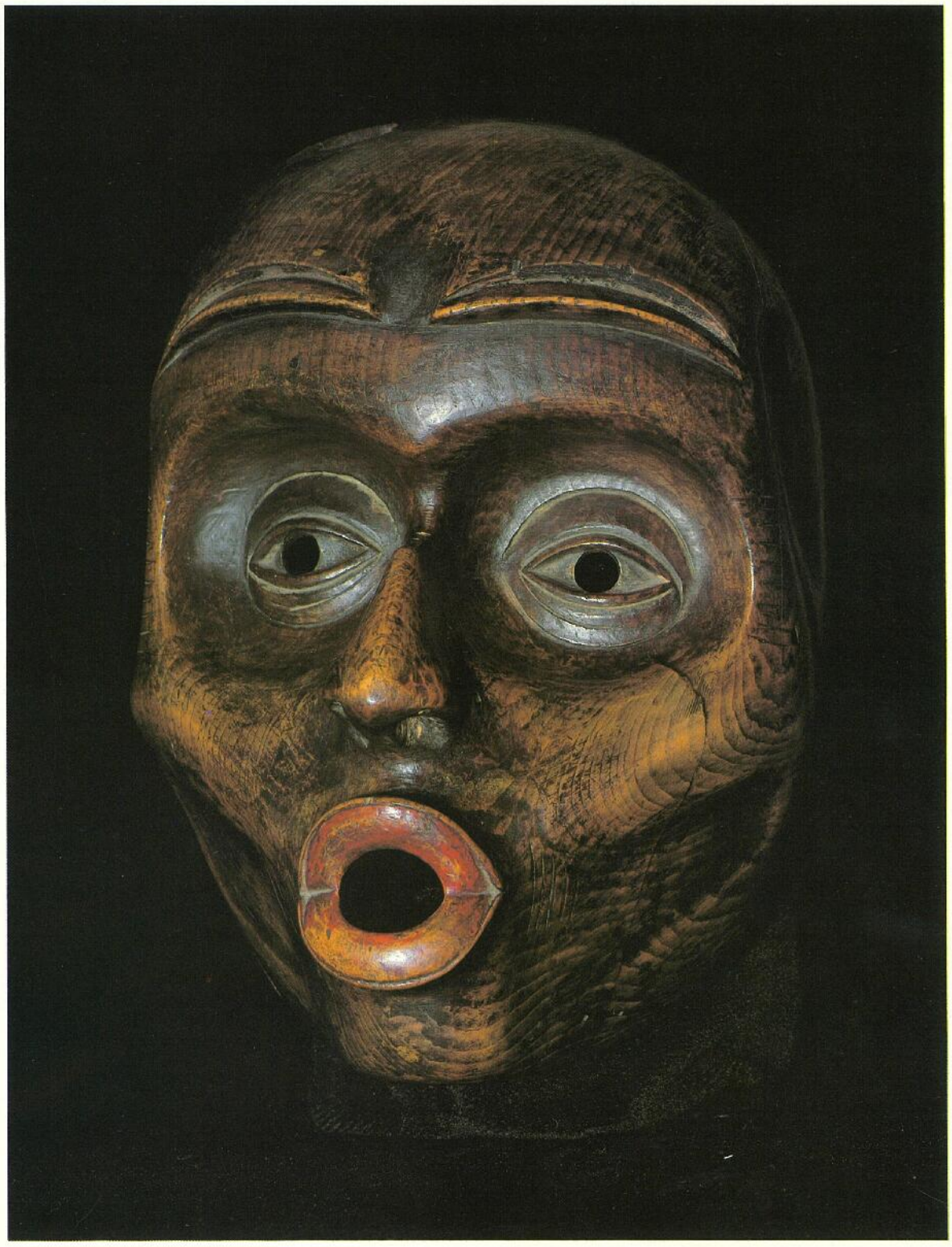
The Mythological Trickster

The figure of the Trickster belongs, as Paul Radin has recognized, among the oldest expressions of mankind. "Few other myths," he declares, "have persisted with their fundamental content unchanged. The Trickster myth is found in clearly recognizable form among the simplest aboriginal tribes and among the complex. We encounter it among the ancient Greeks, the Chinese, the Japanese, and in the Semitic world. Many of the Trickster traits were perpetuated in the figure of the medieval jester, and have survived right up to the present day in the Punch-and-Judy plays and in the clown. . . .

"Manifestly," Radin continues, "we are here in the presence of a figure and a theme or themes which have had a special and permanent appeal and an unusual attraction for mankind from the very beginnings of civilization. In what must be regarded as its earliest and most archaic form, as found among the North American Indians, Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and who is always duped himself. He wills nothing consciously. At all times he is constrained to behave as he does from impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil, yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being. But not only he, so our myth tells us, possesses these traits. So, likewise, do other figures of the plot connected with him: the animals, the various supernatural beings and monsters, and man. . . . The reaction of the audience in aboriginal societies to both him and his exploits is prevailingly one of laughter tempered by awe."[171]

Compare the case of the Bushman Creator and Trickster, Mantis (page 91)!

Along the Northwest Coast the most prominent Trickster figure is Raven, who is a glutton (like the *t'ao-t'ieh*). A second favorite, however, is Mink, who is a lover—ridiculous, of course, like Raven of the Greenland tale (page 187), yet, again like Raven, identified with the sun. There is, in fact, one Kwakiutl tale where his



333. The giantess Tsonoqua, who roams the forest calling "ho, ho," searching for children to carry away in the basket on her back. Kwakiutl mask. Height, 12 inches. The pursed lips of her calling, as here pictured, are her identifying feature.

334. Tlingit forehead mask, representing a bear, from Sitka, Alaska. Height, 6¾ inches. Collected between 1882 and 1887. The form is of wood, covered with blanket cloth colored blue, red, and white; added features are of hair, haliotis, metal, and rawhide.





335. Nisca (Tsimshian) sun mask, to be worn as a crest headdress. From the Nass River, Alaska. The projections carry sea-monster designs. As the dancer moved, the large flat area glowed, reflecting the firelight.

appearance in the solar role has attracted considerable scholarly attention because of its resemblance to the Greek Phaethon myth.[172]

The Kwakiutl version begins with the future mother of its hero weaving, facing the rear of her house, when the Sun's rays, shining through the cracks in the walls, struck her back, and she became pregnant. She gave birth to Mink, whose name, this time, was Born-to-be-the-Sun, since it was known how his mother had conceived him.

When still a child, Born-to-be-the Sun was quarreling with his little friend Bluejay, who taunted him, declaring that he had no father, and he went crying to his mother, who told him that his father was the Sun; whereupon he immediately announced that he was going to pay his father a visit.

The mother turned to the boy's uncle, her brother. "Make arrows for my child," she said, "that he may go to visit his father." The uncle fashioned four, and when Born-to-be-the-Sun shot one into the air, it hit the sky. He shot another, which went into the nock of the first. A third was shot with like result, and the fourth, as well, so that an arrow chain now reached the earth. His mother shook it and it became a rope, up which the boy ascended. When he reached the sky, he went on through, and was sitting on its upper side, not far from his father's house, when a boy who was there noticed him and asked, "Why are you sitting there like that?" "I have come to see my father," Born-to-be-the-Sun replied; and the boy, going into the house, reported this to his chief. "Ah, ah, ah, indeed!" said his chief. "I got him by shining through. Show him in!" So the boy went out and called Born-to-be-the-Sun, who entered and sat down.

"Thank you, my child, for coming!" said his father. "I have grown tired of walking back and forth each day, so now you can go in my stead." But the Sun cautioned: "You mustn't walk too fast or look directly down! If you do, you will cause mischief." He dressed the boy with his own ear ornaments and gave him his sun mask, then pointed out the trail and again warned: "Don't expose yourself entirely! And don't brush aside the clouds, your aunts!"

Born-to-be-the Sun started, but when he had gone past noon, he brushed away his aunts, the clouds, and the sun shone blazing hot. The whole world began to burn. There was noise of cracking mountains, the sea began to boil, and the trees on the mountains caught fire. That is why the mountains have no trees and many of their rocks are cracked. That is also why the father of Born-to-be-the-Sun became furious. He rushed to his child and grabbed him—the sun being still very high in the sky—ripped away the ornaments and mask, and demanded, "Is this what I told you to do?" Then he took Born-to-be-the-Sun by the neck and flung him through the hole in the sky.

Down, down, down, he tumbled. A canoe was coming along, and it came to where Mink had dropped. "Is this not Born-to-be-the-Sun, our chief, here floating about?" they said. They touched him with the paddle, and he woke, raised his head, and puffed. "I've been here asleep on this water, a long long, long long time," he said. And he went ashore.

"Mother, I want to marry," said Born-to-be-the-Sun. "Whom do you want to marry?" she asked. "Kelp," he replied. "I like her long wavy hair." "Then go ahead," she told him. So he married Kelp. He embraced her. "Let's go down to the bottom," he suggested; "down, down, down, to the bottom!" "We'll do that later, at half-tide," she replied. "No, now!" he insisted. "You're a funny fellow!" said Kelp. "You'll be out of breath." "No, I won't!" he declared. So down, down, down, they went. They were a long time under water. When he tried to pinch her to let her know that he needed air, however, he could not, because of the current. So he presently came floating up with foam on his mouth, and was drifting on the surface when a woman came paddling by.

"Is this not Born-to-be-the-Sun here floating about?" she asked. "Ts, ts, ts, so it is!" he said. "I've certainly had a long sleep." And he went home. His mother asked, "Where is your wife?" "Oh, she stayed under water too long," he replied, "so I left her."

"Mother," Born-to-be-the-Sun said, "I want to marry Frog." "Won't you get tired of hearing her croak?" she asked. "That's just what I like," he answered. "Well, go ahead, then," said his mother. So off went Born-to-be-the-Sun to marry Frog. "I want to marry you," he said to her. "All right, sit down," she said. "Come on," he urged, "let me hear you croak." She refused. "The others must start first," she said. He insisted. "Oh, come on! Come on! Wugé, wugé, wugé!" Where upon, she began to croak, and all the frogs round about followed, as did Born-to-be-the-Sun as well. But there was now so much croaking that Born-to-be-the-Sun got tired of it. "Stop it!" he yelled to his wife. "Oh, you funny fellow!" she croaked, and the noise went on. He became very tired of it; so he slapped her face and went home. "Well!" said his mother. "So where is your wife?" "Oh, they all made too much noise," he said. She wagged her head: "Didn't I tell you!"

"Mother," said Born-to-be-the-Sun, once again, "I want to marry Sawbill Duck." "Well then, go ahead," said his mother. He was wearing white feathers on his head when he went to Sawbill Duck, and one day when the two were paddling along a rocky shore, he looked down and saw sea-eggs below. He backed water and dived, and when he came up, "Go down again," she said, "stay longer, and get more."She was thinking of leaving him. He dove, and she paddled away, often looking back. It was only when she was some distance off that he came up with a great harvest, sat down on the rocks and ate sea-eggs, not caring that his wife had left him. She had returned home, and Born-to-be-the-Sun was now finished with having wives.[173]

336. Tlingit shaman's face mask, representing the spirit of a dead man with a protruding tongue. Wood, with traces of black and blue pigment. Measuring 21.6 cm high, the mask was collected between 1884 and 1893 from a shaman's grave house on the Akwe River, where it had been the property of a shaman named Setan.





337. The readily portable, light birchbark canoe was another invention crucial to the Indian tribes of the northern North American woodlands, affording them easy mobility for the exploitation and exploration of their game-rich lakes and waterways. The Kutenai duck hunter of this photograph by Edward Curtis is of a tribe equally at ease on the rivers and the lakes of its woodland home in southeastern British Columbia (in the Kootenay River region, between the Coast Range and the Rockies) and on the buffalo plains to the south. To reach the latter for annual buffalo hunts, they had to pass through Blackfoot territory, so war became a feature of their lives, war honors a means to prestige, and captive slaves (mostly Blackfoot women and children) became significant contributors to their culture. With this picture we pass from the culture zone of the Old Pacific to that of the North American interior.

The Woodland Indians

"We know what the animals do, what are the needs of the beavers, the bear, the salmon, and other creatures, because long ago men married them and acquired this knowledge from their animal wives. Today the priests say we lie, but we know better. The white man has been only a short time in this country and knows very little about the animals. We have been here thousands of years and were taught long ago by the animals themselves."[174] This statement of a twentieth-century Athabascan hunter is supported by tales from every quarter of the continent, not only of animal wives, but also of animal husbands, and likewise, by unnumbered accounts of the Vision Quest commonly undertaken for the acquisition of knowledge, powers, and well-being. Indeed, among most of the North American tribes, such a vision was a fundamental requirement of every boy (and often, girl, as well) at the passage to adulthood.

As reported by George Catlin, in 1832, from the upper Missouri region (now the Dakotas): "A boy at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, is said to be 'making' or 'forming his medicine,' when he wanders away from his father's lodge, and absents himself for the space of two or three, and sometimes even four or five days; lying on the ground in some remote or secluded spot, crying to the Great Spirit, and fasting the whole time. During this period of peril and abstinence, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile, of which he dreams (or pretends to have dreamed, perhaps), he considers the Great Spirit has designated for his mysterious protector through life. He then returns home to his father's lodge, and relates his success; and after allaying his thirst, and satiating his appetite, he sallies forth with weapons or traps, until he can procure the animal or bird, the skin of which he preserves entire, and ornaments it according to his own fancy, and carries it with him through life, for 'good luck' (as he calls it); and his strength in battle—and in death his guardian *Spirit*, that is buried with him; and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting grounds, which he contemplates in the world to come."[175]

The instructive experience of a Winnebago youth who, in his Vision Quest, would be satisfied by nothing short of a sight of Ma-o-na, the Great Spirit himself, is recounted by Natalie Curtis:

"He blackened his face, as was the custom, and fasted four days or more, and dreamed of many things; then he ate a little, and fasted again. So he persevered until he had dreamed of everything on the earth, or under the earth, or in the air; he dreamed of the whole world, but he never saw Ma-o-na. The spirits said to him, 'You have dreamed of Ma-o-na because you have dreamed of all his works.' But the man was not satisfied. He blackened his face and lay down again, and again he dreamed of the whole world, yet still he wished to dream of Ma-o-na, but could not. But after four nights he dreamed again, and now at last he dreamed of Ma-o-na, who said: 'I am the Earth Maker. You will see me tomorrow at noon. But it is not well; you wish too much.'

"So the next morning the man rose up and made himself ready and took some tobacco for an offering, and before noon he set out for the place where Ma-o-na had said that he could meet him, a place where mighty oak-trees grew to a vast height. There he stood still, and watched and listened, till just at noon he saw a large flag drop down to the earth and hang suspended before him. The man looked up and saw that Ma-o-na was there, among the tall oaks; he saw only the face of Ma-o-na, a long face with good eyes, for the flag covered all the rest. Then the face spoke to him and said: 'Nephew, you said that if you could not dream of me you would die. Nephew, you never can die. You never can die, because you are like me. You have dreamed of all my works, you know them all, and so you are like me. The spirits told you this, but you would not believe. You wanted to see me. Now you see me here today!'

"The man thought that he saw Ma-o-na, and he looked long at the face and never turned his eyes away, till at last the creature before him grew tired and drew back its wing; and then the man saw that it was only a chicken-hawk, one of the evil spirit's birds, that had flown down into a low oak close in front of him; and the

chicken-hawk's wing had seemed to be the flag. The man cried for sorrow, and he lay four nights more, and then the spirits came and talked with him and took his soul away with them and said: 'Cease trying to dream of Ma-o-na. There are many more little birds and creatures of the evil spirit that may deceive you. You can dream no more, for you have seen all things.'

"So the man ceased in his fast and no longer tried to dream of Ma-o-na. He never saw Ma-o-na, nor he nor any one upon this earth. It is not possible to see Ma-o-na."

"Maona, to the Indian," Natalie Curtis adds, "is seen in all his works, and the whole world of nature tells of spiritual life. Maona is reflected in the mind of man himself, for man is like Maona when he has seen and understood Maona's works—the universe about him."[176] From the Algonquian-speaking, Northeast Woodland Abnaki (or Wabanaki) we hear the same: "The Great Spirit is in all things; he is in the air we breathe."[177]

The Athabascan-speaking Beaver tribe, Dunne-za, of the Peace River region of Alberta has it that, in the beginning, the roles of people and the animals were reversed. Gigantic progenitors of the present species roamed the woodlands, hunting and eating Indians; but they were overcome and reduced by a culture hero named Saya, who gained knowledge of their medicine songs and turned the power of these against them. As Robin Ridington has noted in his studies of these people,[178] the Vision Quest on which every Beaver child is sent is interpreted as a repetition of the legendary culture deed of Saya; and the Medicine Song specific to the animal of the acquired vision confers on the initiate a wisdom that is in accord with all of nature. The song has a harmonizing, healing power that protects its owner, inspires prophetic dreams, and may be used for curing.

Such personal Medicine Songs are not for general use; but there are songs, also, called "Dreamers' Songs," on which the tribal ceremonies are founded. The shamanic Dreamers through whom these have become known are spoken of as Swan People; for, like swans, the sun, and the culture hero Saya, they can travel to, and return from, another land—a mythological land, where symbols are realities. The trails along which they fly are of songs sent down to earth by earlier Dreamers: songs only a Dreamer can grab hold of, following their turns as a trail.

Ridington points out that these songs combine two elements: one, the rhythm, which is carried by the drum and by the fall of the feet in the dance; the other, the melodic line, carried in the minds and voices of the singers. And as the power of the Medicine Songs is to heal, that of these Dreamers' Songs is to weld together a community in harmony with its environment. The hunters who sing and drum sit in the north and east of the lodge; young women and their children, near the door to the south; the older men and women, among whom are the Dreamers, to the west; and all, from their places, come to join in the dance, circling sunwise round the fire on the trail of Saya: thus, for as long as three days and nights, while a Dreamer recites of the journey.

It was like going up on a sunbeam slanting down through a dark storm cloud, ascending to a place at the end of the trail of the mind, the place of the beginning. Sunset people dream of it, sunrise people sing it out, and all stamp their feet around the fire in the dust of many tracks, all on the one trail of Saya and the Swans.[179]



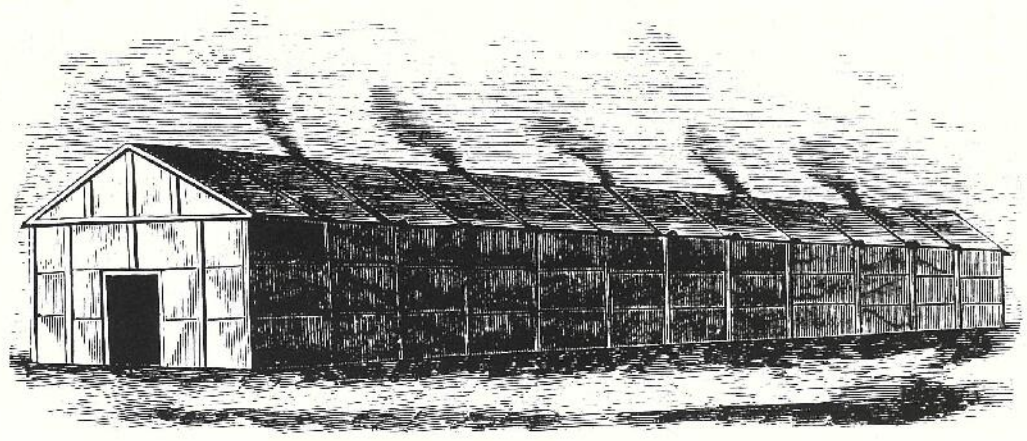
338. The classic snowshoe people of America are the northern Algonquian tribes. The Ojibwa (or Chippewa) snowshoe dance, recorded in 1833 by George Catlin, testifies to the importance of the snowshoe in their lives. Snowshoes of this shape, but with skin covering instead of web, were known to the Paleo-Siberian Yukaghir: the invention had opened the entire Subarctic to the Late Paleolithic hunters, giving them in winter a decisive advantage over the snowbound beasts. According to Catlin, the Ojibwa performed this dance at the first snowfall, when they sang "a song of thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for sending them a return of snow, when they can run on their snowshoes in their valued hunts, and easily take the game for their food."[720]

The Iroquois and Algonquians

Separating the Algonquian tribes around the Great Lakes from those along the Atlantic Coast, there appeared, possibly in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., a people from the south known to history as the 'Iroquois' and to themselves as Ho-de-na-sau-nee (People of the Long House), with reference to the obvious contrast between their long, bark-covered dwellings (housing several matrilineally related families) and the circular, one-family huts of their enemy neighbors.

The carriage northward of strains from the formative culture centers of the south and their subsequent combination with influences from the north are illustrated in the histories, not only of the Iroquois in the East, but also of their linguistically related cousins of the Plains, including, among others: the Crow, Hidatsa, Winnebago, Omaha, Dakota (or Sioux proper), Caddo, Wichita, and Pawnee. The movement of the Iroquois northward along the Atlantic Coast brought them into New York state, Ontario, and Quebec, in which areas they became, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the unrelenting enemies of the earlier Algonquians. And it was the talent of the Iroquois for cooperative organization, as well as their military prowess, that gave them everywhere the advantage.

According to their traditions, Hiawatha, one of their chieftains in the mid-fourteenth century, inspired by the peace message of Dekanawida (a prophet who had been born, it was told, of a virgin), founded the powerful league of five (later, six) Iroquois nations which the French and English colonists found dominant from the lakes Ontario and Erie to the Appalachians. Ironically, however, the legends recounted to this name in Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* (1855) were not Iroquois, but Algonquian, told of the



339. Traditional Iroquois longhouse, sheltering many families, built of poles lashed to construct a frame some 23 feet wide and from 40 to 300 or more feet long, then covered with bark. At one end was the men's door, at the other, the women's. Partitions jutting from the side walls left a long center aisle from end to end, each family (it is supposed) with a stall of its own.



340. The dwellings of an Algonquian people of the North, the Ojibway (or Chippewa), at Sault Sante Marie, Ontario. This painting by Paul Kane is now in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.

Trickster Manabozho. They had been taken by the poet from the writings of Henry R. Schoolcraft (1793–1864), a government agent and ethnologist whose wife was an Ojibwa, and whose *Algic Researches* (1839) and *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (six volumes published between 1851 and 1857), rank—along with the paintings and letters of his contemporary, George Catlin (1796–1872)—among our most important reports of American Indian life and lore at the vivid twilight hour of the Paleolithic Great Hunt. The following is the Ojibwa legend of the origin of maize which in Schoolcraft's redaction inspired Longfellow's Chapter 5, "Hiawatha's Fasting."

There was an unsuccessful hunter, who was poor therefore, but contented and always thankful to the Great Spirit for everything received. When the time came for the ceremonial fast of his eldest son, he built in a secluded spot a little lodge, to which the boy retired. His name was Wunzh. He spent the first two days rambling in the woods, wondering how the plants grew of themselves, why some were good to eat and others not, and whether in his vision he might learn of some easier way than hunting and fishing for his father to procure the family's food.

The third day, feeling weak and faint, he kept to his bed and saw, coming down from the sky and advancing toward him, a handsome youth wearing garments of yellow and green with a plume of waving feathers on his head. "I am sent," said the apparition, "by the Great Spirit, who knows your motive in fasting. You do not seek fame as a warrior, but only to benefit your people. I am sent to instruct you to that end." Then he challenged the boy to a wrestling match, and weak though Wunzh was, he responded. They wrestled long, and when Wunzh could no longer hold out, "My friend," said the beautiful stranger, "that will do for today."

Next day, he reappeared, and though Wunzh felt less strong than before, his courage was the greater, and again they wrestled. "Tomorrow," then said his challenger, "be again strong for the final test." And he rose to the sky. But when the wrestling of the third day had ended, the beautiful youth came into the little fasting lodge and sat down. "You have won your desire," he said. "Tomorrow, when you throw me, you are to strip me of my garments, clean the earth of roots and weeds, and bury me; then leave. But come back from time to time to see whether I have returned to life. Keep the grass and weeds from my grave and once a month lay on fresh earth."



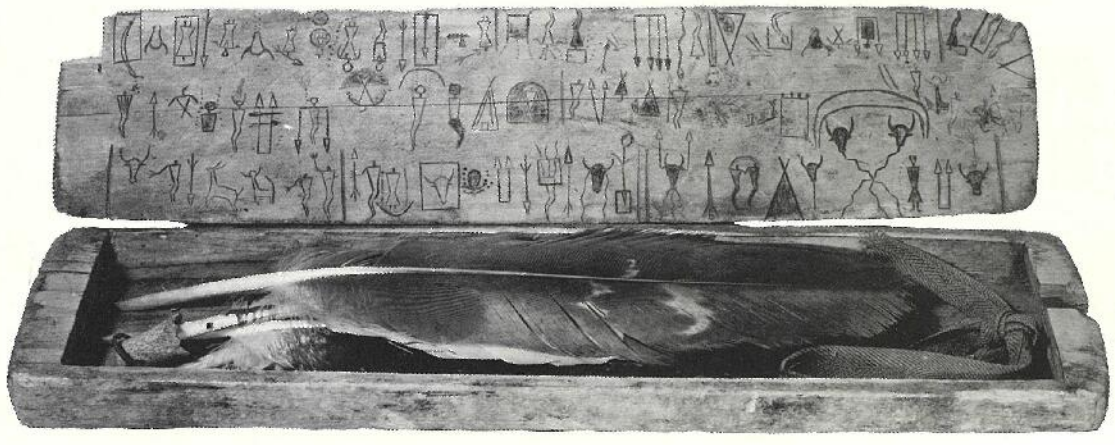
341. Cornhusk mask of the Seneca (Iroquois) "Bushyheads," or Husk Face Society. The masked members appear at the Midwinter Festival to dance among the people and, remaining mute, beg for food

Wunzh's father came the next day with food, but the boy postponed eating until his friend again arrived, and all had developed as foretold. When the beautiful youth lay dead, Wunzh buried him as instructed, and returned to his father's lodge. He betrayed nothing of his experience, but for months tended the secluded grave, saw the green plumes coming up through the ground, watched them grow, and with delight one day brought his father to see a tall, graceful plant with brightly colored, silken hair and golden clusters on each side. "It is my friend," he said, "Mondawmin [maize]. We need no longer rely on hunting alone. For this I fasted, and the Great Spirit heard."[180]

There are Iroquois myths, also, of the origin of maize. According to a Seneca version collected in 1883:

Originally, people lived above, in the center of the Blue, and in the middle of their village grew a tree with blossoms giving light. A woman dreamed of a man who told her that that tree should be uprooted. "A circle must be dug around it," he said; "then a better light will come." So the people cut around their tree and, sinking, it disappeared. Darkness fell, and the chief, becoming furious, ordered the woman pushed into the hole.

Down, down she fell. Below there was only water, with waterfowl and aquatic animals at play. A duck looked up, saw something coming down, cried out, and a council was called to prepare a landing place. Loon said to Fishhawk, "Go catch and hold that creature until we are ready." The duck said, "I'll dive, and see if there is any bottom to this water." Long later it broke the surface, shot into the air, and fell back dead. Others tried with like result.



342. From pictures drawn on rocks to such on birch bark or on wood as those on this box lid is a major step, since rock pictures are normally representational of individuals or of scenes, whereas these are discursive, representing a sequence of connected thoughts, in the way of linear writing. The carved box itself is an Ojibwa tabernacle for the preservation of the sacred feathers used in meetings of the Midéwiwin, or Grand Medicine Society. Feathers were generally regarded in America, not simply as symbolic, but actually as carriers and communicators of spiritual power. The inscription on the lid is a record of Midéwiwin songs, to remind the singer as he chants.

Hell-diver, however, brought up mud, and Loon then sent all the members of that tribe down for more. "Put the mud on Turtle's back," he said. Beaver flattened it with his tail. Then Fishhawk brought the woman down and, work continuing, the earth increased; bushes presently appeared, and soon the woman gave birth to a girl.

Very quickly the child grew. And when a young woman, she was one day strolling, enjoying the animals and birds, when she met a nice young man. With their union, day and night came. At daybreak, she would go to meet him; at twilight, return home. One evening, she looked back and saw a big turtle walking where the man had just been. She thought: "A turtle has deceived me." At home, she told her mother and said, "I am going to die. You must bury me and cover me well. From my breasts will grow two stalks, on each of which an ear will appear. When ripe, give one to each of the boys I am to bear." She gave birth to twins, died, and was buried. And that was the origin of maize.[181]

Twin heroes are found everywhere in the mythologies of the Americas, North and South. But the boys are matched variously: as solar and lunar figures, warrior and medicine man, favored and unfavored sons, good creator and bad, and so on. In the present case, the first born is a competent creator, the second, incompetent and resentful.

The elder of the brothers molded mud into a shape, set it down, and asked, "Can you jump?" It didn't move. He blew on it, and it jumped. It was a grasshopper. Then he thought to make something to go higher, took red clay, and made the cherry bird, which flew and lighted on a bough. He shaped a deer, blew on it, pushed it, and it ran off. Then he thought, "Maybe I can make something like myself." Out of mud he fashioned such a thing and, wanting to give it a spirit like his own, bent down and blew into its mouth. It moved. He stood it on its feet and told it to whoop. The new man whooped. He had a fine voice.

Secretly watching, the younger brother thought, "I will make a man too." He went away and made something as like himself as he could, but it was deformed and strange. Another of his productions was a frog as large as a man. Others were man-eaters. One was known as *Shagodyowag*, or False Face. Its maker said, "Go and eat all the creatures my brother has made."

The elder brother, meanwhile, thought: "Let me make something like my grandmother." He made it of mud, breathed into it, brought it to the man he had made, and said: "This one I give to you. Be always together. You will have children like yourselves and will hunt the animals I have made for food. But you will not live forever. I now, go above the Blue. When you die, your spirit also will go above the Blue." Then he departed.

But when, from the Blue, he saw the creatures that his brother had made, he came down, put the man-eaters into the ground, and told them to remain there as long as the earth endured. Shagodyowag, however, spoke to him first: "Do not destroy me! I want to live on the earth and be your servant," he said. "I will inhabit the woods. The ashes of fire will be my medicine for men. I will scatter ashes over the sick and they will be well." Since he had spoken first, he could not be put into the ground; so the brother let him stay on earth. The true meaning of his name, Shagodyowag, is the Great One Who Protects Mankind.

The elder brother returned to the Blue, and the younger said to their grandmother: "I have tried to make a man, but have failed. Now I shall cause those that my brother has made to do evil."[182]



343. Great Doctor Mask of the Seneca (Iroquois) False Face Society. Such masks are worn by all the members when arriving as a group to cure a patient. The masks represent spirits of disease, which are without bodies, simply faces, and anyone dreaming of such a False Face is eligible for membership. All except the leader of the group were male. And here again we see a token of the Iroquois talent for organization; for these healers were not shamans, working individually: they always arrived as a company, masked, in single file, behind a female leader—this cooperation of male and female powers itself being an influence from the south. "On entering the house of the invalid," states Lewis H. Morgan, "they first stirred the ashes upon the hearth, and then sprinkled the patient over with hot ashes until his head and hair were covered; after which they performed some manipulations over him in turn, and finally led him around with them in the falseface dance, with which their ceremonies concluded. When these performances were over, the entertainment prepared for the occasion was distributed to the band, and by them carried away for their private feasting, as they never unmasked themselves before the people."[21] The Grand Medicine Society (Midéwiwin) of certain Central Woodland tribes was composed, likewise, not of shamans, but of members who either had dreamed of, or themselves been cured by, the group. Among the Pueblos there were such organizations as well.

One recognizes in this final threat the influence of 200 years of Christian ethical dualism, the missions preaching God above and, on earth below, Satan and all those other evil spirits, *qui ad perditionem animarum pervagantur in mundo*, "who wander through the world for the ruin of souls."[183]

Even more evident influences from Europe—and from Africa as well—appear among the remaining fragments of the cruelly obliterated cultures of the Southeast of the United States. From the Creeks, for example, we learn that man was originally formed by the Great Spirit from fired clay; but the first batch was overbaked and came out black: these are the Negroes; the second was underbaked and came out pale: these are the Whites; the third came out just right in both color and form: and are, of course, the native Indian tribes.[184]

The Muskogean Creek

The Creeks, a Muskogean-speaking people, formerly of Alabama and Georgia, were demolished by General Andrew Jackson, 1813–14, and the remainder deported in the 1830s to what is now Oklahoma, where, together with the Muskogean Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole, and the similarly-exiled Iroquoian Cherokee (formerly of Tennessee and the Carolinas), they became known for a time as the Five Civilized Tribes.

The widely told tar-baby tale—originally from India by way of both Europe and Africa—reappeared among the Creeks as an adventure of the favorite Woodland Trickster, Rabbit.

A man who had been missing peas from his garden set a little image of pine tar before the plundered area, and when Rabbit came that night, he saw the figure. "Who are you?" he asked, and hopped closer. "If you don't answer, I'll hit you." He struck hard with his right forepaw, and the paw got stuck. "Let go of my paw," he said, "or I'll hit harder." He struck with his left paw, and that too got stuck. "I have another foot, stronger than these," he said, and he kicked. The foot got stuck. He kicked again, and again got stuck. "I'll kill you," he said, and he butted with his head and remained there, stuck in five places.

When the man arrived in the morning, Rabbit said to him, "Well, I've caught your thief! Here he is!" "Yes, indeed!" said the man. "I see my thief, all right, and I'm going to get rid of him." He tore Rabbit loose and tied him to a stake near his pigpen, then went off to get boiling water. When he had gone, Wolf came along and, seeing Rabbit tied, asked the meaning. "Oh, this fellow," said Rabbit, "asked me to eat up all his pigs and, since I couldn't, he tied me here." "Well, I can eat them for him," said Wolf. "Let me take your place." He untied Rabbit, who in turn tied him to the stake, and when Rabbit hopped off and crawled into a hollow tree, the man returned.

"So!" he said, when he saw Wolf. "You are up to your old tricks and have made yourself look like a wolf!" He poured the boiling water on Wolf, who, howling in pain, tugged and broke the string, and ran off to the very tree into which Rabbit had crawled. As he sat there licking his scalded hide, Rabbit reached out and stuck him with a splinter. Wolf jumped up. "Not bad enough already!" he said. "So now I'm being bitten by ants!"[185]

We find also among the Creeks the following curious counterpart of the African Bushman tale of the Trickster Jackal who turned Lion into his horse. (See page 101.)

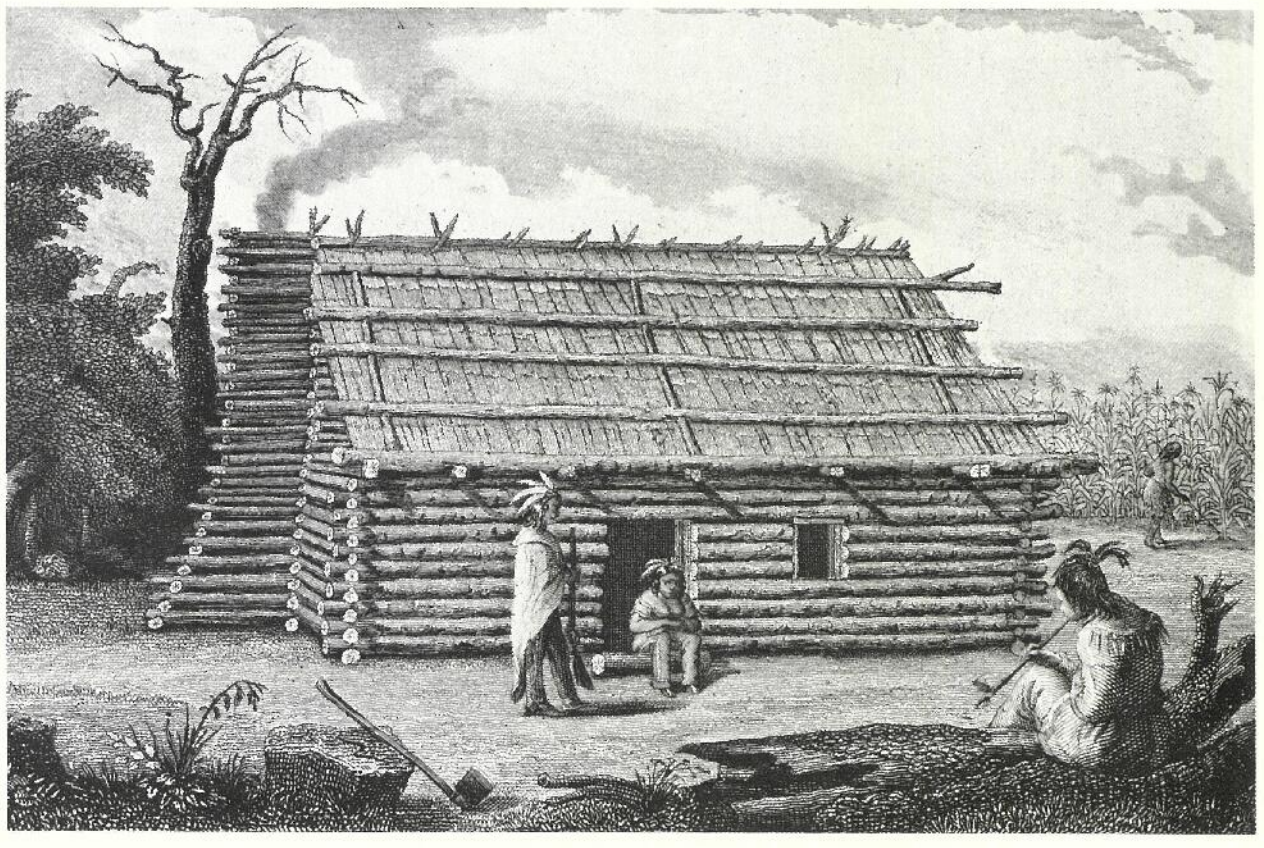
Rabbit wanted a wife, but Wolf, who was courting at the same house, was making a better impression because he was better-looking. So one day Rabbit said to the ladies: "Wolf is my riding horse." And when they refused to believe him, he declared that he would prove it by riding Wolf the next day.

Rabbit went to Wolf's house. "Let us go courting tomorrow," he suggested, and when Wolf agreed, Rabbit asked to be called for, so that the two could go together. When Wolf arrived next day, Rabbit pretended to be sick. "I can't walk," he said; "but if you would carry me on your back, I think I might go." Wolf consented; so Rabbit mounted him, and they started.

When they were ascending a hill, Rabbit fell off and declared that he could not stay on unless Wolf let him put on spurs. Wolf consented, and as they went on, Rabbit said, "Suppose you pretend you are my horse!" Wolf agreed, and they went on in a friendly way until they came within sight of the house where the ladies were watching for them. "We must make a good appearance," said Rabbit. "As we approach, you must caper and dance." He struck his spurs into Wolf's sides, and they dashed up to the ladies in fine style. Then Rabbit tethered his horse to a post and, striding up to the ladies, said to them: "You see! I told you the truth. Here is my horse." They were impressed; and so he won his bride.[186]

The classic adventure of the Trickster, however, is the Fire Theft, and in the Creek's telling of Rabbit's miracles, the deed was accomplished as follows:

"How shall we obtain fire?" the people asked, and it was agreed that Rabbit should try. He crossed the Great Water to the east, and was received by the Fire People gladly. A dance was arranged, and when Rabbit joined the circle he was wearing a peculiar cap into which he had stuck four sticks of rosin. In the center of the circle was the Sacred Fire, and as the people danced, they circled nearer and nearer. Then they all began to bow to the Fire, bending lower and lower. Rabbit also bowed. He, too, bent lower and lower, and then suddenly very low. The sticks of rosin caught fire, and with his head ablaze, he ran. The people, amazed, all joined in pursuit of the impious stranger who had touched and stolen the Sacred Fire. Rabbit ran to the Great Water, sprang in, and the people pursuing stopped at the shore. Flames blazing from his cap, Rabbit swam. He swam across the Great Water and returned to his people; and so that was the way fire was obtained from the east.[187]



344. The Muskogean Creeks, who originally occupied Georgia and Alabama, dwelt in towns of rectangular houses arranged around plazas. The buildings were of poles plastered with mud, roofed with bark or thatch, and with smoke holes at the gables. The cabin here reproduced, described as a "Creek house in its best state of native improvement in 1790," shows the effects of 2½ centuries of association with European settlers. The Creeks were removed to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in the 1830s.

Prehistoric Societies in the American Midwest

Of especial interest in the Ojibwa legend of the origin of maize are two details: the appearance of the visionary messenger in human form, and the nature of the bestowed boon, not as a gift simply of personal power and protection, but as a transformation of the very body of the messenger himself. We are here at a juncture of two distinct, even contrary, mythologies: one, the northern, of those animal messengers who appear in vision as personal guardians; and the other, sprung from the plant world of the tropics, of a mythic being in whose death is the life of the world. For the great hunting tribes of the interior of North America were not simply hunters at the time of its discovery, but planters of maize, beans, and squash as well. And the myths associated with their horticulture had come to them, along with the art of plant domestication, from the south, where this art originated. The Iroquois legend of the first mother from whose buried body the food plants grew is another North American example of this widely known mythological motif. The global range of the idea is approximately the same as that indicated in Map 33, "Bisexual Mythic Beings and Powers" (see page 142); for these two themes are akin. They are commonly associated, furthermore, with the moon that sheds its shadow and the serpent that sloughs its skin, even as the plant its seed, to be reborn.

The history of the entry of this plant-inspired mythology into the North American twilight zone of the Paleolithic Great Hunt is schematically illustrated on these pages in the chronological chart and in the drawings prepared by artist George Armstrong of Chicago's Field Museum. Based on the clearly stratified findings of an exemplary excavation begun in the 1970s under the leadership of Stuart Struever of Northwestern University on a farm (the Koster site) in southern Illinois, they reflect in continuous series the transformations of ceremonial forms through a range of 10,000 years.

THE KOSTER SITE: 8000 B.C. to A.D. 1200

At the lowest level of the dig (and of the chart) the artifacts are of the period known (for this area) as the Early Archaic, c. 8000 to 5000 B.C., at which time the early postglacial landscape of eastern North America, from southern Canada to the Gulf and from the Atlantic into the Plains, was transforming into woodland, and the big-game hunting of the terminal Pleistocene was giving way to small-game hunting, fishing, and wild-plant collecting. At the Koster site, c. 6400 B.C., among the remains of a hamlet of about twenty-five inhabitants, occupying three-quarters of an acre, the first recorded signs of food grinding in North America appear in the form of metates and manos for the pounding of nuts and seeds. The earliest cemetery yet found in eastern North America lay at the western edge of this little settlement. Bodies with knees drawn up to the chest had been left exposed in prepared oval pits until decomposition set in, then covered. One eighteen-month-old infant had been dusted with red ocher. Some of the graves had been protected with limestone slabs or with logs. There were also the burials of three dogs, each in a very shallow pit, their legs curled up and heads turned inward toward the bodies. Finally, beads of a hematite not of this region tell of an already developing trade. Deer and various small mammals, fish, seeds, nuts, and fresh-water mussels were the people's food.

Following c. 6000 B.C., the site served for some two centuries as work camp for the fashioning of stone tools, after which a settlement twice as large as the first arose, covering an acre and a half, with a population dwelling in the earliest large and permanent houses yet found in North America, practicing more highly developed ceremonials than their predecessors, and equipped with more efficient tools. The village survived to c. 5000 B.C., after which the site remained uninhabited for a thousand years—except for a brief occupation at a date not determined.

The era from c. 5000 to 2000 B.C. is known (for this region) as the Middle Archaic, and at the Koster site, c. 3900 B.C., the dwellings of a settlement appear that survived to c. 2800 B.C. (five times as long as the history, to date, of the United States). A population of about 150 dwelt in a village of about 5 acres, still subsisting on wild foods, but at the beginning of an era of expanding trade (copper beads from Lake Superior, high-grade flints from Indiana) and of advanced ceremonial forms. The burials give evidence of improved life expectancy (to 60 or 70 years), care for the aged (some with severe arthritis), and, in a special cemetery apart, high-status burial rites. The village was abandoned apparently because of the exhaustion of available firewood.

The millenium from c. 2000 to c. 1000 B.C. is known here as the Late Archaic. At the Koster site, c. 1950 B.C., there arrived a people from the south (from the area of St. Louis), whose high-ranking burials in cemeteries remote from the village are furnished with beautiful flint daggers and engraved marine-shell pendants. The cultivated bottle gourd arrived (by trade) c. 1200 B.C., and maize (also by trade) c. 200 B.C., together with two pottery styles: "cord-marked" and "incised." No signs of local horticulture were to appear, however, until A.D. 800 to 950.

Apparently, during the Middle and Late Archaic periods the evolving Woodland cultures of eastern North America were so greatly gaining in their security and wealth that when agricultural products began arriving by trade, these were received and appreciated rather as supplements to, than as substitutes for, the bountiful natural resources. Hence, at the Koster site the villagers continued as hunters, fishers, and collectors for no less than 2000 years after learning of agricultural developments elsewhere. From c. 1200 B.C., the signs at the site increase of arrivals of domesticated products, yet it was not until c. A.D. 800 that these hunters began themselves to cultivate plants.

The great changes at the Koster site were introduced by: (1) the White-Hall People, c. A.D. 400 to 800, who brought the bow and arrow (formerly only spear and atlatl had been used); (2) the Jersey Buff People, who practiced horticulture (squash and pumpkins in small gardens), fashioned a thin-walled buff pottery, lived in a twenty-five-acre village of about one-hundred inhabitants, and during whose time the first evidences appear of armed warfare; and (3) a Mississippian people, c. A.D. 900 to 1200, who used ground and polished stone tools and cultivated fields of maize, beans, squash, and other crops; with them palisaded villages and large towns became numerous in the area, as did ceremonial plazas, temple mounds, and fortifications. Then, c. A.D. 1200, the Koster site was abandoned because of its vulnerability to attack.[22]

1000 A.D.

A.D.

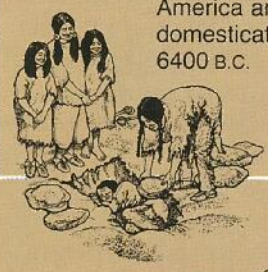
1000 B.C.

2000 B.C.

3000 B.C.

4000 B.C.

Earliest known human cemetery in Eastern North America and ritual burial of domesticated dogs. 6400 B.C.



5000 B.C.



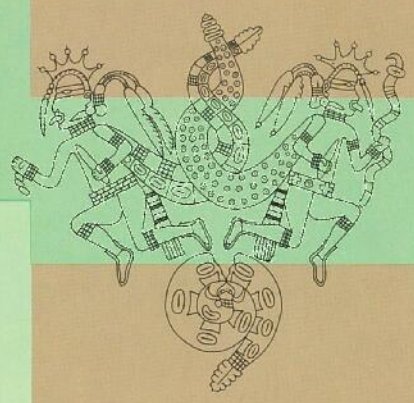
BURIAL AND TEMPLE MOUNDS: c. 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1700

6000 B.C.

Parallel to, and finally reflected in, the later levels of the Koster site were three developments to the east and south that have been schematically represented in this chart, namely: (1) the Adena Culture of Ohio, c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 100 (Map 44 and lower figure grouping); (2) the Hopewell Culture, c. 100 B.C. to A.D. 300 (Map 45 and middle grouping); and (3) the Mississippian Culture, c. A.D. 700 to 1600 (Map and upper grouping).

7000 B.C.

North American mounds are of two kinds, "burial" and "temple," classified chronologically as: Burial Mound I (c. 1000 to 300 B.C.) and II (c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 700), with the Adena and Hopewell Cultures as respective representatives, and Temple Mound I (c. A.D. 700 to 1200) and II (1200 to 1700), with the Mississippian Culture as model and source.



351. Interlaced pair of snake dancers emerging from a sloughed rattlesnake coil. Engraving on a large conch shell. Height, 12½ inches. Spiro Mound, Le-Flore County, Oklahoma.



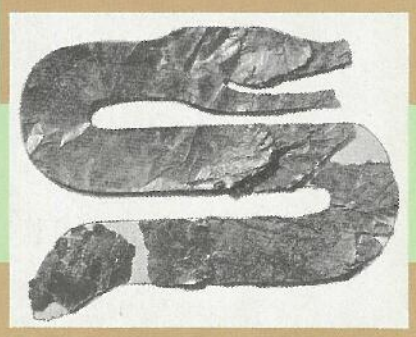
352. Eye-in-palm motif (associated in Tibet with the Bodhisattva Chenrazi/ Avalokiteshvara), displayed in the oriental "fear-not" posture *(abhāya mudra)*, at midpoint of a cycle of two horned rattlesnakes. Engraved stone disk, diameter of 12½ inches, from Moundville, Alabama.



353. Figure in meditation, right hand in the oriental "boon-bestowing" posture *(varadana mudra)*. Stone. Height, 21½ inches. Racoon Creek, Georgia.



Map **46**. Sites of the Mississippian "Interaction Sphere": large towns with ceremonial plazas surrounded by earthen temple mounds. Formative area, Cahokia and environs (around St. Louis, Missouri). Classic period, c. A.D. 700 to 1200.



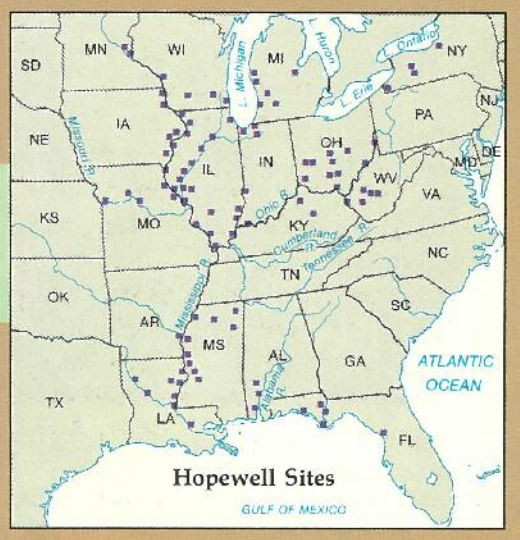
348. Snake cut from a sheet of mica about a foot wide. From the Turner site in southern Ohio. Mica imported from Virginia or North Carolina.



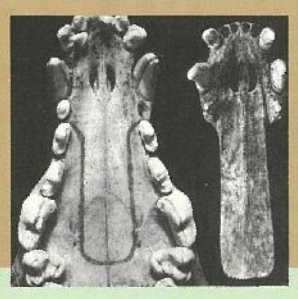
349. Swastika of native copper, beaten, cut, and annealed. From the Hopewell Mound Group in Ross County, Ohio. Animals, fish, crescents, and complex geometrical forms were also fashioned of native copper.

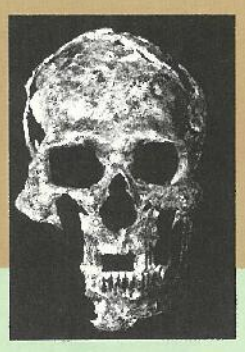


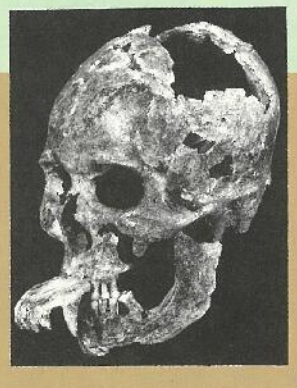
350. Silhouetted hand of sheet mica. Length, 10 inches. From the Hopewell Mound Group. Mica being too fragile for practical use, such delicate pieces were probably fashioned as burial gifts.



Map **45.** Sites of the Hopewellian "Interaction Sphere": local cultures incorporating mortuary, iconographic, and other distinctive features of the sumptuous development in the Illinois and Ohio valleys known as the Hopewell Culture, c. 100 B.C. to A.D. 300.







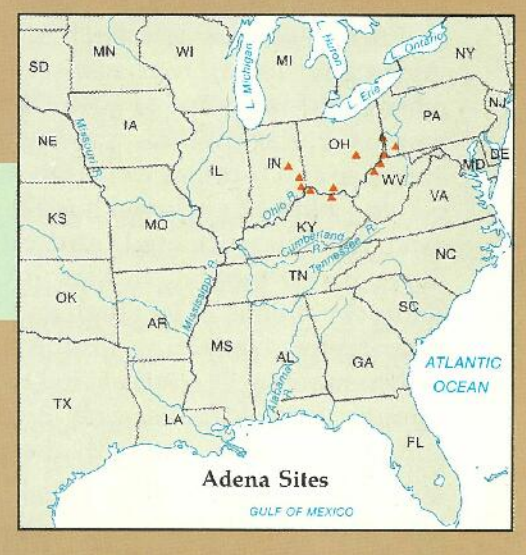
345. **(a)** Spatula-shaped artifact cut from a wolf's palet, from Wright Mounds, Montgomery County, Kentucky. **(b)** Skull with its upper incisors missing, from Ayers Mound, Owen County, Kentucky. **(c)** Ayers Mound skull with the Wright Mound artifact inserted through its incisor gap, suggesting a possible detail of shamanic semi-animal disguise.[23]



346. The Adena Pipe, from the Adena Mound, Ross County, Ohio. One of the oldest pipes known. Height, 7¾ inches. Mouthpiece at top, bowl below feet.



347. The Wilmington Tablet, showing a raptorial bird in mirrored negative reflex, head and wings above, feet and tail below. Sandstone slab, 5 by 6 inches, from Clinton County, Ohio.



Map **44.** Distribution of Adena Culture Sites: burial and effigy mounds, c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 100. Originating from the middle Ohio Valley, one of the earliest maize-cultivating cultures of North America.



354. The Serpent Mound, an effigy mound of the Adena culture, about the first century B.C., near Locust Grove, Ohio: over 1300 feet long and 2½ to 3 feet high, it is in the form of an uncoiling serpent holding an egg-shaped object in its jaws. No one knows its function.

Most of what is known of the Adena has been derived from their burial and effigy mounds. That they were a numerous people is evident from the magnitude of their works; witness, for example, the great Serpent Mound (Figure 354) of the first century B.C., or the bird-effigy mound in Effigy Mounds National Monument (Mcgregor, Iowa) that measures, from wing-tip to wing-tip, 41 yards. Their numerous burial mounds greatly vary in both size and form, as well as in the number and kind of enclosed burials: flexed, extended, disarticulated, and cremated. There is one mound, in Mason County, Kentucky, that is 17 feet high and 120 feet in diameter, containing fifty-five burials and cremations;[188] another, in Doddridge County, West Virginia, only 3 feet high and 12 feet in diameter, with one burial.[189] The origins of the Adena and their customs are obscure, pointing as well to the north as to the south. A type of cremation anticipating theirs—using red ocher and with associated copper and galena fragments—has been radiocarbon-dated to as early as 2450 B.C. at the Red Lake site in New York State;[190] and the astonishing shamanic wolf-palet masks, (Figure 345), of which a number have been found,[191] likewise suggest an archaic, northern, Great Hunt culture background. However, the distinctive, artificially deformed skulls of the select individuals buried in the mounds indicate associations, rather, from the south.[192] Broad-headed (brachycephalic), in contrast to their long-headed (dolichocephalic) neighbors, they have been classified as a Gulf type;[193] and they so deformed their heads with circular bindings in infancy that their adult skulls exhibit foreheads that are among the highest known in the world.[194] Comparable deformations appear in skulls from early sites in the Valley of Mexico: Tlatilco, El Arbolillo, and Ticomán.[195] Furthermore, the large ear spools and the bent knees of the Adena pipe figurine (Figure 346) come definitely from the south. It has been noted that this little fellow looks like an achondroplastic dwarf with a goiter and rachitic joints. Deformed subjects are not uncommon in Middle and South American art; indeed, some were deified. The skeleton of one such achondroplastic dwarf has been found in an Adena mound near Waverly, Ohio.[196]

The symbolic forms represented in the Adena remains and mounds mark the opening of an era of increasing iconographic enrichment for the whole of the eastern Woodland region (see Map 44). Since we know nothing of the local social orders in relation to which these symbols functioned, we cannot interpret them ethnologically; however, their evident accordance with the forms of a widely known pictorial tradition makes it possible to suspect certain probabilities. The great Serpent Mound, for example, showing a snake bearing in its jaws an egglike form, suggests the mythic theme (once represented in the nineteenth-century flag of the Chinese Empire) of the cosmic dragon bearing the sun in its jaws; or in India, Ananta, the serpent of the cosmic sea, bearing the universe on his head; or in India again, the Tantric image and parable of the serpent of our mortal life incubating the egg, the golden germ, of the realization of our immortality. It has been suggested that the oval "in all probability marks the site of the ceremonies that must have been connected with this work."[197]

The split image of a raptorial bird on the Wilmington Tablet (Figure 347) suggests a shamanic theme from the Paleolithic northern context: for there is another such plaque, the Gaitskill Clay Tablet (Figure 356), in which the bird's wings have become the hands of a masked personage whose feet are as a bird's talons. (Compare the masked bird-shaman of Lascaux,

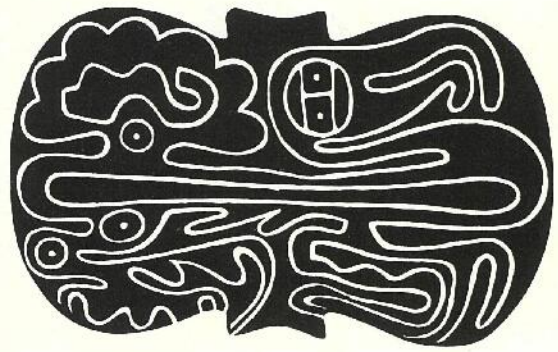
355. The Lakin Tablet, an engraved stone tablet, 4½ by 3 inches, from an Adena mound in Lakin, West Virginia. Whereas in the Wilmington Tablet **(347)** the form is of a raptorial bird in mirrored negative reflex, that here is anthropomorphic, centered, yet bilaterally symmetrical, with arms and hands where the other shows wings, and with the feet modified to suggest talons. The head is masked: the subject, apparently, is of a shaman masked as a raptorial bird.

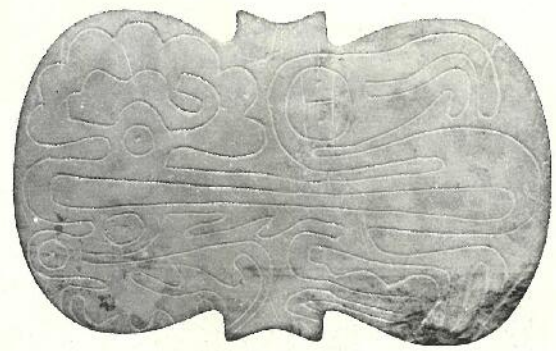




356. The Gaitskill Tablet, a clay tablet engraved in bas-relief, 4½ by 3½ inches, from the Gaitskill mound, an Adena site in Mount Sterling, Kentucky. As in the Lakin Tablet **(355)**, so here (but more distinctly), the form is of a masked man with birdlike traits. The quadrated composition matches that of the Wilmington Tablet **(347)**: wings (or hands) above, taloned feet below. Dots mark the limb joints. The circle-in-palm anticipates the "hand-eye" design of the Moundville disk **(352)**.

357. The Berlin Tablet, engraved sandstone tablet, from an Adena mound in Berlin, Jackson County, Ohio, is unique in that it is engraved on both sides, the two images being practically identical. As in the Wilmington Tablet **(347)**, the subject is a raptorial bird, but its eye has the form of a masked human face, suggesting the possibility of shamanic transformation. There are a total of thirteen of these engraved Adena tablets, all but three of which variously combine raptorial-bird and shamanic features.







358. Shell mask (miniature). Height, 3½ inches. From Anker site in Illinois. The "forked eye" is a Mississippian trait.



359. Shell gorget. Diameter, 4½ inches. From the Spiro Mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma. Masks, apparently of deities of the world center and quarters, all with "forked-eye" markings.



360. Shell mask. Height, 6¾ inches. From Stafford County, Virginia. "Weeping-eye" motif.

If the Adena tablets suggest a Paleolithic shamanic heritage from territories of the Great Hunt, the engraved Mississippian shells above testify to influences from the civilizations of Middle and South America. The "weeping eye" is of a native tradition that is represented in images from as far south as Argentina: see, for example, the Frontispiece **(1)**.

Figure 105, page 65. The dots and circles at the joints of these figures suggest the eyes seen in the shamanic art of the Northwest Coast. Those in the palms anticipate the "hand-eye" of the Mississippian Moundville Disk (Figure 352). And one may think, as well, not only of the "eye of mercy" in the palms of Tibetan Taras and Bodhisattvas, but also of the pierced hands of the Risen Savior, Jesus Christ, who had descended into hell and was about to ascend beyond the blue.

The indentations along the lower margin of the Wilmington tablet point downward along the left half, upward along the right; and the matched heads, wings, and feet of the split image also contrast as positive and negative. The obvious suggestion would seem to be of a single transcendent power that has become manifest as a pair of opposites.

The human remains uncovered in the Hopewell mounds are of a long-headed race, differing in origin from the broad-headed Adena; yet the Hopewell, too, practiced cranial deformation.[198] They received and developed the Adena inspiration in their own way, constructing larger and more complex earthworks, some of which enclosed as much as 100 acres. And



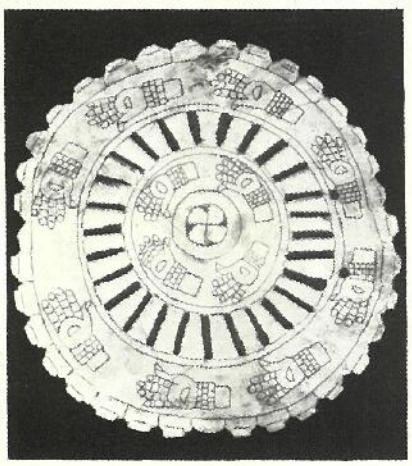
361. Female statuette from a Hopewell burial mound. Clay. Height, 7¼ inches. Turner Mound, Ohio.



362. Stone pipe in the shape of a puma. Hopewell style. From Posey County, Indiana.



363. Hopewell statuette of a young woman. Marbled pottery, painted red, black, and white. height, 4⅜ inches. The Knight Mound, Illinois, c. 200 B.C.



364. Shell gorget (Mississippian) from the Spiro Mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma. Swastika at center. Ring of twenty-seven spokes separating eye-in-hand circles.



365. Stone effigy pipe, 10 by 5 inches. From Spiro Mound. Warrior beheading a victim.



366. Shell gorget from Spiro Mound. Swastika at center on back of spider. Circles of seventeen spokes and of hands with shell-bead bracelets.

while many of the symbolic forms represented in their grave goods carry forward Adena themes (the cross, raptorial bird, hand-eye, and serpent, for example), others appear as new (sun-disks, swastikas, and various cut-out geometric designs in sheet mica and copper). Atlatl weights, flint and obsidian blades, masses of freshwater pearls, polished stone earspools, effigy pipes, and engraved human and animal bones also appear among the remains.[199] The high period was from 100 B.C. to A.D. 200; the extent of the influence was enormous (see Map 45). The decline and disappearance, for reasons unknown, occurred well before the rise of the second great Woodland phenomenon, the Mississippian, which developed and spread (as Map 46 shows) through the more southern part of the southeastern quarter of the continent.



367. Shell gorget, diameter of 7 inches, from Spiro Mound. Swastika in sun circle at center of cross that quarters the composition. Raccoon hangs from top, more raccoons from cross beam. Sun shields and rattles (with crosses) in the performers' hands.

The Mississippian tradition represents a reflex from the south of the Mesoamerican civilization, which in the latter half of the first millenium A.D. was at its classical apogee. The very great metropolis of Teotihuacán (the name meaning "City of Gods" or "Where Men Become Gods"), which around A.D. 650 was sacked and burned by the invading Toltec, has left upon its site, some 33 miles north of modern Mexico City, an imposing complex of remains covering an area of 8 square miles. In the northern part stands the Pyramid of the Moon, flanked by platforms and lesser pyramids; on the eastern edge, the Pyramid of the Sun, measuring at its base about 240 by 253 yards and rising by five terraces to a present height of 216 feet; while at the southern end of the vast complex, the symbolically decorated pyramid-temple of the "Feathered Serpent,"



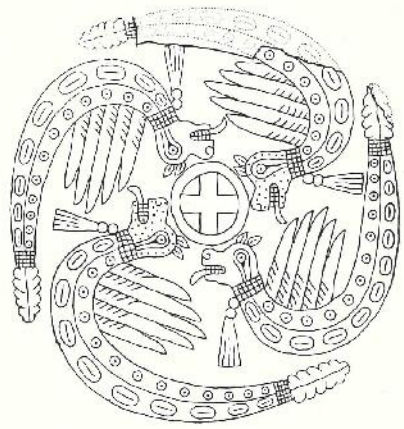
Mississippian symbolic designs engraved on large marine shells, all from Spiro Mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma:

368. Fish pierced by arrows, with curved lines (wave forms?) and sun symbol on side.

369. Pumas with bird claws circumambulating sun symbol counterclockwise.



370. Winged-rattlesnake triad, axial serpent two-headed (second head below).



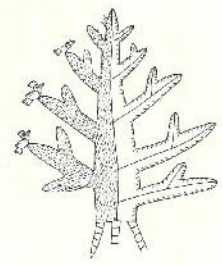
371. Winged-rattlesnake swastika, sun cross at center.



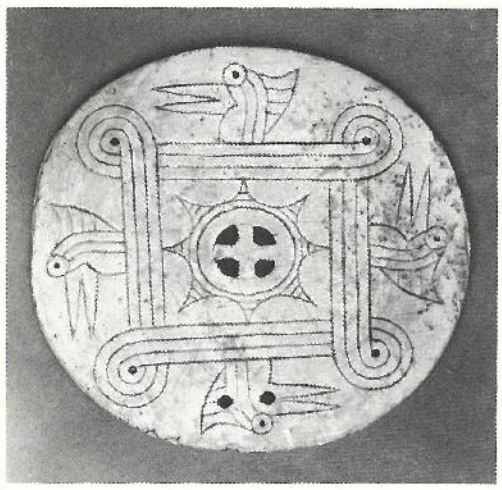
372. Two-faced personage between serpent staves.



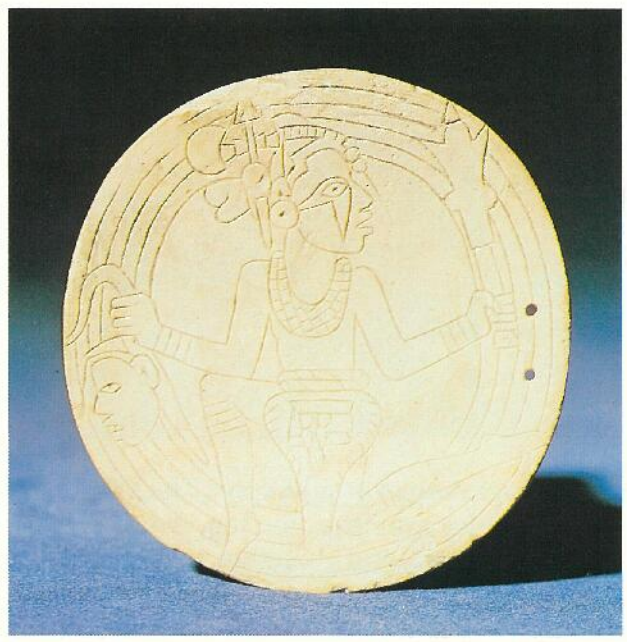
373. Dancer(?) in swastika pose, eyes at elbow joints and sun symbol on chest.



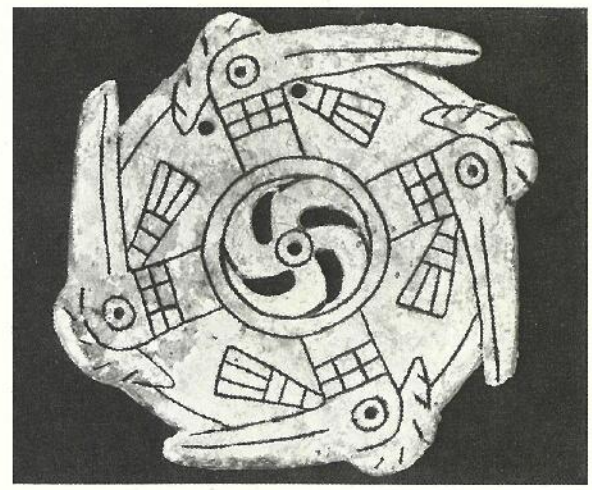
374. Crested birds on shaded side of a three-rooted tree.



375. Crested-bird swastika with sun cross at center. Engraved shell gorget, diameter of 3⅜ inches. From Castalian Springs, Sumner County, Tennessee. Design almost identical appear on other gorgets from Tennessee, as well as from Alabama and Mississippi.



376. Engraved shell gorget, diameter of 4 inches. From Castalian Springs, Sumner County, Tennessee. The warrior (showing forked-eye motif) with elaborate headdress holds in one hand a mace, in the other a severed head.



377. Crested-bird swastika with sun swastika at center. Engraved shell gorget, diameter of 3⅞ inches. From Spiro Mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma. The bird is apparently a mythological species, combining heron, woodpecker, and turkey.

Quetzalcoatl, confronts an expanse of 38 acres of ruined walls, known today as the Citadel (*La Ciudadela*). The paved concourse connecting the main groups of these spectacular buildings is 1½ miles long, 40 yards wide, and flanked along its length by platforms that originally (it is supposed) supported the public buildings and palace residences of a governing élite. The planning and early formation of this city must have begun around the first or second century A.D., and its influence extended as far south as to Guatemala and north (at least) to Cahokia on the Mississippi.

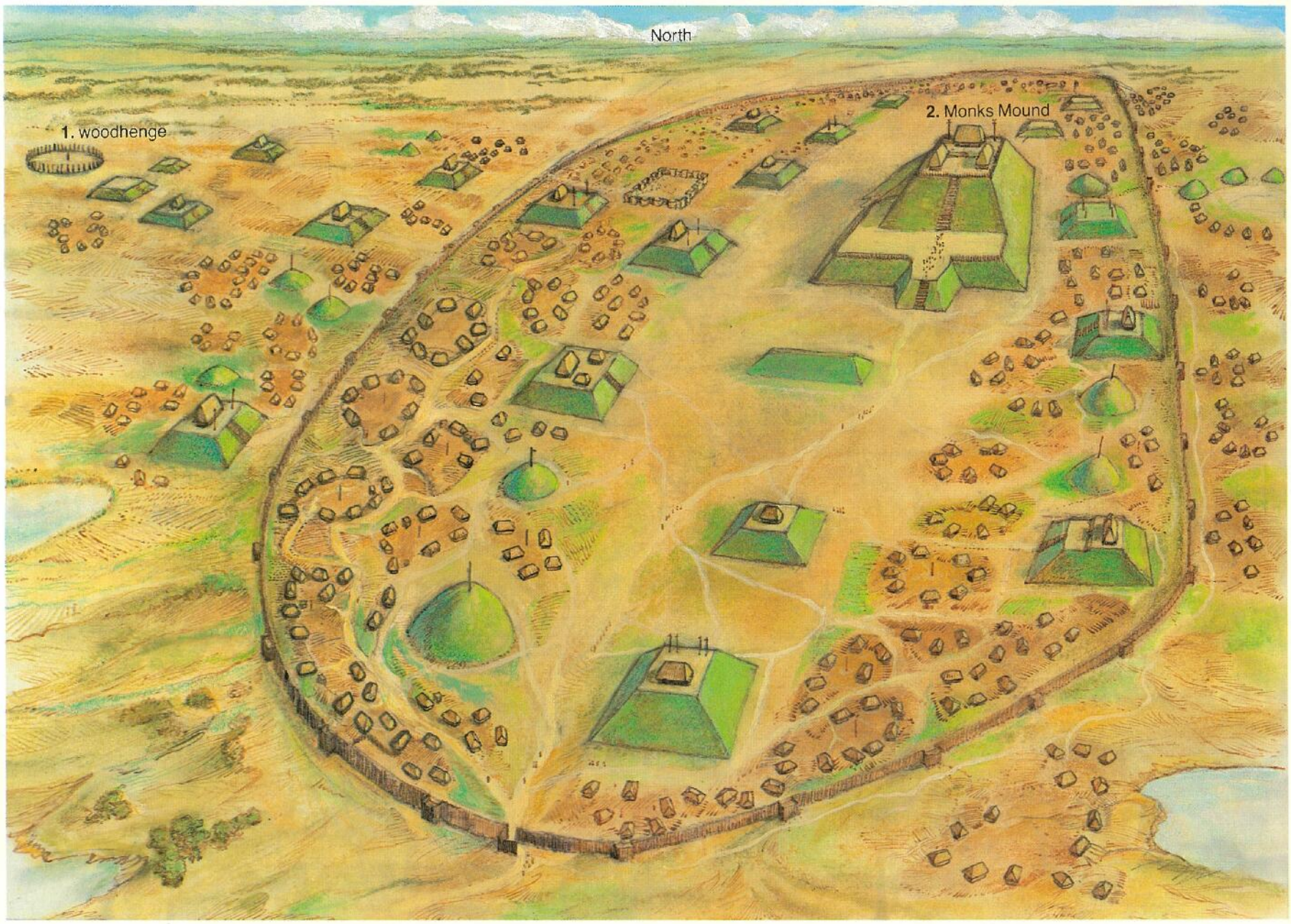
The typical form of such a major Mississippian city as Cahokia was an arrangement of flat-topped, rectangular platform mounds around rectangular open plazas, the mounds having served as bases for temples, chiefs' houses, and other important buildings; and the period, known as Temple Mound I, of the rise and expansion of this Mississippian culture-form (c. A.D. 700 to 1200) matches the period of Toltec ascendancy in Mesoamerica (c. A.D. 650 to 1160).



378. Design from an immense engraved marine shell, 13 inches long. From Spiro Mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma. Representation is of an eagle dancer in full costume, with stepped (cloud?) design overhead and a sun-circle at the throat.

The fundamental legend of that somewhat obscure Mesoamerican period was of the "Feathered Serpent," Quetzalcoatl, god-king of the fabled city of Tollan, who, when old and hideous, sinned, committing incest with his sister after both had partaken unwittingly of an intoxicating potion. Ashamed, the god-king departed from his city, set to sea on a serpent raft, and after a period of fourteen days reappeared in the eastern sky as the Morning Star.

We observe that the winged-rattlesnake appears in the Mississippian designs reproduced in Figures 370 and 371. These



examples are but two of a multitude of winged-rattlesnake arrangements in Mississippian works of art. In Mesoamerican art, the Feathered Serpent appears on monuments very much earlier than either Toltec Tollan or Teotihuacán, for example, on a carved stone of c. 800 B.C., from an Olmec ceremonial site at La Venta, Tabasco, on the Caribbean coast. The classic Mayans of c A.D. 300 to 900 already knew the "Feathered Serpent" as Kukulcan. The winged rattlesnakes of the Mississippian designs, therefore, may represent a period of the god's symbolic history and associations antecedent to the relatively late Toltec-Aztec legend of the god-king of Tollan.

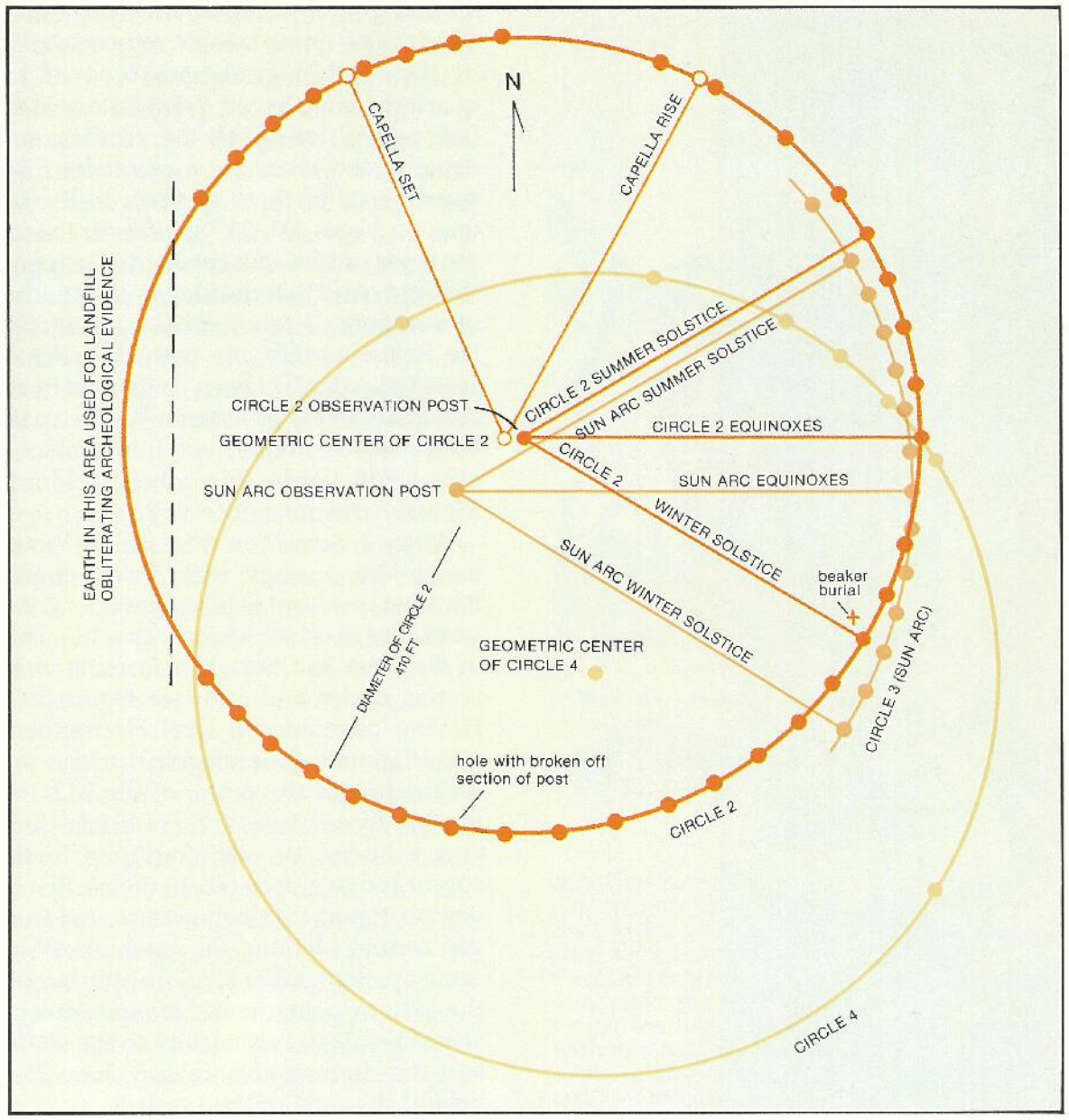
The geographical reach of the influence in North America of the Mississippian culture complex was enormous (see Map 46, page 211). How the Mesoamerican influences ever reached the Mississippi, however, is unknown. As reviewed by Gordon R. Willey: "The first appearances of the Mississippian tradition in the East remain clouded. Neither the place nor the exact time can be pinned down. Ultimate sources of origin are Mesoamerican, and the process of dissemination that crystallized in the Mississippian pattern appears to have been diffusion rather than massive migration of populations. The Mississippi Valley was the 'forcing ground' of the tradition, but whether its earliest emergence was in the lower Mississippi Valley, the Caddo region, or in the central Mississippi Valley cannot yet be answered. Certainly the most vigorous and viable branch of the new tradition was located in the central Mississippi Valley, probably between St. Louis and Memphis; and it was from here that emigrants set out to colonize places as distant as Aztalan, Wisconsin, and Macon, Georgia. Also at about the same time, influences spread and colonists perhaps moved from the lower Mississippi eastward into Florida and Georgia and probably northward up the Red River. These various events are estimated to have begun around A.D. 700, but it is likely the great Mississippian sites of the Temple Mound I Period did not reach their heyday until after A.D. 900.

"The Mississippian tradition," Willey continues, "attained its cultural climax during the earlier part of the Temple Mound II Period, presumably during those first two or three centuries following A.D. 1200, when population reached its maximum and the geographical extent of the tradition was greatest. All those regions formerly occupied by Mississippian peoples were included, as well as additional areas to the north, west, and

379. Plan of Cahokia. The shape and dimensions of this site, across the Mississippi from St. Louis, are of a huge lozenge, 2.8 miles long (east-west) and 2.1 miles wide (north-south). The area encloses over one-hundred mounds, including Monks Mound, the largest prehistoric earthen construction in the world. The axes of the lozenge intersect just west of this monument, the north-south axis passing through a large posthole on a burial mound (Mound 72) and the east-west cutting through a configuration of postholes known as Woodhenge (see text).

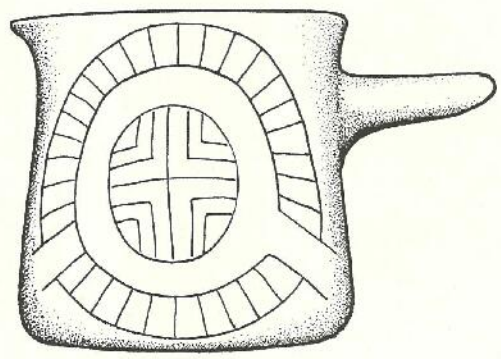
east. . . . The Temple Mound II Period was also a time of regional culture differentiation and of modification of the Mississippian tradition by elements of antecedent Woodland cultures; yet in the majority of these blends the Mississippian patterns remained dominant."[200]

The nuclear site of Cahokia attained in this second period its final form, and as preserved today in the Cahokia Mounds State Park, the ruins suggest a population of some 5000 to 10,000, inhabiting a ceremonial complex with over 100 flat-topped and pyramidal earthen mounds arranged around ceremonial centers. Temples and the residences of priests and chieftains once stood upon these platforms, while beyond the city bounds were farmlands, intensively worked, of maize, beans, and squash. Outlying villages and towns with temple mounds of their own constituted, together with the metropolis, a theocratic empire; the inspiration from Mesoamer-



380. Circles 2, 3, and 4 of Cahokia's Woodhenge. *Circle 2:* diameter of 410 feet, composed of forty-seven posts set 27½ feet apart. *Circle 3:* an arc of fourteen posts intersecting Circle 2 at its eastern point (may represent a "sunrise arc," from winter to summer solstice). *Circle 4:* about the same diameter as 2, which it intersects at the point where Circle 3 cuts through. *Circle 1:* not yet reconstructed.

381. Fragment of a ceramic beaker found in a fire pit close to the winter-solstice posthole of Circle 2. Incised design appears to represent the relevant cosmological concept: the earth (crosses in center), the sun (radiating lines), and the sun's passage (circular pathway) opening to the winter-solstice sunrise (channel, lower right). Compare **380**.

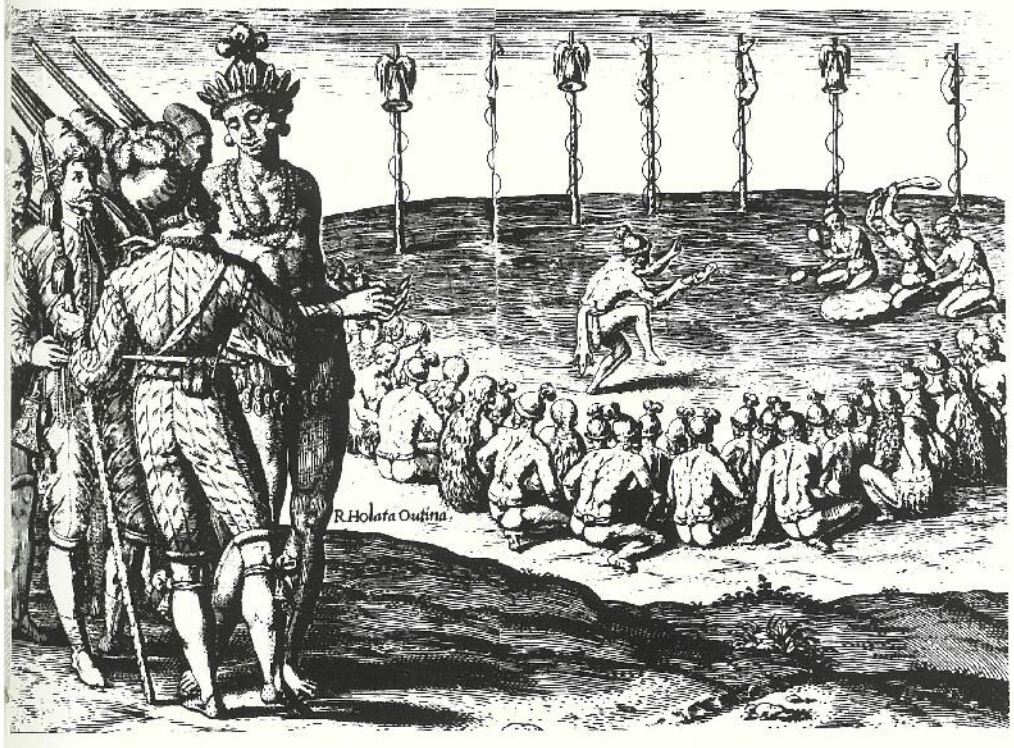


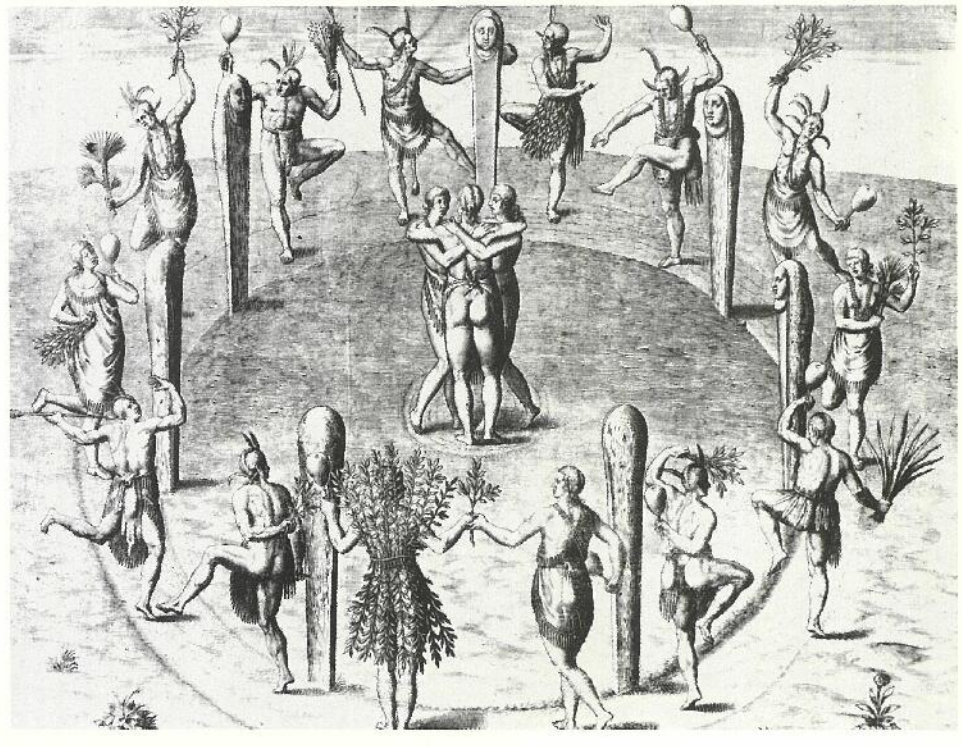
ica having been assimilated and adapted by local populations of Siouan, Muskogean, Iroquoian, and Caddoan language stocks.[201] So that from Spiro (Oklahoma) and Aztalan (Wisconsin) to Moundville (Alabama) and Etowah (Georgia), Mississippian communities were flourishing when, in 1540, De Soto began the work which, within three centuries, led to the extinction of even the memory of the native people and civilization.

Of the mounds at Cahokia, the greatest, so-called Monks Mound, covers fourteen acres and is approximately 1000 feet long, 700 feet wide, and 100 feet high in four stages. Since it is in the middle of the site, its symbolic function, as representing the axial height joining earth and sky, is evident. The idea of such a generative center is already represented in the Spiro

382. Victory celebration by the Timocuan chief Outina, here talking with the French Huguenot, René de Laudonnière, whose harquebusiers had contributed to the triumph. Scalps and limbs of the massacred foe hang from the poles. From a watercolor by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues in c. 1564.

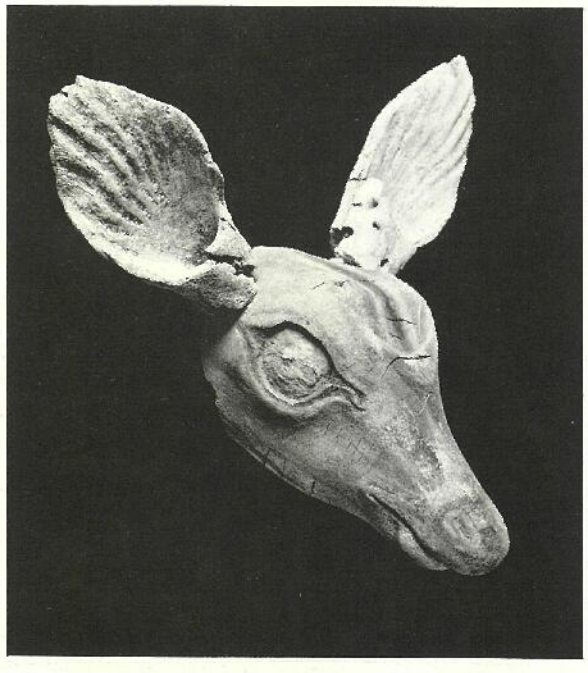
383. Seasonal festival at the Powhatan village of Secota (at the mouth of the Pamlico River in North Carolina). "They meet on a broad open plain enclosed by tall posts carved into faces resembling those of veiled nuns."[25] From a watercolor by John White, c. 1584.



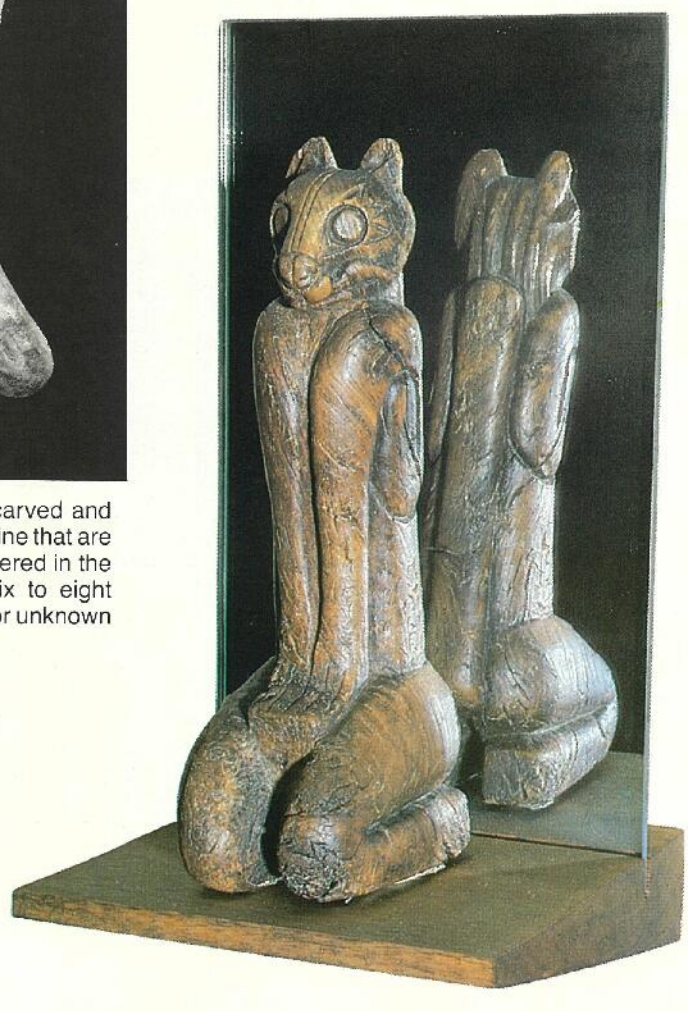




384. Annual offering to the sun at the spring equinox of the whole skin of a splendid stag, preserved and stuffed with produce of the fields; the prayer being that such good things as these may continue to appear through the coming year.[26]



385/386. From Key Marco, Florida, a carved and painted deer-head mask and a feline figurine that are among the oldest wooden artifacts recovered in the Americas. Mississippian, dating from six to eight centuries ago, they were probably used for unknown ceremonial purposes.



Mound gorget of Figure 359 (page 213), which is an unmistakable representation of the mythological archetype of the quartered cosmos: an "elementary idea" (see page 9) of which the swastika and equal-armed cross are abstractions. The prominence of these symbols in the figures on pages 211–215 speaks for the importance of this concept in Mississippian thought. And that the idea was embodied in a system of ceremonials coordinating life in the earthly city with the celestial seasonal order has been confirmed in the recent discovery by Warren Wittry, of the University of Illinois, of the remains—about 880 yards due west of Monks Mound—of a solar observatory.

Wittry's name for this site is Woodhenge—by analogy with Stonehenge—for what he found was an arrangement of postholes in which cedar poles 18 inches in diameter had been set, forming intersecting circles and arcs (see Figure 380). Having persuaded a local electric company to donate four telegraph poles—one for the hole at the center of Circle 2; one for that directly east (where Circles 2, 3, and 4 intersect); one, four pits to the south; and one, four pits to the north—he demonstrated that, when observed from the central station, the equinoxial sun came up, September 23rd, directly behind the eastern pole; the winter-solstice sun, December 21st, behind that to the south; and the summer-solstice sun, June 21st, behind the pole to the north. Wittry has found that two other postholes might have served for sightings of the rise and set of the first-magnitude star Capella and has suggested that the whole layout of Cahokia might have been projected from the angles of these sightings.[202]

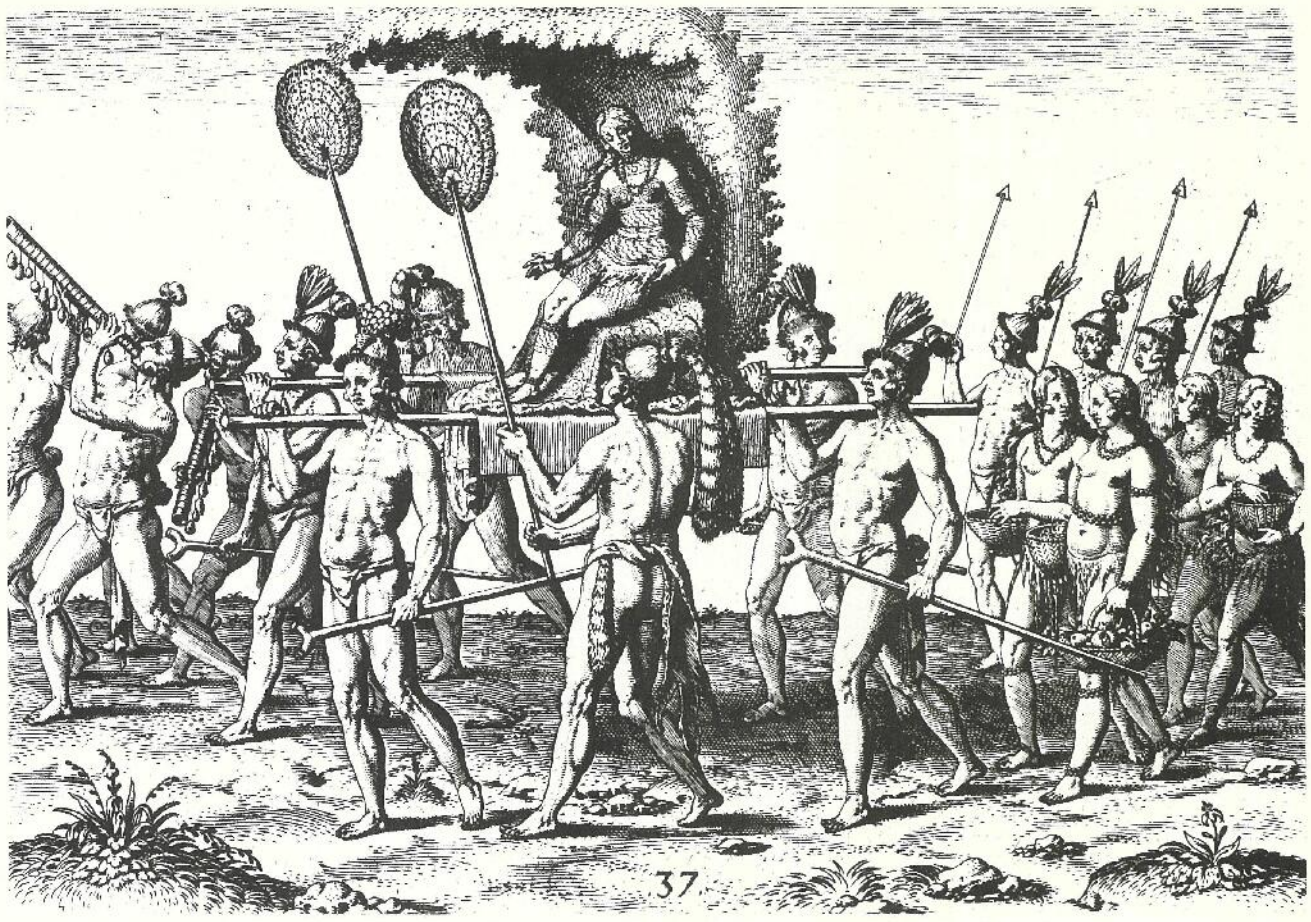
An idea of the way in which the circles might have served, not only for seasonal observations, but also for celebrations on the relevant festival days is given in the paintings of two sixteenth-century artists (Figures 382 and 383), reporting on the native tribes of Florida and Virginia. The earlier of the two, a Frenchman, Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, had been sent to Florida in 1564 with a French expedition charged with the mapping of the seacoast, the indication of native towns, and the portrayal of the manners of the people. His watercolors—which have disappeared—were turned into engravings by the Flemish goldsmith, Theodore de Bry, and published in 1591. John White, the second of the two, sailed in 1584 with Sir Walter Raleigh's first expedition to Virginia. His watercolors—which have survived—were also turned into engravings by de Bry and published in 1590.[203]

The circles of poles pictured both by Le Moyne (in Florida) and by White (in Virginia) suggest the sun circles at Cahokia. The poles of Le Moyne's illustration display the limbs and scalps of a defeated enemy: at Cahokia, Wittry has unearthed

the bones of five different individuals, three leg bones and two arm bones, which may likewise have been hung as trophies. Le Moyne's description of the victory ceremonies that he witnessed states that when the Indians, returning from their wars, have assembled in the designated place, "they bring the legs, arms, and scalps of the fallen adversaries and with great solemnities attach them to tall poles. Then the men and the women sit down in a circle before the poles, where their sorcerer, holding a small image, begins to curse the enemy, uttering a thousand imprecations in a low voice. While the sorcerer is repeating his curses, three men kneel opposite him. One of them pounds on a flat stone with a club, marking time with the spells; two others rattle pumpkins filled with small stones or seeds and accompany the sorcerer's words with a chant. This is their way of celebrating whenever they win a victory over their enemies."[204]

A very different ceremonial witnessed by Le Moyne was of Outina's people's annual celebration of a solar stag festival, where the skin of the largest stag slain during that year was stuffed with the choicest roots, hung with garlands of the best fruits, and elevated on a pole to the sunrise—"just before spring"—to remain for the year as a constant prayer (Figure 384).[205] The festival was undoubtedly of the spring-equinox sunrise, and the pole upon which the symbolic stag was elevated can only have been the central, axial, solar pole of the symbolic circle. But as to whether any pole or poles of the circumference has been put to use in determination of the festival date, we are not told.

The Timucua tribes (who have long been extinct) were the dominant people of northern Florida at the time of the discovery. Their affinities are obscure. Once thought to have been of a Muskogean stock, their language (or what little is known of it) is today unclassified. Some scholars suggest Siouan affinities; others detect a possible link to Venezuela. In any case, the order of life illustrated in de Bry's engravings from the lost watercolors of Le Moyne is of a grace and elegance suggestive even of Polynesia. The fact that the bodies of the aristocrats, whether male or female, were from head to foot tattooed was, for North America, unusual. The bark trumpets blown before the young queen-elect were of a kind best known from the Amazonian rain-forests—where, however, they are tabu to women—and in use resemble the men's sacred forest-horn, the molimo, of the Congo Pygmies (see pages 103–104). The litter of the fully tattooed young queen, accompanied at either hand by attendants bearing tall fans, is, to say the least, surprising. And unless one can accept on faith the absolutely undemonstrable proposition that



387. The queen-elect is brought to the king. Four men carry her litter, each holding a forked stick on which to rest the poles when they halt. Two at the sides carry fans to shade her from the sun. The trumpeters blow horns of bark hung with oval balls of gold, silver, and brass that tinkle as they march. Behind are beautiful maidens—clad in skirts of Spanish moss, necks and arms decorated with pearls—each with a basket of choice fruits. At the end of the procession are the bodyguards.[27]

388. Transporting crops to the public granary. Twice a year they harvest, storing the produce in granaries built of stones and earth, thickly roofed with palm branches and "a kind of soft earth." They go there for supplies whenever in need, and no one fears being cheated. "Indeed," comments Le Moyne, "it would be good if among Christians there were as little greed to torment men's minds and hearts."[28]





389. Pocahontas in London as Lady Rebecca. Portrait by an unknown artist, 1616.

complexes of this composite kind can develop independently in various parts of the world through the influence solely of environmental conditions, the mind—as the eye takes in this attractive scene—cannot but fly to Southeast Asia.

* * *

The people of Virginia among whom John White found subjects for his elegant watercolors were of Algonquian stock, inhabiting some 200 coastal villages and towns from Chesapeake Bay to Cape Lookout (Figures 390 and 391). White had arrived in Virginia in 1585 with Sir Walter Raleigh's first colony, and although his stay in Roanoke was but a year, he produced some paintings. In 1587 he returned as governor of the colony, accompanied by his daughter, Elinor, and her husband, Ananias Dare, whose child, Virginia, born in Roanoke, was the first child born of English parents in America. Nothing is known, however, of her life. Nine days after her birth, John White, her grandfather, sailed to England for supplies: there was a religious war going on at the time which rendered perilous, not only the high seas, but life anywhere in the Christian world. Indeed, in 1565, the Huguenot settlement on the Florida coast where Jacques Le Moyne had been the artist had been wiped out by Pedro Menondez de Aviles, who had been sent with eleven ships to that task by Philip II of Spain. And when the slaughter of men, women, and children had been accomplished, the bodies were hung from trees by ropes passed through the pierced palms of their hands, to an accompanying inscription: "Not as Frenchmen, but as heretics." The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, when as many (some say) as 70,000 Huguenots were murdered throughout France, had occurred in 1572. And in 1588 (the year of White's proposed return to his colony), the entire battle fleet of Catholic Spain, sent against Elizabethan England, was wrecked by a storm off the coast of Ireland. The seas, therefore, were troubled, not only by natural, but also by supernatural, storms. White, thus



390. An elder of the Powhatan town of Pomeiock in his winter clothes: skins dressed without removing the fur and lined with other skins. A contemporary commentator wrote: "They wear their hair in a knot at the back and cut a crest in front. The country around Pomeiock is far more fruitful than England."[29]

delayed for three years in his return to Roanoke, arrived at last in the fall of 1590 and beheld on the shore only a plundered ruin overgrown with grass and weeds. What had happened no one knows to this day.

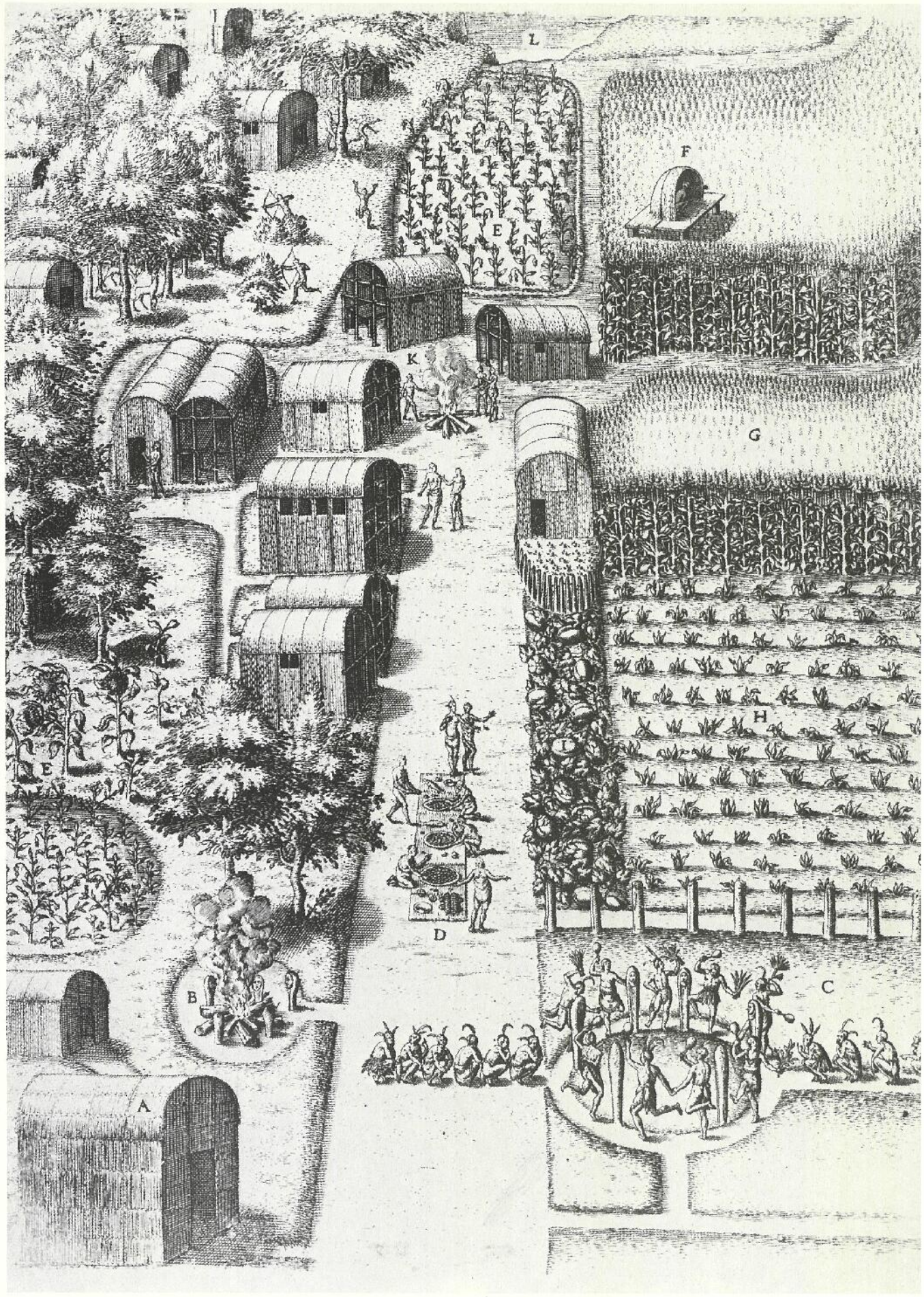
* * *

In the first decade of the next century, some twenty of the Algonquian tribes occupying tidewater Virginia were confederated under the leadership of a chief known to history as Powhatan—whose daughter, Pocahontas, was a child of about thirteen, when, in 1607, three British ships entered Chesapeake Bay with the settlers who founded Jamestown. Eight months later, when their adventurous leader, John Smith, thought to explore the Chickahominy River, he was ambushed and brought before Powhatan to be executed. And then it was that the pretty episode took place of which our schoolbooks tell: when Smith laid his head on the sacrificial stone to be clubbed to death, Powhatan's thirteen-year-old daughter threw herself between him and the lifted club. Smith then was adopted into the tribe; Pocahontas became his friend; and a period followed of peace and hospitality, when the native gifts of maize, beans, potatoes, and squash were what kept the invaders alive.

The tale, if it were not known as history, might be read as a variant of the legend, say, of Theseus saved by Ariadne, the daughter of King Minos; or that of Jason aided by the witch Medea in his theft from her father of the Golden Fleece. In both instances, the father was betrayed and the daughter eloped with her paramour—only to be herself betrayed, and in Ariadne's case, to die.

When Smith returned to England in 1609 and relations with Powhatan deteriorated, Pocahontas was kidnapped, held hostage, and used in negotiations with her father, by whom she then was ransomed. But she had meanwhile been converted to one of the recent English versions of the Christian faith and baptized as Lady Rebecca. She fell in love with a gentleman, John Rolfe; married him; and, in 1616, sailed with him to England—where she gave birth to a son, contracted smallpox, and in 1617 died.

Her father died the next year, and relations between Jamestown and the native towns again deteriorated. When the colonists began to realize what profits could be gained from cultivating and marketing the native tobacco to which they had been introduced, their fields expanded into native village lands; resistance resulted; two massacres occurred; and there followed the inevitable war (1622 to 1644), when the power of Powhatan's confederacy of some 200 native villages and towns was broken.

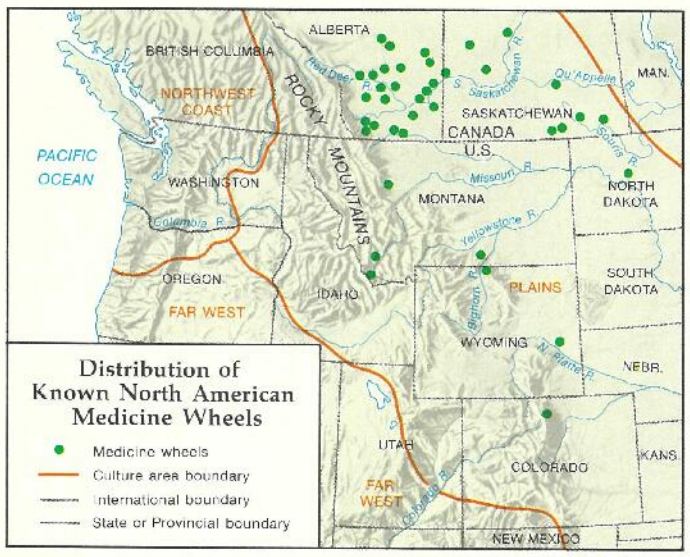


391. The town of Secota, at the mouth of the Pamlico River. "Those of their towns that are not palisaded are usually the more beautiful. The houses are farther apart and have gardens [marked E], in which they grow tobacco. They also have groves of trees where they hunt deer, and fields where they sow their corn.

"In the cornfields they set up a little hut on a scaffold, where a watchman is stationed [F]. He makes a continual noise to keep off birds and beasts. They sow their corn a certain distance apart [H] so that one stalk should not choke the next. For the leaves are large, like the leaves of great reeds.

"They also have a large plot [C] where they meet with neighbors to celebrate solemn feasts, and a place [D] where they make merry when the feast is ended. In the round plot [B] they assemble to pray. The large building [A] holds the tombs of their kings and princes. In the garden on the right [I] they sow pumpkins. There is also a place [K] where they build a fire at feast time, and just outside the town is the river [L] from which they get their water.

"These people live happily together without envy or greed. They hold their feasts at night, when they make large fires to light them and to show their joy."[30]



Map 47.

The Rocky Mountain Medicine Wheels

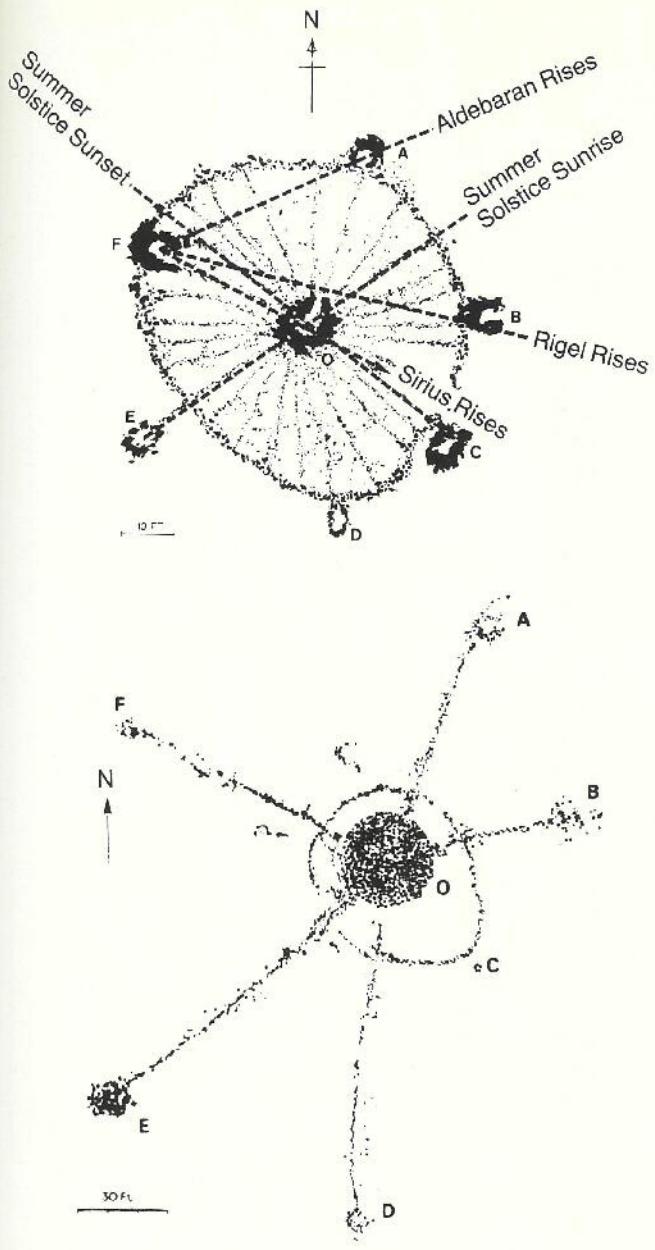
Astronomical observations of the kind undertaken at Cahokia have been generally associated with settled agricultural peoples. There is now evidence, however, from the Western Plains of both Canada and the United States, of a number of observatories (known as Medicine Wheels) which can have been constructed only by hunters. Most, but not all, look like wagon wheels. There is one, however, with the form of a turtle—head, tail, four legs, and all—at Minton, Saskatchewan. About fifty of these "wheels" are known, clustered along the bounding plains and foothills of the front range of the Rocky Mountains (see Map 47). In Alberta, Canada, at Majorville, there is one that has been extensively excavated (as well as vandalized) and gives evidence of "more-or-less continuous use from about 2500 B.C.," which, as noticed by John A. Eddy, one of the leading authorities in these matters, makes it "contemporaneous with the Egyptian pyramids and the early stages of Stonehenge. Other medicine wheels are probably a good deal more recent," he adds, "but no one is sure of this."[206]

Alberta, Saskatchewan, Montana, Wyoming, and North Dakota are remote, indeed, from the centers of agriculture in the Americas. Furthermore, as revealed in excavations at the Koster site (see pages 210–211), the cultivated pumpkin and bottle gourd first arrived in that neighborhood, by trade, c. 1200 B.C., and maize, also by trade, c. 200 B.C.; yet it was not until c. A.D. 800 that the hunting tribes of that area began cultivating gardens of their own. It is surely obvious, therefore, that medicine wheels in the Canadian Rockies can have had nothing whatsoever to do with practical economics: more likely, they reflect what I would call "mystical economics," which is to say, the delicate problem of keeping a human community in accord with the rhythmic order of the universe. The proper and primary function of such observatories as those here represented was based on an intuition which underlies all of the so-called "nature religions" (as distinguished from the monotheistic "historical religions"), namely, of accord—in depth—with the mystery of the order of nature as the first means and last end of well being.

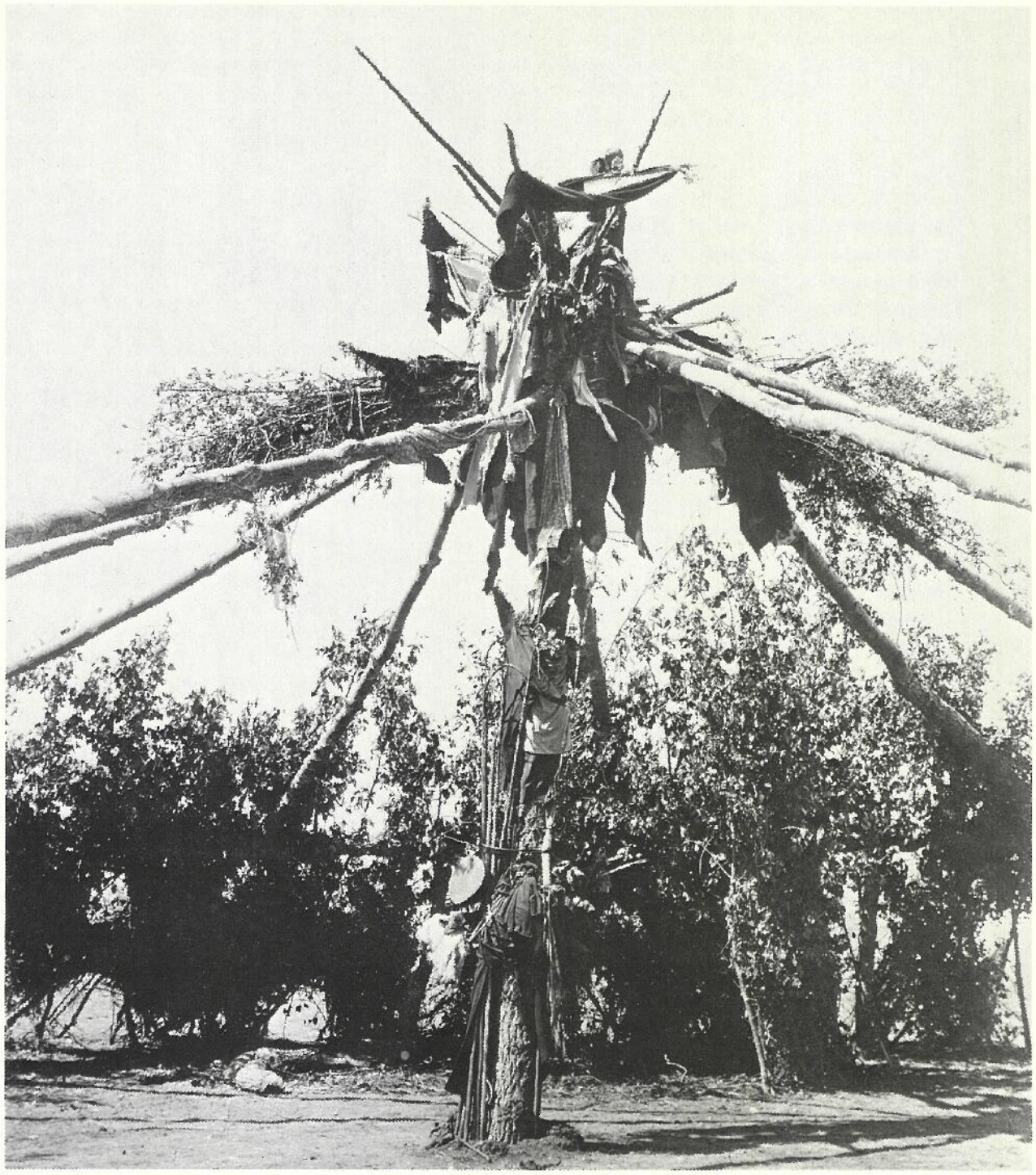
At least two of the medicine wheels that have been studied coordinate lunar, solar, and stellar observations, the better known of the two being the Bighorn Medicine Wheel of Figure 392. Laid out on a lofty shoulder of Medicine Mountain (between Lovell and Sheridan in Wyoming) at an altitude of 9640 feet and with a sweeping view of the horizon, it is clear of snow no more than three months of the year, yet an admirable observatory, so



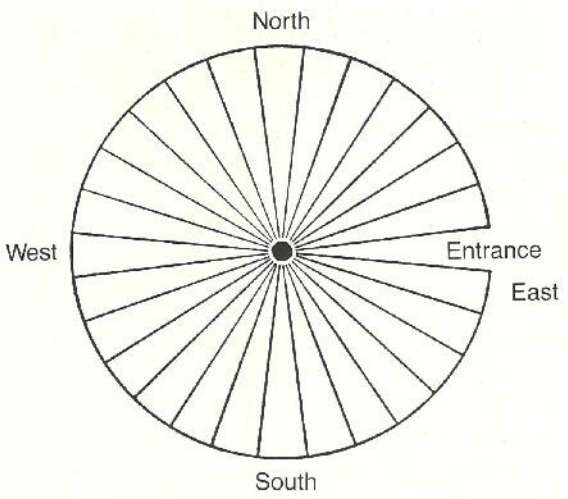
392. Aerial view of the Bighorn Medicine Wheel, high on Medicine Mountain in Wyoming. Estimated period of its use, c. A.D. 1250 to 1750. Besides summer-solstice sunrise and sunset, sightings from its various cairns mark the heliacle risings of the three first magnitude stars: Aldebaran, morning of the summer solstice; Rigel, one lunar month later; and Sirius, after another lunar month.

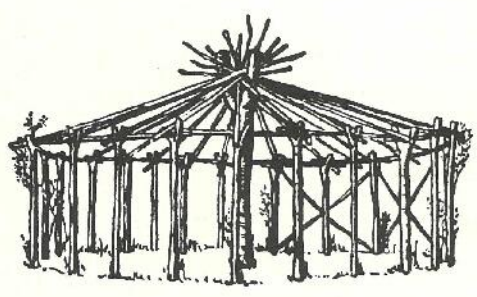


393. The Big Horn Medicine Wheel in Wyoming (above) and the Moose Mountain Medicine Wheel (below) in Saskatchewan, Canada, have similar arrangements of cairns. Both plans include alignments on the summer solstice sunrise and on three bright stars of the summer dawn. The Saskatchewan wheel is larger and probably much older. (*John A. Eddy*)



394/395. At the conclusion of the sacred ceremony, the Sun Dance Lodge (above) is left abandoned, but standing, as a sacred reminder exposed to the wind. The artist's plan and profile (right) show how each Lodge, like most medicine wheels, had a defined structure and celestial orientation.





composed that on June 21, the morning of the summer solstice, sightings from two of its peripheral cairns, across the rock pile at the center, mark the points on the horizon of the solstitial sunrise and sunset. An earlier sighting that morning from another of the cairns will have marked the heliacle rising (the annual, very brief, first appearance in the dawn sky immediately before sunrise) of Aldebaran, brightest star in the constellation Taurus. Twenty-eight days (one "moon") later, another such sighting will greet Rigel, the brightest star in Orion. Again twenty-eight days (another "moon") and the sighting will be of Sirius, brightest star in the sky; after which the winter snows come down and the medicine wheel remains covered until the following June.

Now the number of lines radiating from the center of this medicine wheel is 28; and 28 is not only the number of days of one "moon," one lunar month, but also the usual number of poles set up to support the buffalo-hide covering of the medicine lodges erected by the northern Plains tribes for the celebration of the Sun Dance. In the center of such a lodge there is a pivotal twenty-ninth pole (properly a freshly cut, still-living tree), which supports the twenty-eight roof beams and stands thus for the Sun, from whose life proceed the twenty-eight days of a lunar month. The time of year, furthermore, for the inauguration of the ceremony is precisely the day of the summer solstice. And so, although the Plains tribesmen of the late nineteenth century knew nothing of the functions of the medicine wheels remaining to them from an undetermined earlier time, in the canonical forms and informing ideas of their own most hallowed ceremonial, they continued to shape their lives to the correlative myth.

The Plains Indians

The Sun Dance

Something of the sense of the extreme tortures of the Plains Indian initiation rites can be learned from the explanation given of the Sun Dance of the Sioux by the old Oglala Holy Man and Keeper of the Sacred Pipe, Black Elk (Figure 397). Born in the early 1860s on the Little Powder River of Montana and Wyoming, he had experienced in early boyhood an extraordinary vision.[207] The painting executed in 1947 and 1948 by Standing Bear and called *Black Elk at the Center of the Earth* (Figure 396) is of one of the culminating moments of this revelation. And so it was not only through his lifelong participation in the ceremonials of his people as keeper of the symbol of their concord with the universe, but also through his long, long life of relevant visionary realizations, that he was rendered eligible to impart to his two best-qualified interviewers—John G. Neihardt in 1930–31 and Joseph Epes Brown in 1947–48—one of the most profoundly inspired native interpretations that we possess of a tribal people's ceremonial life.

The annual Sun Dance of the Sioux was held in June or July, when the moon was full; "for," as Black Elk noted, "the growing and dying of the moon reminds us of our ignorance which comes and goes; but when the moon is full it is as if the eternal light of the Great Spirit were upon the whole world."[208] The painting (c. 1930) by the Oglala Chieftain Short Bull (Figure 398) shows the interior of the sacred lodge, at the center of which is a cottonwood tree symbolic of Wakan-Tanka, the Great Spirit, who is the center of everything.[209] (There is such a tree at the center, also, of Figure 396.) Two thongs fixed to this central tree are really one thong passed around it; for all things which in appearance are two are in reality one.[210] They are tied to skewers through the chest of the warrior leaning backward. Blowing an eagle-bone whistle, whose sound is the voice of Wakan-Tanka as heard in the Spotted Eagle's cry,[211] the warrior will dance until the flesh breaks. Said Black Elk: "As we thus break loose, it is as if we were being freed from the bonds of the flesh."[212] The horned dancer near the entrance has four buffalo skulls skewered to his back, and at the central tree is a warrior offering pieces of his own flesh: two, four, eight, or twelve. The differing ordeals of this rite are voluntarily chosen and assumed.

Sitting at the back of the lodge is the Keeper of the Sacred Pipe, and to the south are the musicians. "The drum,"





396/397. *Black Elk at the Center of the Earth,* a watercolor on paper by Standing Bear. "Then in my vision a Voice said: 'Behold this day, for it is yours to make. Now you shall stand upon the center of the earth to see, for they are taking you.'

"I was still on my bay horse, and once more I felt the riders of the west, the north, the east, and the south, behind me in formation, and we were going east. Then I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understood more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit, and the shape of all shapes as they must live together like one being. And I saw the sacred hoop of my people was one of many hoops that made one circle, wide as daylight and as starlight, and in the center grew one mighty flowering tree to shelter all the children of one mother and one father. And I saw that it was holy."

Black Elk then told his interviewer, the poet John G. Neihardt, that the mountain upon which he stood in that vision had been Harney Peak in the Black Hills. "But anywhere," he added, "is the center of the world."[31]

said Black Elk, "is especially sacred to us. Its round form represents the universe and its steady strong beat is the pulse, the heart, throbbing at the center of the universe. As the voice of Wakan-Tanka, it stirs and helps us to understand the mystery and the power of things."[213] "O Wakan-Tanka," the musicians chant, "we are doing this that our people may live. Have mercy!"[214] And again: "O Wakan-Tanka when we are all at the center, may we have only you in our minds and hearts."[215] Blowing whistles, meanwhile, the entire company is dancing, first toward the west and back to the center, next to the north and back, next to the east, and finally to the south and back, thus beating a path in the shape of a cross.[216]

One woman is involved in this rite. She carries the pipe, attends the door, and at the time of the sacrifices offers one piece of her flesh.[217] She stands for the White Buffalo Cow Woman who brought to her people the Sacred Pipe and established the canon of their rites. Her coming is described in the following legend:

Early one morning, many winters ago, two Sioux warriors were standing on a hill, seeking game, when they beheld in the distance something approaching in a strange and wonderful manner. When it came closer, they saw that it was a very beautiful woman, clothed in white buckskin, bearing a bundle on her back, and one of the men had bad thoughts. The other rebuked him, declaring that this surely was a sacred woman; and when she drew near, she put down her bundle and bade the one with bad intentions come to her. As he approached, he and she were covered by a great cloud, and when it lifted, only she was there, with a heap of bones at her feet and great serpents gliding away. "Behold what you see!" she said to the other. "I am coming to your people and wish to talk with your chief. Return and tell him to prepare a great lodge in which to gather all his people. I have something of importance to tell."

When all had been prepared and young braves sent out to watch for her, something was seen approaching, and then, marvelously, she was in the lodge, walking around sunwise. She stopped before the chief, took the bundle from her back, and, holding it in both hands, said to him: "Behold and love this. It is holy [*wakan*]. No one impure should see it. For within it is a holy pipe by which to send your voices to your Grandfather and Father, Wakan-Tanka." She drew forth the pipe and with it a redstone rock which she placed on the ground. Then lifting the pipestem to the heavens, she said: "With this sacred pipe you will walk upon the Earth, your Grandmother and Mother. Every step taken upon her should be as a prayer. The redstone pipebowl is the Earth. The buffalo calf carved upon it represents all the four-leggeds that live upon your Mother; the wooden stem, all that grows upon her; and these twelve feathers hanging where the stem enters the bowl are from the spotted eagle, representing all the winged ones. For when you smoke this pipe all things of the universe are joined with you and lift their voices to Wakan-Tanka." She touched the foot of the pipe to the stone. "This round rock, made of the same redstone as the pipebowl, is the Earth: red, as the two-leggeds who live upon the earth are red." Then delivering to the chief instructions for the use of the pipe in seven ceremonials, she turned to depart and said to him: "I am now leaving, but remember, in me there are four ages. I shall look back upon your people in every age and, at the end, shall return."

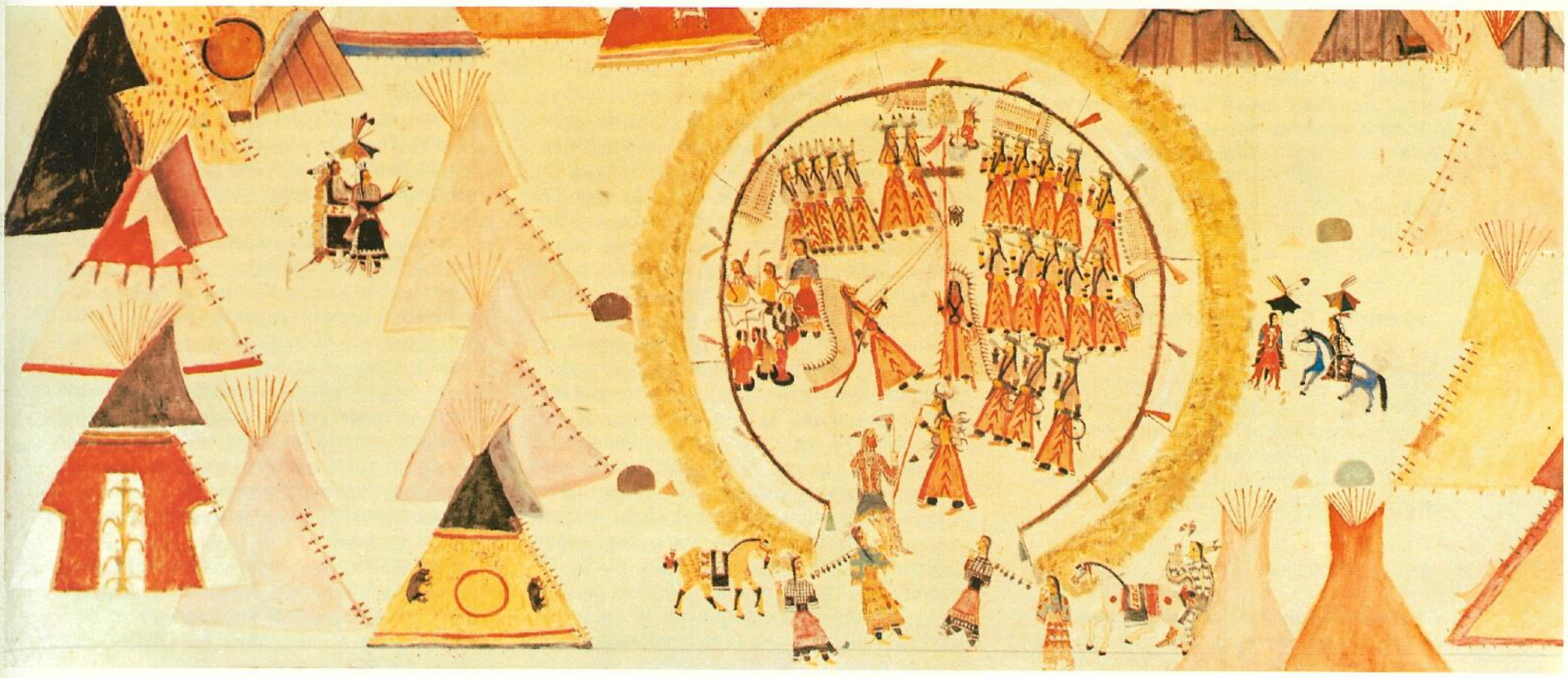
She moved around the lodge sunwise and went out, but after going a short way, looked back and sat down. When she rose, she had become a red and brown buffalo calf, which walked a little way, lay down, looked back at the people, and rolled; then she got up and was a white buffalo cow, which walked on, and again rolling, became next a black buffalo, which walked away, stopped, and, after bowing to each of the quarters, disappeared over a hill.[218]

A variant has it that the maiden brought four differently colored grains of maize with the pipe, and that maize then sprang from the milk that dropped from the white cow's udder as she ambled away, so that maize and the buffalo were given together to be the food of all the red tribes.[219]

Both the Pawnee and the Sioux declare that a Cosmic Buffalo, Father and Grandfather of the universe, stands at the gate through which the animals come forth onto this earth, and back through which they return to be reborn; also, that in the course of a cycle of four world ages, this Buffalo drops one hair with the passage of each year, and with the passage of each age, one leg.[220]

"You should know," said Black Elk, "that the buffalo has twenty-eight ribs, and that in our war bonnets we have usually twenty-eight feathers."[221] The sundance lodge, he also pointed out, has twenty-eight enclosing posts, all resting on the central tree. Twenty-eight is the number of days of the moon's growing and dying, and as the twenty-eight poles rest on the one central tree, so the growing and dying of our ignorance reflects the one light of Wakan-Tanka, which is our center.[222] "The moon comes and goes, but the sun is forever."[223]

398. Sun Dance of the Sioux (the Dakota, or Lakota). Watercolor on paper by Short Bull, chief of the Oglala Sioux, c. 1930.



The Mandan Okipa Festival

By far the most vivid eye-witness account of an authentic, uncontaminated Plains Indian springtime ceremonial is that given by the artist George Catlin of the Mandan Okipa Festival, which, in 1832, immediately before the total dissolution of those people and their world in the following decade, he observed, depicted, and recorded as a privileged guest. According to Alfred W. Bowers' recent study of the remnants of Catlin's beloved tribe,[224] the Mandans, when first visited by white traders in the early part of the eighteenth century, were an agricultural people living in large, fortified villages of permanent lodges overlooking the wooded bottomlands of the Missouri River. Evidence of their southeastern origin is indicated, however, by the many ancient village sites downstream from the mouth of the Heart River, and their culture was consequently an amalgam of southeastern, agriculturally based, Mississippian traits and features recently acquired from the Plains and Central Woodland tribes. In Catlin's day, they inhabited two villages on the west bank of the Missouri about 800 miles above St. Louis. They were a people of Siouan linguistic stock, related to the Winnebago, and, according to their own account, the first people created in the world. As Catlin learned:

> Originally the people lived inside the earth. They raised many vines, one of which grew up through a hole overhead, and when one of their young men climbed up this vine, he came out on the riverbank of the Missouri where the village stood in 1832. He saw many buffalo on the prairie, shot one with an arrow, and found that its meat was good. Then he returned, and when he had told what he had seen, a number decided to go up with him, including two very pretty young women. There was also a very fat woman, however whom the chief ordered not to attempt to climb. But she did, and when she was part way up, the vine broke. Thus the people above were separated from those below.[225]

According to another account:

> The earth is a large tortoise covered with dirt, and there was a white-faced people, long ago, who used to dig into the dirt deeply to catch badgers. Once they struck through the shell and the tortoise sank. Water covered the earth, and all but one man drowned.[226]

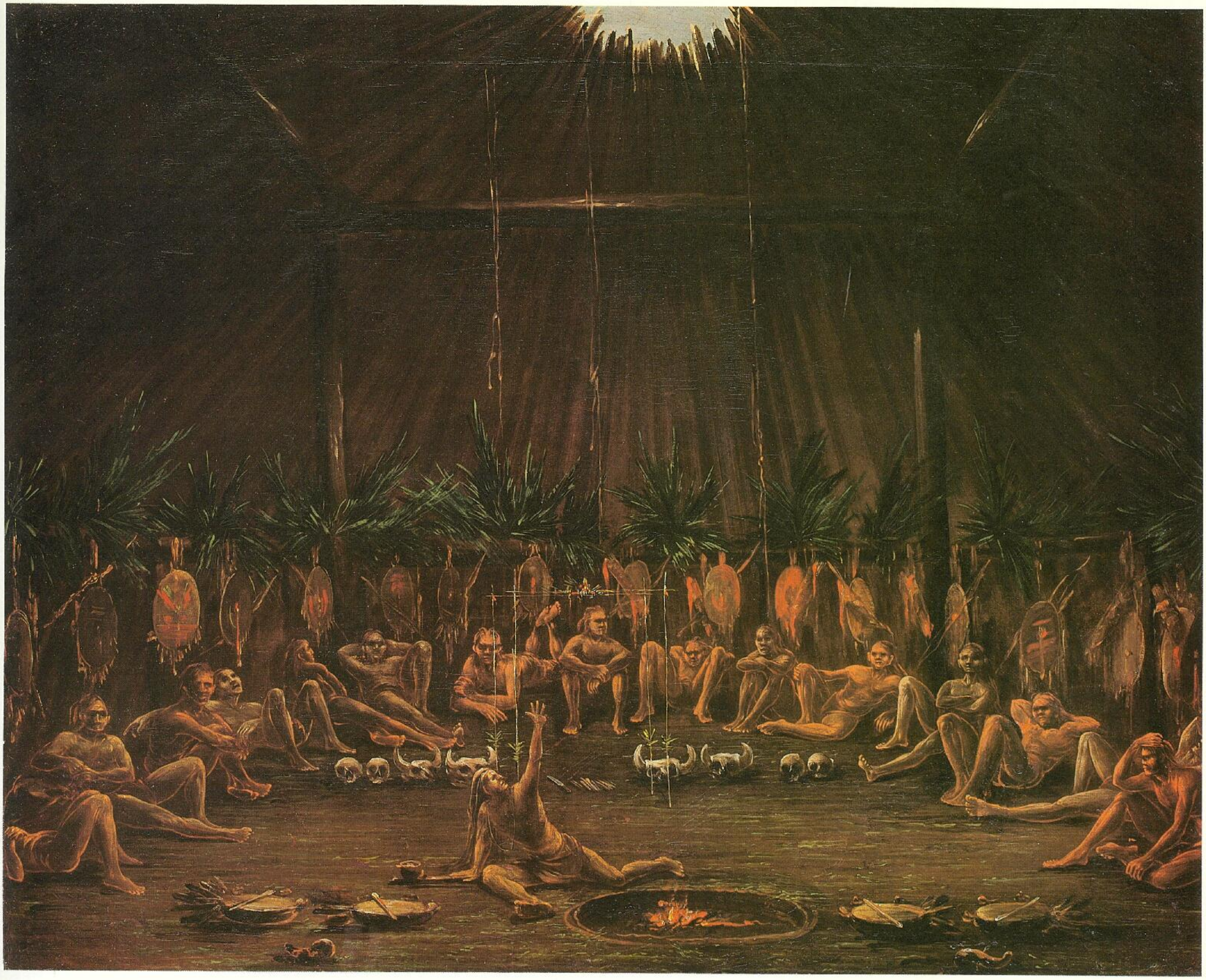
Or, as some said:

> There were four tortoises, one for each of the four directions. Each sent rain for ten days, and the waters covered the earth.[227]

Alfred Bowers has recorded another, much more complex and extensive version of this origin-and-flood myth, in which either one or four turtles are involved, and where the people are saved from the rising waters through the power of a sacred cedar and surrounding corral.[228] The Okipa ceremony was in part a commemoration of this salvation, the sacred cedar having been represented in the center of each Mandan village by a cedar post surrounded and hidden by an enclosure of standing planks, which in Catlin's account is likened to an ark.

This "Mandan religious ceremony," held annually, served four functions, according to Catlin: first, to appease the good and evil spirits and secure entrance into a pleasant paradise at death; second, to celebrate the subsidence of the mythological flood, called "the sinking down or settling of the waters"; third, to perform the Bull Dance, to which they attribute the coming of the buffaloes to supply them with food; and fourth, to conduct the young men of the tribe, as they annually reach manhood, through an ordeal to see which are the most hardy and best able to lead the war parties. Catlin described the Okipa Festival as follows:

> In the center of the village is an open, circular area, 150 feet in diameter, kept clear for ceremonies and around which are their dwellings, as close together as possible and with doors facing the center. In the middle of the ground stands a large cylinder, 8 or 9 feet high, made of planks on end, bound with hoops, and called the Big Canoe, which is religiously preserved and protected, free from mark or scratch, as the rallying point of the whole nation.
>
> The great religious ceremony began at the season of the full expansion of the willow leaves on the river bank; for "the twig that the bird brought home," to show that the waters had indeed subsided, "was a willow bough in full leaf." The bird that bore it was the turtle-dove, a medicine bird fully protected, never to be harmed even by their dogs. The opening morning of the ceremony, there was a deafening din and confusion: groups of women and children, all screaming, gathered on the tops of the earth-covered lodges; dogs howled; and all eyes were directed to the prairies in the west, where, at a mile distant, there was to be seen a solitary individual descending a prairie bluff and making his way directly toward the village. A great cry of alarm went up, as though the whole company were in danger of instant destruction. Bows were strung and thrummed to test their elasticity; horses were caught on the prairie and run into the village; warriors blackened their faces; dogs were muzzled; every preparation was made, as though for instant combat. Meanwhile, the figure on the prairie continued to approach with dignified step. All eyes were upon him, and at length, without opposition, he came through the piquets and proceeded toward the center of the village. His body, chiefly naked, was painted with white clay; a robe of four white wolf skins fell back over his shoulders; he wore a splendid headdress made of two raven skins; and in his left hand he carried cautiously a large pipe, which he seemed to watch and guard as an object of great importance. All the chiefs and braves of the village stood ready to receive him, recognizing him as an old acquaintance and greeting him with his name: First or Only Man. After passing the chiefs and braves, he approached the medicine lodge, which had been religiously closed throughout the year and which he had the means of opening. He summoned four men to sweep it clean and strew green willow boughs over its floor. Wild sage and other aromatic herbs were gathered from the prairies and scattered over the floor. Willow boughs decorated the walls. Then, a number of buffalo and human skulls, along with some other articles to be used during the rites, were arranged over the floor. The whole day was devoted to this cleaning, while First or Only Man went about from door to door and, when greeted formally by the owner of the house, who would ask what the matter was, would answer with a full account of the catastrophe of the Flood, declaring that he had been the only person saved. He would tell how he had landed in his big canoe on a high mountain in the west, where he now resides, and whence he had now arrived to open the medicine lodge. He would require from every owner the gift of some edged tool, to be sacrificed to the water lest there should come another flood from which no one at all would be saved. Such tools had been used to make the Big Canoe. Collected, they were to be held in the medicine lodge until the afternoon of the fourth (the last) day, when, in a closing ceremony, they would be thrown into the river, in a deep place, from a bank thirty feet high, in the presence of the whole village—"undoubtedly," as Catlin wrote, "*sacrificed* to the spirit of the Water."
>
> No one knew where First or Only Man spent the first night of this great ceremonial. Everybody was kept within doors: young and old, dogs, and all other living things. Dead silence reigned. Next morning, however, at sunrise, he again made his appearance, entering the medicine lodge and followed in single file by the young men, some fifty in all, who were the candidates of this year for the ordeal. Each one's body was chiefly naked and covered with clay of different colors—some red, others yellow, some white; and each carried in his right hand his medicine bag, on his left arm his shield of bull's hide, and in his left hand his bow and arrows, with his quiver slung on his back. When all had entered the lodge, they placed themselves in reclining positions around its sides, each having suspended above his place his weapons and medicine bag: "presenting together," in Catlin's words, "one of the most wild and picturesque scenes imaginable."
>
> First or Only Man, now in the middle of the circle, lit and smoked his medicine pipe for their success, addressed them in a short speech of encouragement to trust in the Great Spirit during their severe ordeal, and then



399. Mandan Okipa Festival: Interior view of the medicine lodge with initiates assembled and the Keeper of the Ceremonies addressing a prayer to the Great Spirit. Painting by George Catlin.

called into the lodge an old medicine man, whose body was painted yellow and whom he appointed master of ceremonies for the occasion by passing to him the medicine pipe to which was attached all the power of holding these rites. The two shook hands, and First or Only Man returned to the mountains in the west, from where he would again appear in a year to open the medicine lodge.

The appointed Keeper of the Ceremonies, now lying beside the small fire in the center of the lodge, sent up prayers to the Great Spirit; his function was to see to it that none of the young men should escape from the lodge, eat, drink, or sleep during this period of preparation before the ordeal. On a small and delicate scaffold behind him, there rested a small object—too small to be identified—which none but the Keeper of the Ceremonies was permitted to approach. In Catlin's words: "This little mystery-thing, whatever it was, had the appearance from where I sat, of a small tortoise or frog lying on its back, with its head and legs quite extended, and wound and tassled off with exceedingly delicate red and blue, and yellow ribbons or tassels, and other bright coloured ornaments; and seemed, from the devotions paid to it, to be the very nucleus of their mysteries—the *santissimus sanctorum*, from which seemed to emanate all the sanctity of their proceedings, and to which all seemed to be paying the highest devotional respect. The most urgent inquiries brought forth only the statement that it was *'great medicine,'* of which the nature 'could not be told.'"[229]

Beneath the frame on which this object lay were a knife and a bundle of splints or skewers. A number of cords of rawhide hung from the top of the lodge, and nearby were four sacks made of the skin of the buffalo's neck, each containing some three or four gallons of water and made to resemble a large tortoise lying on its back with a tail of eagle quills. On top of each lay a drumstick, with which it was to be beaten, and beside each, two gourd rattles. Catlin was very gravely told after the

ceremonies that "those four tortoises contained the waters from the four quarters of the world," and moreover, "that these waters had been contained therein ever since the settling down of the waters. I did not think it best," Catlin comments, "to advance any argument against so ridiculous a theory, and therefore could not even inquire or learn at what period they had been instituted, or how often, or on what occasions, the water in them had been changed or replenished."[230]

Outside the lodge during the period of this ceremonial, there were enacted in the open area in the middle of the village a number of mysteries and entertainments, of which the Bull Dance was the most prominent. Performed four times during the first day (once to each of the cardinal points), eight the second, twelve the third, and sixteen the fourth (four times to each of the points), and always around the Big Canoe, it was enacted principally by eight men. On their backs were the entire skins of buffaloes (horns, hoofs, tails, and all), their bodies were in a horizontal posture, and they looked out through the buffaloes' eyes as through masks. Their limbs, bodies, and faces were in every part covered with either black, red, or white paint; each had a lock of buffalo hair tied around his ankles, a rattle in his right hand, a slender white staff, six feet long, in his left, and a bunch of green willow boughs on his back. Divided into four pairs, these dancers took positions at the four sides of the Big Canoe, thus representing the cardinal points; and between each pair, as representing the points between, was another figure (four in all) with back turned to the Big Canoe, engaged in the same dance, and with a similar staff in one hand and a rattle in the other. Their bodies, chiefly naked, were clothed only in a kind of kilt of eagle feathers and ermine. They were painted: two of the four were black with numerous white spots, to represent the "firmament of night" and its "stars"; the other two were red with vertical white streaks, to represent the "ghosts [white] which the morning rays [red] were chasing away."[231]

The entertainment begins when the old man, the Keeper of the Ceremonies, comes dancing out of the medicine lodge, medicine pipe in hand, singing "a most pitiful lament" and approaching the Big Canoe, against which he leans, still crying. Four aged men, painted red, who have been guarding the four sides of the lodge, then enter it and come out with the four sacks of water. They set these down at the four sides of the Big Canoe, sit down by them, and start thumping with the drumsticks. Four other men shake the rattles, and all then lift their voices to the highest possible pitch, in the music of the Bull Dance, which then commences. After a quarter of an hour, all stop, and the whole nation shouts a deafening huzza of approbation. The Keeper of the Ceremonies dances back into the lodge; the sacks of water and all the rest are restored as before; and the four old men return to their places—until again called to action by the same method for another round.

A number of other characters, meanwhile, are also playing their parts. By the side of the Big Canoe are two with the skins of grizzly bears thrown over them, continually growling and threatening to devour everything before them and interfering with the forms of the ceremony. To appease them, the women are continually placing before them dishes of meat that are immediately snatched up and carried away to the prairie by two men called bald eagles—their bodies painted black and their heads white—who are chased by a hundred or more small boys—naked, with their bodies painted yellow and their heads white, representing antelopes—who at length get the food and devour it.

The chantings during the dances are of prayers to the Great Spirit for the continuation of his influence in sending buffaloes as food for the year. They are also chants of encouragement to the young men inside the lodge, announcing that "the Great Spirit has opened his ears in their behalf—the very atmosphere all about them is peace—their women and children can hold the mouth of the grizzly bear—and they are invoking from day to day the Evil Spirit, O-kee-hee-de, who has not yet dared to make his appearance!"[232] But then, alas! on the fourth day, in the last of the Bull Dances, about noon, and in the height of all these exultations, an instant scream bursts forth from the tops of the lodges. As described in Catlin's letter: "men, women, dogs and all, seemed actually to howl and shudder with alarm, as they fixed their glaring eye-balls upon the prairie bluff, about a mile in the west, down the side of which a man was seen descending at full speed towards the village! This strange character darted about in a zig-zag course in all directions on the prairie, like a boy in pursuit of a butterfly, until he approached the piquets of the village, when it was discovered that his body was entirely naked and painted as black as a negro, with pounded charcoal and bear's grease; his body was therefore everywhere of a shining black, except occasionally white rings of an inch or more in diameter, which were marked here and there all over him; and frightful indentures of white around his mouth, resembling canine teeth. . . . This unearthly-looking creature carried in two hands a wand or staff of eight or nine feet in length, with a red ball at the end of it, which he continually slid on the ground ahead of him as he ran."[233] "A small thong encircled his waist, from which a buffalo tail hung behind, and from under a bunch of buffalo hair covering the pelvis hung an artificial penis, carved in wood, of colossal dimensions, pendulous as he ran and extending below his knees; jet black, like his body, with exception of the glans, which was a glaring vermillion."[234] "Added to his hideous appearance, he gave the most frightful shrieks and screams as he dashed through the village and entered the terrified group, which was composed (in that quarter) chiefly of females, who had assembled to witness the amusements which were transpiring around the Big Canoe. . . . All eyes in the village, save those of the persons engaged in the dance, were centered upon him, and he made a desperate rush towards the women, who screamed for protection as they were endeavouring to retreat; and falling in groups upon each other as they were struggling to get out of his reach."[235] "For at his near approach to them he elevated his wand and as he raised it over their heads, there was a corresponding rising of the penis."[236]

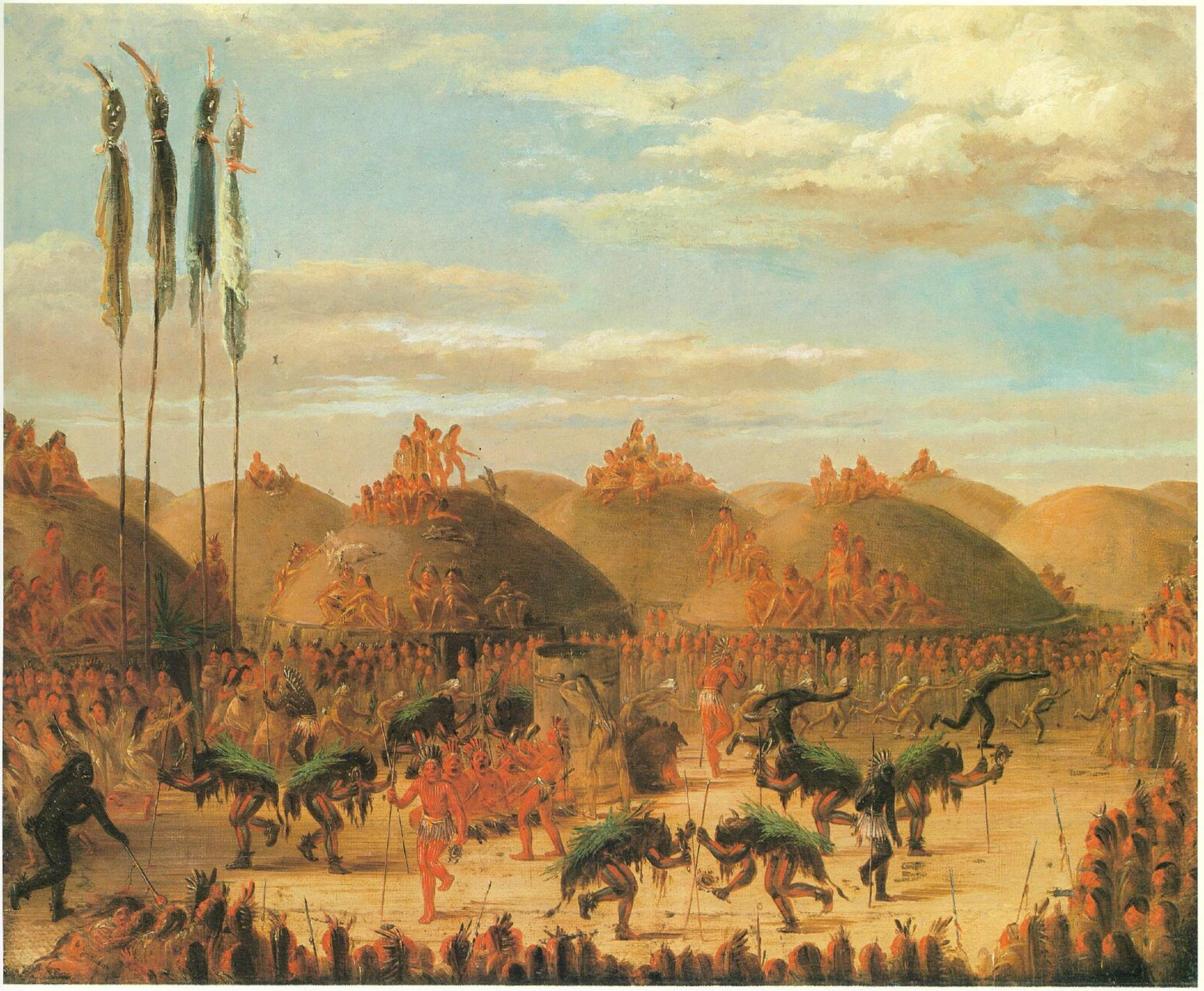
"In this moment of general terror and alarm there was an instant check! and all for a few moments were as silent as death. The old master of ceremonies, who had run from his position at the big canoe, had met this monster of fiends, and having thrust the *medicine-pipe* before him, held him still and immovable under its charm! This check gave the females an opportunity to get out of his reach, and when they were free from their danger, though all hearts beat yet with the instant excitement, their alarm soon cooled down into the most exorbitant laughter and shouts of applause at his sudden defeat, and the awkward and ridiculous posture in which he was stopped and held. The old man was braced stiff by his side, with his eye-balls glaring him in the face, whilst the medicine-pipe held in its mystic chains his *Satanic* Majesty, annulling all the powers of his magical wand, and also depriving him of the powers of locomotion! Surely no two human beings ever presented a more striking group than these two individuals did for a few moments, with their eye-balls set in direct mutual hatred upon each other; both struggling for the supremacy, relying on the potency of their medicine or mystery. The one held in check, with his body painted black, representing (or rather assuming to be) his sable majesty, O-kee-hee-de (the Evil Spirit), frowning everlasting vengeance on the other, who sternly gazed him back with a look of exultation and contempt, as he held him in check and disarmed under the charm of his sacred mystery-pipe."[237]

"When the superior powers of the medicine-pipe (on which hang all these annual mysteries) had been thus fully tested and acknowledged, and the women had had requisite time to withdraw from the reach of the fiendish monster, the pipe was very gradually withdrawn from before him, and he seemed delighted to recover the use of his limbs again, and power of changing his position from the exceedingly unpleasant and really ridiculous one he appeared in, and was compelled to maintain a few moments before."[238]

"After repeated attempts thus made and thus defeated in several parts of the crowd, this blackened monster was retreating over the ground where the buffalo-dance was going on, and having (apparently by accident) swaggered against one of the men placed under the skin of a buffalo and engaged in the Bull Dance, he started back, and placing himself in the attitude of a buffalo bull in rutting season, he mounted onto him, repeating this act with four of the eight in succession, to the great excitement and amusement of the crowd, who were all praying to the Great Spirit to send them buffaloes to supply them with food during the season, and who attributed the coming of buffaloes entirely to the strict and critical observance of this ridiculous and disgusting part of the ceremonies.

"During the half-hour or so that he had been jostled about amongst men and beasts, to the great amusement and satisfaction of the lookers-on, he seemed to have become exceedingly exhausted, and anxiously looked out for some feasible mode of escape.

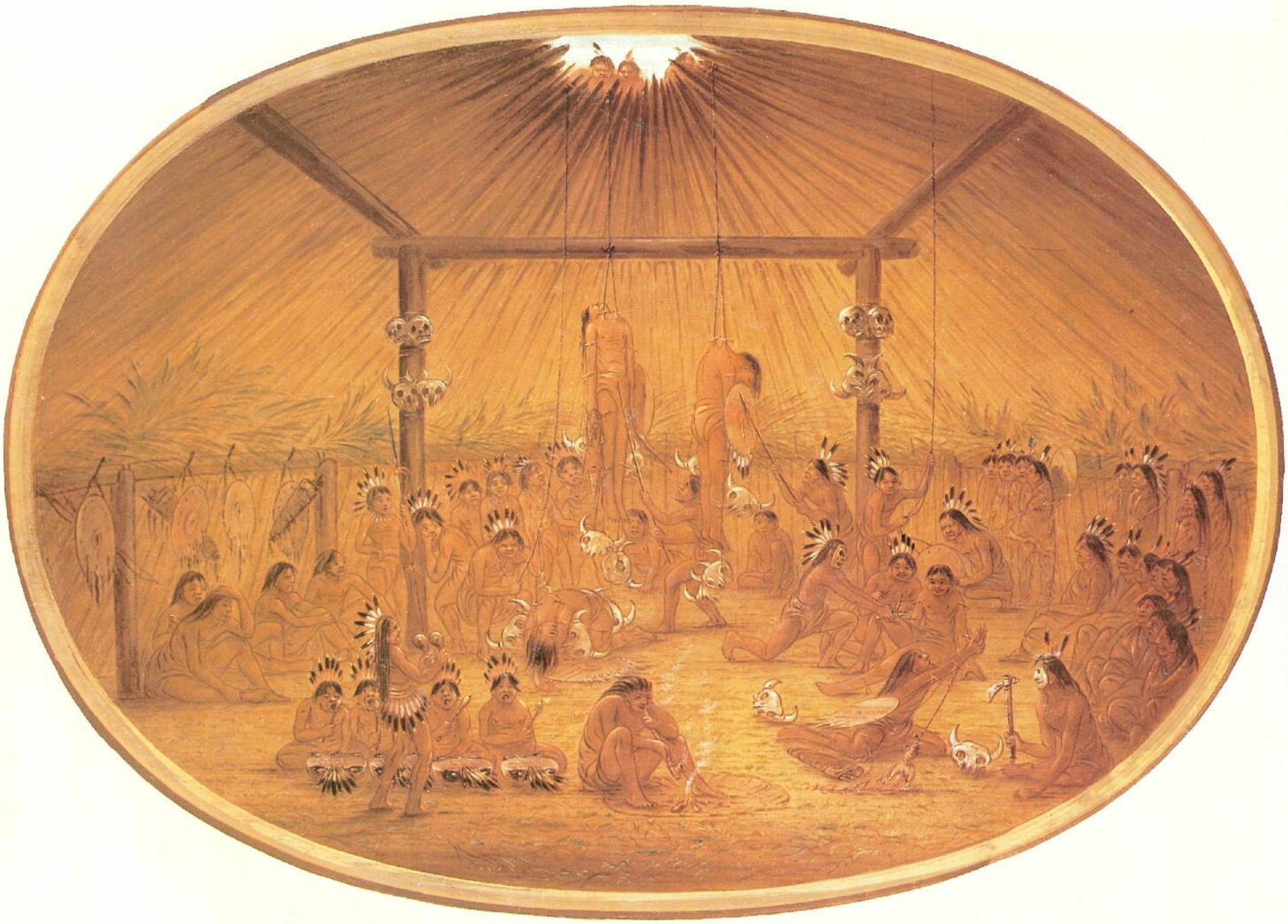
"In this awkward predicament he became



the laughing-stock and butt for the women, who being no longer afraid of him, were gathering in groups around, to tease and tantalise him; and in the midst of this dilemma, which soon became a very sad one—one of the women, who stole up behind him with both hands full of yellow dirt—dashed it into his face and eyes, and all over him, and his body being covered with grease, took instantly a different hue. He seemed heart-broken at this signal disgrace, and commenced crying most vehemently, when, *à l'instant*, another caught his *wand* from his hand and broke it across her knee. It was snatched for by others who broke it still into bits, and then threw them at him. His power was now gone—his bodily strength was exhausted, and he made a bolt for the prairie—he dashed through the crowd, and made his way through the piquets on the back part of the village, where were placed for the purpose, an hundred or more women and girls, who escorted him as he ran on the prairie for half a mile or more, beating him with sticks, and stones, and dirt, and kicks, and cuffs, until he was at length seen escaping from their clutches, and making the best of his retreat over the prairie bluffs, from whence he first appeared."[239] The women returned with the colossal appendage, to the shouts of acclaim of the whole village. It was lifted and fixed above the door of the medicine lodge, the Bull Dance ended, and the time for the tortures had come.[240]

The master of ceremonies and the musicians with the four water bags reentered the medicine lodge, together with a number who were to administer the cruelties and the chief and doctors of the tribe, who were to look on and judge the youths. The old master, by the fire with his pipe, commenced smoking to the Great Spirit for the success of the aspirants;

400. Mandan Okipa Festival: The Bull Dance, with O-kee-hee-dee entering (left), the Keeper of the Ceremonies leaning on the "Big Canoe" (center), and O-kee-hee-dee fleeing (right). Painting by George Catlin.



401. Mandan Okipa Festival: The Ordeal. Keeper of the Ceremonies (center) smoking calumet for success of the initiates, and finger offerings at the buffalo skull (right). Painting by George Catlin.

the musicians took their places; and the excruciating, extreme ordeal began. The *sanctum sanctorum* scaffold was removed, as well as the buffalo and human skulls; two men—one with a scalping knife, the other with the bunch of splints—stood ready for their work; and the first of the young men came forward, placed himself on his hands and knees, or otherwise, as ordered, and submitted (without a change of face, or even smiling) to the operation. An inch or more of the flesh on each shoulder, or breast, was taken up by the thumb and finger of the man who held the knife, and the knife—ground sharp on both edges and notched to make it produce as much pain as possible—was forced through and, being withdrawn, was followed by a splint, or skewer, from the second man, who held a bunch of such in his left hand. Two cords were then lowered from the top of the lodge by men placed outside for the purpose; the cords were fastened to the skewers, and the youth raised until suspended just above the ground, where he rested until the man with the knife had skewered each arm below the shoulder and elbow and each leg on the thigh and below the knee. In other cases these operations were accomplished while the youths remained in a reclining position on the ground (as in Catlin's painting), to be then drawn up by the cords. The bystanders then would hang objects upon the splints: each man's shield, his bow and quiver, and, in many instances, a buffalo skull or two. When all were adjusted, the youth was elevated until the weights swung clear of the ground. Someone would then advance with a pole and begin turning him—at first gently, but then vigorously—when the brave fellow, who could control his agony no longer, would burst out with cries of prayer to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in his trial. He was turned, then, faster and faster, until, fainting, his voice falters and he hangs, apparently a still and lifeless corpse. When, finally, his tongue is distended from his mouth, and his medicine bag, which he has been holding in his left hand, drops to the ground, the signal is given to the men at the top of the lodge, and they gradually and carefully lower him to the ground. One of the attendants pulls the two splints from the chest or shoulders, disengaging him from the cords but leaving all the other splints with their weights, and there he lies "in the keeping of the Great Spirit," until, after six or eight minutes, he has strength to move. He then crawls, with the weights still hanging to him, across the lodge to a buffalo skull, behind which there is a man sitting with a hatchet. The youth holds up the little finger of his left hand with a prayer of offering and lays it on the buffalo skull, where the man chops it off.

(Some were seen to offer, in the same way, the forefinger of the hand as well, leaving only the two middle fingers and thumb, which were essential for holding the bow.)

As soon as six or eight had passed the ordeal, they were led out of the lodge with the weights still hanging to their flesh; the old master of ceremonies, medicine pipe in hand, came running out of the lodge, and crying, leaned against the Big Canoe; two athletic young men, wearing headdresses of eagle feathers, took each of the exhausted initiates in hand and, after wrapping a broad leather strap around each of his wrists, stood with him, ready for what was known as "the last race." At a signal, with the weights still dragging, all then start to run, each striving to run longer than his comrades without, as they call it, "dying." When they faint, they are dragged by the straps with all possible speed. The start will have been at a moderate pace, but the speed is steadily increased, and the pain becomes so excruciating that they collapse and are dragged about unconscious until all of the weights are torn out—when the bodies are left lying as though dead, and the two that have dragged and left them run through the crowd and out onto the prairie, as though in flight. "In the keeping of the Great Spirit," each of the mangled bodies lies until, after a very few minutes, the youth can be seen moving, rising at last, reeling and staggering through the crowds, making for his lodge, where relatives and friends are waiting to restore him.[241]

402. Mandan Okipa Festival: The Last Race. Keeper of the Ceremonies encircled by young braves. Initiates running, dragged, and left "in the keeping of the Great Spirit." Painting by George Catlin.



"When the sun died
[that is, was eclipsed, probably January 1, 1889],
I went up to heaven and saw God and all the
people who had died a long time ago.
God told me to come back and tell
my people they must be good and love one another, and not fight,
or steal, or lie.
He gave me this dance to give my people."
—Wovoka[32]



403.



The Ghost Dance

At the time of Black Elk's vision, the Sioux were the dominant tribe from Minnesota to the Rockies and from the Yellowstone river to the Platte, with millions of buffalo to sustain them and thousands of horses. Formerly a Woodland people living around the source of the Mississippi, in the seventeenth century they were driven to the Plains when their neighbors, the Ojibwa, acquired firearms from the French. Linguistically, they are related (remotely) to the Iroquois, the earliest homes of both having been, apparently, along the South Atlantic slope.[242] Accordingly, their background was agricultural, and the wonder is that in their mythology they so perfectly adapted themes of a Southeast Woodland, Mississippian origin to their experiences as an equestrian, buffalo-hunting culture of the Great Plains.

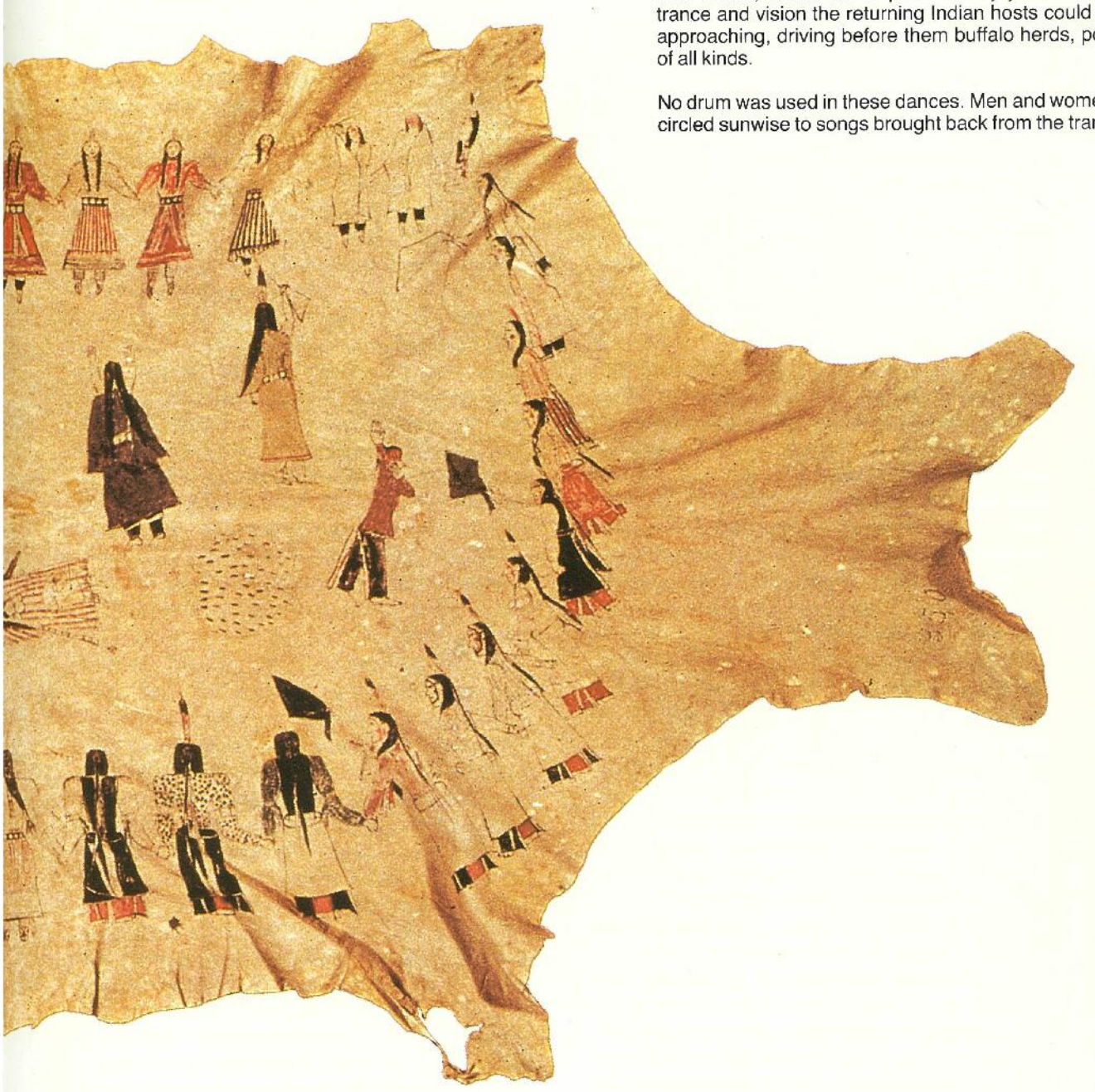
The stunning three decades from 1860 to 1890 were, for every one of the Plains tribes, an irretrievable disaster. Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* (1881)[243] and James Mooney's *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*[244] sufficiently review the sordid history. With their millions of buffalo vanished and themselves imprisoned on fraudulently managed, diminishing reservations, the shock was not only social, in the loss of an environment, but profoundly psychological, in the loss of their spiritual symbol. "The buffalo," said Black Elk, "represents the people and the universe. And is he not generous in that he gives us our homes and our food?"[245]

The spiritual reactions were chiefly of two orders: (1) a briefly flourishing eschatological movement (the Ghost Dance), anticipating an immediate regeneration of the earth, with the disappearance of the White Man and the resurrection of both the buffalo and all the Indian dead; and (2) an enduring hallucinogenic movement (the Peyote Cult: a communal eating of peyote buttons), facilitating both a reactivation of the mythogenetic imagination and a regeneration of the symbolic life from within.

The Ghost Dance originated in the visions of Wovoka, a Paiute of Nevada, in 1889. Influential in his imagination were: Paiute myths of the aging and regeneration of the earth; the teachings c. 1870, of Tavibo, an earlier Paiute prophet; and certain echoes of the Christian eschatological expectation that stemmed chiefly from the Mormon community in Utah. Spontaneously, his message flew from reser-

The expectation of the Ghost Dance was of an imminent restitution of the Indians' destroyed world, with a resurrection of the buffalo herds, as well as of the Indians of all time, who then together with their grandchildren who are here dancing to hasten and welcome their return, would live in peace and joy forever on this earth. In trance and vision the returning Indian hosts could already be seen approaching, driving before them buffalo herds, ponies, and game of all kinds.

No drum was used in these dances. Men and women, hands joined, circled sunwise to songs brought back from the trances.



404. Ghost-Dancing Arapaho and Cheyenne. Drawing in colored ink on buckskin by Yellow Nose, a Ute captive of the Cheyenne, 1891.

All are in full costume, wearing medicine paint and consecrated feathers. The Cheyenne women's hair is braided, the Arapaho's hangs loose; two carry children on their backs; several wave the handkerchiefs that helped to induce the hypnotic effect; and one holds up the symbolic crow, sacred to the Ghost Dance. There is a man with a gaming wheel in hand, another with a shinny stick—reminiscent tokens of earlier visions. In the center, with arms upraised, are dancers in the rigid state; and toward the right, a medicine man is hypnotizing a woman. The spotted object on the ground behind him is a shawl from the shoulders of the woman above it.[33]

vation to reservation until the government agent on the Pine Ridge Reservation of the Sioux became alarmed, and on December 29, 1890, some 300 men, women, and their children were massacred by United States troops at Wounded Knee.[246] Elsewhere the dancing continued for another couple of years, until the undeniable failure of the Messiah's prophecies quenched the hope, and in the early 1890s the Peyote religion gained the field. Known today as the Native American Church, this movement claimed in the mid-1970s some 200,000 adherents among fifty or more of the surviving North American Indian tribes.



405. The Paiute prophet Wovoka of Mason Valley, Nevada (1856?–1932), whose visionary visit to the Other World inspired the Ghost Dance religion of hope, which rapidly spread among the western tribes immediately following the extermination of the buffalo. Photograph, c. 1920.

Myths and Tales of the Northern Plains

Three Blackfoot Medicine Legends

The Blackfeet are an Algonquian tribe that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries left the Woodlands for the northwestern Plains, where in the early nineteenth century their domain extended from the Saskatchewan River to the Missouri. The following three legends tell of the origins of their Bull Dance, their medicine lodge, and a certain sacred pipe. All conform to that universal pattern of the "Adventure of the Hero"—Departure/Initiation/Return—which, in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces,*[247] I have termed the Monomyth. The first takes place on the plane of earth; the second is of a journey to the Sun; and the third (an Orpheus and Eurydice type) concerns a visit to the Land of Shades.

The Buffalo's Wife

The people had prepared a buffalo fall, but the herds driven toward it always swerved to right or left, down the sloping hills, and across the valley to safety. So the people were in danger of starvation.

A young woman, early one morning fetching water, looked up and saw a herd on the cliff above the corral. "Oh!" she cried, "if you would jump I would marry one of you." To her amazement the buffalo began coming over, and she was then terrified when a big bull, with one bound, cleared the corral and was approaching. "Come!" he said, and he took her arm. "No, no!" she cried, resisting. "You said," said he, "you would marry one of us, and see! The corral is filled." Then he led her up over the bluff and away.

When the people had finished slaughtering, they missed the young woman, and when her father could not find her, he took his bow and quiver, climbed up the bluff, and went onto the prairie. When he had traveled far, he came to a wallow and saw a herd a little way off. Sitting down, tired and thinking what to do, he watched a magpie alight nearby. "Ha! You beautiful bird!" he said. "Help me! As you fly about, should you see my daughter, tell her, 'Your father waits by the wallow.'" The bird winged away toward the herd, and, seeing the young woman, alighted nearby. Picking around, turning his head this way and that, he came very close and said, "Your father is waiting by the wallow." "Sh-h-h!" she whispered; for the big bull was nearby, asleep. "Tell him to wait. I will come." The magpie flew and reported to the man, "Your daughter is with the herd and says to wait."

When the bull woke, he said to his wife, "Get me some water." She took from his head a horn and hurried to the wallow. "Oh father!" she said. "Why did you come? You will be killed." "I came," said he, "to take my daughter home. Come! Let us hurry!" "No, no!" she said. "They would follow and kill us. Wait until he sleeps again. I'll be back." She filled the horn with water and returned to her husband. He took a sip. "Ha, ha!" said he. "There is a person here." Her heart rose. He drank some more, got up, and bellowed. What a fearful sound! Up rose the bulls, raised their short tails, shook them, tossed their great heads, and bellowed back. Then all pawed the dirt, rushed about, and coming to the wallow, found that poor man, trampled him, hooked and again trampled him, until not even a small piece of him could be seen. His daughter cried, "My father!" "Ah!" said the bull; "you mourn for your father. Now you see how it is with us. We have seen our mothers, fathers, and many of our relatives hurled over the rocky walls and killed for food for your people. But I will have pity and give you one chance. If you can bring your father to life, you and he may return to your people."

She turned to the magpie. "Pity and help me!" she said. "Go, search the mud. Try to find some little piece of my father." The bird flew to the wallow, searched every hole, tore up the mud with his nose, and at last found something white. Pulling hard, he brought out a bit of the backbone, with which he returned. The daughter placed this on the ground, covered it with her robe, and sang; then, removing the robe, she saw her father lying there, dead. Once more she spread the robe and sang, and when again she removed it, he was breathing. He stood up. The buffalo were amazed. The magpie was delighted and, flying round and round, set up a clatter.

Said the big bull to the others of his herd, "We have seen strange things today. The man we trampled is alive. The people's medicine is strong." Then he turned to his wife. "Before you go, we shall teach you our dance and song. Do not forget them." All the buffalo danced, and as befitted such great beasts, the song was slow and solemn, the step ponderous and deliberate. And when the dance was done the big bull said, "Now go home and do not forget what you have seen. Teach the dance and song to your people. Its medicine objects are the bull's head and robe. Those who dance the bulls are to wear these when they perform."

The joy of the camp was great when the man returned with his daughter. He called a council of chiefs, told them what had happened, and they selected braves to whom the dance and song were taught. And thus was formed the Blackfoot association called All Comrades, whose duty it is to regulate the tribal life and the rites through which the animals slain each year are returned to life.[248]

Scarface

In the earliest times, all the tribes were at peace. And in those days there was a man with a very beautiful daughter whom all the young men wished to marry, but she would only shake her head. Her father asked, "How is this?" Her mother said, "What shame for us should a child be born and our daughter still unmarried!" "Father! Mother!" the beautiful girl replied. "I have no secret lover, but now hear the truth: the Person Above, the Sun, has told me, 'Do not marry, for you are mine. Take heed, and you shall be happy and live to a great age.'"

Now there was a very poor young man whose parents and relatives had all gone to the Sand Hills. He was handsome, except that on his cheek there was a scar, and his clothes were always poor and old. After the Bull Dances one year, some of the great braves whom the girl had refused taunted him. "Why don't *you* ask her?" And they laughed, but he did not. "Indeed," he said, "I shall do as you say." And he went to her. "I am poor," he said; "yet now, today, I ask you: will you be my wife?" She hid her face in her robe and brushed the ground with her moccasin, back and forth. "True," she said, after a time, "I have refused all the rich young men, yet now the poor one asks, and I am glad. I will be your wife, and my people will be happy. They will give us robes and furs, and you will be poor no longer. However, the Sun has spoken to me and has told me that I belong to him. So now, go to the Sun and say to him: 'She to whom you have spoken has heeded your words. But she now wants to marry and I want her for my wife.' Ask him to take that scar from your face, and that will be his sign. But if he refuses, or if you cannot find his lodge, do not return."

* * *

Scarface went to an old woman who had been kind to him and asked her to make him moccasins for a journey. She made seven pairs and gave him also a sack of food (pemmican), for she liked him. "Pity me, O Sun!" he prayed; and sad at heart, he set forth. Many days he traveled, over prairies, along rivers, among mountains, and the sack of food every day grew lighter. One night he stopped at the home of a wolf. "I seek the place where the Sun lives," he said. "I have traveled far," the wolf said, "and have never seen the Sun's place. But I know someone very wise. Ask the bear." The bear did not know, but suggested the badger, and the badger, then, the wolverine. Scarface, however, could not find the wolverine. Then he sat down, completely worn out, his moccasins broken, his food nearly gone. "O pity me, Wolverine!" he cried, and behind him heard a voice: "What is it, my brother?" Scarface told his story, and since it was already evening, the wolverine said he would show him the trail next morning to the big water beyond which the Sun lived. But when the youth then followed that trail and beheld the expanse of the big water, his heart failed him. "Here at this water," he said, "I shall die."

Two swans came swimming. They asked who he was and what had brought him to that shore. He responded, and they said, "Take heart. Across this water is the lodge of that Person Above whom you seek. Get on our backs, and we shall take you there." He waded in, lay on their backs, and they started. Very deep and black is that water. Strange beings inhabit it: monsters that seize people and drown them. Yet the two swans carried him safely to the other shore, where a broad trail led from the water. "*Hyi!*" said the swans. "Follow that trail."

Pretty soon there were some beautiful things to be seen lying along that trail: a war shirt, a shield, a bow, and some arrows. Scarface stepped carefully around them. Then he met an extraordinarily handsome young man with very long hair, wearing clothing of strange skins and moccasins sewn with colored feathers. "Did you see some weapons along the road?" the young man asked. "Yes," Scarface said. "But you did not touch them!" "No; I thought someone had left them there." "Then you are not a thief," the youth said. "What is your name?" "My name is Scarface." "Where are you going?" "To the Sun." "My name," the young man said, "is Early Riser [The Morning Star]. The Sun is my father. I will take you to our lodge. He is out now, but will be in tonight."

The lodge was large and beautiful: painted on it were strange medicine animals and behind, on a tripod, were weapons and beautiful clothes. The two entered, and within was Morning Star's mother, the Moon. She welcomed Scarface kindly, gave him food, and asked the purpose of his visit. When he had told her all, and when the Sun was soon to return, she hid him under a pile of robes. "I smell a person," the Sun said when he came in. "Yes, father," said Morning Star, "an honest young man has come to see you. I know that he is honest, for he did not touch my things when he passed them on the trail." They brought Scarface out from under the robes, and the Sun invited him to stay as long as he liked. "My son is sometimes lonesome," he said. "Be his friend."

So Scarface stayed a long time and hunted with Morning Star. Early in his stay the Moon told him neither to go, nor to let her son go, near the big water to hunt. "Great birds with long sharp bills are there," she said, "and they kill people. They have killed all of my sons but Morning Star." However, one day when the two were not far from the big water, Morning Star spied the birds. "Come," he said, "let us kill them!" And he started toward the water. Scarface, protesting, followed and then ran ahead; for he knew that to save his friend, he had to kill the birds himself, which he did; with his spear he killed them all. The two cut off the birds' heads, carried them home, and told the Moon what had been done. She was so elated that she kissed Scarface and called him "my son." She told the Sun when he came home, and he also called him "my son." "I shall not forget," he said, "what you have this day done for me. Tell me now what I can do for you." And when he had heard, he said, "I have watched and I know. She is good, she is wise, I give her to you, she is yours."

"And now," said the Sun, "let me instruct you. Be wise and listen! I am the only chief. I made the earth, the mountains, prairies, rivers and forests, the people and all the animals. I can never die. The winter makes me old and weak, but every summer I am young again. Now of animals the smartest is the raven: he always finds his food. And the most sacred is the buffalo. Of them all, I like him best. He is for the people, your food and shelter. And of his body, the most sacred part is the tongue. That is mine. And berries, too, are sacred; they too are mine. Come now with me and see the world." He conducted Scarface to the edge of the sky, and they looked down. They saw it round and flat and all around the edge were walls, straight down.

Then said the Sun: "When a man is sick or in danger, let his wife promise that if he recovers, she will build me a Medicine Lodge. If she is pure and true, I shall be pleased and help the man; but if she is bad and lies, I shall be angry. The lodge is to be built like the world: round and with walls. But first a sweat house is to be built of a hundred sticks, domed, like the sky. And half shall be painted red—for me; the other half, black—that is the night. And now, which is the better, the heart or the brain? The brain; for the heart often lies, the brain, never."

The Sun then told Scarface how the Medicine Lodge was to be made and, when he finished, rubbed a medicine on the young man's face, and the scar disappeared. Then he gave him two raven feathers, saying, "These are the sign for the girl, that I give her to you. They must always be worn by the husband of the woman who builds a Medicine Lodge."

The young man was now ready to return home. The Sun and Morning Star gave him presents. The Moon cried, kissed him, and called him "my son." Then the Sun showed him the short trail, the Milky Way, and following that, he soon reached the earth.

* * *

It was a very hot day when he arrived. All the lodge skins were raised, and the people sat in the shade. One of the chiefs, early in the morning, had seen a person sitting on a nearby butte, closely wrapped in his robe, and when it was almost night and the person was still there, he sent some young men out to meet him. "He may be a stranger," the chief said; "go and ask him in."

When invited, the person arose, threw off his robe, and they were amazed. The clothes were beautiful; the bow, shield, and weapons of a strange make; but they knew his face, although the scar was gone. A shout of welcome went up, and all the people rushed to see him. And there in the crowd was that beautiful girl. He took the two raven feathers from his head, handed them to her, and said, "The trail was very long, I nearly died but, through his Helpers, found his lodge. He is glad. He sends you these two feathers. They are his sign."

Great then was her joy. When married, they constructed the first Medicine Lodge exactly as the Sun had described it. And the Sun, who was pleased, gave them both great age. They were never ill. And when they were both very old and, one morning, their children called, "Wake up!" they did not move. In the night, in sleep, without pain, their shadows had departed for the Sand Hills.[249]

The Sand Hills

There was once a young man so fond of his wife that when she died shortly after giving birth, he was disconsolate. He would take the child on his back and wander about the hills weeping, until one day he said to it, "My little boy, you will have to live with your grandmother, while I search for your mother, to bring her back."

When he set out for the Sand Hills, the fourth night away he had a dream in which he entered the little lodge of an old woman. "Why are you here, my son?" she asked. "I am mourning day and night," he answered, "For whom?" she asked. "For my wife," he replied. "Oh!" she said. "I saw her pass this way some time ago. I am not powerful medicine myself, but there is another old woman by that far butte. Go to her, and she will give you the power needed for your journey. Past the next butte beyond her lodge is the camp of the ghosts."

He woke and the next day went on. It took him long to reach the distant butte, and he found no lodge there. When he lay down, however, he dreamed, and there he saw a little lodge. An old woman came to the doorway, called, and he went in. "My son," she said, "you are very poor, and I know why you have come this way. You are searching for your wife in the ghost country. It will be hard for you to get there. You may not be able to bring your wife back. But I have great power and shall do for you all I can. If you do everything exactly as I say, you may succeed." Then she gave him a medicine bundle for the journey. "Wait here," she said, "while I go to their camp and try to bring back some of your relatives. You may return with them, but on the way must shut your eyes; for should you open them and look about, you would die and never come back. When you get to the camp, you will pass a big lodge. They will ask, 'Where are you going? And who said you might come here?' You must reply, 'My grandmother, who is out here standing by me, told me to come.' They will try to scare you, they will make fearful noises, and you will see strange, terrible sights. But do not be afraid." Then she left and, after a time, returned with one of his relatives, with whom he departed for the camp.

When they came to the big lodge, someone called out, and he answered as instructed, and when he then passed into the camp, the ghosts tried to frighten him, as predicted. But he kept on and came to another lodge, whose owner came out and asked where he was going. "I am searching for my wife," he said. "I so mourn for her that I cannot rest, and my little boy is crying for his dead mother. I have been offered other wives, but want only this one for whom I am searching." The ghost said, "That you have come here is a fearful thing. It is likely you will never leave. Never before has a living person been seen here." Then he invited him into the lodge. "You will remain here four nights and will then see your wife," he said. "But you must be extremely careful or you will die right here."

Then that chief ghost went out and called for a feast, inviting the man's father-in-law and other relatives. It was as though their son-in-law had died and arrived as a ghost. When they had gathered, they halted at the entrance. "There is a person in there," they called. It seems there was something about him, a smell that they could not bear. When the chief ghost burned sweet pine, they entered, and he told them the young man's mission. "Now pity your son-in-law. Neither the great distance nor the fearful sights have weakened his heart," he said. "He mourns, not only for his wife, but also because his little

son is without a mother. He is tenderhearted. Do pity him, and give him back his wife." The ghosts consulted. Then one of them said to him: "Yes, you will remain here four nights, then we shall give you our medicine pipe, the Worm Pipe, and you will go home with your wife."

When the time came, the chief ghost again called and they arrived, bringing the man's wife. One came beating a drum. Following was another with the Worm Pipe, which they presented to him. "Now be careful," the chief ghost then said. "Tomorrow you and your wife will start on your homeward way. She will carry the Worm Pipe. Some of your relatives will be with you for four days, during which time you must not open your eyes, or you will return here and be forever a ghost. You can see that your wife is not now a person. But in the middle of the fourth day you will be told to look, and when you do, you will see that she has become a person and that your relatives will have disappeared."

The ghostly father-in-law then spoke to him. "When you reach your camp, you must not enter immediately, but let some of your relatives know you have arrived and ask them to build you a sweat house. Go into this and wash your body thoroughly. If you miss any part of it you will die. There is something about us ghosts that is difficult to remove. And do not whip your wife, or strike her with a knife or with fire. If you do, she will vanish from your sight and return to the Sand Hills."

Accompanied by their relatives, the reunited couple then left the ghost country for home, and on the fourth day the wife said, "Open your eyes!" Her husband looked about and saw that those who had been with them were gone and that they were standing before the old woman's lodge by the butte. She appeared and said, "Give back to me the medicines by which you accomplished your purpose." He returned them and became again fully a person.

When they drew near to the camp, the wife went ahead and sat down on a butte. Some curious people came out to see who that was, and she called to them: "Do not come nearer. Tell my mother and relatives to build a lodge for us, a little away from the camp, with a sweat lodge nearby." When this had been done, the man with his wife took a thorough sweat, then entered the lodge and burned sweet grass, purifying both their clothing and the Worm Pipe. Their relatives and friends then came to see them, and the man described his adventure, explaining that the pipe over the doorway was a medicine pipe, presented to him by his father-in-law in the Sand Hills. That is how the Worm Pipe was obtained, which now belongs to the Piegan band known as the Worm People.

However, not long after all this, the husband, one night, told his wife to do something, and when she hesitated, he picked up a firebrand—only to threaten, not to strike. But it was enough: she vanished and never again was seen.[250]

Three Creation Myths

George Bird Grinnell, who collected these legends directly from the lips of his friends of the 1870s and 1880s—Red Eagle, Almost a Dog, Four Bears, Wolf Calf, Big Nose, Heavy Runner, Young Bear Chief, Wolf Tail, Rabid Wolf, Running Rabbit, White Calf, All Are His Children, Double Runner, Lone Medicine Person, and many others: all members of the last generation of pre-reservation Plains Indians—states that he was unable to obtain anything like a complete account of the beginning of things.[251] In the legend of Scarface, the Sun appears as Creator; in the following tales, the Creator is *Napi*, Old Man, the Blackfoot Trickster. "There is some reason to suspect, however, that the Sun and Old Man are one," states Grinnell; "for I have been told by two or three old men that 'the Sun is the person whom we call Old Man.'"[252]

Originally there was a great womb in which were conceived the progenitors of all the animals now on earth, and among them was Old Man. One day the womb burst, and Old Man jumped first to the ground. That is why he calls the animals Young Brothers, and they call him Old Man.[253]

It is said that in the beginning, when all was under water, Old Man and the animals were floating on a large raft. One day Old Man told the beaver to dive and try to bring up some mud. The beaver was gone a long time, but could not reach bottom. The loon tried, and the otter, but the water was too deep. Then the muskrat dove and was gone so long they thought he had drowned; but he came up, nearly dead, and when they had pulled him onto the raft, they found a bit of mud in one of his paws. Of this, Old Man formed the earth and then the people.[254]

Among Algonquian tribes from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, this "Earth Diver" motif is a standard feature of origin myths. That it was brought either with them or to them from Siberia becomes evident from such Asian examples as the following:

From the Yenisei Ostyaks: In the beginning all was water, and hovering over it was the Great Shaman Doh, accompanied by swans, loons, and other waterfowl. Since he could nowhere find a resting place, Doh asked the diver bird to bring up some earth from the bottom. The bird dove twice, and of the bit of mud then brought up, Doh made the earth as an island floating on the primal sea.[255]

A Buriat version: Water again, and Sombol-Burkhan sent down the white diver bird, who at half way was challenged by a crab of the depths that asked where he was going, and when told, the crab became angry. "I've been in this water forever," it said, "and have never yet found its bottom. Now go back, right away, or I'll cut you in two with my scissors!" The bird returned, and when Sombol-Burkhan heard his excuse, he gave him a magic phrase by which, on his second dive, the power of the crab was annulled.[256]

From the Northern Yakuts: The Mother of God decided to create a world, but having no material, she created first the diver bird and the duck, commanding them to dive into the primal sea. First to return was the duck with some mud in her mouth; then came the diver with nothing. "There is nothing down there to be found," it said, and the Mother of God became angry. "Deceitful bird! Have I not given you more strength and a longer beak than the duck? You are lying, out of pity for the ocean. Well then, stay with it! Never shall you live on the sacred surface of the earth, but forever dip and dive in the waters, searching for refuse for your food!"[257]

Another Yakut example: The White Creator Lord moved in the beginning above the boundless ocean, and on seeing a bladder floating on the waters, inquired: "Who and whence?" The bladder replied that it was Satan and lived on the hidden earth underwater. God said: "If there is really earth down there, then bring me a piece of it." Satan dived and returned with a morsel of earth. God blessed it, placed it on the surface of the water, and seated himself upon it. Then Satan resolved to drown God by stretching out the land, but the more it stretched the stronger it grew, covering soon a great part of the ocean's surface.[258]

From eastern Finland: God sat in the beginning on a golden pillar in the middle of the sea. His shadow fell on the waters and, seeing it, he ordered it to arise. It was the Devil, and when God sent him diving for earth, he kept some of it hidden in a corner of his mouth. When God's word then caused the particle of earth placed on the sea to expand, that remaining in the Devil's mouth swelled too, and to keep from choking, he spat it out, thus adding rocks and mountains to the scene.[259]

In the Hindu Puranas: It is told that at the time of one of those universal floods which [in that mythology] recur every 311,040,000,000 years, the great god Vishnu himself, whose dream is the universe, assumed the form in his dream of a giant boar and, in this character, dove into the cosmic sea and brought the goddess Earth to the surface.[260] On another occasion, Vishnu took the form of a tortoise and, floating in the cosmic sea, supported on his back the cosmic mountain.[261]

In the Markandeya Purana the continent of India is described as resting on the back of the same tortoise.[262] The Puranas represent a relatively late development of Hindu mythology, c. A.D. 400 to 1000. However, already in the Vedas, c. 1200 to 800 B.C., the mythological tortoise is equated with Prajāpati, Lord of Creatures, the Creator, even receiving the epithet *svayambhū*, "self-created." In the Shatapatha Brahmana it is told that when Prajāpati was about to create the creatures

of this earth, he changed himself into a tortoise; and it was this transformation of the ancient Vedic god that became in later myth the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu.[263] (Compare the turtle's role in the Iroquois creation myth on page 207; the rattle in the hand of the False Face, Figure 343 on page 208; and the mythic reference of the water-filled turtle drums of the Mandan Okipa festival described on pages 226–231.)

A second Blackfoot account of Old-Man-in-the-Beginning tells of his coming from the south.

Traveling north, fashioning animals and birds along the way, he made the mountains, prairies, timber, and brush first, putting red paint here and there in the ground, covering the plains with grass for the animals to eat, putting trees in the ground and all kinds of animals upon it. When he made the bighorn with its big head and horns, he made it out in the prairie. It did not seem to travel easily there, so he took it by one of its horns and led it to the mountains, where it skipped about among the rocks with ease. So he said, "This is the place that suits you." And while he was there he made an antelope of dirt, turning it loose to see how it would go. But it ran so fast, it fell over the rocks and got hurt. So he took it down to the prairie, where it ran away fast and gracefully, and he said, "This is what you are suited to."

One day Old Man decided to make a woman and child, and he formed them both of clay. After he had molded them, he said to the clay, "You must become people." Then he covered it up and left. Next morning he returned and took the covering off and saw that the shapes had changed a little. The second morning there was more change, and the third still more. The fourth morning he told them to rise and walk, and they did so. They walked down to the river with their Maker, and he told them his name was Old Man.

As they were standing there, the woman asked, "How is it? Shall we always live? Will there be no end to it?" "I had not thought of that," said Old Man. "We shall have to decide. I'll take this buffalo chip and throw it in the river. If it floats, when people die, in four days they will be alive again. But if it sinks, there will be an end to them." He threw the chip into the river, and it floated. The woman turned and picked up a stone, saying: "No, I'll throw this stone into the river; if it floats, we shall always live; if it sinks, people must die, so that they may feel pity for each other and sorrow for each other." She threw the stone into the water and it sank. "There," said Old Man, "you have chosen."

Not many nights after that, however, the woman's child died, and she cried for it a great deal; and to Old Man she said, "Let us change this. The law that you first made, let that be it." "Not so!" he replied. "What has been made the law is the law. Your child is dead. That fact cannot be changed."

And so that is how we came to be people. And it was Old Man who made us.[264]

"In the serious tales, such as those of the creation," states Grinnell of the Blackfoot Trickster-Creator, Old Man, "he is spoken of respectfully, and there is no hint of the impish qualities which characterize him in other stories, in which he is powerful, but also at times impotent; full of all wisdom, yet at times so helpless that he had to ask aid from the animals. Sometimes he sympathizes with people, and at others, out of pure spitefulness, he plays them malicious tricks that are worthy of a demon. He is a combination of strength, weakness, wisdom, folly, childishness, and malice."[265]

The resemblance of this characterization to that already given of Mantis, the African Bushman Trickster, is manifest. (See pages 91–99.) For, indeed, as Karl Kerényi has pointed out in a commentary on the Coyote cycle of the Winnebago (a Siouan-speaking tribe now on reservations in Wyoming and Nebraska), the mythological Trickster is immediately recognizable in *whatever* cultural costume he assumes. Voracious, phallic, stupid, and yet sly, what he signifies is the spirit of disorder, the enemy of boundaries. "Disorder belongs," states Kerényi, "to the totality of life, and the function of his mythology is to add disorder to order and so make a whole."[266]

The Eye Juggler

One day, as Old Man was walking in the woods, he saw something very queer. A bird, making a strange noise, was sitting on a limb, and every time it made this noise, its eyes would go out of its head and fasten on the tree; then it would make another kind of noise, and its eyes would come back to their places.

"Little Brother," cried Old Man, "teach me how to do that." "If I do," replied the bird, "you must not let your eyes go out of your head more than three times a day. If you do, you will be sorry." "Just as you say, Little Brother," said Old Man. "The trick is yours."

When he had learned the trick, Old Man was very glad, and did it three times, right away. Then he stopped. "Why did he tell me to do it only three times?" he thought. "I will do it again, anyhow." So he made his eyes go out a fourth time, and could not call them back. "Oh Little Brother," he called to the bird, "come help me get back my eyes." But the bird did not reply; it had flown away. Old Man felt over the tree with his hands, but could not find his eyes; and he wandered about for a long time, crying and calling to the animals for help.

A wolf decided to have fun with him. He had found a dead buffalo and, taking a piece of the rotting meat, held it close to the nose of the Old Man, who, being hungry, tried to feel around for it, but the wolf kept jerking it away. Once, however, Old Man caught him, and, plucking out one of his eyes, put it in his own head. Then he could see and was able to recover his eyes, but never again could he do the trick the little bird had taught him.[267]

The Sun's Leggings

Traveling around, Old Man happened to come to the lodge of the Sun, who invited him to stay a while, and he was glad to do so. One day they needed meat. Said the Sun: "Old Man, what do you say, shall we go and kill some deer?" "Very well," replied Old Man, "I like deer meat."

The Sun took down a bag and drew from it a beautiful pair of leggings, embroidered with bright feathers and colored porcupine quills. "These are my hunting leggings. They are great medicine," he said. "All I have to do is to walk around a patch of woods, and the leggings set it afire and drive the deer out to be shot." "Hai-yah!" How wonderful!" Old Man exclaimed. And he made up his mind to have those leggings, even if he had to steal them. The two set forth, and everything happened as the Sun had said. Each shot a white-tail deer.

That night, when going to bed, the Sun pulled off his leggings, and Old Man watched where he put them. Then, in the middle of the night, he stole them and went off. He had traveled a long way, when, becoming tired, he made a pillow of the leggings and lay down to sleep. In the morning he heard someone talking. "Old Man!" It was the Sun's voice. "Why are my leggings under your head?" Old Man looked around and saw that he was in the Sun's lodge. He thought he must have walked, unknowing, in a circle. The Sun asked again: "What are you doing with my leggings?" "Oh," replied Old Man, "I just couldn't find a pillow, so I used these."

Next night, again, Old Man took the leggings and, this time, did not walk, but ran. You see what a fool he was! He did not know that the whole world is the Sun's lodge. So when morning came, he was still inside that lodge, and the Sun said: "Old Man, since you like my leggings so much, I give them to you. Keep them." Old Man was happy and went his way.

One day, when his food was gone, he put on the medicine leggings, set fire to a patch of woods, and was just about to shoot a deer, when he saw that the fire was coming close to him. He turned and ran, but it followed. He ran as fast as he could, but the fire gained. It began to burn his legs, the leggings were afire. He jumped into a river and pulled off the leggings as fast as he could. They were burned to pieces.[268]

The Buffalo Hoarder

There came a time when the people were starving. There were no buffalo or antelope anywhere, the deer and elk trails were covered with grass, and not even a rabbit could be seen. Old Man decided to find out what had happened, and, taking with him the son of a chief, for many days he traveled, search-

ing. Then one day, having climbed a ridge, they saw, far off by a stream, a single lodge. "What kind of person is that," the young man said, "camping alone, far from friends?" "That," Old Man replied, "is the one who has hidden all the animals. He has a wife and a little son."

They went down, and when close to the lodge, Old Man changed himself into a little dog and his companion into a digging stick. The lodge-dweller's child found the dog and brought it home. "Look, father!" he said. "What a pretty little dog I found!" "Throw it away," said the man. "That is not a dog." The little boy cried, but his father made him take it out, and it was then that he found the digging stick. He returned with both. "Look, mother!" he called. "See the pretty root digger I found!" "Throw those things away," the father said. "That is not a stick, and this is not a dog." But the woman argued. "I want that stick. And let our little boy keep his dog." "Very well!" said the man. "But remember, if trouble comes, you will have brought it on yourself." He sent them off to pick berries and, while they were gone, killed and slaughtered a buffalo. When his wife returned, he gave her the meat to roast, and when the boy began feeding some to the dog, the man snatched it away. "That is not a dog," he said again. "Don't feed it."

That night, Old Man and the chief's son returned to their proper shapes and quietly ate some of the meat. "You were right," the young man whispered, "this surely is the one who has hidden the buffalo." When they had finished their meal, they again became a little dog and a stick.

In the morning the man sent his wife and little boy to dig roots. The woman took the stick along, the dog followed the boy, and as they went along, searching and digging, they approached a cave. At its mouth stood a buffalo cow. The dog scampered into the cave, and the stick, falling from the woman's hand, followed, gliding like a snake. Inside were all the animals, and Old Man and the young man, in their proper shapes, commenced driving them out onto the prairie. Never before were so many buffalo, antelope, deer, and other game animals to be seen. The man came running. "Who is driving out my animals?" he cried. "The dog and stick are in there," his wife said. "Didn't I tell you!" he yelled. "See now the trouble you've brought upon us!" He put an arrow to his bow, waiting for the two inside to come out. But when the last animal, a big bull, was about to leave, the stick hid itself amidst the hair of its neck, and the little dog held on beneath, until they were far out on the prairie, where they changed again into their true shapes and drove the animals toward the people's camp.

When the people came out to turn the buffalo herd toward their buffalo fall, just as the leading buffalo were about to jump, a raven came croaking, flapping its wings before them, and they swung aside. When this happened again and again, Old Man knew that the raven was the buffalo hoarder. He changed himself into a beaver and lay on the riverbank as though dead. The raven dove to pick at it, and Old Man, catching its legs, ran to the camp, where he tied it over the smoke hole of the chief's lodge. There, as the days went by, it grew poor and weak, eyes blurred with the smoke, continually crying, until at last Old Man released it and told it to take its proper shape. Then: "Look at me!" said Old Man. "Why did you try to fool me? Of all the peoples and tribes I am the chief. I shall never die. I made the mountains, prairies, rocks, and they are standing still. You can see them. Now go home to your wife and child, and when hungry, hunt like anyone else, or you shall die."[269]

The Fire-Bed Game and Trickster Tricked

Another day, just wandering, Old Man heard some really queer singing. He had never heard anything like it. He searched and at last discovered a circle of rabbits making medicine. They had built a fire and produced a bed of coals on which all but one would lie down together and sing, while the remaining rabbit covered them. After a short while, the guardian would uncover them and they would all jump out, and this apparently was great fun.

"Little Brothers," said Old Man, "it is wonderful, how you lie there without getting burned. I wish you would teach me to do that." "Come on, Old Man!" they said. "We'll show you. You must sing our song and not stay too long; for those coals are really hot." Old Man began to sing, lay down, and they covered him with the coals, which did not burn him at all. "Why, this is very nice," he said. "You have powerful medicine. Now you lie down and let me cover you up." They lay down, and Old Man covered them. Then he piled the whole fire on top of them and only one old rabbit got out. When he moved to put her back, she begged: "Have pity, Old Man! My children are about to be born." So he let her go, that there might be more rabbits in the world. He piled more wood on the fire, and when his rabbits were cooked, cut some red willow brush and laid them on it to cool. The grease soaked into the branches, so that today, if you hold red willow over a fire, you will see grease on the bark. Also you can see that rabbits have a burnt place on their backs, where the one that got away was singed.

Old Man was sitting, waiting for his meal to cool, when a coyote came by, limping badly. "Pity me, Old Man," he said. "You seem to have a lot of cooked rabbits there, give me one." "If you're too lazy to catch your own food," said Old Man, "I'm not going to give you mine." "My leg is broken," the coyote pleaded. "I can't catch a thing. I'm starving." "I don't care if you die," said Old Man. "I've worked hard for these rabbits. I'm not giving them away. But I'll tell you what I *will* do. I'll run you a race to that butte out there, and if you win you can have one rabbit." "All right," said the coyote, and they started. Old Man ran very fast, and the coyote came limping behind, until they drew near the butte, when he turned and bounded back full speed, not lame at all. It took a while for Old Man to get back, and just before he arrived, the coyote had downed the last rabbit and was trotting off over the prairie.[270]

The Fire Theft

The classic Trickster adventure is the Fire Theft. We have already seen Rabbit, of the Southeast Woodland Creek Indians of Georgia and Alabama, cleverly contrive to carry it off (page 209). In southern British Columbia, some 2000 miles away, the Thompson River tribes tell a similar tale of Coyote.

Standing one evening on a mountain top, Coyote thought he saw a light in the distance. Not knowing what it was, he found by divination that it was fire, and determined to procure that wonder for mankind. He gathered a company of swift runners, the fox, wolf, antelope, and some others, and after traveling a long way, they came to the house of the Fire People. "We have come," they said, "to visit you: to dance, to play, and to gamble." And preparations were made for a dance that night in their honor.

Coyote prepared a headdress for himself, made of pitchy yellow-pine shavings with cedar-bark fringes to the ground. The Fire People danced first around the flame, and the fire was very low. Then Coyote and his people danced, but complained they could not see. The Fire People fed the flame, and Coyote complained four times, until at last the blaze rose to the ceiling. Then Coyote's companions pretended to be so hot that they had to go out to cool themselves, leaving only Coyote inside. They took up positions for running, while Coyote capered wildly until, when close to the door, he swung the long fringes across the flame and made for it, with the Fire People in pursuit. He gave the blazing headdress to Antelope, who ran and passed it on to the next, and so, in relay. The Fire People caught up with them one by one and killed them—all except Coyote, whom they nearly caught, but he ran behind a tree and gave the fire to that tree, so that, since then, people have been able to draw fire from the wood of trees with fire-sticks.[271]

Three Coyote Tales of the Winnebago

Coyote one day contrived to kill a buffalo, and while his right hand was skinning it, his left suddenly pulled the animal away. "Give that back to me," his right arm said. His left pulled again, and his right drove it off with the knife. Again his left pulled, and the quarrel became vicious. At last, with his left arm all slashed and bleeding, Coyote bawled, "Oh, why did I ever let *this* happen? How I suffer!"[272]

Another day, Coyote took an elk's liver and made a vagina of it, took the elk's kidneys and made breasts, donned a woman's dress that was too tight for him, and thus transformed himself into a very pretty woman. He let the fox have intercourse with him and make him pregnant, then the jaybird, and finally the nit. Then he walked to a village, married the chief's son, and gave birth to four handsome little boys.[273]

One day, when wandering about aimlessly, Coyote heard someone say, "Anyone who chews me will defecate." "Why should anyone say a thing like that?" thought Coyote, and he moved in the direction of the voice and heard it again. Looking around, he saw a bulb on a bush. "I know very well," he said to himself, "that if I chew this I will not defecate." So he took the bulb, put it into his mouth, chewed, swallowed it, and went on.

"Well," he said, "where now is the bulb that talked so big? How could such an object influence me? When I feel like defecating, I shall do so, and no sooner." But while he was speaking, he began to break a little wind. "Well," he thought, "I guess this is what it meant. It declared, though, that I would defecate, and I'm just breaking a little wind. In any case, I am a great man even if I do expel a little gas." Then it happened again, and this time it was really strong. "Well! Indeed! How foolish I was! Perhaps this is why I'm called the Fool!" It happened again, loudly, and this time his rectum began to smart. Next time he was propelled forward. "Well! Well!" he thought defiantly. "It may give me a little push but it will never make me defecate." Again it happened, and this time the hind part of his body was lifted into the air, and he landed on his knees and hands. "Well, just go ahead, do it again!" he cried. "Do it again!" It did, and he went far into the air, coming down flat on his stomach.

He began to take the matter seriously. He grabbed a log, and both he and the log were sent aloft. Coming down, the log was on top and, landing, he was nearly killed. He grabbed a cottonwood tree; it held, but his feet flew into the air, and he nearly broke his back. Next, the tree came up by the roots. He grabbed a large oak tree; it held, but again his feet flew into the air. He ran to a village and contrived to have all the lodges piled on top of him, together with the people, dogs, and everything else. His explosion scattered the camp in all directions, and the people, coming down, shouted angrily at each other, while the dogs howled. Coyote laughed until his sides were sore, but then he began to defecate. At first it was only a little, but then it was a good deal, and then so much that he had to begin climbing a tree to keep above what was happening. Up he went, higher, higher, and when he reached the top, he slipped, fell, and, from the bottom of the pile, came out covered and blinded by his own filth.[274]

Big Turtle's War Party

In an almost universally popular North American Indian tale, the great turtle, or tortoise, upon whose back the universe rests, comes to view as a Trickster. His story falls in two parts: (1) Turtle leads an incongruous fellowship to war; and (2) when caught, he chooses, for punishment, consignment to his own natural element, water. This second part, as Stith Thompson has shown, has worldwide affinities, specifically in the Philippines, Celebes, China, Burma, and Ceylon, also Angola, and among the North American Negroes in a tale told of Br'er Rabbit.[275]

A turtle went on the warpath, and as he traveled along, met Coyote, who asked, "And so where are you going, grandson?" "I am on the warpath," said the turtle. "May I join you?" "Let me see you run." Coyote ran. "Not fast enough," said the turtle, and moved on. He met a fox. "May I join you?" said the fox. "Let me see you run." The fox ran so fast the turtle could hardly see him. "Not fast enough," said the turtle, and he moved on. A hawk flew by, asked to join the adventure, flew as fast as he could, but was also refused. So it happened again, when a rabbit applied.

The turtle moved along, repeating as he went, "I am looking for people to join me." A flint knife asked, "Will I do?" "Let me see you run," said the turtle. The knife tried and failed. "You will do," said the turtle; "come with me." They met a hairbrush. "Let me see you run." The hairbrush tried and failed. "Come along," said the turtle. And so, also, they met and took with them an awl.

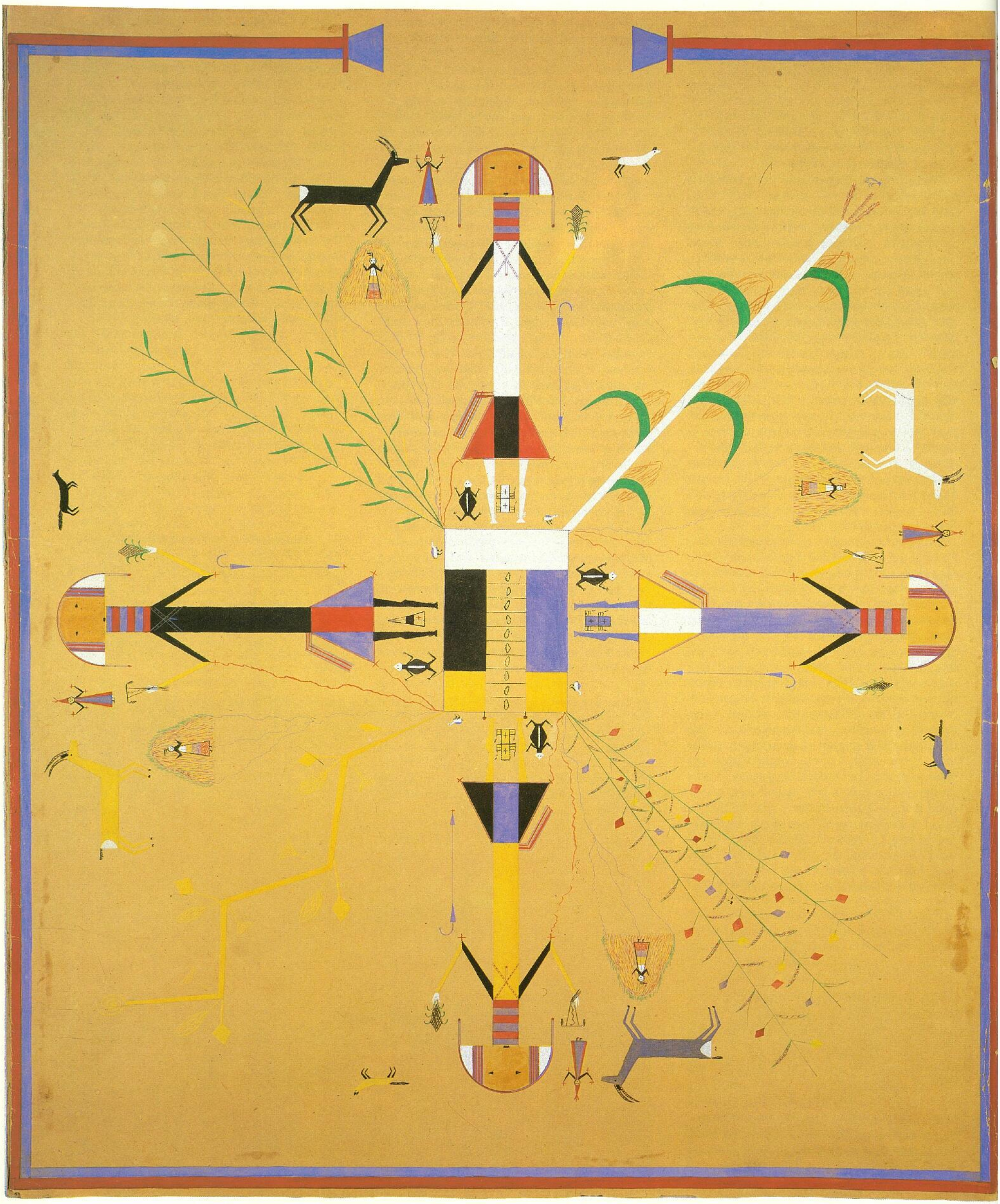
These four came to a big camp, and the turtle sent the knife in to attack. A man found it, took it home, and while trying to slice meat, cut his finger. He threw the knife away, and it returned with its report to the turtle. "Very good," said the turtle; "now, Brush, you go in." A young girl discovered it and picked it up; but when she began to brush her hair, it caught and pulled, so she threw it away. The brush returned to the turtle with its story, and, "Well done!" the turtle said. "So now, Awl, you go and be brave." A woman found the awl, but when she thought to repair her moccasins, it stuck one of her fingers, and she threw it out of her lodge. "Brothers," said the turtle, when all the reports were in, "you have done well. So now it's my turn."

Turtle entered the camp, and when the people saw him, "Look at Turtle!" they said. "He's on the warpath. Let us kill him." Somebody picked him up. "Let us throw him into the fire." "That's great," said Turtle. "I'll push out my legs, the coals will fly, and they'll burn you." "Well, then, let's put a pot of water on the fire," they said, "and when it boils throw him in." "Great! That's my element," said Turtle. "I'll splash and scald you." "All right," they said, "then throw him in the river." "Oh no! Oh no! Not that!" said Turtle. "He's afraid of water," they cried. So they threw him in.

Turtle came to the surface and laughed. "I'm a cheat," he called, and he poked out his tongue. And every time after that, when anyone went to get water, Turtle would come to the surface and say, "I fooled you! Water is my home." They would throw stones, and the turtle would dive.[276]

406. George Catlin's painting of a Blackfoot shaman illustrates the principle of man's acquisition of medicine power through identification with the energies that certain animals command. In addition to the pelt of a yellow bear (a great rarity), there are the skins of snakes, frogs, and bats; the beaks, toes, and tails of birds; the hoofs of deer, goats, and antelopes; "and in fact," quoting Catlin, "the odds and ends and fag ends and tails and tips of almost everything that swims, flies, or runs, in this part of the wide world."[34]





Mythologies of the North American Southwest

The mythologies of the North American Southwest are of the "way of the seeded earth": mythologies, that is to say, of agriculturalists and proper, therefore, rather to Volume 2 than to the present. Two major tribal groups, the Navaho and Apache, however, were recent arrivals from the Plains. They are of an Athabascan linguistic stock, the Apachean, whose nearest relatives are still hunters in the northwest Canadian woods. What caused the Apacheans to migrate south, across the buffalo plains into the desert country of the long-settled, maize-, beans-, squash-, and cotton-cultivating Pueblos (Spanish *pueblo*, "village" or "town") is unknown. As hunting-and-gathering nomads, they arrived some time between A.D. 900 and 1200, and while raiding and harassing their new town-dwelling neighbors, they nevertheless adopted and adapted to their own manner of life, not only a knowledge of plant cultivation, but also an associated mythology of the emergence of the First People from the womb of the earth.

In North America there is a distinct contrast to be noted between the Northeastern Woodland mythology of the woman who fell from the sky and gave birth on earth to twins (see pages 207–208 and the image here, in the Southwest, of twins born to a mysterious virgin-mother immediately after the First People's emergence from the womb of the earth. There is a contrast to be noted, also, between mythologies in which a solitary, masculine World Transformer goes about, in the Beginning, fashioning creatures of clay and mythologies such as that which follows, of the pouring of living creatures from the fertile body of a primal female power and presence—the natural laws of whose processes are known to, and administered by, a class of priestly deputies (here known as Hactcin), who, both in their character and in their entitlement to authority, substantially differ from the individually inspired, Paleolithic shaman. No comparative study has yet been made (as far as I know) of the distributions in North America of the myths and rites of these two orders of mythology. Immediately evident, however, is a preponderance of Emergence myths in the Southwest and a significant distribution, also, up the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri valleys.

An expertly recorded version of the Emergence, collected in 1934 from the Jicarilla Apache of New Mexico, is of especial interest for its vivid account of the conflict (which at some time must have been experienced by the Jicarilla themselves) between the spiritual claims of their shamans of the earlier, nomadic, hunting-and-gathering days—each with his own powers and familiars—and the priestly ordinances of the socially authorized ceremonials of an agriculturally grounded commonality. It will be observed, also, that in this telling (possibly as a reflex of the biblical mythology introduced to this whole region by the Spanish friars) there has been retained an account (possibly from their own nomadic legend) of the special creation of man by an anthropomorphic divinity—though he is here in no way alone. And so, as the legend is now told:

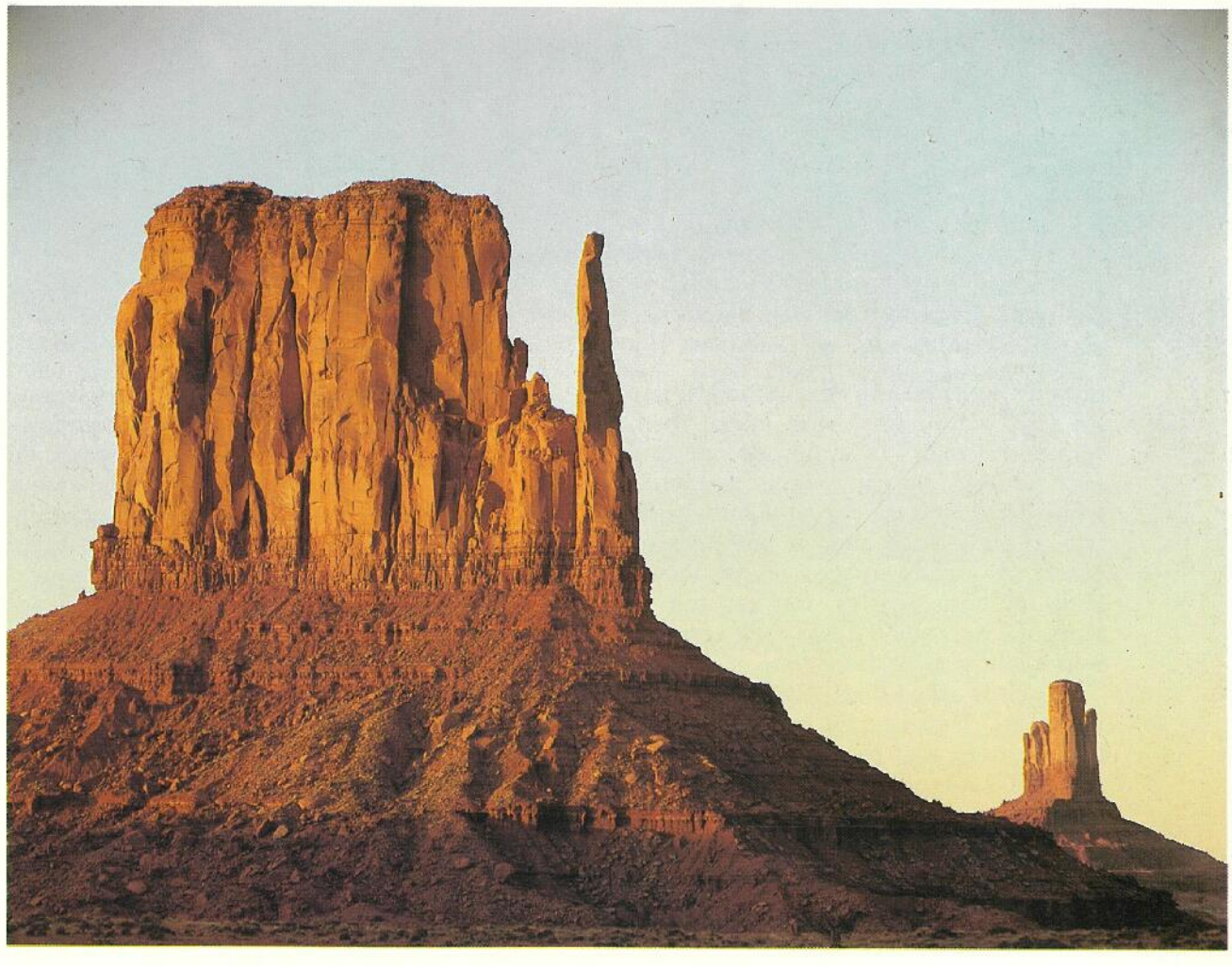
The Emergence

In the beginning there was nothing where the world now stands: no ground, no earth; only Darkness, Water, and Cyclone; no people, fishes, or living things; only the Hactcin [the gods]. These had the material out of which everything was to be made. The earth they made in the form of a living woman; sky in the form of a living man. He faces downward; she, upward. They are our mother and our father.

In the underworld, at that time, there were all kinds of Hactcin. The mountains had a Hactcin; each kind of fruit had a Hactcin; everything had its Hactcin. And it was then that the Jicarilla Apache dwelt under the earth. There was no light there, only darkness. Everything was spiritual and holy, just like the Hactcin. The people were not real, no

407. *The Emergence*, a Navaho sandpainting associated with the Upward-Reaching rite. In the center is the Place of Emergence, showing the Emergence Ladder with the ascending people's footprints starting from the white east and emerging at the yellow west. Cultivated plants on which the people live are rooted in the Ladder: yellow squash, a green medicine plant, white and green maize, and many-colored beans. Four People of the Myth (not otherwise identified) wear the colors of the Four Directions. Red lines of strength proceed from them to the roots of the growing plants, and at their feet are water creatures (frogs) that can also live on land. Between their feet are offerings. Rivers flow to the roots of the plants from the Mountains of the Four Directions (each mountain with its guardian). Antelopes of the Four Directions lend power to the painting, as do what have been said to be Coyote in the Four Directions. The blue and red framing stripes are where Sky and Earth meet; they are left open at the east to permit an inflow and reception of the spirit.

408. The magically sculpted landscape of Monument Valley.



flesh and blood. They were like the shadows of things. Everything was as though in a dream.

And it was there, before anything else was made, that Black Hactcin made the animals. He made an animal of clay with four legs and put a tail on it. "Let me see," he said, "how you are going to walk with those four feet." (That is why little children like to play with clay images.) It began to walk. "That's pretty good," he said. "I think I can use you." And then he said: "But you are alone. I think I will make it so that you will have others from your body." Then all sorts of animals came from that one body; for Black Hactcin had power. He could do anything.

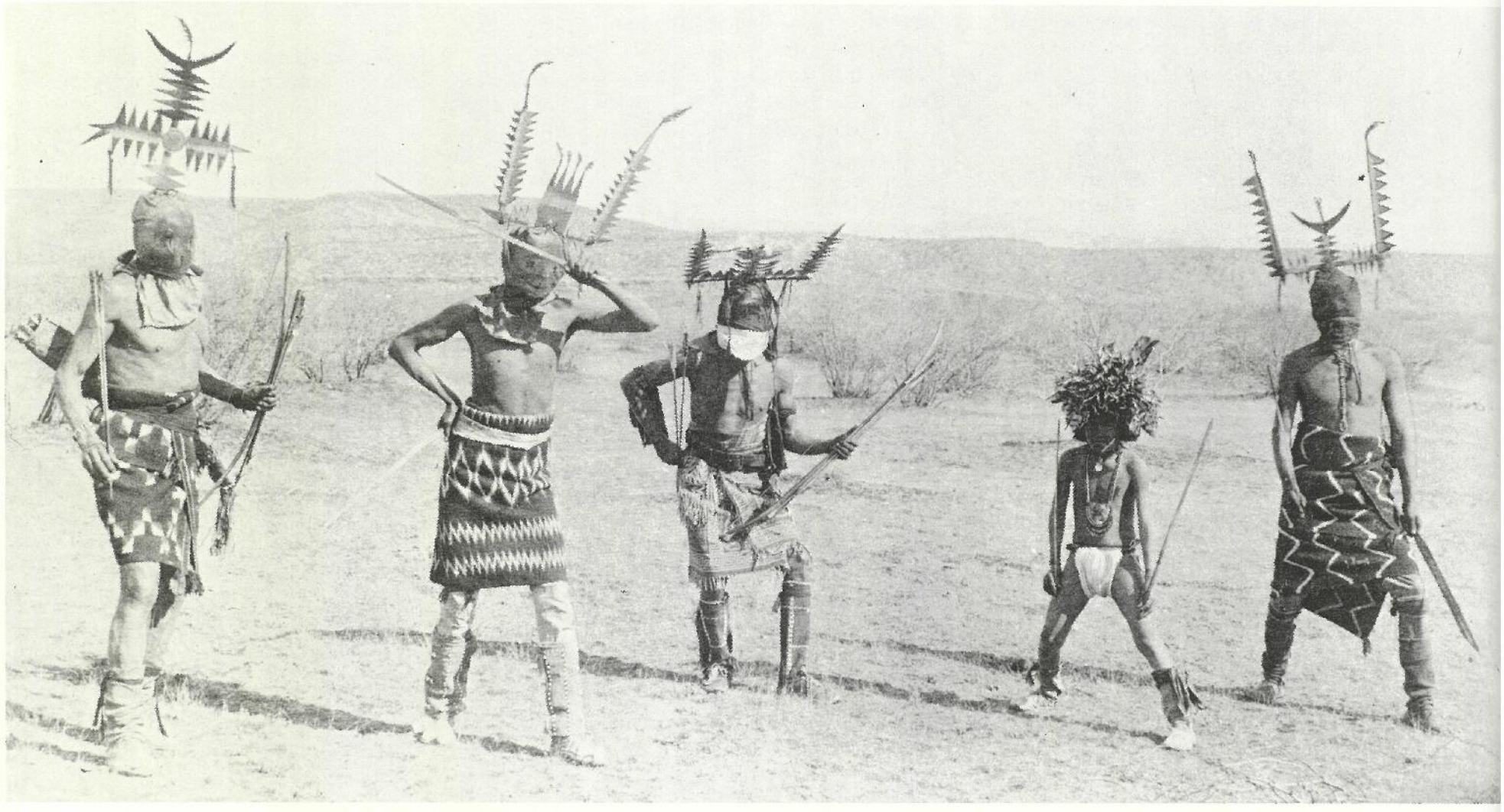
He held out his hand and a drop of rain fell into the palm, which he mixed with earth: it became mud. Then he fashioned a bird from that mud. "Let me see," he said, "how you are going to use those wings." The mud turned into a bird and flew around. It flew to the east, south, west, and north, then returned and said, "I can find no one to help me." So Black Hactcin took up that bird and whirled it around rapidly in the sunwise direction. It grew dizzy and, as one does when dizzy, saw many images round about: all kinds of birds—eagles, hawks, and small birds too. And when it was itself again, there were all those birds there, too.

The birds asked Black Hactcin, "What are we to eat?" He raised his hand to each of the four quarters, and because he had so much power all kinds of seeds fell into his palm and he scattered them. "All right, now pick those up," he said. The birds went to do so, but the seeds all turned into insects, worms, and grasshoppers, which moved and hopped around. "Oh, it's hard work to catch them. You can do it, though," the Hactcin said. They all chased the grasshoppers and other insects. And that is what they are doing to this day.

The birds and animals came to Black Hactcin and told him they wanted a companion. "We need man," they said. "You are not going to be with us all the time." And he replied, "I guess that's true." So he told them to gather objects from all directions, and they brought pollen from all kinds of plants, red ochre, specular iron ore, water scum, white clay, white stone, jet, turquoise, red stone, Mexican opal, abalone, and assorted valuable stones. And when they had placed these before Black Hactcin, he said, "You must go a little away. I don't want you to see what I'm doing." He stood to the east, then to the south, then to the west, then to the north. He took pollen and traced with it the outline of a figure on the ground, like that of his own body. Then he placed the precious stones and other objects around inside, and they became bones and flesh. The veins were of turquoise, the blood of red ochre, the skin of coral, the bones of white rock; the fingernails were of Mexican opal, the pupils of the eyes of jet, the white of abalone; the marrow of the bones were of white clay, and the teeth, too, were of Mexican opal. He took a dark cloud and turned it into hair: it becomes a white cloud when you are old.

Black Hactcin sent Wind into the form that he had composed. The whorls at the ends of our fingers indicate the path of the wind at the time of that creation. The whorls at the bottom of the feet represent its exit at the time of death. The man was lying face downward, arms outstretched. The birds tried to look, but Black Hactcin warned them back. For the man was coming to life. He braced himself, leaning on his arms. The birds were now very much excited. (And it is because those birds and animals were so eager to see, that people are so curious today, just as you are eager to hear the rest of this story.) "Sit up," said Black Hactcin to the man. Facing him, he helped him up. Then he taught him to speak, to laugh, to shout, to walk, and to run. And when the birds saw what had been done they burst into song, as they do in the early morning.

But the animals thought this man should have a companion; so Black Hactcin put him to sleep, and when the man's eyes became heavy, he began to dream. He was dreaming that someone, a girl, was sitting beside him. And when he woke there was a woman sitting there. He spoke to her, and she answered. He laughed, she laughed. "Let us get up," he said, and they rose. "Let us walk." And he led her the first four steps: right, left, right, left.



409. Four Mountain Spirit Dancers of the Mescalero Apache of south-central New Mexico, who have been joined by a boy prepared for participation in a Corn Dance. With the terminal points of their headgear aflame, these beneficent spirits arrived at night from the cardinal points of the universe, dancing into the circle of light of a ceremonial bonfire, there to fight away in allegorical encounters representations of the powers of illness and evil.

"Let us run." They ran. And then once again the birds burst into song, so that the two should have pleasant music and not be lonesome.

Now all of this took place, not on the level of the earth on which we are now living, but below, in the womb of the earth; and it was dark; there was neither sun nor moon at that

time. So White Hactcin and Black Hactcin together took a little sun and moon out of their bags, caused them to grow, and sent them up into the air, where they moved from north to south, shedding light all around. This caused a great deal of excitement among everyone: the animals, the birds, and the people. But there were among them at that time a lot of shamans, men and women who claimed to have power from all sorts of things. These saw the sun going from north to south and began to talk.

One said, "I made the sun"; another: "No, I did." They began quarreling, and the Hactcin ordered them not to talk like that. But they kept making claims and fighting. One said, "I think I'll make the sun stop overhead, so that there will be no night. But no, I guess I'll let it go. We need some time to rest and sleep." Another said, "Perhaps I'll get rid of the moon. We really don't require any light at night." But the sun rose the second day and the birds and animals were happy. The next day it was the same. When noon of the fourth day came, however, and the shamans, in spite of what the Hactcin had told them, continued to talk, there was an eclipse. The sun went right up through a hole overhead, and the moon followed, and that is why we have eclipses today.

One of the Hactcin said to the boastful shamans, "All right, you people say you have power. Now bring back the sun."

So they all lined up. In one line were the shamans; in another all the birds and animals. The shamans began to perform, singing songs and making ceremonies. They showed everything they knew. Some would sit singing and then disappear into the earth, leaving only their eyes sticking out, then return. But this did not bring back the sun. It was only to show that they had power. Some swallowed arrows, which would come out of their flesh at their stomachs. Some swallowed feathers; some swallowed whole spruce trees and spat them up again. But they were still without the sun and moon.

Then White Hactcin said, "All you people are doing pretty well, but I don't think you are bringing the sun back. Your time is up." He turned to the birds and animals. "All right," he said, "now it's your turn."

They all began to speak to one another politely, as though they were brothers-in-law; but the Hactcin said: "You must do something more than speak to one another in that polite way. Get up and do something with your power and make the sun come back."

The grasshopper was the first to try. He stretched forth his hand to the four directions, and when he brought it back he was holding bread. The deer stretched out his hand to the four directions, and when he brought it back he was holding yucca fruit. The bear produced choke-cherries in the same way, and the groundhog, berries; the chipmunk, strawberries; the turkey, maize; and so it went with all. But though the Hactcin were pleased with these gifts, the people were still without the sun and moon.

Thereupon, the Hactcin themselves began to do something. They sent for thunder of four colors from the four directions, and these thunders brought clouds of the four colors, from which rain fell. Then, sending for Rainbow to make it beautiful while the seeds that the people had produced were planted, the Hactcin made a sand-painting with four little colored mounds in a row, into which they put the seeds. The birds and animals sang, and presently the little mounds began to grow, the seeds began to sprout, and the four mounds of colored earth merged and became one mountain, which continued to rise.

The Hactcin then selected twelve shamans who had been particularly spectacular in their magical performances, and, painting six of them blue all over to represent the summer season, and six white to represent the winter, called them Tsanati; and that was the origin of the Tsanati dance society of the Jicarilla Apache. After that the Hactcin made six clowns, painting them white with four black horizontal bands: one across the face, one across the chest, one across the upper leg, and one across the lower. The Tsanati and clowns then joined the people in their dance, to make the mountain grow. When its top nearly reached the hole through which the sun and moon had disappeared, it stopped and would grow no more. Two disorderly girls, when no one was watching, had climbed to the top, chasing each other, tumbling and trampling on the holy plants up there, even using the place as a toilet. "Something must have happened up there," said the Holy Ones, the Hactcin. They went up, cleaned and fixed everything, and the mountain grew a little higher, but stopped again.

This time Fly and Spider were sent to see what they could do. They went up to where the sun was, took four rays of the sun, each of a different color, and pulled them down to the mountaintop, like ropes, one to each corner of the opening. Of these the Holy Ones then made a ladder, up which the people could ascend to the surface of our present earth. But there was a great deal of water up there, so great that no ground could be seen. The Holy Ones made four hoops of the four colors: black, blue, yellow, and glittering, which they tossed to the east, south, west, and north. The waters rolled back, and when four Big Winds of the different colors had blown the wet mud dry and were holding the waters back, the people ascended the four ladders. The six clowns went ahead with magical whips, laughing in a certain way to chase disease away, and they were followed by the Hactcin, who made a different noise for the same reason. Then the twelve Tsanati went up, and after them, the people and the animals. And when they came up onto the earth, it was just like a child being born from its mother. The place of emergence is the earth's womb.

But there were two old people down there, an old man and a very old woman, who had not been able to come up. Their sight was dim. They had been far behind the animals, and when their turn came, the ladders were worn out. They stood there and called, "Come, get us. Take us up too." But there was no way to help. Finally they became angry. "All right," they called, "we'll stay here. But you will all come back some day." And that is why people return to the underworld when they die.[277]



410. Geronimo and three of his warriors, photographed in 1886, after their defeat. The Apache were among the toughest resisters to confinement in reservations, and from 1870 to 1886, under a number of leaders, of whom Geronimo was the last, they repeatedly outwitted and outfought detachments of both the United States and Mexican armies.

Where the Two Came to Their Father

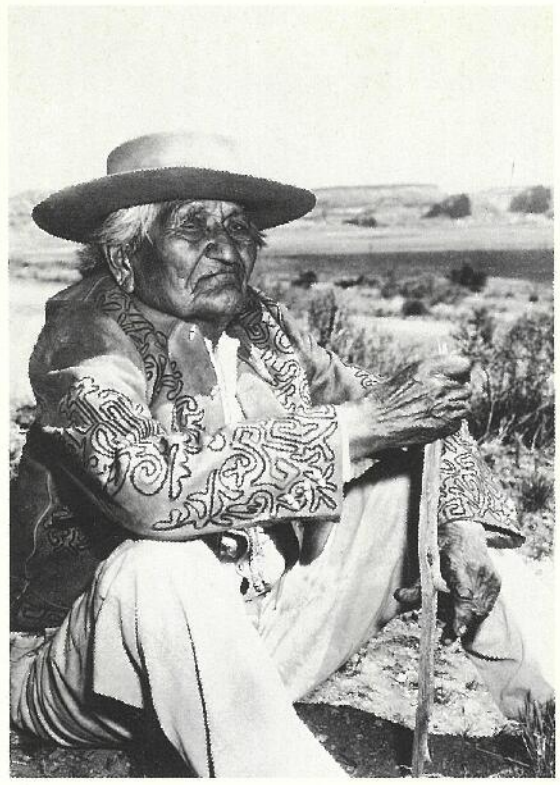
When the young men of the Navaho reservation were being inducted into the U.S. Army for service in the Second World War, an old medicine man, Jeff King (born between 1852 and 1860; served the Army as an Indian scout from 1870 to 1911; awarded the Army's Indian Campaign Medal for service against the Apache, 1885–1886; died January 22, 1964; buried with honor in Arlington National Cemetary), brought from his memory an old Navaho ceremonial for the initiation of warriors, which he then celebrated, whenever invited to do so, for the spiritual preparation of any young man of the reservation about to be inducted.[278] Its mythological base was a Navaho version of the general southwestern cycle of the First People: their emergence from the earth, and the deeds, then, in the first years of the world, of the two sons of the virgin, Changing Woman.

Changing Woman had herself been born miraculously near the summit of Gobernador Knob (New Mexico), where for four days a dark cloud had been seen resting. Talking God, the benevolent grandfather of the pantheon, ascended to investigate, circling as he climbed, and when he reached the place where the cloud rested, found a rainbow and soft rain falling. Hearing an infant's cry, he looked, and there on a bed of flowers lay a baby girl. She had been born of Darkness. Dawn was her father. The god carried her down to First Man and First Woman, who were dwelling at the foot of Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done, and there they nourished her on sun-ray pollen, cloud pollen, plant pollen, and the dew of flowers.

When she had grown and come of age, one day she felt lonely and, wandering from the hogan, sat playing with her hair in the sun. She lay back and fell asleep, and when she woke, felt tired and sweaty. There were tracks from the east, approaching and leaving her. She hoped they were not of Big Giant, for she had seen giants carry girls away.

In two days she knew she was going to have a baby, and in two more gave birth to a boy. She cried a little, not knowing what to do with it, then wrapped it in a piece of cradle-bush bark, brought it to the hogan, and dug a hole in the center of the floor, next to the fire. A second hole she dug, sideways, at the bottom of the first, lined it with soft grasses, and tucked the baby in, so that no one should see. Then she went to wash at a pool where there was water dripping. It fell on her legs and body, and again in two days she knew she would have a baby, and dug another hole at the bottom of the first, for she was afraid of owls and buzzards, monsters and the giants.

In four days the boys walked. She warned them not to go far and made for them little bows and arrows, with which they played around the hogan. When they were twelve, however, they disappeared around a cliff toward the east, stepped onto a cloud, and from there onto a rainbow. They were going to the Sun, their father, for weapons with which to kill the monsters of which their mother was so greatly afraid.



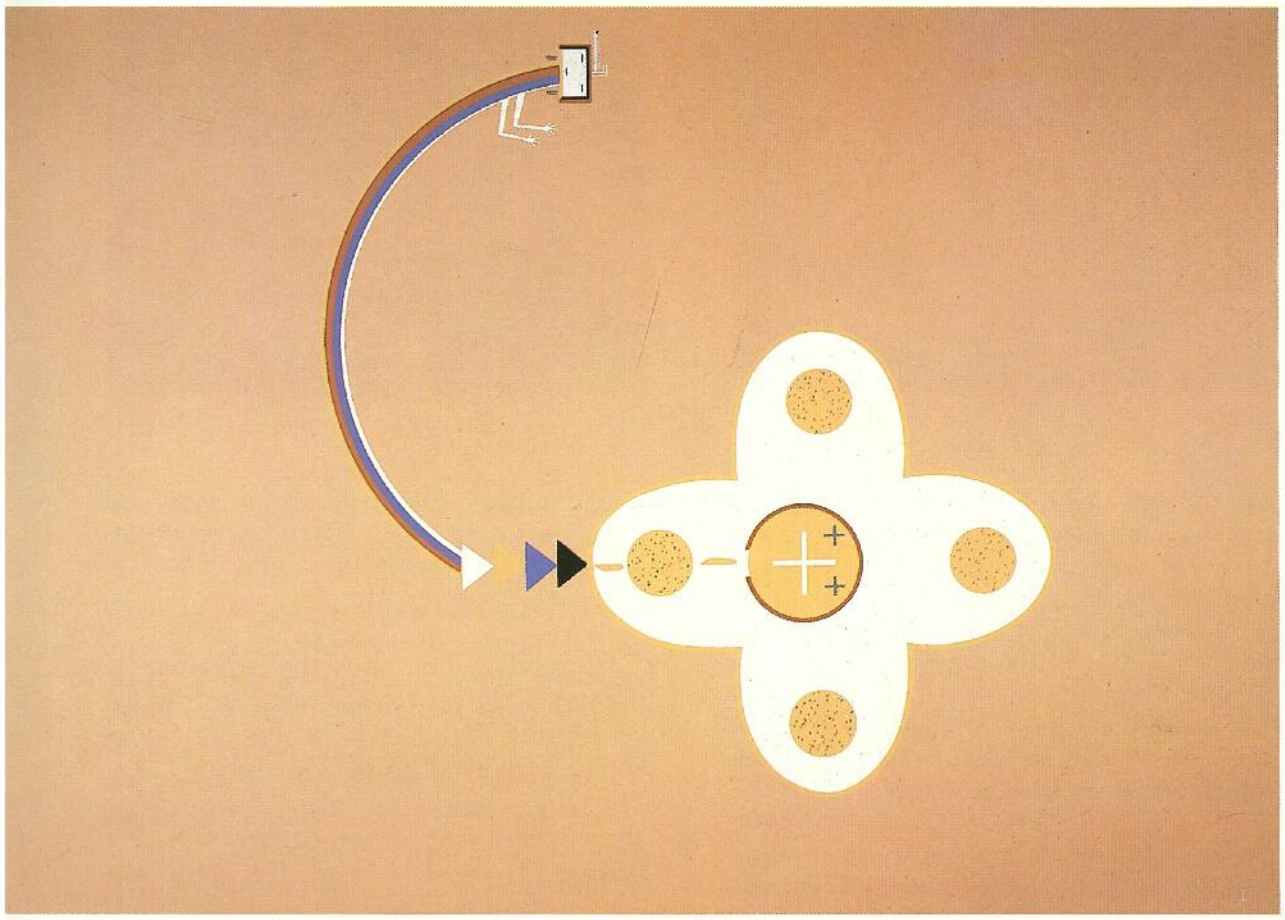
411. Jeff King (c. 1852/60–1964), Navaho singer of the legend, *Where the Two Came to Their Father.*

412. Gobernador Knob, New Mexico, on the summit of which the virgin mother was born of Monster Slayer and Child Born of Water, the Two Who Came to Their Father.

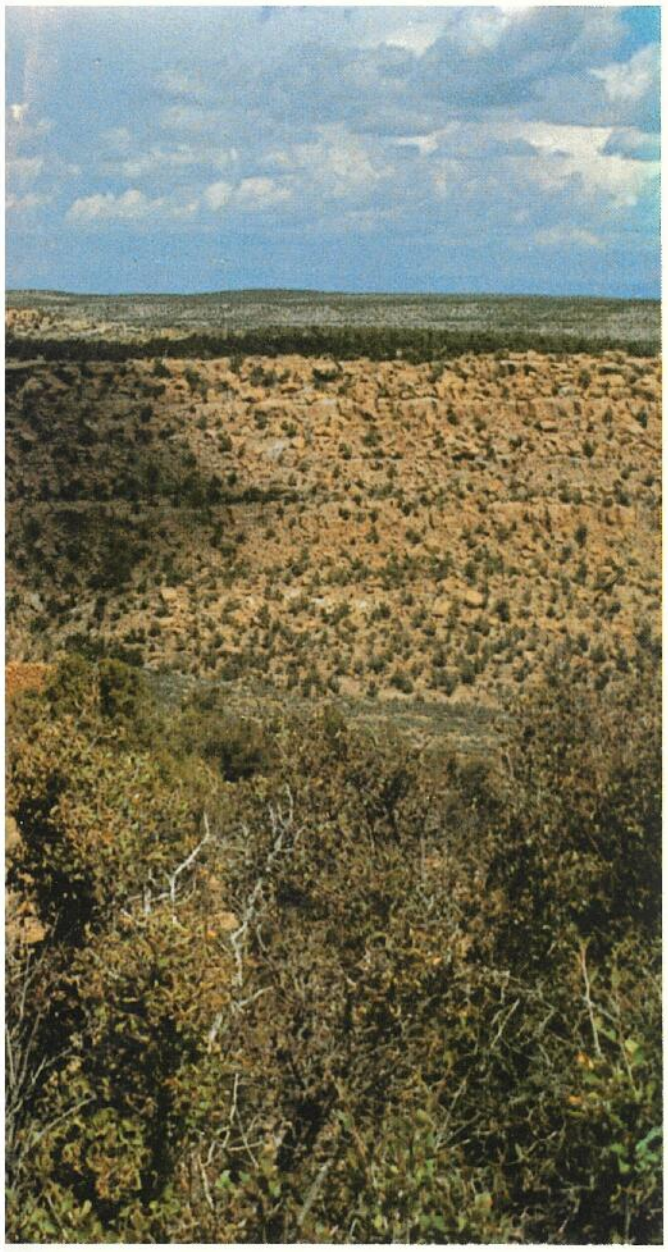
In Figure 413 we see Changing Woman's hogan and around it the four cardinal mountains, full of the seeds of all things. The white cross in the center is the fire. The blue crosses are the boys' spirits, by which they rose to the clouds. The right footstep is of the elder brother, Monster Slayer, the left of Child Born of Water, the younger. The triangles are clouds of the four directions, upon which the boys mounted, and the rainbow is Rainbow Man, who carried them on their way. "This painting is used for a warrior going to war," said Jeff King; "also for people who are out of their minds or do not think straight. It is very holy, because on this mountain Changing Woman gave birth to her sons and from it the Navaho tribe increased."[279]

The rainbow carried the twins south, where they came to white sands and the world guardian of that quarter, Sand Dune Boy. With his long arms, he would grab people and push their heads into the sand. "You can't





413. *Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done,* the home of Changing Woman, mother of the warrior twins, Monster Slayer and Child Born of Water. Pollen painting on buckskin by Jeff King, recorded by Maud Oakes, to whom he gave the legend, together with a blessing, in 1942.

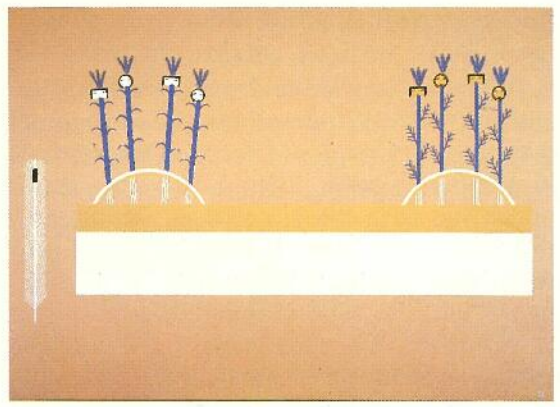


pass here," he said to the twins, reaching out at them. But standing on two waterspouts, they sang songs of praise to him, and having never been treated that way before, he was pleased and let them pass. At the other quarters they praised the guardians the same way, and Rainbow carried them on.

They were now beyond the hoop of the known world, in the realm where death leads to rebirth, and there they saw an old woman heading west with a bundle on her shoulder. Her name was Old Age. "What are you people doing here?" she asked. "We are on our way to our father, the Sun," they replied. "You will die before you get there," she warned. "But go on, my son and grandson. Only, don't walk on my path. Keep to the left of it." They went on, but forgot and, walking in her path, felt heavy, then stooped; their steps became shorter; they got sticks and still could not walk. They sat down, and the old woman returned. She had been watching. They asked to be helped. She rebuked them, but began to sing, naming the four directions, saying after each, "old age!" Then she explained: "I sang this song so that in the future everything should reach old age: people, animals, birds, insects, everything that grows. I mentioned the four directions, so that no matter how far the earth goes, there should always be old age." She spat on her hands, rubbed it into her armpits and body, then rubbed her hands together and pressed them on the boys, first the elder, then the younger, and again sang, mentioning old age. So they again were young, and she bade them go their way.

Ahead they saw coming out of the ground a little thread of smoke. The younger was afraid, but the elder had no fear, and as they approached, there appeared a little old woman in black. She was Spider Woman. That was her house. "My grandsons," she said to them, "this is no place for earth people." "We are going for help," they explained, "to the Sun, our father. We and our people are being troubled by monsters." "My grandsons, that is a long long way, and you are going to face many dangers. Better come down and let me help."

The door of her house was small, but she blew her breath four times and it grew to receive them. Then, with her web she made the Sun descend, so that they should spend the night. "I have not much to eat," she told them, as she set out four sorts of cornmeal in baskets made of white shell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. Into the elder's she dropped a bit of turquoise; into the younger's a bit of white shell; and as they ate, the bowls kept filling, until they rubbed their bodies and legs and declared, "From here on, we shall have strength to continue." Then she gave a live eagle feather to each, and warned, "Whatever you do, don't show this to the Sun, your father. I stole it from him. Keep it hidden, close to your heart."



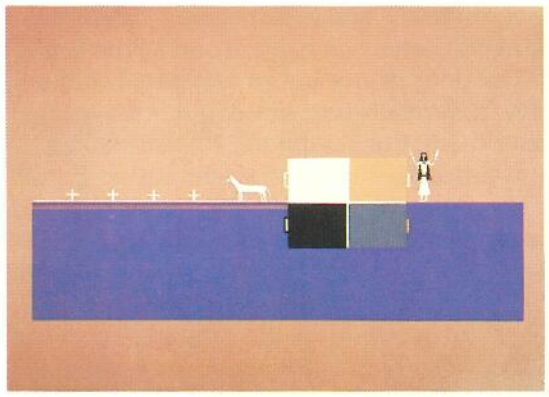
414.

Figure 414 shows the dangers of the way now before them. The feather is their eagle feather charm. The yellow is a passageway, and the white stands for rocks. On the left are the Reeds That Cut; on the right the Cattails That Stab; between, though visibly there is nothing, is the Rock That Claps Together: it would open, as though to let people through, then crush them.

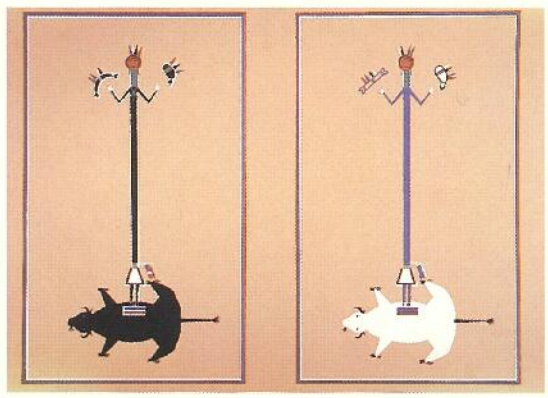
Beyond these dangers the boys came to a river with lots of people on the water having a wonderful time playing with hoops. They were Water Bug People, who, when they saw the twins, stopped playing, asked where they were going, parted to let them pass, but then closed in. The boys' feathers began to sing. Little Wind and Big Fly, who now arrived to become their guardians, whispered, "Blow them away." So they blew four times and passed through, to the other side.

They arrived at a great water, so wide it went into the sky and became one with it. Not knowing where to go, they stood on their feathers and thought, "We shall know where we are going when we get there." Then they saw in the distance the Sun's house, on the water yet in the sky. Little Wind and Big Fly flew ahead to reconnoiter and came back. "The house is guarded by four big bears," they reported, "four big snakes, four big winds, and four thunders. But don't be afraid. You have within you the power to enter."

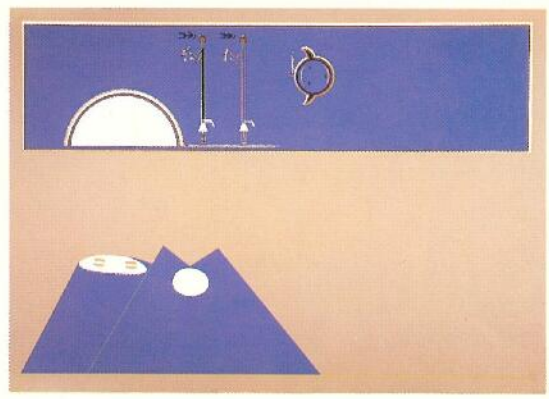
Figure 415 is the Sun's house. Along the top of the water is a rainbow. The four crosses are holy places. The square is the house, each section a room. The horse is



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the Sun's mount; the girl, his daughter. In her hands are male and female corn. Every morning she shakes a rattle, to call the horse for her father to ride. The whole house is made of white clouds.

The bears growled and their hair stood on end. But Little Wind and Big Fly sang songs over the twins and told them to throw their breaths at the bears. They did so and passed by; so too with the big snakes, winds, and thunders. "My father is away," the girl said when they arrived. "When he comes home, he will kill you." She wrapped them in clouds to hide them—the elder in black, the younger in blue—and stowed them over the doorways to their rooms, the black room and the blue, then told her mother about them. The Sun arrived. He looked around and asked, "Where are those two people I saw brought into my house?" "You have always told me," his wife replied, "that you are faithful to me as you pass from east to west. These two people say they are your sons."

The Sun said nothing, but began searching, taking down every cloud in the house. (Whenever he wanted to use one, he would unroll it and put it in the sky.) One boy he found, then the other, wondering how they had got into his clouds. "Perhaps they are Holy People," he thought. He would test them, to find out.

The Sun had a servant named Water Carrier, whom he sent to heat up the sweat lodge, but his daughter, already anticipating, had dug two holes inside and covered them with flat stones and dirt, of which refuges she advised the twins. When their father then made them undress, they had to leave their protective feathers with their clothes, and the lodge was hot, fiercely hot, so hot they could hardly enter. But by the girl's device they were saved.

Recovering their clothes, they recovered also the feathers, and while following their father to the next test, they heard a little voice call from a shrub, "Wait!" It called four times. They looked, and there, with a hunched back, was an inchworm. "He will try you," it said, "with a basket of poisoned cornmeal. Turn it halfway around, only half is poisoned. Here is something to put in your mouth against harm." And it gave them some of its spoor.

When they had survived that relatively easy trial, the next and last was of being thrown against poles of the cardinal colors, jagged with sharp flint knives. Here the eagle feathers alone saved them, and their father at last recognized them as his sons.

He showed them all the contents of his house of clouds: the east room (white) full of black clouds, lightning bolts, and wild flowers; the south room (yellow), full of game animals; the west room (blue), with grain and domestic beasts; and the north (black), full of armor, flint knives, a bow, white-tailed eagle arrows, and, over the doorway, a medicine bundle. Then he asked what they had come for, and Little Wind said, "Ask for the bundle," for by this their father would always know when they were in danger.

Figure 416 shows the brothers in their father's Lightning Armor House (the house of initiation), where they learned their names and acquired distinct powers.

In a room full of sparklings of all colors, so strong that when you looked it could be for only a second, the Sun made them stand on two buffalo rugs to receive strength, courage, and wisdom for what lay ahead. Little Wind and Big Fly whispered, "When the Thunder People arrive, don't be afraid." And just then, Black Thunder and Blue Thunder came in.

Each brother in the picture stands on a rainbow and buffalo hide, each within his own frame, which is a rainbow of protection and strength. "Monster Slayer," Jeff King explained, "is black. He has a male flint knife and a war club. On his feet are flint shoes; on his head is a flint cap. Child Born of Water is blue. He, too, is dressed in flint. He has a female flint knife and a war club. And each is tall, of his own color and full of power, because they have received their names. This painting is made at dawn, over a warrior going to battle, or starting on a raiding party. It is used, also, for people who have had bad dreams."[280]

Black Thunder stood at the left of Monster Slayer, and Blue Thunder at the left of Child Born of Water, and the Sun gave to each of the twins a little image of a man to swallow. That of the elder brother was of jet; that of the younger, of turquoise. The Sun pressed his hand to each chest to make the image within stand upright. Then calling Monster Slayer his son and Child Born of Water his grandson, he bestowed on them their names. That done, he again asked why they had come, and they replied that what they wanted was to kill the Big Lonesome Giant on Mount Taylor, for it would be only after his death that the lesser monsters could be slain.

The Sun said nothing for a moment, for that giant, too, was his son. But then he promised weapons when they reached the earth and sent them on their way. They stood on a lightning flash, and it carried them off and away to the hole in the sky.

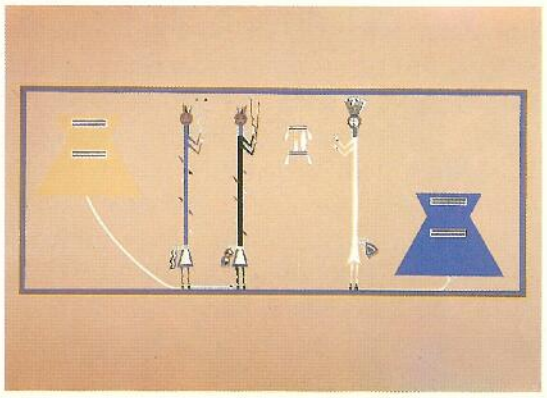
Figure 417 illustrates the sequence of the twins' descent to the earth and arrival on Mount Taylor, where the Big Lonesome Giant lived beside Hot Spring Lake. The white circle is the lake. The footsteps show where the brothers came down. The feather on which they are standing, above, is not the one from Spider Woman, but was given them by the Sun, their father, who is here testing them with questions.

"You must name the Holy Mountains in order," he said. "If you fail, you can't go down." Little Wind and Big Fly whispered the answers. The answers were correct, and the Sun was satisfied. "I shall give you now my wisdom," he said. "Use it and hand it on, so that it may be known forever on earth." Then he let them go.

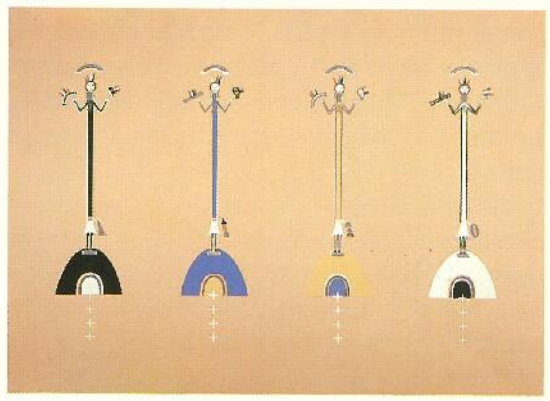
Down they went, but did not know it until they landed, for there were clouds and fog all about them. Big Lonesome Giant immediately noticed their reflections in the lake and, since it is the nature of monsters to mistake shadow for substance, mistook the reflections for themselves, drank up the lake at one gulp, and then, looking at the mud and not seeing them there, thought he had swallowed them. So he threw up the water and saw them again. This happened four times, after which, not feeling so well, he lay on his back and spied the two alive against the sky, across the lake.

He got up to shoot his arrows. The Sun, who was watching, joined in the fight, and when the Big Lonesome Giant was slain, his blood ran. Little Wind and Big Fly quickly warned the twins: "If that blood runs up Mount Taylor, he will come back to life, put a flint in front of it. Do the same for all four mountains. And if it starts toward the lake, do the same again." So having no place to go, the blood stayed on the flat and became hard.

Figure 418 shows the youths heading homeward, returning to their mother's place. When they had descended from Mount Taylor and were passing along its southern slope, they tripped, fell, and dropped their male and female lightning arrows, which flashed away and cut the mountain in two, for they had passed from the sphere of sheer mythic power to



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419.

420. *Earth and Sky*, mythological power centers in the Navaho universe. Pollen painting by Jeff King for a blessing ceremony. Recorded by Maud Oakes.

that of life on earth. The Sun, their father, was displeased but returned the male and female arrows, which, in the painting, they are holding in their hands. And they are being greeted by the same Talking God, who, in the beginning, attended their mother's birth. He is giving them a talking prayer stick such as advises gods where to go and where not to go. It is of male and female corn. The yellow mountain is Mount Taylor. The blue is Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done, to which the First People went immediately after their emergence from the earth and where Changing Woman was raised and the twins were born.

When Talking God received the youths, he embraced them and sang for them twelve songs. [On approaching their father's realm, they had been helped by Spider Woman; returning now to their mother's, they are greeted by Talking God.] The songs accompanied them to Changing Woman's hogan, but when they arrived they saw no footsteps about, for no one was there. They heard, however, a *hish* sound inside and went in. It was the fire-poker. "Your mother and the people," it said, "are hiding from the monsters." Then it told them where to go to find her.

The end of the adventure was their killing, in five spectacular battles, of five monsters: a great Horned Monster; a Monster Eagle, living near Ship Rock; a monster called Slayer With Eyes, who with his big, staring eyes made people unable to move and then ate them; a giant bear, known as Bear That Tracks; and a huge rock, known as Traveling Stone, that would roll after people and crush them. The battles were exhausting, and, when done, the twins were losing weight, getting thinner each day, and nearing death. So the gods, the Holy People, deciding that the twins had killed too much and had gone where earth people were not to go, came down and performed over them, four times, this ceremony of the story of their lives, after which the two were so full of power, they became four.

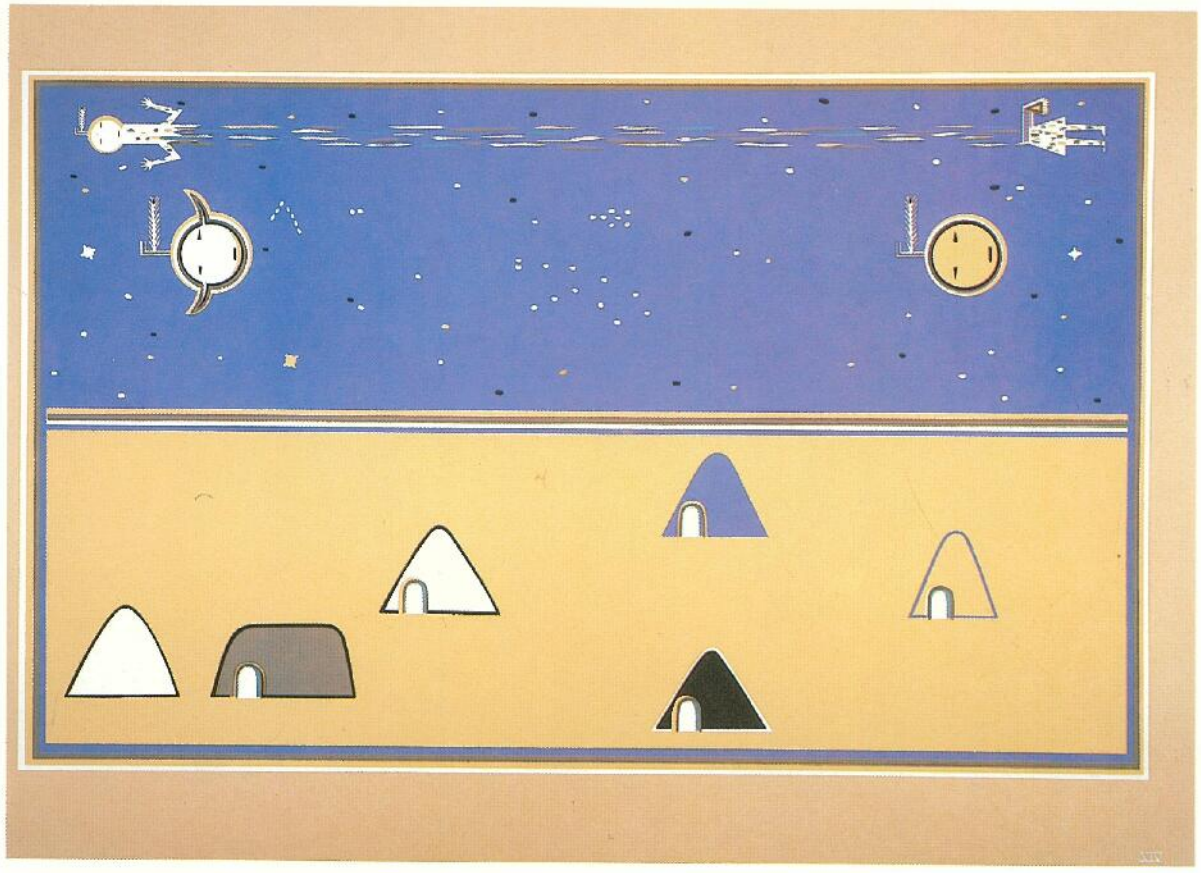
Figure 419 is greatly powerful. "It is used," said Jeff King, "for young warriors about to go into battle for the first time. It is given at dawn. Also, it is used for protection against all evil and harm. It is very holy and protects the entire Navaho tribe today."[281] Monster Slayer is shown standing on the mountain of the east, Child Born of Water on the mountain of the south, Reared Underground (Monster Slayer's double) on the mountain of the west, and Changing Grandchild (Child Born of Water's double) on the mountain of the north. A rainbow frames the doorway of each mountain, and leading into each are pollen crosses to mark the four holy steps that each of the four brothers took to enter his mountain.

Figure 420, called *Earth and Sky*, is a summary map of the defining holy sites and powers of the mythic Navaho universe. The blue area is sky, framed by three lines of sun-rays. Along its top is Milky Way Man, and below, from east to west (left to right), are: Boss Sparkling Star of the East, the White Sun (of the east), yellow Coyote Star, the seven Eastern Stars, seven stars of the Pleiades, twelve stars [sic] of the Big Dipper, the Moon, and the Big White Star of the West. The earth is yellow, framed by four lines of sun-rays (three for the sky, four for the earth). Its cardinal mountains are white (of the east), blue (of the south), yellow (of the west), and black (of the north). The brown mountain is Fir Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done, where Changing Woman gave birth to the Two Who Came to Their Father.

According to Jeff King, "When they put the extra mountains around, they took Mountain Around Which Moving Was Done out of First Woman's belt."[282] There is a blessing prayer addressed to it, which Jeff King gave to the artist Maud Oakes when she received from him these paintings.

"He gave me," she tells, "two prayersticks, male and female, to hold and told me to keep all bad thoughts out of my mind. Then he prayed: 'I am Changing Woman's Son! I am Changing Woman's Son! Eastern Mountain, Chief of all Mountains, I walk with your feet, I walk with your legs, I walk with your body, and with your mind, and with your sound. The feathers on your head I walk with; they are in front of me, beautiful; under me, beautiful; on top of me, beautiful. Oh, Mountain of the East, I am the one that lives on forever. Everything is beautiful. Everything is beautiful. Out of my mouth, beauty, and around

420.



me, beauty. I AM EVERLASTING MAN! Around me everything is beautiful. Around me everything is beautiful. Around me everything is beautiful. Around me everything is beautiful.' "[283]

The ceremony of Where the Two Came to Their Father could be celebrated either for two nights and one day or for five nights and four days, depending on circumstances and the desire of the family. The paintings were not made of colored sands, as in most Navaho ceremonials of this kind, but of ground charcoal and flower petals, cornmeal, and the pollens of various plants and trees; and they were laid down, furthermore, on buckskin, not on a cleared piece of ground. For each there were special prayers and songs recited from memory by the celebrant, while the initiate or patient (when the ceremony was used for curing) either sat or stood and walked on the design.

For the point was that he or she should become identified in spirit with the mythic subject of the legend, the painting itself being understood as spiritually equivalent to the mythic landscape it represented—not simply as an illustration, but as intelligibly identical, its form being that of the informing sense of the represented mythic scene. "Art," Cezanne has somewhere said, "is a harmony parallel to nature," correcting thus what Plato called the "corrupted courses of the head" by renewing in each his "original nature . . . which is akin to the harmonies and revolutions of the universe."[284] The sand or pollen paintings—with their associated chants and prayers, ceremonial lustrations, visionary jouneys, and pictured revelations, continuing their spell through nights and days within the sacred space of a Navaho hogan (which itself is in its form symbolic of the cosmos)—remove the mind from the usual considerations of mortality by confirming it (to quote Plato again) in "thoughts immortal and divine."[285]

In fact, the whole of Navaho life, in its traditional sense, is grounded this way in myth. The eight sides of the hogan represent the four world quarters and four points between, so that anyone lost in Navaho country need only to see a hogan, its doorway always facing east, to know again his bearings. The fireplace in the center of the lodge floor, where Changing Woman cradled her twins, sends its column of smoke through the centered smoke hole, in the way of an axial aspiration to that hole in the dome of the sky through which, in return, the Sun sends down his boon of life. Every Navaho home is thus, for its inhabiting family, the universe in a likeness.

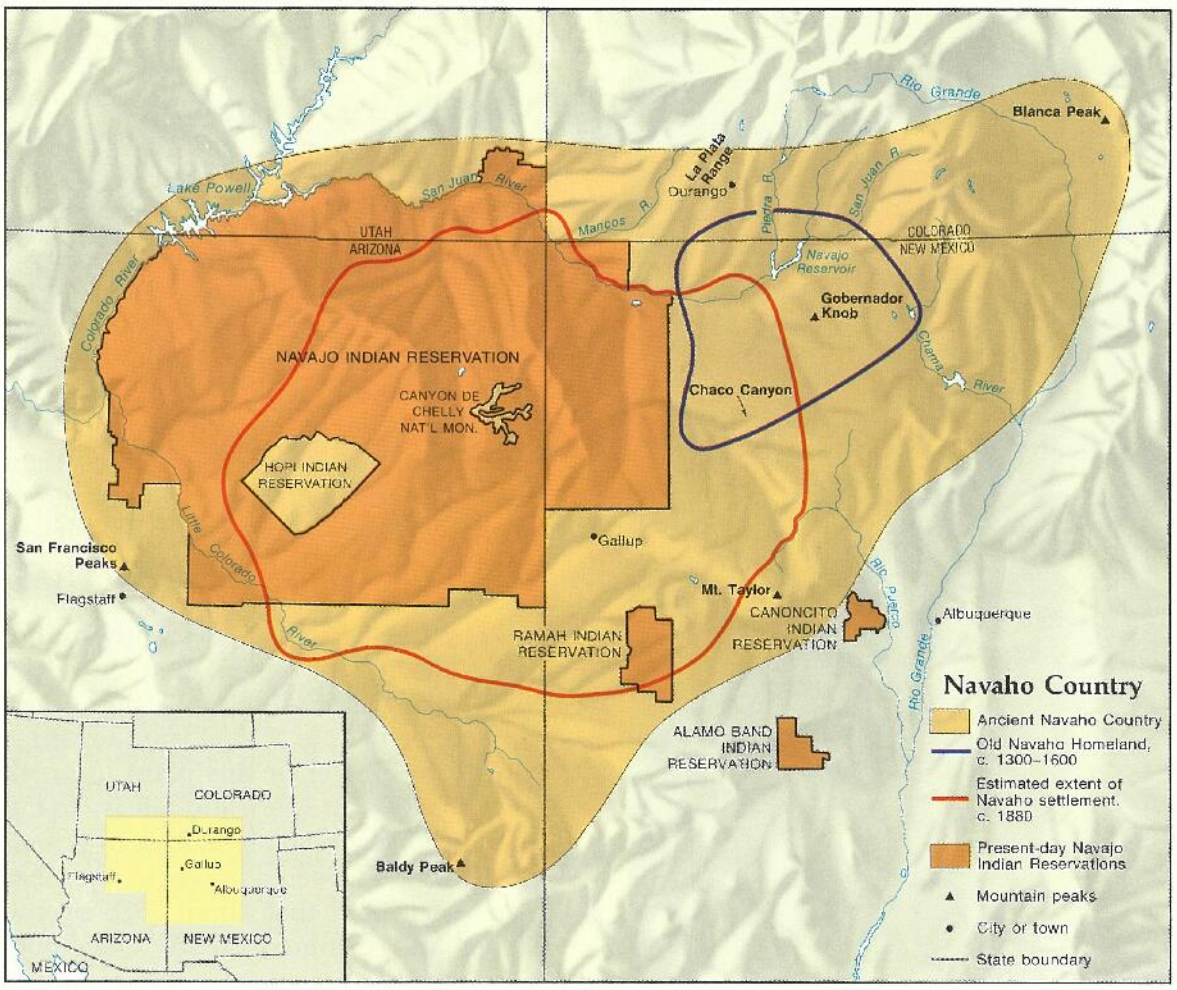
And so, also, in a larger way, the entire Navaho country. The mythic model of the universe, which is of no local when or where, but of the mind—as represented, for example, in Jeff King's pollen painting called *Earth and Sky* (Figure 420)—has been identified, as by reflection, in certain actual landmarks of the extensive Navaho reservation (which includes the point of juncture of four states: Utah and Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico). As stated by Jeff King, in his own telling of the emergence myth:

"When the people were ready and had everything to dress the mountains in, they stood on a rainbow and traveled to the east, to plant the Holy Mountain of the East. They put down a blanket of white shell and on it some white shell, and on top of it they sprinkled some sand of the mountains of the world below. They wrapped this up in its blanket and planted it to the east. And since they all agreed and all wanted it, it became and was called *Blanca Peak*. With the Mountain of the South they did likewise, only it was planted on a turquoise blanket and was made of sand and turquoise, and it was called *Mount Taylor*. The Mountain of the West was made on an abalone blanket and out of sand and abalone, and it was called *San Francisco Peak*. The Mountain of the North was made on a jet blanket and was made of jet and sand, and it was called *La Plata Range*. . . . After those mountains had been made, the people decided to place a Holy Person in each, to guard it and to listen to the prayers, songs, and offerings made to it. . . . In the Mountain of the East they put Talking God of the East; in the Mountain of the South, Call God of the South; in the Mountain of the West, Talking God of the West; in the Mountain of the North, Call God of the North."[286]

By such a method of land claiming for the myth—which has been common in the histories of cultures—an indifferent landscape is transubstantiated, turned into an icon, and the elementary idea is established in a local habitation. Moreover, not alone the landscape: for in this particular mythology of the Pollen Path of Beauty, every water bug and local beast and fowl has been mythologized, so that in the whole known world there is nothing apart from the beauty, since (to make use of another symbolic vocabulary) all are in God, and God is in all.

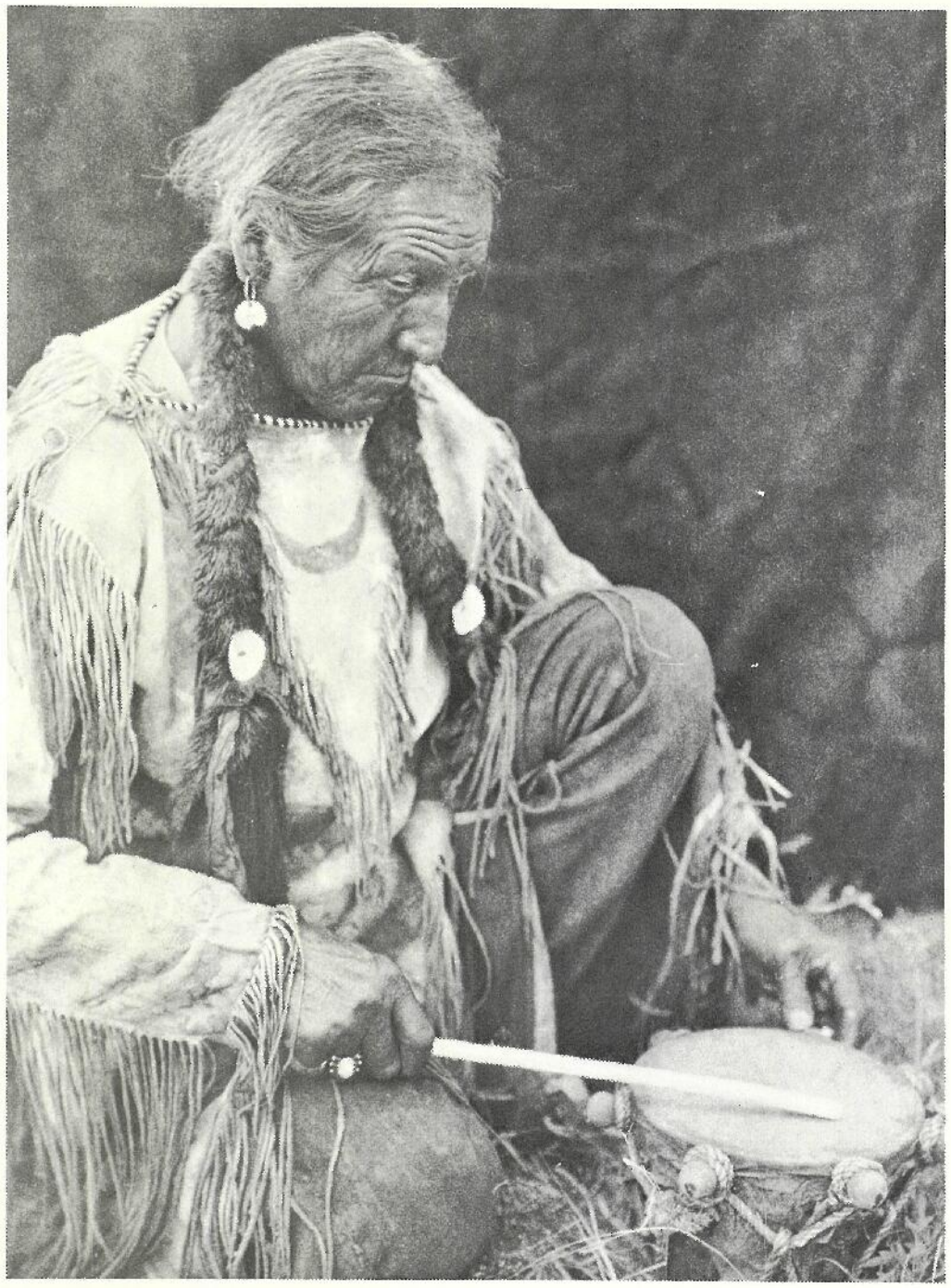


421. Detail of a Navaho curing rite: one moment of a ceremony that may continue for three or more nights and days. The patient is to identify with the spiritual forces symbolized through a sequence of pollen or sand paintings with their associated chants, prayers, and ceremonial lustrations, visionary journeys, and pictured revelations. The mind, in this way removed for a time from its usual daily anxieties, becomes centered and brought to order in what Plato called "thoughts immortal and divine" (see text).



Map 48. Sacred mountains demarcate the mythologized landscape of Ancient Navaho Country. In evidence is the shifting settlement pattern of the Navaho over the centuries. Note that, although "Navaho" is the traditional spelling of the people, the United States Government officially insists on "Navajo."

422. Navaho hogan, a dwelling constructed of logs and adobe, always with eight sides and with its one door opening east to the sunrise. The smoke-opening in the domed roof corresponds to the mythological opening in the heaven dome. The fireplace in the center of the floor is symbolically the center of the world.





Not Man Apart

During the 1880s, when in the United States the buffalo herds of the Great Plains had been wiped out, and the brief moment of expectation of the Ghost Dance had failed, a new way to the realization of identity with the life and being of all that passes in the course of time was opened to the disinherited tribes then being gathered onto reservations. From northern Mexico—specifically, the desert between the Rio Grande and San Luis Potosi, where the desert-cactus peyote grows and is harvested most reverently by the native Huichol tribesmen, who know it as *hikuri*, the plant of eternal life—there came to the people of the Plains a realization of the power of this plant to break open the walls of space and release to the mind visionary realities such as in primeval times had been known to the shamans. Accepted first about 1885 by the Kiowa and Commanche of Oklahoma (which at that time was known as Indian Territory), the peyote cult during the next decade spread as far north as to Canada. It is recognized today among some fifty tribes and incorporated as a distinct religion, the Native American Church, with a membership said to be of some 200,000. The doctrines vary from area to area, and in some may include modified Christian elements—such as, for example, an identification of the Peyote Spirit with Jesus, who was killed by the Whites and has turned now to the Indians. But, whatever the doctrines, the sense and function of the movement has been to recover knowledge from within of the spiritual ground of native life. For the spiritual predicament following the extinction of the buffalo herds was of a people deprived suddenly, not only of their way of life, but also of the mythological forms by which that life-way had been sustained. And the contrast of the values of that mythology with those of the life-way and way of thought that had been imposed by force in its stead could hardly have been more extreme.

Some sense of the violence of the contrast may be gained from the reported

423. *Peyote Drummer*, a photograph taken in 1927 by Edward S. Curtis.

424. *Stag Hunting*, an etching by Theodore de Bry from a lost watercolor by Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, who observed and documented the daily life of the Timacua Indians of Florida after his arrival there in 1564. The etching has been hand-colored to suggest the richness of le Moyne's original watercolor series, of which only a single example survives, having been found in a chateau near Paris in 1901.

words of the Suquamish Chief Seattle, one of the last spokesmen of the Paleolithic moral order, when required about the year 1852, to transfer his tribal lands to the arriving people of the United States:

"The President in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. But how can you buy or sell the sky? The land? The idea is strange to us. If we do not own the freshness of the áir and the sparkle of the water, how can you buy them?

"Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining fine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every meadow, every humming insect. All are holy in the memory and experience of my people.

"We know the sap which courses through the trees as we know the blood that courses through our veins. We are part of the earth and it is part of us. The perfumed flowers are our sisters. The bear, the deer, the great eagle, these are our brothers. The rocky crests, the juices in the meadow, the body heat of the pony, and man, all belong to the same family.

"The shining water that moves in the streams and rivers is not just water, but the blood of our ancestors. If we sell you our land, you must remember that it is sacred. Each ghostly reflection in the clear water of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of my people. The water's murmur is the voice of my father's father.

"The rivers are our brothers. They quench our thirst. They carry our canoes and feed our children. So you must give to the rivers the kindness you would give any brother.

"If we sell you our land, remember that the air is precious to us, that the air shares its spirit with all the life it supports. The wind that gave our grandfather his first breath also receives his last sigh. The wind also gives our children the spirit of life. So if we sell you our land, you must keep it apart and sacred, as a place where man can go to taste the wind that is sweetened by the meadow flowers.

"Will you teach your children what we have taught our children? That the earth is our mother? What befalls the earth, befalls all the sons of the earth.

"This we know: The earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood which unites us all. Man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.

"One thing we know: Our god is also your god. The earth is precious to him and to harm the earth is to heap contempt on its creator.

"Your destiny is a mystery to us. What will happen when the buffalo are all slaughtered? The wild horses tamed? What will happen when the secret corners of the forest are heavy with the scent of many men and the view of the ripe hills is blotted by talking wires? Where will the thicket be? Gone! Where will the eagle be? Gone! And what is it to say goodbye to the swift pony and the hunt? The end of living and the beginning of survival.

"When the last Red Man has vanished with his wilderness and his memory is only the shadow of a cloud moving across the prairie, will these shores and forests still be here? Will there be any of the spirit of my people left?

"We love this earth as a newborn loves its mother's heartbeat. So, if we sell you our land, love it as we have loved it. Care for it as we have cared for it. Hold in your mind the memory of the land as it is when you receive it. Preserve the land for all children and love it, as God loves us all.

"As we are part of the land, you too are part of the land. This earth is precious to us. It is also precious to you. One thing we know: There is only one God. No man, be he Red Man or White Man can be apart. We *are* brothers after all."[287]



425. *The Medicine Man, Slow Bull*: photograph taken by Edward Curtis in 1907, seventeen years after Wounded Knee. His garment: United States Government issue. The broken buffalo skull: a species thirty years extinct. The noble calumet: His unbroken pride.

Cultural Geography

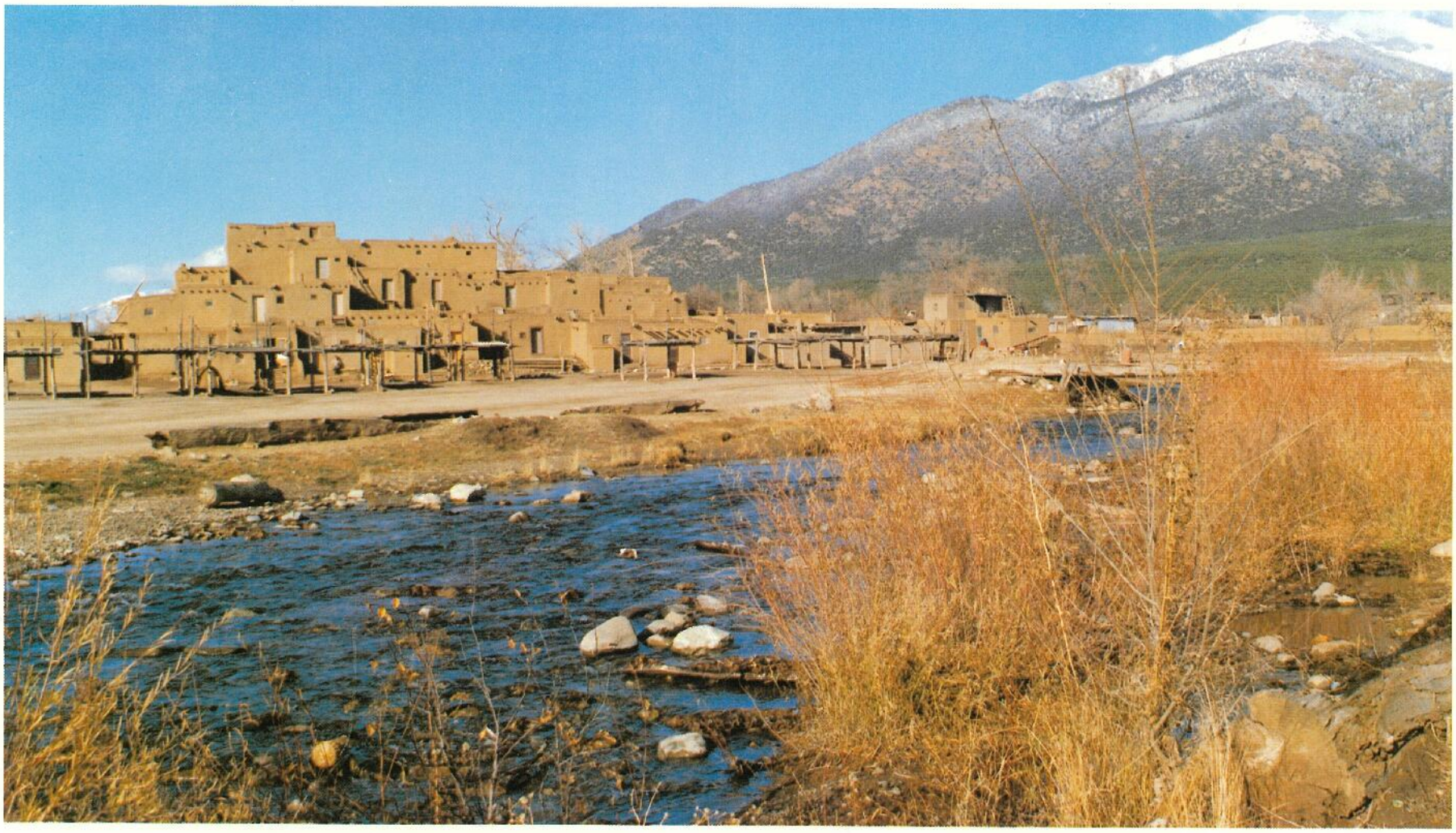
In the Americas, the nuclear sourceland—both of the arts of food production and of mythologies and associated ceremonials appropriate to the structuring of village-, town-, and city-based societies—was the large Central and South American zone represented on Map 49 by the areas colored tan. Within the red zone, a civilization unfolded that was distinguished from all others in the New World by its possession, not only of writing, but also of a mathematically structured and astronomically accurate calendar (correlating cycles of the sun, the moon, the planet Venus, and an artificial round of 13 x 20 = 260 days), which could be projected to an extreme cycle of time (known in Mayan as an *alautun*) of 23,040,000,000 differently named and numbered days. Distinguished by an architecture in stone, with pyramids rising from astronomically oriented ceremonial compounds; by consecrated priesthoods; wars of conquest; dynastic empires; taxes, tribute, and all the rest that goes with what is known as high civilization: this monumental flowering—which by the second or third centuries A.D. had extended its influence north as far at least as to Teotihuacan—corresponds in grade to the stage of civilization attained in Mesopotamia c. 3500 B.C., in Egypt c. 2850 B.C., India and Crete c. 2500 B.C., and in China, with the founding of the Shang Dynasty, c. 1523 B.C. It is of the grade, that is to say, which will be dealt with in Volume 3 of the present writing, *The Way of the Celestial Lights*.

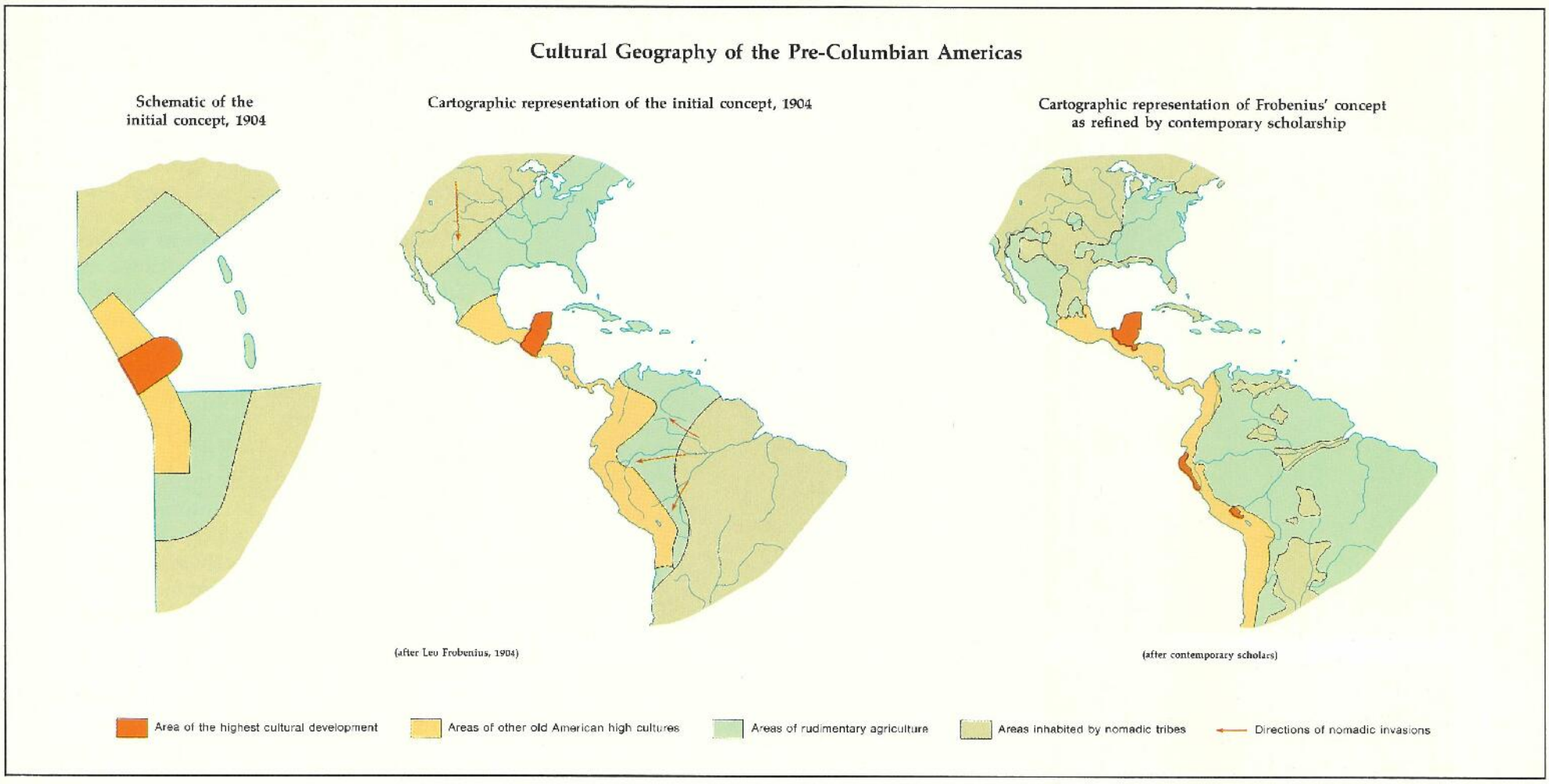
The first signs in the Americas of any such high-cultural mutation appeared along the Caribbean coasts of southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco, c. 1300 to 1150 B.C., in a little constellation of ceremonial establishments, of which La Venta, San Lorenzo, and Tres Zapotes seem to have been the most important. A stone sculptural art of the highest distinction, whether of small jade carvings or of colossal portrait heads, is the hallmark of this culture. Associated with ceremonial compounds, of which at least one (La Venta) contained a pyramid, the productions are of a school of art that was already, on first appearance, fully matured; its dominant motif was of an anthropomorphized jaguar face that bears comparison with the Shang Chinese *t'ao t'ieh* (see Figure 320, page 194). The antecedents of this culture—which today is recognized as representing the initial phase of the whole Mesoamerican development—are unknown.

To Volume 2 of the present study, *The Way of the Seeded Earth*, belong the mythologies of the world's village cultures, grounded in agriculture and, secondarily, animal domestication. Three major centers of origin of these economies have been identified: Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, Central and South America (on Map 49, the areas colored tan), with a fourth center, of less extensive influence, in Africa in the Western Sudan.[288] The number of plant domesticates cultivated in the native Americas was enormous: maize, squash, pumpkins, manioc, tobacco, many varieties of beans, the potato, sweet potato, peanut, pineapple, tomato, guava, avocado, papaya, vanilla, three species of cotton, rubber, quinine, cacao, and coca—besides the bottle gourd, coconut, and banana, all three of which by one means or another (the issue is hotly debated) arrived on these shores from elsewhere. In contrast, the only animals domesticated were the turkey and dog, and in South America, the Muscovy duck, llama, alpaca, guinea pig, a breed of low-slung dog that was fattened for food, and chickens that reportedly laid blue and olive-green eggs and the meat and bones of which were black. There were no draft animals, hence, no drawn vehicles; the wheel was used only for children's toys. Of the wool of the llama and alpaca, yarns were spun for some of the finest hand-loom-woven textiles of all time.

The general dating now proposed for what is known in the Americas as the Period of Incipient Agriculture is c. 6500

426. Taos Pueblo.





Map 49.

to 1500 B.C., when gradually the transition was made in various parts of the areas colored tan from Paleolithic hunting and foraging to a settled, Neolithic style of village life and farming. The same regions, centuries later, received from the red-colored domain contributions and influences that not only directly enriched the native inheritance, but also worked as motivation stimuli to local creativity. It is not often easy and, indeed, sometimes impossible to estimate the ratio in a given culture context between what has been received and what locally initiated: a formidable example of this ambiguity appears in the history of Peru, where an undoubted contribution from the Olmec has been recognized in the initial monumental ruin known as Chavin de Huantar, although the subsequent development to the culminating moment of the Inca Empire (which in its engineering, military, and political achievements surpassed the exactly contemporary Aztec) was of a distinctive and self-consistent order—incongruously, and for no discoverable reason, without a literature of any kind or even a knowledge of writing.

The green areas of Map 49 are (schematically) of regions beyond the Formative zone, which were nevertheless significantly illuminated and transformed by influences from the sourceland. In our chronicle of the Koster site, the Hopewell culture, and Mississippian Cahokia (see pages 241–251), we have already recognized the evidences of such influences, culminating in ceremonial compounds containing temple mounds, although not of stone, but of heaped up tons of earth. A contemporary and equivalent development in the Southwest was of the Anasazi culture, ancestral to the graded stages of the Pueblo.

In South America, the matching culture zone (also colored green on Map 49) is of the manioc-cultivating, rain-forest tribes of the Orinoco and Upper Amazonian riverlands; also, of the Caribs and Arawak of the Antilles; and, at the southern bound in northern Chile, of the sturdy Araucanians, who successfully resisted, not only inclusion in the Inca Empire, but also subjugation by the Spaniards, holding their own even into the nineteenth century, until they were subdued by the Chilean Army in the War of the Pacific (1879–1884) and settled on reservations, these dates being precisely those of the United States Army campaigns against the Apache.

The yellow-colored areas of Map 49, finally, are of the hunting and foraging nomads, both of South and of North America; in these regions, the culture tides flowed for centuries in two directions: one was of peoples and influences moving from the more developed zones out into the wilderness—as, for instance, the relatively recent movements up the Atlantic coast and Mississippi valley of the Iroquois and Mandan; the contrary movement was of nomads—like the Athabascan Apacheans—driving into and ravaging the settled lands of the agriculturalists. The arrows shown striking from the yellow into the green areas of the map are intended to suggest the force of this inevitably destructive impulse that often threatened even the roots and generative life-forces of the nuclear sourcelands of civilization. The Mesoamerican chronicles of the Aztecs themselves tell of devastating invasions from the barbaric north by one tribe after another: the destruction of Teotihuacan; then, of Tollan; and finally, of Tenochtitlan by Cortés, which did, indeed, accomplish the demolition of a civilization. The process is one that has been documented for every quarter of the earth: beneath the ruins of Homer's Troy, the ruins of earlier Troys. And not always are the later strata of a higher grade than the earlier; more often, the warmth and life of creative inspiration, growth, and grace are of the earlier phases of an historic course, while in the later phases, practical applications and disciplines take over. This we recognize when we turn, for example, from Greece to Rome, or from Mayan to Aztec ruins and remains.

In any broad review of the entire range of transformations of the life-structuring mythologies of the native Americas, one outstanding feature becomes immediately apparent: the force, throughout, of shamanic influences, undoubtedly as a consequence of the repeated incursions into the settled village provinces of one horde after another of nomadic tribesmen. In fact, as Frobenius once remarked:





427. A posed trophy photograph (above), made about 1918, of Julio Popper and his squad on an Indian hunt. The body in the foreground is of a Selk'nam. The Indian's bow is in his left hand, an arrow in his right. In a still-earlier photograph (below), taken in Paris in 1889, M. Maître exhibits a group of Tierra del Fuegans that he has captured, transported to France, and presented to society.

"The great problem of the cultural geography of America lies in the question of how, between the two prodigious negative fields of the northern hunting nomads and the southern forest and water nomads, the American high civilizations could have originated and developed at all."[289] They originated, one observes by Map 49, in the hemisphere's one defended area, equidistant, north and south, from the two nomadic zones. In their development, however, they were carried and brought to fulfillment by the same nomads who, initially, had broken upon them as destroyers. There is a quality of ferocity in the myths and ceremonies of these civilizations that will, depending upon one's temper, either chill or boil the blood; for they are grounded in the hunter's recognition of the ferocity that is of life itself, which lives on life.

At the Uttermost Part of the Earth

Of the myths and folktales of the South American nomadic tribes, those from Tierra del Fuego merit special regard, because they both are free of planting culture influence and are of aborigines whose progenitors must have been among the earliest to enter the New World. Moreover, we have two full collections of all that could be learned of their tales in the early 1920s, compiled by the same Martin Gusinde from whose intimate reports of their shamanic practices and experiences we have already had occasion to quote (see pages 160–163). Furthermore, Johannes Wilbert has published translations of these tales and an index of their folklore motifs, classified according to the categories of Stith Thompsons's *Motif Index of Folk Literature*.[290]

I have selected ten tales of the Selk'nam (or Ona), the land-nomads of the large, northern, main island of the archipelago, and twelve tales of the Yamana (or Yahgan), the canoeing people of the numerous small islands south of Beagle Channel. I have taken the liberty of compressing and telescoping the tales of my selection with a mind rather to the interest of the narratives than to ethnology.

Myths of the Selk'nam of Tierra del Fuego

How the Ancestors Came to Be

Kenós was alone on the earth. "Someone Up There," Temaúkel, had appointed him to set everything down here in order. He was the son of the South and the Heavens. He wandered over the world, came back here and looked around, then went to a swampy place, dug out a lump of mud mixed with matted roots and grass tufts, shaped a male organ, and placed this on the ground. He dug another lump, squeezed the water out, shaped a female organ which he placed beside the first, then went his way. During the night, the two lumps of earth joined. From this arose something like a person: the first Ancestor. The two objects separated and, during the following night, joined again. Again someone arose who quickly grew. Night after night this occurred, with every night a new Ancestor. Thus their number steadily increased.[291]

How the Old Were Given New Life

When Kenós and three Ancestors who had joined him reached old age, they lay down

and tried to fall into a long sleep, but failed. They tried a number of times and finally succeeded, lying like dead. But they did not die. They got up and were still old. So they went north, to try up there, wearily dragging themselves along, speaking feebly, in the way of the old, mortally tired. When they reached the north, they let the Ancestors up there wrap them in their mantles and put them in the ground, where they lay as though dead. After a few days they stirred, then began to move their lips, whispering, then talking. Then they rose, looked at each other, and saw that they were young again. Those who had been weeping for them were now joyous. In their transformation sleep they had finally succeeded. And so it was thereafter for all the Ancestors. After rising from the long sleep, each would go to Kenós, saying, "Wash me!" and he would wash them clean of the odor of death.

The people would age again and again, lie down to sleep and rise again, until, no longer wishing to come back, one would be transformed into a mountain, a bird, or a wind, a sea animal, rock or land animal. Others, following Kenós to the sky, became stars or clouds.[292]

How the Sky Was Raised

In the beginning the celestial vault lay close to the earth. But Kenós, before ascending, lifted it to its present place, where he himself stands, now, as a star.[293]

Kwányip, the First Herdsman

Kwányip was from the north. His father, Háis, was a *xon* (shaman) who had wished to marry the daughter, Hósne, of a rival *xon* named Nánenk. The lovers would meet secretly, and when Nánenk, unknown to them, discovered them embracing, he planned a devastating revenge. He contrived that Háis's own daughter, Alekwóin, should be lying, one day, where Hósne should have been, so that when Háis arrived, blind with desire, he threw himself on his own daughter. She conceived. And the child was Kwányip.

In his youth, this brother of his own mother was notoriously selfish. He had a herd of domesticated guanacos, but would share none of their meat with his tribesmen, who were hunters of wild guanaco in the mountains, often with little to show. He came from the north to our country, driving his herd, helped by his dogs. You can still see on the stones the footprints of that first herd. But he never shared their meat, and for this he was greatly disliked.[294]

Kwányip and Chénuke: a Shaman Contest

At that time, here in the south, there was a mighty and dangerous *xon*, named Hásapa when he lived on earth, but Chénuke when he became a star. A woman was strolling along a beach looking for mussels, when he called to her, "Give me some!" She approached, and he burst into laughter, peered at her with his peculiar glance, and she fell dead.

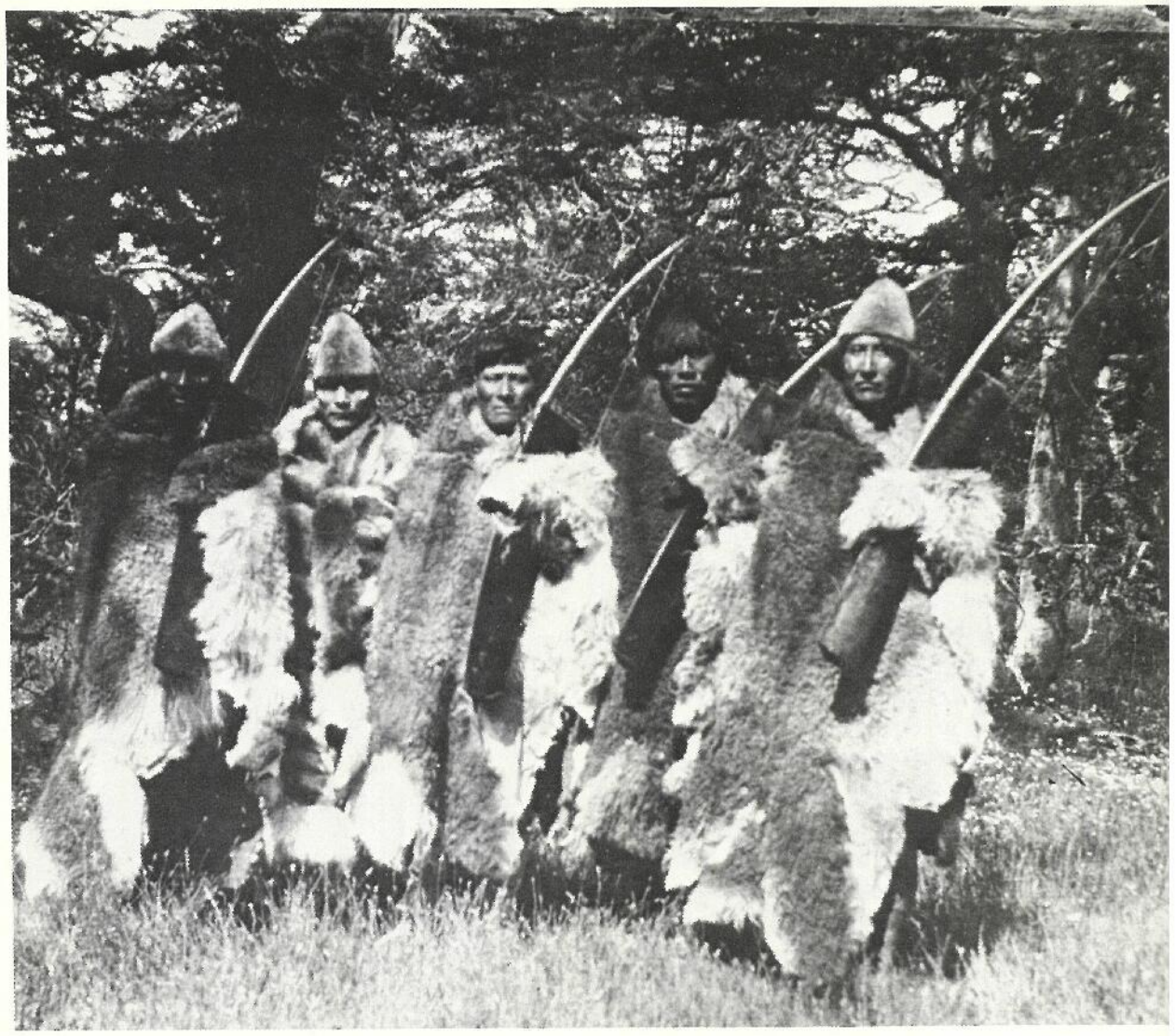
This monster greatly resented Kwányip and wanted to undo him. Discovering where he



Map 50. Formerly the coasts of the whole Chilean archipelago were inhabited by canoeing tribes—the Chono, Halakwulup (or Alacaluf), and Yamana (or Yahgan)—living on shellfish, seals, birds, and occasional stranded whales, while on the forested, large main island were the guanaco-hunting Selk'nam (or Ona). The coastal landscape, as described in 1741 by George Anson, the Commander of a British squadron rounding the Horn on an expedition to the South Seas, "had an aspect extremely barren and desolate. . . . It seems to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points which spire up to a prodigious height and are all of them covered with everlasting snow. The points themselves are on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most astonishing manner. The hills which bear them are generally separated from each other by narrow clefts which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks, almost to the bottom; so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy than the whole aspect of this coast."[35]

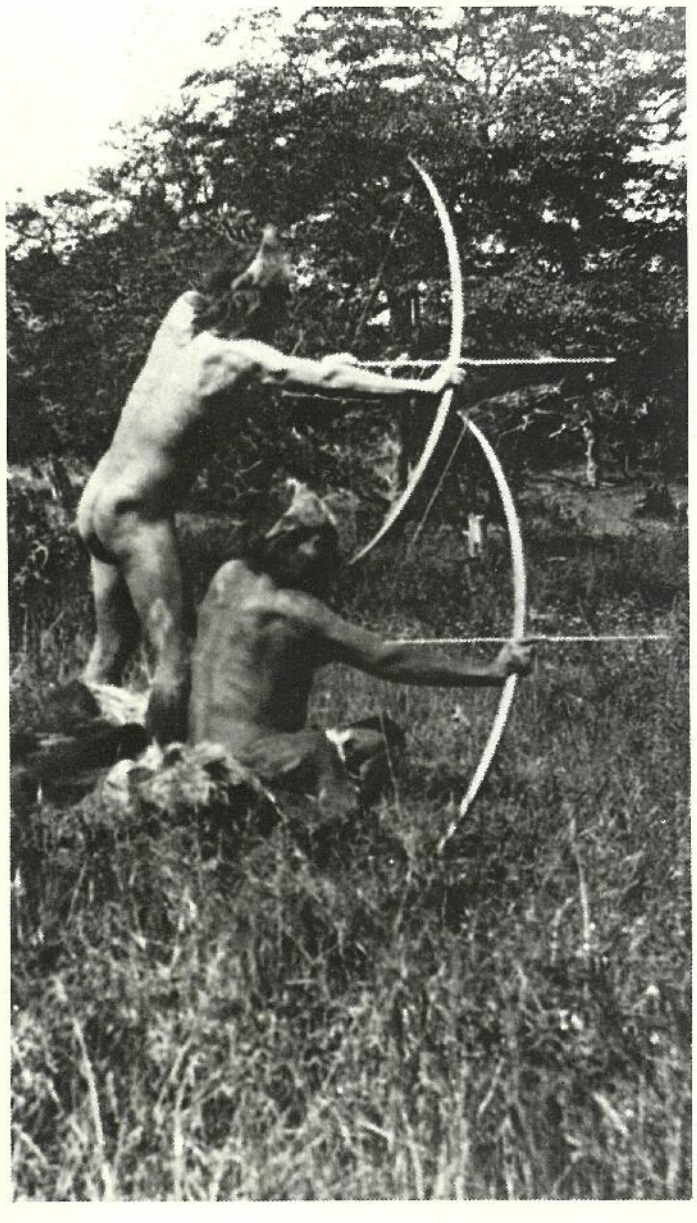
The Chono, the northernmost of the aborigines of this coastline, "became extinct" (as they say) in the nineteenth century. The Halakwulup, when visited by Martin Gusinde in 1923–24, had been reduced in number to eighty, dwelling along Smyth Channel; they could recall of their traditions no more than fragments. And the Yamana, the southernmost of the canoeing tribes, with whose surviving numbers Gusinde worked from 1919 to 1922, numbered in his time no more than seventy, among whom, however, there was one—Julia, the fifty-five-year-old wife of an occasional worker on a sheep ranch at Punta Remolino—who could recall from long memory a coherent series of the folktales of her people.

On the large main island—where E. Lucas Bridges (the early English missionary's son, see page 160) had, from 1874, played, hunted, and grown up with various companies of the Selk'nam (or Ona, as he and his father always called them)—Gusinde in 1918 could find no more than 250 of the tribe: an encampment of five families near Lago Fagnano, and another cluster of twenty-seven families in a village by a mission station near the Río del Fuego. Bridges, returning in 1932, found, as he tells, "pitifully few Ona faces" to welcome him. For there had meanwhile been two epidemics of measles, one in 1924 and another in 1929, which had completed the work of extermination begun earlier by such squads of Indian hunters, armed with repeating rifles equipped with telescopic sights, as that of Figure 427. Bridges, reporting of the situation in 1947, stated that: "Of the seven to nine thousand natives—Yahgan, Ona, Aush, and Alacaloof—who inhabited the country when the story began, there are now less than a hundred and fifty pure-blooded Indians and possibly a slightly larger number of half-breeds. The white population at the last census was 9560."[36]



428/429. The only garment of the Selk'nam male was the "man's robe" (*chohn k-oli*), which was usually of guanaco hides, not fastened in any way, but held in position with the left hand, in which the hunter also carried his bow and quiver. On his forehead when fully dressed, he wore a triangular piece of blue-gray skin from the head of a guanaco that was held in place by a band of plaited sinew: the *göochilh* (Bridges' spelling) or *kóchel* (Gusinde's). An identification of the hunter with the animal of his hunting would seem to be implied by this symbolic detail (compare the Bushman's identification with the wounded eland, pages 92–93). In the Selk'nam story of Kwańyip and the Cannibal, the *koćhel* is explicitly identified with the pubic area of a woman. Thus, the bleeding wound and menstruating vagina would seem to have been identified: the animal as willing victim, even yearning for the dart, and the hunter's bow and released arrow as the male organ, generating life. Viewed in this light, each of the hunters here pictured symbolically attired is a living counterpoint to the symbolic image of the shaman and wounded bison in the holy of holies of Lascaux (Figure 105 on page 65). When going into action, the hunter lets his robe fall and is naked save for the *kóchel* on his brow.

The five Selk'nam here photographed were the friends of E. Lucas Bridges around 1900; left to right: Aknikin, Shishkolh, Halimink, Chalshoat, and Pup-pup. "Under the eye of the camera," Bridges comments, "Halimink finds it impossible to retain his beaming smile."[37]



liked to catch nesting cormorants along the rocky coast, he hid above one of the nesting cliffs and waited; so that when the other was perilously climbing to one of the nests, he was able to send down a rain of pebbles, stones, then rocks, and finally boulders. Kwányip slid to the bottom and still they came. He shook his fist. He knew who had done this, and would reply.

Chénuke liked to catch birds at a swamp, far to the south, where there were geese and ducks. Kwányip, when he got there, felt astray and anxious, and when night fell was glad to see Chénuke's torch in the dark. Immediately, he caused a blizzard of hail and snow to come down and a high wall of ice to press Chénuke and his family out to sea. They all began waving their arms, as if to fly. "Kwányip has done this," Chénuke thought, as he and his family kept waving their arms, like birds. And then they rose out of the water and were flying east.[295]

How Kwányip Separated Night From Day

In the beginning, the Older Sun Man was up there in the sky. As father of the Younger Sun Man, he was so much the more powerful that there was hardly any night. When the Younger Sun Man took his place, the old father went away forever.

The people had never liked it to be light so long, it left too little time for love-making without being seen and laughed at. Kwányip also wanted more darkness. So he made the nights longer and longer, until there was no less night than day. Then everybody was pleased; for now men and women could lie a long while together, and no one could watch and laugh.[296]

Kwányip and Cháskels, the Cannibal

Cháskels was a giant who hunted and ate people. His immense hut [a long ravine] can be seen to this day on the shore of the Rio MacLelan. His slingshot carried far, so that people everywhere were in danger. No one could hunt; everybody was starving. He had powerful dogs that would pursue and run people down, either consuming them on the spot or dragging them to their master. In his lust, he particularly relished women. A pregnant victim he would roast with the child intact within the womb. Sucklings he carried stacked on his head behind his triangular forehead ornament, his kóchel [see Figures 428 and 429]. Larger children he hung from his belt. His mantle was of human skins, and his kóchel of hairy patches cut from the pubic area of captured women.

One day, this cannibal-giant came across the two young nephews of Kwányip, seized and hung them from his belt. "I'll set these to work in my hut," he thought. The hut, with bones, intestines, flesh, and excrement strewn all about, was a horrifying sight. The boys were given the filthiest task, cleaning out the intestines of the bodies to be consumed, besides fetching wood for a huge fire, kept always burning.

When Kwányip became aware of what had happened to his nephews, he made his way to Cháskels' hut, where the giant sat musing by the fire, and there he beheld the two boys, covered with blood and filth. Unseen by the

giant, he made a sign to them, pointed to where he would await them, then turned, and hastened away. First chance, they fled, and when their captor realized they were gone, he followed their tracks. When the boys had reached a broad river, Kwányip brought the two banks together, and they stepped across. When the giant arrived, the two banks were again apart, and he waded across. But when he started to ascend the opposite bank, Kwányip caused it to become so soaked with water that great chunks broke loose as he climbed. Stumbling about, sinking deeper into the saturated mud, he was about to give up, when Kwányip caused a freeze to occur. The ground became hard. Cháskels pulled himself to the top and collapsed, face down, exhausted.

"My back!" he groaned, when he saw Kwányip approaching. "It feels terrible." "I'll put my foot there, very softly," Kwányip said. "That will draw the pain away. Don't move!" And with his right foot he came down with all his might, the back broke, and the monster screamed and died.

The boys came out of hiding when they heard that scream and flung two stones from their slings that burst the dead giant's eyes. The entire inside of each eye, spurting out, fell into the water, and one sees to this day the greenish-gray spots on lagoons. Also from each eye came an insect, loudly buzzing. Horseflies: they like to sit on rotting meat and excrement. And so, Kwányip and his young nephews left that loathsome giant lying there, where the body turned into stone and can still be seen on the bank of that broad river, the Rio Grande of Tierra del Fuego.[297]

How Kwányip Caused the Dead to Rise No More

Aukmenk, Kwányip's elder brother, began to act as though he wished to die; so Kwányip wrapped him in his mantle and put him in the ground. Displeased to think of his elder brother reviving, however, he sat down by the place where he lay, and when the body stirred, brought his *xon* power to bear, so that Aukmenk should *not* come alive. Since then, no one has come alive again. All now remain forever dead.

When the people realized what Kwányip had done, they turned against him, and the most indignant against him was his rival, Chénuke, who took revenge by throwing his *xon* power at Kwányip's older sister-and-mother, Alekwóin, who soon lost strength and died, to rise from her sleep no more. Kwányip, greatly saddened by this loss, painted himself red and ascended with his whole family to the sky, where he now can be seen with his relatives all around him.[298]

When the Women Ruled

In those days, the sun, moon, stars, winds, rivers, and mountains walked the earth as human beings, and everywhere the women were in control. They told the men what to do, as today men tell women what to do. But since the men were numerous and strong, the smartest of the women were afraid that some day they might rebel; so they got together to consider what might be done to keep them in submission.

Their leader was Kra, the Moon, a powerful *xon*. She was the wife of Kran, the Sun. When the women were assembled, they arrived at an idea, and at some distance from the village erected a big hut, large enough for them all, where most of them thereafter remained most of the time. No man was allowed to approach. And to deceive their men into thinking that they had been joined by powerful spirits, they painted their bodies with various designs, covered their heads with masks of bark, and would appear from their big house, either singly, in pairs, or in long lines, hopping, skipping, or stiffly striding. They let it be known that these were extremely powerful spirits, who wished to be kept informed of the men's behavior. There were many of these spirits, each with a name, all desiring that the men should behave as required. And when the



430. The "women's robe" (*nah k-oli*), like the men's, was of guanaco hide, but smaller; unlike the men's, however, it was fastened around the shoulders by means of two strips of hide. A baby traveling on its mother's back was carried inside the robe for warmth, with a little net of thongs outside to hold it in place. "If the mother had some burden," Bridges states, "the child would be seated on top of that, but still inside the *oli*. Women never carried children any distance in their arms."[38]

In addition to an outer robe, each woman wore a kind of petticoat called "hip-tied" (*kopiyaten*), which was of soft guanaco skin wrapped one-and-a-half times around the body and tied with a long guanaco thong. It reached from just below the breasts to the knees, and although, like a man, a woman would discard her *oli* without hesitation, she would not further uncover herself in public, or even in her own home.

women would return to their own dwellings, it would be only to assign to their husbands tasks invented for them by Kra, the Moon, their mistress. "Xálpen, the Chief Spirit in the Big Hut, needs plenty of meat and needs it often," they would say. And so, their men were kept busy, hunting, with their entire catch then going to their wives in the Big House.

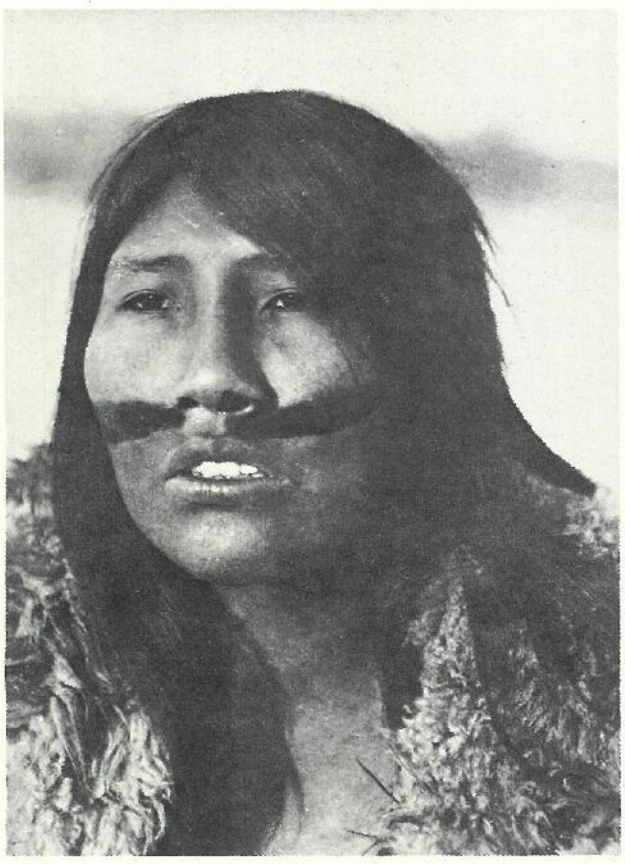
Now Kran, the Sun, was a great hunter. One day, having killed a large guanaco, he was returning with the animal on his shoulders, when, fatigued, he threw it to the ground and sat down beside it to rest. He was within sight of a lagoon, not far from the women's Big House, and on the beach saw two of the younger women, who had been bathing, laughing, and practicing the stiff, short steps of one of the supposed spirits. "We've nearly got it," they were shouting. "So *that's* it!" thought Kran, incensed. He got up and ran at them, yelling, "You wretches! Deceivers!" Terrified, the two jumped into the water and ducked under. "Stay there!" Kran shouted; "for your own good!" And with that, they were transformed into water birds of a kind that dive and stay under when people approach.

Returning with his guanaco to the village, Kran tried to behave as though nothing had happened, and, one by one, secretly told his story to the men in their huts. They gathered for a meeting and, to check on the situation, sent one of their number, a swiftly running little bird, to investigate. He approached the Big Hut unseen, darted in and ran along the inside wall and out the other side. "There are no spirits," he reported; "only women, seated along the wall, and behind each, her mask." To make sure, a second bird was sent; then a third. And just then, Kran's own daughter arrived with two other women to collect meat for the spirits. Kran grabbed the guanaco he had just brought in, threw it furiously at his daughter's feet, and shouted, "Take it! Take it to your mother and her women. It's not much, but enough for *them*."

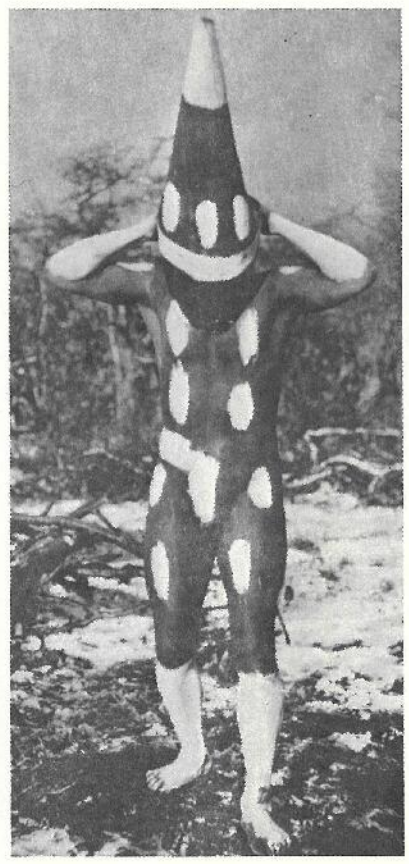
Shocked and terrified, realizing that the secret was out, the three went back with the frightening news, and immediately Kra, the Moon Woman, realized the need for action. She had herself painted particularly beautifully and with four others proceeded to the village, demanding meat. The five were given all there was, but overheard much murmuring. Another mask was sent, attended by a large company, and on seeing her, every man ran to his hut and hid his face in his mantle. Her attendants scattered, each to her own husband, and what they overheard were such comments as: "Who knows if these be really spirits?" and "Maybe we have been tricked!" Everywhere, the men were so threateningly restive that the women, afraid, returned to the Big House.

As a last resort, one more ruse was attempted, the most extreme: that of sending the mask known as *Xâlpen ke xat*, "The Chief Spirit, the Devourer." In two lines the women filed out of the Big Hut, while Kra, the Moon Woman, stood shouting at the men to come near and see for themselves how furious Xálpen had become because of their recent behavior. "All your wives are about to be devoured, one by one, by Xálpen," she screamed, thinking to frighten them back into submission.

And indeed, the men came forward, but when Kran, the Sun Man, gave a scream and yelled, "Strike them down!" the slaughter began. Swinging cudgels even at their own daughters and wives, the furious men moved in, grabbing and throttling every female they laid hands on. Sun Man, with a flaming torch, went after his powerful wife, and, at his first blow, the entire sky trembled; at the second, it threatened to fall. So he hesitated, and she escaped, rising to the sky as the moon with the sun in pursuit. You can still see the burned and bruised spots on her face. The other women, who had all been slain, were transformed into animals whose markings tell what designs they were wearing when killed. And the only females left were little children, knowing nothing of their mother's fraudulent secret.[299]









431. Angela, a young Selk'nam matron. The horizontal stripes are of red paint.

432. Selk'nam males disguised as the supposed inhabitants of the *klóketen*, the special lodge of the men's society (see 286, pages 162–163).

Foundation of the Men's Secret House

When the women had been killed and their *Klóketen* (Big House) destroyed, the men assembled to organize a *Klóketen* of their own. Each brought from his own region a great log of stone. The seven greatest logs were the first set up, the others filled the spaces between. The form of the hut was conical, the whole thing tremendous. One can still see among the mountains of Máustas the form of that mighty ceremonial structure, the tremendous

posts and beams. Whoever even thinks of it and calls out, "Máustas, Máustas!" will find many sea lions, or else a whale stranded on a beach. And anyone falling asleep near there will in dream see everything that happened at that place in those earliest times.[300]

Myths of the Yamana of Tierra del Fuego

The Older and the Younger Sun Man

The women, at one time, were in authority, and it was they who then decided to get rid of the Older Sun Man, who, in a rage, had caused a universal conflagration: the forests had burned, the ocean had boiled, and to this day the mountaintops are bare. All the women attacked and almost strangled him. But he was strong, broke free, and fled to the sky, to become a star, which has since faded and disappeared.

The Younger Sun Man, his son, was altogether different. He was kind and loving, helpful, an excellent hunter, and marvelously handsome.[301]

The Flood

Once, when spring was approaching, someone saw a spectacled ibis fly over his hut and shouted to his neighbors, "Look! There is an ibis flying over my hut." They all joined him, shouting with joy, "The ibises are flying. Spring is here."

However, the ibis herself, who is a very delicate woman, wishing to be treated with deference, not noise, took offense at all that shouting and, in revenge, let it snow so hard and long that the whole earth was blanketed. The sun came out, the snow melted, and the earth then was flooded. People hurried to their canoes, but only the very lucky reached one or another of the five mountain peaks that remained above the waters. When the flood subsided, these came down, rebuilt their huts along the shores, and ever since that time, women have been ruled by men.[302]

According to another version:

It was the Moon Woman, who, in anger, caused the flood, after the men had seized power.

The Culture Bringers

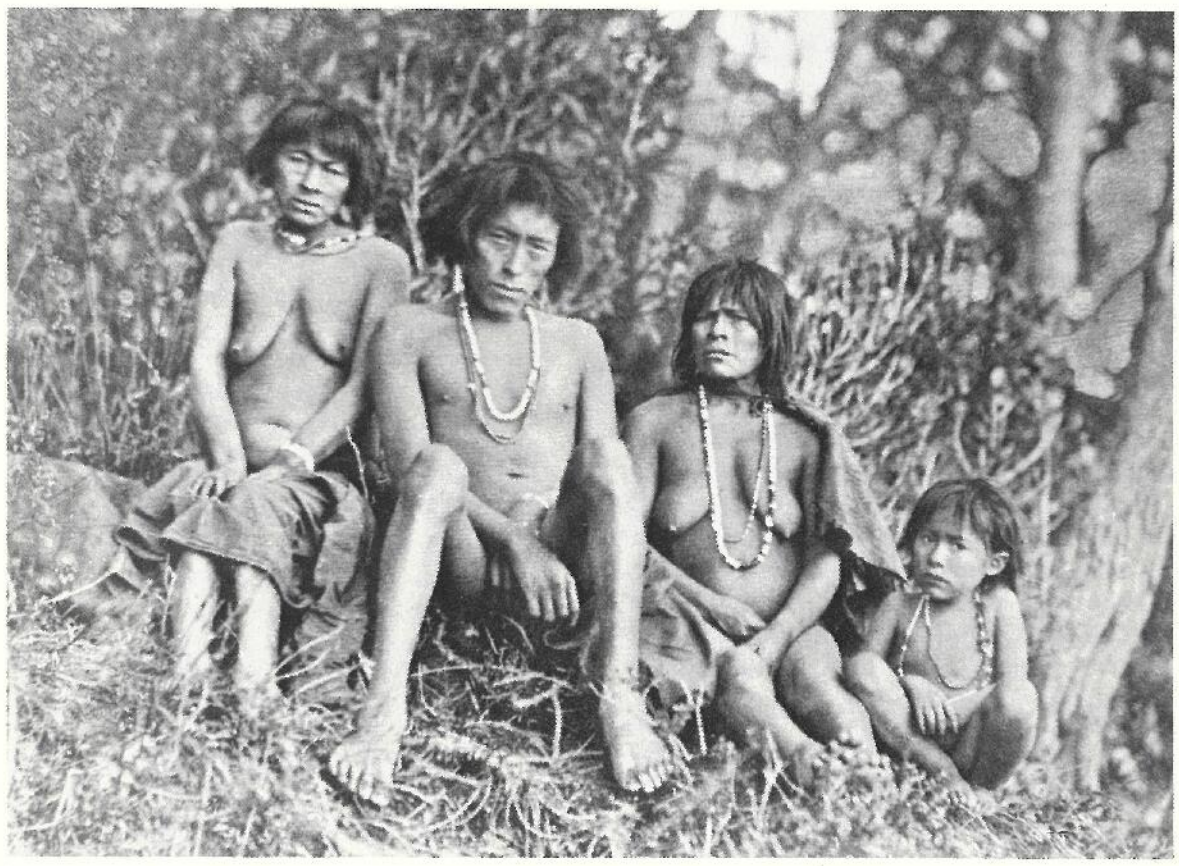
A mother, three sisters, and two brothers, the Yoálox family, wandered over the world until they came to where we now live, and it was they who taught us to arrange our lives: to make tools and weapons, to hunt on water and on land, how to make use of the animal skins, and how to prepare the meat. Of the brothers, the younger was the smarter and more talented, but the cleverest of all was the eldest sister.[303]

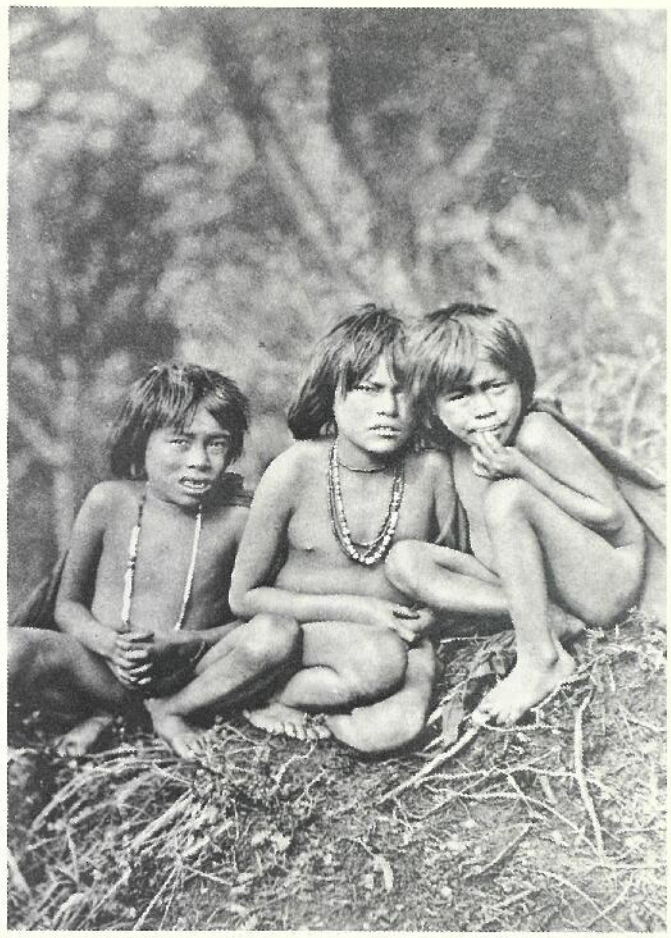
The Invention of Fire

Once the elder brother was amusing himself, striking small stones together. Among them was a firestone that gave sparks. Surprised, he struck it in such a way that a spark ignited some very dry down. Then he fetched kindling and had a fire.

"Fire," he said to his younger brother, "is both pleasant and useful. Let us keep it burning all the time, so that people may have it without trouble."

"I disagree," said the younger. "It will be very much better for people to have to make some effort and to work." He took a stick,





433/434/435. Although the Selk'nam hunted with bow and arrow, the Yamana held to the earlier spear and harpoon. Nor did they have the atlatl, the Late Paleolithic spear-thrower. Their shamans, likewise, had no drum. Their huts were the crudest shelters. And to appreciate their deliberate nakedness, it is necessary to realize that they were living, not in the tropics, but within five degrees of the South Polar ice pack. They were the ultimate representatives of what Jamake Highwater has termed the "primal mind."[39]





436.

scattered the embers, and since that time people have had to work to make fires.[304]

Bird Hunting

Those two Yoálox, when they needed meat, would kill birds with their slings. "I would like it better," said the elder, "if we killed them just by a glance. That way, people would have food without effort." He turned his sharp eyes on some birds that were flying overhead, wishing them to fall dead. They did, and he was overjoyed. "From now on," he said, "It will always be like this."

"Not at all," said the younger. "It is better that people should have to make their weapons and use cunning to sneak up on their prey. *That* is how it shall be. Everybody must work."

Next day, when a flock of birds flew overhead, the elder stared at them with the thought that they should fall, but they kept flying. Since then, every hunter must use effort and cunning. And frequently, from clumsy hunters the quarry escapes.[305]

The Sea Lion Hunt

The elder Yoálox was given by his eldest sister a harpoon that never missed the mark and always returned to his hand. One day, on a big sea lion, he broke and lost it. "How convenient it would be," said he to his younger brother, "if I had a harpoon that would always hit the mark, return to my hand, and never get lost or break! That way, we should all be saved much toil and trouble."

The younger became angry. "It must never be like that," he said. "All the benefits of work and effort would be lost if we handed people any such weapon as you propose. It is good that unskilled hunters should break and lose their harpoons. Each should work to learn through his own effort."

And so, to this day, hunters break or lose harpoons if they have not learned to hurl them with good aim; or if they are not thrown with enough force, they remain stuck in the sea lion's back as he swims away.[306]

The Invention of the Harpoon Point

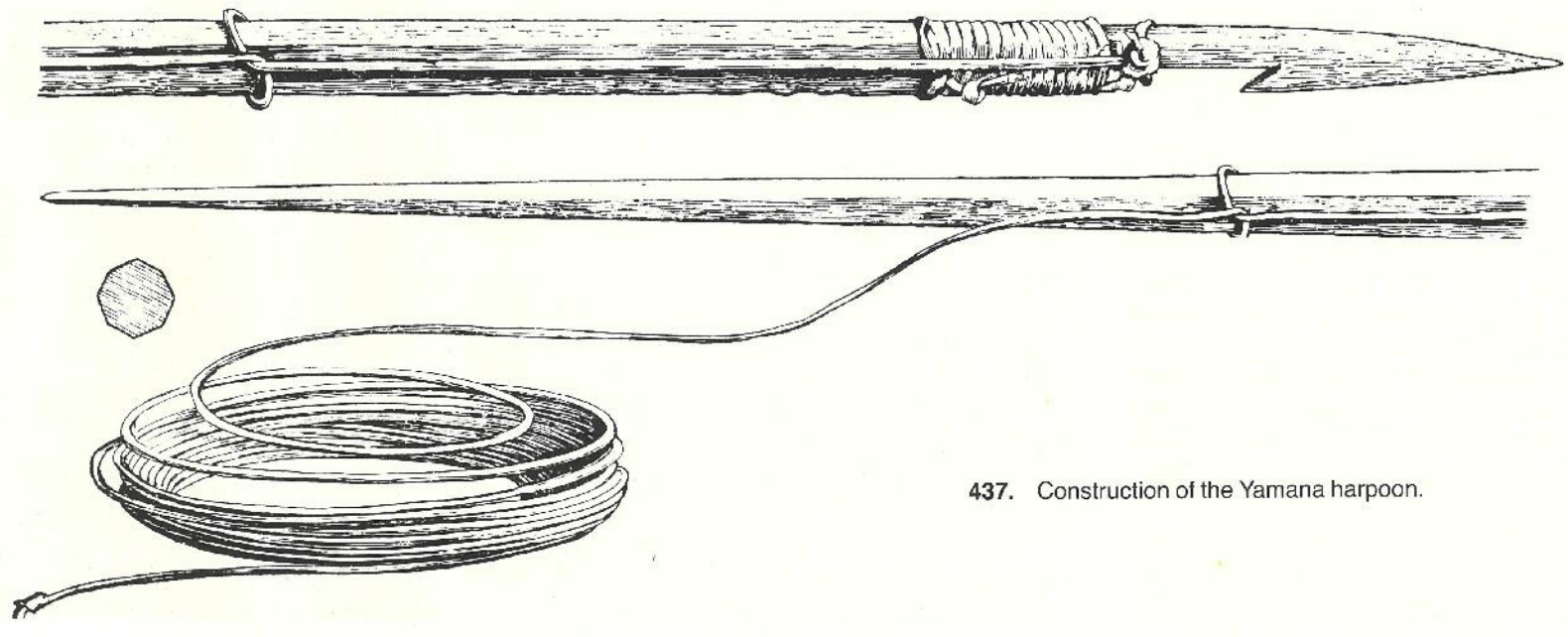
A short time later, the two began fashioning harpoon points out of whalebone, but when they hunted with them, the sea lions were unharmed by the light wounds, and the harpoons were lost, one after another. Disheartened, they went to the eldest of their three sisters for advice. She looked at one of their points. Both sides were smooth, and it was firmly fixed to the shaft. She carved a large barb on one side of it, then loosened her loincloth, from which she cut a long leather thong. She tied one end of this to the lower peg of the bone point, then laid the next part of the thong along the shaft, securing it there [and thereby the point to the shaft] by wrapping it once around the lower part, after which she rolled up the long free end and taught her brothers how to use the new weapon.

The right hand grasps the middle of the shaft, the left loosely holds the rolled up thong. The weapon is hurled, and when the sea lion is struck, the shaft becomes detached from the head; but since it is loosely fastened to the long thong, one end of which is in the hunter's hand, the other fixed to the barb in the animal's body, the shaft floats on the surface, following the movements of the sea lion, which has plunged but will finally cease tugging at the line, since every time it does so, the sharp side-barb digs deeper into the flesh. Brought in at last, it is clubbed with a heavy cudgel, and for the hunter's family there is blubber and meat. The two Yoálox were nearly beside themselves with delight at the successes that they enjoyed with this clever device.[307]

The First Menstruation

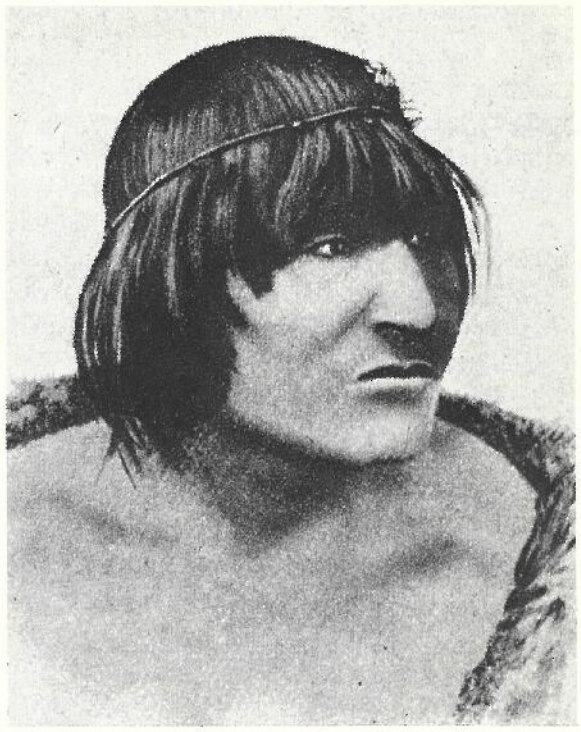
In the beginning, the two Yoálox lived with their eldest sister, since neither had a wife. But then the time came when they no longer enjoyed sleeping alone, and she agreed to help them find one.

Now the Wren had so many wives that he was unable to supply them with sufficient meat, whereas the Yoálox were good hunters, and so, had plenty. Wren's wives suggested

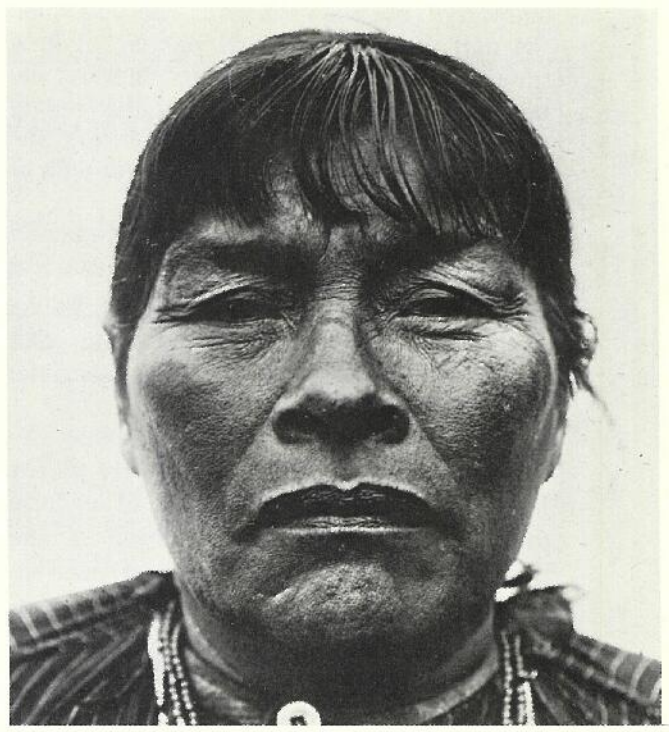


437. Construction of the Yamana harpoon.

438. Tenenésk, headman and shaman of a remnant Selk'nam group of five families (thirty-two persons) that in Gusinde's time (1918) were encamped near Lago Fagnano. When Lucas Bridges knew him (1895–1910), the hunting grounds of the party of six or seven families of which he was, not the headman, but the shaman, reached to the Atlantic coast, extending from Cape Santa Inés to Policarpo Cave. In summer, the company hunted southward as far as to the hills overlooking Sloggett and Moat Bays. Tenenésk was Gusinde's principal source for his Selk'nam legends. In 1895 he had offered to initiate Bridges into shamanism. His wife, Leluwachin, was the only Selk'nam woman Bridges ever met who was credited with magic powers. "Many Yahgan (Yamana) women," he states, "were considered to be witches, but Leluwachin was unique as a sorceress among the Ona."[40]



439. Julia, the fifty-five-year-old wife of an old ranch-hand on a sheep ranch at Punta Remolino. "Most of the narratives current among the Yamana," states Gusinde, "I owe to the intelligent Julia. She is considered by all who know her to be the person best informed of them all."[41]



that they might ask for help from the Yoálox, and so he dressed them up very beautifully, ordering each to paint and decorate herself [that was the origin of ceremonial body painting], and one by one they went to beg for meat.

The brothers looked over each of the women carefully, and to all that were not to their liking they bade their sister give plenty of meat. When the last and most beautiful arrived, however, they were enchanted and asked their sister not to give her meat, but to persuade her to remain.

"Just sit down quietly here beside my brothers," said the sister. "They both like you very much."

Without embarrassment, the woman sat down on the bed, and the two began caressing her. They told her how deeply they desired her and this pleased her very much. "All right," she said; "I'll stay." And so the Wren lost the most beautiful of his wives.

The two took turns sleeping with her, and one day, when the elder rose early to hunt, he returned only when it was getting dark, and overhearing, as he approached, certain sounds within the hut, he realized that his brother had been making love, in bed, all day. He drew closer quietly and overheard the woman whispering: "I really like your penis a lot. It is large and fills my vagina. Your brother's is too small. It doesn't excite me." The hunter presently entered and sat for a time warming himself by the fire, then turned and let the woman know what he had heard. He got up and approached her, and his brother moved away. He lay on top or her, and his penis, entering her vagina, swelled until she was torn and started to bleed. "Are you satisfied?" he asked. "Do you want it to grow larger?" He got up. "You have now had your first menstruation," he said, and he thereupon established the rules to be observed (which are still observed) at the time of the first menstruation. The brothers' sister was helping her and giving advice as well. And then: "Now that this woman is menstruating," she said, "let us have a big celebration." The brothers agreed. They prepared a lot of meat. And that was the first menarchia celebration.[308]

The First Childbirth

After that, the younger Yoálox lived alone with that woman, who gave birth eventually to a son. He informed her of the rites for childbirth, and women still follow those instructions. The child, however, cried incessantly, most loudly during the night, and Yoálox couldn't stand it. He built a hut apart, from which to go hunting and in which to fashion his weapons. Whenever he entered the other hut, the child would scream more loudly than ever, until once, in desperation, he grabbed it under the armpits, lifted it, stared fiercely into its face and yelled, "Will you stop screaming?" Whereupon, the little boy split right down the middle, so that Yoálox now had two sons. They were the first children brought into the world through an actual birth.[309]

Death Is Introduced

When the mother of the five Yoálox died, her body was placed on the grass where the warm sun would shine upon her, and the elder brother, sitting down beside her, fixed his eyes on her in silence, until the body moved a little and its eyes slowly opened. He got up and ran to the hut to tell his brother, who became angry. "No, no!" the brother cried. "It must not come to that. She is decrepit and old and must sleep now forever." The elder returned to where the body lay, to stare as before. But it was now rigid and remained that way. Since then, all people die.[310]

The Sea-Lion Husband

The two youngest sisters enjoyed bathing and playing in the waves. One day a big sea lion approached, offering to join in the play and, unafraid, they accepted him. Daily thereafter he joined them, and a special attachment developed with the elder. He would come swimming to her under water, and the younger sister would ask, "What is that big black thing I just saw passing between your legs?" To which the other would respond, "What do you mean? You must have seen my shadow." The younger was not satisfied, but the daily play continued, until the elder was clearly pregnant. Then the sea lion took her on his back and swam away to his cave.

He was tremendously happy when a son was born, but anxious to know what the brothers would do when they understood what had happened. "They will kill me," he said. "But perhaps, if you return and tell them how fond of each other we are and how lively our little son is, they will let me live with them." She prepared herself to leave, he took her on his back, and when they came close to her brothers' hut, the sea lion set her ashore.

The brothers had had for some time an idea of what was going on, and when their sister returned with her story, "You say the sea lion is your husband," they said. "Very well, he may come in." So with his wife and child on his back, the sea lion confidently arrived. They had to enlarge the hut door to admit him, but his place in the family seemed assured. Every day, he would swim away to hunt and return with mussels, fish, and crabs enough for the whole family.

One day, however, the brothers sent the women off on an errand of some kind, and while they were away, treacherously slew their guest. It was a beautiful day, and when the sea lion had returned from the hunt, he had stretched out on a large rock to sleep in the sun. The brothers had been sitting before their hut, preparing harpoons and, when they heard the sea lion snoring, sneaked up on him, raised the two harpoons, and thrust the cruel barbs home. He woke with a roar of pain, which the women in the distance heard, and the wife came running. But by the time she arrived, the brothers had already finished butchering, and had even given a piece of the meat, roasted, to the little boy. Unknowing, he had liked it, begged for more, and was eating a second piece of his father when his mother arrived, horrified. In a flash, she flung at the child's head a spiney sea urchin that turned him into a thornfish [which the Yaghan do not eat, because it used to be a boy]. Then she gazed, speechless, at her husband's butchered body, fell down and wept, while her brothers flung some of the parts at her with insults. "Here you have the mouth that spoke to you with love; here the flippers that

embraced you; the back on which you rode; the part that satisfied your desire." A long time passed, after which, at first timidly, she tasted a bit of sea lion's flesh and liked it very much. In the end, reconciled to her loss, she was eating sea lion blubber and meat with as much relish as her two brothers.[311]

The Ascension

The Yoálox family remained a long time on earth. They gave names to all things and places. When they grew old, they rose to the sky and are seen today as stars.[312]

Noteworthy in the Yamana tale of *The Flood* is the actual number of escape mountains, namely five, which is the number of sacred mountains of the Navaho (see Map 48). The Navaho mountains are of the world center and four directions. It is possible that the Yamana five were also of this sense. Such mountains are of eternity, whereas the floods and tides of fortune are of time. And in terms of the *philosophia perennis* (of which the archetypes of myth are the everlasting symbols), man's true being, as well as the being of all things, is not in the vicissitudes of time, but aloft on the mountain-top of the still point of this turning world.

A second theme to be remarked is of the overthrow of female dominance by the masculine community; it appears in both traditions: in the Selk'nam tale of *When the Women Ruled* and in the Yamana of *The Older and the Younger Sun Man.* Compare the Pygmy version of the same mythological event as rendered in the ceremonial dance observed by Colin Turnbull in the Congo (see page 111).

The Blackfoot tale of *The Buffalo's Wife* (see page 234) and the Yamana of *The Sea-Lion Husband* are variants of a theme that has been popular throughout the world, apparently from the beginning of mankind's time on earth. The Blackfoot is in the form of a myth; the Yamana is a folktale. The myth had to do with the origins of the rites by which the Blackfoot tribe rendered veneration to the animals upon whose willing giving of their lives the survival of the tribe depended. The Yamana tale, on the other hand, has become disengaged from any properly mythological context with which it may once have been associated and has been turned to entertainment. We do not know whether, for the Yamana, the sea lion may once have stood in the role of Master Animal, as did the buffalo, not only in North America, but on back to the period of Lascaux. In fact, we know next to nothing of what must once have been the *mythology* of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego. The people who gave Gusinde what they remembered of their traditions were the last representatives of already extinguished races. As Jochelson found among the Yukaghir of northernmost Siberia, the master guardians of the mythology were no more; all that could be collected in the first decades of the twentieth century were the recollections of individuals already acculturated. Of Gusinde's Selk'nam collection, the principal source was the headman and shaman, Tenenésk, of a small group near Lago Fagnano; and of the Yamana tales, fifty-five-year-old Julia—of Punta Remolino—and her friends. The differences of interests and concerns of these two distinct personalities are evident in the selections of their contributions, through which the last reflections come to us of a long long day, the sun of which, with its light, has set.



440. Selk'nam departure.

A NOTE ON THE INDEXES

References to pages, captions, maps, and map captions

In the Place Name Index and the Subject Index, references to pages are simple page numbers, e.g.,

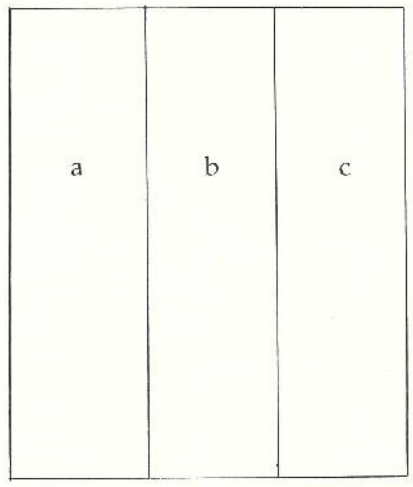
Barrow (Alaska), 187

which means that a reference to Barrow is to be found somewhere on page 187.

In the Myth Motif Index, pages are referred to by column letter, e.g.,

Death, analogies for, 9a

which means that a reference to analogies for death is to be found on page 9 in column a, where the columns are as shown:



Page ranges are indicated similarly in all three indexes, by a dash. In the Place Name Index and Subject Index, page ranges are as follows:

Andamanese, 118–125

In the Myth Motif Index, ranges are of two types: page ranges, e.g.,

156c–157a

and column ranges, e.g.,

156a–b

In all three indexes, commas, rather than dashes, are used to indicate separate mentions of a topic in adjacent columns or pages, e.g.,

125, 126
125a,b

References to captions consist of a boldface caption number (or range of caption numbers), followed by a hyphen and a page number. For example,

254-147

126–130-72

254-147b

References to maps consist of a boldface capital "M" and map number (or range of map numbers) followed by a hyphen and a page number, e.g.,

M50-255

M44–46-211

Map captions are referred to similarly, but with an additional letter "C," e.g.,

MC29-122

The Myth Motif Index

Entries in the Myth Motif Index can be simple or complex: a relatively simple entry consists of a key-word heading, a qualifying phrase, and a page number, e.g.,

Consciousness, Sun as, 9a

Other entries may consist of a key-word heading and one or more subentries, arranged alphabetically, e.g.,

Aphrodite
"foam-born," 69b
as member of triple-goddess cluster, 69a

or

Abyss, Lord of
Greeks, ancient
L. of A. abducts wheat goddess to underworld, 182a

The most complex entries consist of a key-word heading, followed by an alphabetized list of subentries and sub-subentries, followed by a separately alphabetized list of subentries and sub-subentries broken down according to tribal or other groups (see the entry "Dead, spirits or souls of").

Entries appear in both singular and plural form — e.g., "Rabbit" is a main heading and so is "Rabbits." Within the breakdowns according to tribal and other groups, there are both general and specific references — e.g., information can be found under "Australian aborigines" and under individual Australian aborigine tribes (Aranda, Gunwinggu, Pindupi, Unumbal, and so on).

ENDNOTES

PROLOGUE

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MYTHOLOGIES OF THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS AND GATHERERS

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[150]Ibid., p. 64.

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[167]Ibid., p. 397.

[168]Ibid., p. 24.

[169]Ibid., p. 392.

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[171]Ibid., pp. 217–219.

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[185]Ibid., p. 187.

[186]Ibid., p. 192, a legend of the Aka-Bo tribe.

[187]Ibid., pp. 192–193, legends of the Aka-Jeru.

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Captions

[1]For a detailed and illustrated treatment of these mysterious figurines, see Miguel Covarrubias, "Tlatilco: Archaic Mexican Art and Culture," *DYN: The Review of Modern Art*, vols. 4–5 (December 1943), pp. 40–46.

[2]Van Lawick-Goodall, *In the Shadow of Man*, pp. 214–217.

[3]For accounts of these two finds, see Ralph S. Solecki, *Shanidar: The First Flower Burial* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), pp. 176–200, 227–238.

[4]Van Lawick-Goodall, *In the Shadow of Man*, pp. 279–280.

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[7]Frobenius, *Das Unbekannte Afrika*, pp. 36–41 and plate 8.

[8]Frobenius, *Erythräa*, pp. 309–310.

[9]Ibid., p. 310.

[10]Pager, op. cit., p. 344.

[11]Ibid., p. 342.

[12]Ibid., p. 340.

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[21]Nance, *Discovery of the Tasaday*, p. 103.

[22]Ibid., p. vii.

[23]Ibid., p. viii.

MYTHOLOGIES OF THE GREAT HUNT

Text

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[3]Coon, op. cit.

[4]Ibid., pp. 651–652.

[5]Nance, *The Discovery of the Tasaday*.

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[299]Ibid., pp. 147–158; Gusinde, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 859–869.

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[2]Strehlow, op. cit., pp. 7–9 and fig. 4.

[3]Following Dacre Stubbs, *Prehistoric Art of Australia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), pp. 41–42 and map p. 109, modified.

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mantis as C. G. changes springbok to Bushmen, 178-99
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C. G. walks on earth in garden he planted, 139b
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animals ask C. G. to make man to be their companion, since C. G. won't be with them all the time, 242b
before anything else, animal is made of clay by C. G. in underworld, and from its body others, 242a
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C. G. makes mud from earth and rain, bird from mud, and other birds by whirling first one, 242a
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C. G. (Milky Way) dreams, sending spiritual germs to earth and keeping his creatures alive, 141a
C. G. (Milky Way) helps to create life, by watering earth deepened by Creator Goddess (as great serpent), and then dreaming, 141a
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Creator Goddess
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C. G. as great serpent helps to create life, by deepening earth watered by Creator God (as Milky Way), and then dreaming, 141a
C. G. as great serpent is in earth at beginning of world, 141a

Creator Gods
Jicarilla Apache
when it is all dark underground, C. G. take little Sun and Moon from bags, make them grow, and put them up in air, where they move and give light, 243a

Creator twins
Seneca
elder of C. t. makes grasshopper, bird, man, and woman, while younger makes deformed man, giant frog, and man-eaters, 208a
elder of C. t. puts man-eaters made by younger under ground except for one, who becomes people's protector, 208b
elder of C. t. sees from sky man-eaters made by younger, returns to earth to put them underground, and then goes back to sky, 208a–c
younger of C. t., after failure to make a man, vows to cause people made by elder to do evil, 208c

Creators
bisexual C. among planter cultures, M33-142
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Crow
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c. is sacred to Ghost Dance, 405-233

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Cultivated plants
Navahos
c. p. on which people live are rooted in Emergence Ladder, 407-241
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Culture bringer(s)
Yamana
c. b. are mother, three sisters, and two brothers, who wander world to where people now live and teach people how to arrange their lives, 259b
c. b. remain long on earth, name all things and places, and in old age rise to sky and become stars seen today, 262a
elder brother acquires power to kill birds with a glance, but younger thinks people should work: make weapons and use cunning; so elder loses power and people must hunt with effort, 260a
elder brother suggests keeping fire burning all the time, but younger brother scatters it so people have to work to make fire, 259b
elder male c. b. first revives dead mother by staring at her, but younger male c. b. makes her death pemanent, so everyone dies, 261c
elder male c. b. hears younger told by their wife that younger's penis is larger than his own and gives her more pleasure, so he makes his own penis swell in her until she bleeds, which is first menstruation, 261c
elder male c. b. wants unerring, returning harpoon that never breaks or gets lost, but younger is against it, so people must work and get skill, 260b
eldest female c. b. gives elder male c. b. unerring, returning harpoon, but it breaks on sea lion and he loses it, 260a
eldest female c. b. invents harpoon with barbed, detachable point and line, 260c
male c. b. flings parts of her murdered sea-lion husband at their middle sister, who after long hesitation, eats it and comes to like sea-lion meat, 261c
male c. b. get most beautiful wife of Wren as their wife, 261a
male c. b. kill sea lion that is their middle sister's husband, 261c
sea lion becomes husband of middle sister c. b., who has son by him, 261c
younger male c. b. rules that everybody must work, 260a

Culture hero
Beaver
giant progenitors of present animals hunt and eat people until c. h. learns their medicine songs and turns their power against them, 205a
people follow trail of c. h. when they join in dance led by Dreamers (Swan People), 205c
Iroquois
c. h., inspired by prophet born of a virgin, founds league of five nations, 206b
Kwakiutl
c. h. is helped by animals to get totem pole, house, masks, and dance, 190a
c. h. makes first totem pole, along with masks and house, like those lent him by animals, 190a
Mandans
c. h., only man escaping flood, does so in Big Canoe, 226c
Ojibwa
c. h. obtains maize by burying dead spirit youth he wrestles with during Vision Quest, 207b
Selk'nam
c. h. and three Ancestors become young again after being put in ground by Ancestors in north and sleeping a few days, 255a
c. h. and three Ancestors in old age fall into long sleep but do not die and are still old when they get up, 255a
c. h. goes to sky, followed by some Ancestors, 255a
c. h. is alone on earth, appointed by a god to set things down here in order, 254c
c. h. makes male organ and female organ, which join and produce Ancestors, one every night, 254c
c. h. raises sky to to present place and becomes star, 255a
c. h. washes Ancestors clean of odor of death after transformation sleep, 255a
Tsimshian
c. h., wearing raven coat, fills all creeks and rivers with fish by scattering roe chief gave him from air, 188c
c. h., wearing raven coat, flies to heaven, and after transforming self to cedar leaf and being reborn from chief's daughter, who drinks leaf, steals box containing light, 189a
c. h., wearing raven coat, scatters from air fruits (given him by chief whose son he replaces), causing fruit to grow all over land, 188c
c. h., who takes place of chief's dead son, becomes voracious when he eats scab from shinbone of voracious slave and eats until chief sends him away, 188c
c. h., who takes place of chief's dead son, is given raven coat, stone, and fish roe and berries to scatter from air, 188c
see also Culture heroine; first herdsman; First Man

Culture heroine
Oglala Sioux
c. h. brings people sacred pipe and establishes rites, 225a
c. h. brings sacred pipe and round red rock (symbolizing earth and red-skinned people), 225b
c. h. destroys warrior who has bad intentions toward her, 225a
c. h. is transformed into buffalo calf, 225b
c. h. looks back at people during each of four ages and returns at end, 225b
see also First Woman

Cunning
Yamana
elder male culture bringer acquires power to kill birds with a glance, but younger thinks people should work: make weapons and use c.; so elder loses power and people must hunt with effort and c., 260a

Curiosity
Jicarilla Apache
people have c. because birds and animals had great c. about man when he was first coming to life, 242c

Cyclone
Jicarilla Apache
in the beginning there is only darkness, water, c., and gods, 241c

Dance
Andamanese
d. as ceremonial protection against dangerous power, 120b
Aranda
d. in remembrance of human Ancestor, chief figure in totemic journey, at end of journey, 137b
Blackfeet
buffaloes slain each year are returned to life through d. and song taught by them to girl and father she's brought back to life after they have killed him, 234b
Pawnee
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Dancer, engraving of, in Le Gabillou cave, 78a

Dancers
Bella Coola
d., as three guardians, surround Sun as it walks across sky bridge from solstice to solstice, 199a

Dancing shaman, engraving of, in Le Gabillou cave, 78b

Danger
Andamanese
d. due to contact with power, 119b
Navaho
twins are advised by Little Wind to ask their father, the Sun, for his medicine bundle, for by this their father would always know when they were in d., 246b

Dangerous power
Andamanese
birth as time of presence of d. p., 219-121
bones as protective against d. p., 219-121
certain substances and objects are protective against d. p. when it is present in certain conditions, times, or foods, 219-121
certain woods as protective against d. p., 219-121
characteristics of d. p. that underlie ceremonial order, 119c 119c
dance as ceremonial protection against d. p., 120b
danger inherent in contact with d. p. can be avoided by ritual precautions, 120a
d. p. in any object or being is neither good nor evil per se but able to produce both good and evil results, 119c–120a
d. p. inherent in menstruation can be protected against by means of pandanus leaves, 218-121
d. p. in one thing can counteract d. p. in another thing, 120a
d. p. is acquired through dreams, through dying and returning to life, or through consorting with spirits, 119c
d. p. is that through which objects or beings aid or harm society, 119c
d. p. resides in all objects and beings that affect social life, 119c
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person avoiding danger from anything possessing d. p. gains the same kind of d. p., 120a
possessors and masters of d. p. are able to cause and to cure disease, 119c
possessors and masters of d. p. are able to communicate with spirits while awake and in dreams, 119c
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possessors and masters of d. p. are called "dreamers," 119b
possessors and masters of d. p. have knowledge of magic powers of minerals, plants, and animals, 119c
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storms as times of presence of d. p., 219-121
weeping as ceremonial protection against d. p., 120b
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Darkness
Andamanese
d. caused by killing of cicada by Monitor Lizard, 123c
Hebrews (in Genesis)
primeval d., 12b
in the beginning there was only d., water, cyclone, and gods, 241c
in the underworld before emergence, all is in d., spiritual and holy, and like a dream, 241c, 242a
when there's complete d. underground, Creator God take little Sun and Moon from bags, make them grow, and put them up in air, where they move and give light, 243a
Navaho
girl, whose mother is D., father, Dawn, is brought by chief god to First People, who raise her, 244a
Pima
primeval d., 16a
Mayan (in *Popol Vuh*)
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Daughter
Selk'nam
first herdsman is born of incest of shaman and d., caused by rival shaman, whose d. this one loves, 255a

Daughter of the Sun
Navaho
d. of the S. hides twins in house of Sun, 246a
twins survive Sun's test by overheated sweat lodge, with help from d. of the S., 246a

Dawn
Chukchi
steep path toward d. is means of ascent for souls of dead and spirits of shamans, 179b
Navaho
girl, whose mother is Darkness, father, D., is brought by chief god to First People, who raise her, 244a

Dawn Man
Chukchi
D. M. receives sacrifice of dog and offers fox in exchange, 277-158, 175b

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Day and night
Andamanese
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Seneca
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Daylight
Kwakiutl
d. is made by Raven's releasing Sun and Moon to places in sky, 315-189
Tlingit
d. dwells with first Raven at beginning when world is in darkness, 188a

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Ghost Dancers
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Dead, Land of the, *see* Land of the Dead

Dead, Lord of the
Pygmies
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Dead, spirits or souls of
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Buriats
s. of d. are rescued by first shaman, riding on his drum, 176a
Bushmen
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Kung
s. of d. pass between earth and heaven via threads of spider silk, 96a
Tasaday
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Dead man
Yakuts
d. m. can hear everything around him, even when placed in coffin and buried, 176a

Dead wife
Blackfeet
dead relatives help hero get back d. w. from Ghost Country, 235c, 236a

dreams of old women help hero find way to Ghost Country to get back d. w., 235c
formerly d. w. whom hero has brought back from Ghost Country vanishes and goes back there when he threatens her, 236a
ghost father-in-law warns hero not to strike d. w. he's about to bring home with him, since then she'll vanish and return to Ghost Country, 236a
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Blackfeet
Old Man uses test involving buffalo chip to determine that d. should only last four days, but woman rejects test, 237a
woman, when child dies, wants temporary-d. law restored, but Old Man rules permanent-d. law can't be changed, 237a

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Christian
d. of Old Adam and rebirth in image of New, 167a

Eskimos (Greenland)
d. changes people to Sun, Moon, and stars, 185b
d. is chosen, along with light, by old women after great flood from sea drowns many people, 185b
unknown at first, d. comes to people when light comes, 185b

Jicarilla Apache
two old people have to stay underground after others emerge, because ladders are worn out, so everyone must return to underworld at d., 243c

Kung
d. is caused by great (in-the-east) Creator God, 91c

Navaho
twins near d. after battles with monsters, gods perform ceremony of story of their lives over them four times, after which they gain so much power they become four persons, 247a

North American Indians
d. of mythic being is life of world, 210a

Pygmies
d. comes to Pygmies through stealing of fire, 108b
origin of d., 108c
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origin of d. is through Creator God's or First Man's daughter's seeing him when told not to, 109a

Selk'nam
culture hero and three Ancestors fall into long sleep but do not die, and are still old when they get up, 255a
culture hero washes Ancestors clean of odor of d. after transformation sleep, 255a
first herdsman, sad at d. of sister mother, paints self red and ascends to sky with family, 247a
first herdsman uses shaman power to keep elder brother from reviving after d., so now no one revives, 257a
people turn against first herdsman because he makes d. permanent, 257a
shaman causes sister-mother of first herdsman to die, 257a

Seneca
d. is decreed for people by older Creator twin, who makes them, 208a

Tasaday
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Tlingit
d. comes to people because first Raven makes them from leaf, so that they die like leaves, 188a

Unumbal
after d., part of soul that is child germ goes back into waterhole, where it waits until reincarnation, 141c

Uralo-Altaics
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Yamana
elder male culture bringer first revives dead mother by staring at her, but younger makes her d. permanent, so everyone dies, 261b

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Deer
Jicarilla Apache
d. brings back yucca fruit while while trying to bring back Sun, 243a

Defecation
Winnebago
Coyote eats bulb despite its warning not to, breaks wind, and explodes village before monumental d., 239a

Deities
Uralo-Altaics
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Ainu
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Koryak
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Departure from light, in entering Paleolithic caves, 77a, 79b

Devil
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d. keeps some earth in mouth when Creator God sends him diving into primal sea for it, 236c
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Dim-dori fish
Andamanese
d.-d. f. transforms people into fishes by throwing fire at them, 123c

Dim-dori person
Andamanese
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Dirty work
Selk'nam
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Disappearance
Ghost Dancers
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Discoverer
Tasaday
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Disease
Jicarilla Apache
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Dismemberment
Uralo-Altaics
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Disorder, Trickster as spirit of, 237b

Diver, Earth, *see* Earth Diver

Diver bird
Buriats
d. b., sent down under water by Creator (for mud), is challenged by crab halfway down, 236b

Yakuts
Mother of God dooms d. b. to live always on sea, never on land, for saying sea has no bottom, 236c
Mother of God sends duck and d. b. down into primal sea to get mud from bottom, but d. b. says there's no bottom, 236c

Yenisei Ostyaks
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Divine spirit
Ainu
d. s., who sustains and rears people, is fire, 152b

Divine twins, in post-Paleolithic, 174b

Divinities
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Dog
Blackfeet
Old Man transforms self into d. to thwart theft of all animals, 238a

Chukchi
d. is sacrificed to Dawn Man, who gives fox in exchange, 277-158, 175b

Koryak
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Dog-man
Aranda
D.-m. attacks Kangaroo-man and is killed: Dream Time event enacted during boy's puberty rite, 143b

Dogs
Eskimos (North American)
d. and seals guarding Old Woman's house must be passed by shaman's soul on way to free her head of parasites so she will send forth the hunt animals, 186b
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Eskimos (Polar, Greenland)
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Koryak
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Dolphin
Ainu
d. is a god of the sea, 152b

Door of consciousness
Hindus
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Dove
Andamanese
Bronze-winged D. distributes fire to Ancestors after Kingfish steals it, 123b
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Dragon, cosmic, *see* Cosmic dragon

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life experienced as, in sacred spaces in Orient, 77a

Blackfeet
medicines from old woman met in d. help hero go to Ghost Country, and giving them back allows him to become again fully a person, 236a

Hindus (in Puranas)
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Jicarilla Apache
Creator God makes woman by putting man to sleep so he has d. about woman, who's there when he wakes, 242c
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Selk'nam
anyone sleeping near mountain with form of ancient men's big house will have d. of what happened in earliest times, 258c

Tasaday
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Dreamers' songs
Beaver
D. s. sent down to earth by earlier Dreamers are trails along which present Dreamers (Swan People) fly, 205b
D. s., which bind tribal community together with environment, become known through Swan People, 205b

Dreamlike powers
Australian aborigines
one or many d. p., male or female, human or rainbow, are dominant presences in myths and rock paintings, 138a

Dreams
Blackfeet
d. of old women help hero find way to Ghost Country to get back dead wife, 235c

Unumbal
d. of Creator God (Milky Way) are projected on rocks as paintings by bird who grasps the god's dream images as his own, 141a
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Ainu
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Selk'nam
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Blackfeet
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Gate
Oglala Sioux
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Tasaday
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Ghost
Blackfeet
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Ghost Country
Blackfeet
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Mandans
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Giant
Navaho
g. mistaking reflections of twins in lake for themselves, drinks up lake four times before realizing mistake, 246c
g. whom twins want to kill is also son of their father the Sun, 246b
twins, advised by Little Wind and Big Fly, confine blood of slain g. to flat place so he won't come back to life, 246c
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Giant boar
Hindus (in Puranas)
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Kwakiutl
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Kung
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buffalo promises to let g. he's made his wife to return with father if she can bring latter back to life, 234b
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g. refuses to marry because Sun has told her she belongs to him and not to marry, 234b–c
g. whom Sun has asked not to marry since she's his, and who's refused rich young men, accepts poor man, if he can persuade Sun to let her marry, 234c
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g., whose mother is Darkness, father, Dawn, is brought by chief god to first people, who raise her, 244a
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Glutton
Koryaks
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Golden pillar
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Grass Woman
Koryaks
G. W., abducted by Triton Man, is rescued by husband, son of Big Raven, after three unsuccessful attempts, 183a
G. W., daughter of Root Man, marries son of Big Raven, 182b
G. W. is married by Glutton, who has eaten nearly everyone else, and becomes a cannibal herself, but is cured by daughter of Big Raven and helped by her to outwit and cure Glutton, 184a
G. W., wife of son of Big Raven, is carried off by Triton Man, 182b
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G. S. can never be seen in himself, only in his works, 205a
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Groundhog
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Ground seals
Eskimos (North American)
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Guardians
Bella Coola
g., three dancers, surround Sun on its walk across sky bridge from solstice to solstice, 199a
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Navaho
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Koryaks
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North American Indians
h. acts as ally of Turtle on warpath, 239b

Half-death
Kung
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Hands, prints of, on wall of sacred place, **103-104-64**

Happy Hunting Ground, in Paleolithic Les Trois Frères Cave painting, **131-74**, 77a

Happy dead
Eskimos (North American)
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Harpoon
Yamana
elder male culture bringer wants unerring, returning h. that never breaks or gets lost, but younger is against it, so people must work and get skill, 260b
eldest female culture bringer invents harpoon with barbed, detachable point and line, 260c

Hawk
North American Indians
h. is rejected as ally by Turtle on warpath, 239b
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Headdress
Thompson River tribes
Coyote steals fire from Fire People by setting h. aflame and passing it by relay among other animals, 238c

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Bushmen
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Seneca
h. can be done by group of men and women who have dreamed of false faces representing spirits of disease, 343-208

Heart
Blackfeet
Sun says brain is better than h., since h. often lies, brain never, 235b
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h. of Triton Man, left at home, is destroyed by son of Big Raven (killing Triton Man) as he takes back abducted wife, 183a

Heart of Earth
Mayans (in *Popul Vuh*)
H. of E. creates earth with Heart of Heaven, 17c

Heart of Heaven
Mayans (in *Popul Vuh*)
H. of H. is Huracán (hurricane) and creates earth with Heart of Earth, 17c

Heat
Kung
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Heaven
ascent to h. of shaman, after descent to hell, akin to Jesus's, Dante's, and that of Zoroastrian seer in *Vision of Arda Viraf*, 159a
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Heaven Bear
Bella Coola
H. B., warrior spirit inspiring battle frenzy, stands watch at sunrise, 199a

Heavenly bodies
Hebrews (in *Zohar*)
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Hell-diver
Seneca
H.-d. brings mud up from bottom of primeval water as aquatic birds and animals prepare earth for woman pushed out of sky, 208a

Helping spirit
Eskimos (Caribou)
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Hera, as member of triple-goddess clusters, 69a

Herdsman, first, *see* First herdsman

Hero
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ghost father-in-law warns h. not to strike dead wife he's about to bring back home with him, since then she'll vanish and return to Ghost Country, 236a
ghosts give h. back his dead wife, and accompany them home from Ghost Country, 236a
ghosts give h. Worm Pipe to take back home from Ghost Country with dead wife, 236a
h. and formerly dead wife must wash thoroughly in sweat house to remove traces of ghosts, 236a
h. and wife build medicine lodge, as prescribed by Sun, and live to great age, 235b
h. goes to Land of Shades to get back dead wife, 234a–235c
h. goes to Sand Hills to bring back dead wife, 235c 236a
h. goes to Sun for permission to marry girl belonging to Sun and removal of scar as sign of permission, 234a–235a
h. is commended for honesty by Morning Star, who takes him to house of his father, the Sun, goal of h.'s journey, 235a
h. is given food and mocassins for journey to Sun by old woman, 234c
h. is hidden by Moon, Sun's wife, when he arrives at house of Sun, 235a
h. on trail to Sun to get permission to marry is temporarily stopped by big water, 234c
h. on way to Sun is carried across big water by two swans, who show him trail on other side, 234c
h. on way to Sun to get permission to marry girl belonging to Sun is set on right trail by wolverine after wolf, bear, and badger cannot help him, 234c
h. returns home from Sun, is welcomed by people, and gives girl raven feathers as sign Sun approves h.'s marriage to her, 235b
h. sets out on journey to Sun to ask him to remove scar from his face as sign of permission to marry girl belonging to Sun, 234c
h. steps around beautiful weapons left by Morning Star on trail to Sun, 235a
h. with scar on face hunts with Morning Star and kills birds that have killed latter's brothers, 234a
medicines from old woman met in dream help h. go to Ghost Country, and giving them back allows him again to become fully a person, 236a
Sun at edge of sky shows h. world: round, flat, with walls straight down around edge, 235b
Sun removes scar and gives raven feathers to poor h. as sign that he gives girl to him to marry, 235b
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Greeks, ancient
h. is aided in theft by witch daughter of king, 221a
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Heron
Tlingit
h. advises sister of first Raven to swallow red-hot stone to conceive male child who can't be killed: second Raven, whom first Raven makes head man over world, 188b

Highest mountain
Oglala Sioux
envisioned riders of four directions take future holy man to center of world at top of h. m. for culmination of vision, 396–397-224

High God
Buriats
H. G. tests power of shaman by putting soul of a man in bottle and covering it with thumb, but shaman, riding to him on his drum, takes form of wasp and stings H. G., so that he lets soul go, 176a

Hill
Aranda
h. as body of human Ancestor in totemic journey, 136a

Hills, Sand, *see* Sand Hills

Hind
animal with body of h. but head of bison in Les Trois Frères cave painting, 131-74
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Hoarder of fire, *see* Fire Hoarder; Fire Theft

Hole
Jicarilla Apache
clowns, gods, shamans, people, and animals ascend through h. onto surface of earth, 243c
gods, with help of shamans, etc., make mountain grow from sand painting to h. in ceiling of underworld through which Sun and Moon have disappeared, 243b
Sun and Moon go up through h. in ceiling of underworld, producing eclipse, 243a
Navaho
lightning flash carries twins from Sun to h. in sky, 246c

Holes
Aranda
permanent h. in tongues of shamans are produced by Dream Time spirits, 170a

Holiness
Jicarilla Apache
in underworld before emergence all is in darkness, spiritual and holy, and like dream, 241c–242a

Holy man
Oglala Sioux
h. m. has vision which makes him h. m., 224a

Holy mountains
Navaho
people plant h. m. and place gods in them, 248c
twins pass Sun's test of naming h. m. in order, with help of Little Wind and Big Fly, 246c

Home, Original, *see* Original home

Honey
Cape Bushmen
h. as symbol of semen, 92b
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Kung
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Horn
as symbol of waxing Moon and hence of birth and rebirth, in sculpture "Venus of Laussel," 68b
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Horned goddess, in Central Sahara rock shelter painting, 148-84

Horse
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Creeks
Wolf is tricked by Rabbit to act as his h., so Rabbit wins bride they both court, 209b–c

Horseflies
Selk'nam
h. come out of eyes of cannibal giant after nephews of first herdsman burst them with stones, 257a

Horses
Eskimos (Alaskan)
white h., as helping spirits of shaman, bring shaman back to life ten times after his being killed, each time by white men, 171b

Hostile magic, among Australian aborigines, 66a

House
Kwakiutl
h. is acquired by culture hero from animals with their help, 190a
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Housekeeper, mysterious, *see* Mysterious housekeeper

House of initiation
Navaho
twins learn their names and acquire distinct powers in Sun's h. of i., 246b

House of Myths
Bella Coola
H. of M. is first heaven above earth, where dwell gods to whom prayers are addressed and of whom Sun is master, 199a

House of Sun
Navaho
daughter of Sun hides twins in h. of S., 246a
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Houses
Yamana
survivors of flood come down from mountaintops, when water subsides, and build h. along shores, 259b

Human beings
Selk'nam
in early days Sun, Moon, stars, winds, rivers, and mountains walk the earth as h. b., 257a
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Human creature
Mayans (in *Popol Vuh*)
creation of h. c., 17c

Human images
Navaho
Thunders gives twins h. i. to swallow, and Sun makes both h. i. stand upright within them, 246b

Hunt
magic of, pictured in Paleolithic Les Trois Frères cave painting, 75c
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Hunter
Sun as guardian, model, and patron of, among hunting tribes, 79a
way of, 79c
Andamanese
h. shoots Moon transformed into pig and is beheaded and eaten by it, 122c
h. turns pig into dugong by striking with leaf, 122c
Eskimos (Greenland)
h. finds wife, who is transformed wild goose, and their two sons with help of magical woodcutter, 187a
wife of h., who is transformed wild goose, escapes him, feigns death when he finds her, and is then killed by him, 187a
Eskimos (Labrador)
h. finds that mysterious housekeeper, who puts his house in order while he is away, is beautiful woman, who lives with him as wife until he mentions odor, when she reveals herself to be a fox and goes away, 186b c

Hunters, initiation ceremony for, probable function of The Sanctuary cave at Les Trois Frères, 76c, 77a

Hunting
Andamanese
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Blackfeet
Sun has leggings that cause forest fires that help h., and Old Man wants them, 237c
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Selk'nam
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Yamana
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Hunting magic, 73c

Husband
Blackfeet
Sun prescribes that raven feathers be worn by h. of woman who builds medicine lodge, 235b

Hut
Andamanese
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Ibexes, in Lascaux cave paintings, 58b, 62a, 62b

Ibis
Yamana
i. is offended at noisy welcome and causes huge snow that leads to flood when Sun melts it, 259a

Ichneumon
Cape Bushmen
i. is grandson of mantis Creator God and with his father slays eland made by mantis god, 91a

Identification
Blackfeet
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Ignorance
Oglala Sioux
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Illness
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beneficient mountain spirits from cardinal points of universe fight powers of i. and evil, 409-242

Imp, forest, *see* Forest imp

Incest
Aztec
Feathered serpent commits incest with sister while both are unwittingly intoxicated, 215c
Selk'nam
first herdsman is born of i. of shaman and daughter, caused by rival shaman, whose daughter the first loves, 255a
Toltec
Feathered Serpent commits i. with sister while both are unwittingly intoxicated, 215c

Inchworm
Navaho
twins survive Sun's test by poisoned cornmeal, with help of inchworm, 246a

India
Hindus (in Markandeya Purana)
I. rests on back of tortoise who is Vishnu, floating on the cosmic sea, 236c

Indians (North American)
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Great Spirit makes I. from third batch of clay, which he bakes just right, 209a
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Winnebago
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Yukaghir
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Blackfeet
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Land of Shadows
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Bassari
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Laughter
Selk'nam
first herdsman makes night as long as day, so people can have more time for lovemaking without being laughed at by observers, 256b

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Old Man is burned by forest fire set by l. Sun gave him, and l. are destroyed by it, 237c
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Lightning
Kung
l. is controlled by men with animal horns, 95c
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Lightning arrows
Navaho
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Little Wind
Navaho
twins, advised by L.W. and Big Fly, confine slain giant's blood to flat place so he won't come back to life, 246c
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L. W becomes a guardian of twins on way to Sun, 245c
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Liver
Winnebago
Coyote turns himself into a woman, using elk's l. and kidneys for vagina and breasts, 238c

Lizard
Aranda
l. having great suctorial power is contained in body of shaman, 170c
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Lodge
Ona
l. of men's society is originally women's but is taken over and kept from them by men, **286-162**
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Loon
Seneca
L. directs catching of woman pushed from sky and diving by diving birds to bring back mud to make earth of which to place, 207c-208a
Blackfeet
l. fails to bring up mud when Old Man asks him to dive for some, 236b

Lord of the Animals, probably represented in Paleolithic cave painting, at Les Trois Frères, **131-74**

Lord of the Dead
Buriats
L. of the D. complains to High God that he can no longer keep souls brought to him by his messengers because of first shaman; this leads to test of shaman by High God, which shaman wins, 176a
Pygmies
incense is burned to the L. of the D. for protection in forest and against storms, 107a
L. of the D. is dangerous principal god, 106c
L. of the D. receives second spiritual element, which leaves body through nose and is carried to him by insects, 107b

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Pygmies
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Pygmies
L. of the L. is identified with the Creator, 106c

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Lord of shamans, in Siberia and the Americas, 156a

Lotus
Hindus
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Lovemaking
Selk'nam
first herdsman makes night as long as day, so people can have more time for l. without being laughed at by people watching them, 256b

Lowest plane
Chukchi
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Lunar cycle, symbolized by sculptures in Laussel rock shelter, **109–110-67**

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Magic crystals
Aranda
m. c. are introduced by Dream Time spirits into bodies of those transformed into shamans, 169c

Magic phrase
Buriats
power of crab who challenges Earth Diver bird is annulled by m. p. given bird by Creator, 236c

Magic weapon
Tasaday
stick as m. w., 115a

Magpie
Blackfeet
m., by finding small piece of father of girl forced to be buffalo's wife, helps her bring him back to life, 234b
m. helps father find daughter whom buffalo has taken for wife, 234a

Maize
Jicarilla Apache
turkey brings back m. while trying to bring back Sun, 243a

Oglala Sioux
m. springs from milk dropping from udder of buffalo cow into which culture heroine is transformed, 225c
Ojibwa
m. arises from grave of spirit who wrestles with culture hero during Vision Quest, 207b
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m. springs from breasts of young woman who dies bearing twins fathered by turtle-man, 208a

Maker, Earth, *see* Earth Maker

Maker God
Mayans (in *Popol Vuh*)
M. G. creates earth with Creator God, 17c
M. G. creates forests with Creator God, 17c
M. G. creates human creature with Creator God, 17c
M. G. creates mountains with Creator God, 17c
M. G. creates plains with Creator God, 17c
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Male divinities, evidence of, in Lascaux caves, 62a

Male dominance
Pygmies
m. d. is certified by myth of forbidden fruit, 112b

Male organ
Selk'nam
culture hero makes m. o. and female organ, which join and produce Ancestors, one every night, 254c

Male signs, painted in Lascaux caves, often with male-category animals, 59c, 62a, 63b

Mammoth
animal of secondary importance, in paintings in Lascaux and other caves, 62b
as possible male symbol, in cave paintings at Arcy-sur-Cur and Pech Merle, 62a

Man
painted in Lascaux cave with rhinoceros, 64c
Andamanese
Kingfisher is transformed into man after stealing fire, 123b
Hebrews (in Genesis)
creation of m., 12
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m. is separate from nature, 193c
Haida
m. on raven's back sucks poison that gives shamans power to work spells from frog's tongue, **314**-189
Jicarilla Apache
animals ask Creator God to make m. to be their companion, 242b
animals think m. should have a companion, 242c
Creator God makes woman by putting m. to sleep so he dreams about women, who's there when he wakes, 242c
Creator God tells birds and animals to gather many objects and materials, from which he makes man, 242b
gods make sky in form of living m., facing downward, 241c
people are curious because birds and animals were very curious when m., was first coming to life, 242c
Pima
coming forth of m., 16a
m. creates ants, 16a
m. creates Milky Way, 16b
m. creates Moon, 16b
m. creates stars, 16b
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m. creates world, 16b
Seneca
m. is made out of mud by older Creator twin, 208a
Suquamish Chief Seattle
m. is owned by earth rather than owning it, 129, 251a
Tungus
m. is transformed into bear by crawling around tree stump three times, growling, 148c
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Mantis
absence of, in Bushmen's Drakensberg Range cave paintings, 100c
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Bushmen
m. is addressed as manifestation or messenger of God, 98a–b
m. is Creator and Trickster, 201a
Cape Bushmen
manlike figure representing m. is principal god, 91a
m. Creator God and wife make later elands from fat and blood of slain first eland, 92c
m. Creator God changes springbok to Bushmen, **178**-99
m. Creator God is attacked by son and grandson after he finds they've slain his eland, 91a
m. Creator God tries to kill eland, 92c
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Marriage
Andamanese
moment of m. as life crisis causing dangerous power to reside in people, 119b, **219**-121
Blackfeet
hero returns from Sun and gives girl raven feathers as sign Sun approves their m., 235b
Sun removes scar and gives raven feathers to poor hero as sign he approves m. of girl to hero, 235b

Markings
Selk'nam
women slain for deceiving men into obedience by pretending to be spirits are transformed into animals with m. like m. they were wearing when killed, 258c

Masks
Kwakiutl
m. are acquired by culture hero from animals with their help, 190a
Selk'nam
birds report to men there are no spirits in women's big house, only women with m., 258b

Master Animal
in Les Trois Frères cave painting, 76c
Bushmen
M. A. is eland **160–161**-90

Master Bear
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Material, primal, *see* Primal material

Material objects
Chukchi
m. o. all live, act, walk, and speak (each "has a voice"), 178c

Matmaking
Andamanese
m. is taught to female Ancestors by First Woman, 121c

Meat
Selk'nam
first herdsman is notoriously selfish, never shares m. with tribesmen, 255a
men are kept busy hunting to supply m. to women in their big house, following pretended command of Chief Spirit, 258a

Medicine bundle
Navaho
twins are advised by Little Wind to ask their father the Sun for his m. b., for by this their father would always know when they were in danger, 246b

Medicine lodge
Blackfeet
hero and wife build m. l. as prescribed by Sun and live to great age, 235b
Sun gives specifications for m. l. and associated sweat house to be built for wife of sick or imperiled man, 235b
Sun prescribes building of m. l. and sweat house by wives of sick or imperiled men, if they recover, 235b
Sun prescribes that raven feathers be worn by husband of woman who builds m. l., 235b

Medicine men
in Paleolithic Les Trois Frères cave painting, 78b
Andamanese
m. m., called "dreamers," come into powers by consorting with spirits in jungle, dreaming, or dying and returning to life, 161a
Kung
m. m. as vehicles of supernatural power, 94a

Medicine pipe
Mandans
Evil Spirit is defeated through power of m. p., 228c

Medicine power
Blackfeet
m. p. is acquired through identification with energies certain animals command, **406**-239

Medicines
Blackfeet
m. from old woman met in dream help hero to go to Ghost Country, and giving m. back allows him to become again fully a person, 236a

Medicine song
Beaver
m. s. of animal in vision acquired during Vision Quest gives initiate wisdom, healing power, and protection and inspires prophetic dreams, 205b
Kung
m. s. comes to woman and is named m. s. by Great God, 94a

Medicine songs
Beaver
m. s. of animals are learned by culture hero, who turns animals' power against them, 205a
power of m. s. is to heal, 205b
Kung
m. s. as vessels of supernatural power, 94a

Men
Andamanese
m. are transformed into turtles, 122c
Kung
m. control lightning with animal horns, 95c
Primitive hunting peoples
m. and animals appear alternately in one form and the other, 148b
Pygmies
dominance of m. is myth of forbidden fruit, 112b
Selk'nam
birds report to m. that there are no spirits in women's big house, only women with masks, 258b
in early days women rule over m. and tell them what to do, 257a
m. are kept busy hunting to supply meat to women in their big house, following pretended command of Chief Spirit, 258a
Sun secretly tells m. he caught women practicing walking like spirits, 258b
when Moon threatens m. with Chief Spirit, m., led by Sun, kill all women except little children and Moon, 258c
women keep m. away from their big house, during conclave on preserving their hegemony over m., 257b
women, pretending they are commanded by spirits, require m. to carry out tasks invented by Moon, 257b–258a
Yamana
m. have ruled women ever since survivors of flood came down from mountaintops, 259b
Moon Woman in anger causes universal flood after m. seize power from women, 259b
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Men's big house
Selk'nam
anyone sleeping near mountain that has form of ancient m. b. h. will dream of what happened in earliest times, 258c
huge conical form of m. b. h. still can be seen among mountains, 258c
men make big conical house after destroying women's big house, 258c
whoever thinks of huge conical form of m. b. h. and calls out name of group of mountains of which one has that form will find many sea lions or a stranded whale, 258c

Men's potency
Kung
m. p. is associated with Sun, semen, heat, trance dancing, and the origin of fire, 95c

Menstruation
Andamanese
m. as time of presence of dangerous power, **210**-121
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Yamana
elder male culture bringer causes first m. in wife he shares with younger brother by causing his own penis to swell in her vagina until she's torn and bleeds, 261a

Messenger of unknown god
Bushmen
mantis as manifestation and m. of u. g., 98a–b

Messengers
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from Unseen Power, 73b
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spiritual, ascending ladder to heaven, in Zimbabwe rock painting, **158**-89
Pawnees
animals as m. bringing wisdom, 48c
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Milky Way
Blackfeet
Sun shows hero M. W. is short trail from sky to earth, 235b
Pima
creation of M. W. by man, 16b

Millet
Bassari
origin of m., 14c

Mink
Kwakiutl
M. goes to marry Frog, saying he likes her croaking, but leaves her because she and other frogs make too much noise, 202c
M. goes to see Sun, his father, 202a
M. insists on going to bottom of sea with Kelp after marrying her, so that he nearly drowns, 202c
M. is born to be the Sun, as well as the son of the Sun, 202a
M. is conceived when Sun's rays strike his mother's back, 202a
M. is the companion of Raven, **315**-189
M. is thrown through hole in sky by Sun when he nearly burns earth while taking Sun's place, 202b
M. leaves Kelp, whom he has married, saying she stayed under water too long, although he himself insisted on going down deep, 202c
M. marries Kelp, but leaves her after nearly drowning, 202c
M. marries Sawbill Duck, but she leaves him while he dives for sea eggs, 202c
M. lives with Raven in whale's stomach, eating fish it swallows, 315-189
M. sleeps in water a long time, after being hurled through sky by Sun, but is awakened by canoers, 202b
M. stops having wives after Sawbill Duck leaves him while he dives for sea eggs, 202c
M., taking Sun's place, brushes aside clouds so that the earth begins to turn, 202b
uncle of M. shoots chain of arrows that, transformed into rope, M. climbs to sky to visit his father, the Sun, 202a
Northwest Coast Indians
M. is Trickster, second only to Raven, 201a

Mistake
Navaho
giant makes m. of thinking reflections of twins are themselves four times before realizing his m., 246c

Mistress of the Forest
Finns (in *Kalevala*)
M. of the F. brings bear to life from hair cast on the sea by a maiden, 151b–c

Monitor Lizard
Andamanese
M. L. as First Man, 122b
M. L. causes darkness by killing cicada, 123c
mythic roles of M. L., 123a–b

Monkey warrior, Hanuman, from *Ramayana* (Hindu poem in Sanskrit) as source of Andamans' name, 118c

Monsoon, southeast, as First Man, 121c

Monsters
Navaho
m. mistake shadow for substance, 246c
twins go to their father, the Sun, to get weapons to kill m. their mother fears, 244c
twins kill five m. in great battles, 247a
twins tell Sun they want first to kill giant and then lesser m., 246b
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Moon
associated with pig, in swineherding cultures of Asia and Europe, 123a
as sign of death and rebirth, 9a
cycles of, recognized as identical with those of women, in Europe and Africa, 129b
possibly symbolized by horn in hand of masked figure spilling semen, in Zimbabwe rock painting, **156**-88
waxing, accord of, with womb, 68b–c
Andamanese
M. as child of principal diety and her husband, 121b
M. as male, with Sun as wife, 122a
M., as pig, is shot by hunter, whom M. then beheads and eats, 122c
M. as wife of First Man Creator 122a
M. is associated with pig, 121b
M. is transformed into a pig, 122c
Blackfeet
M. calls hero, who has killed birds that had killed all her sons but Morning Star, "her son," 235a
M. hides hero in house of Sun when her son, the Morning Star, brings him in and tells purpose of his journey, 235a
M. is mother of Morning Star, 235a
Cape Bushmen
M. is associated with eland and fertility, **168–169**-92 93
M. is created by mantis Creator God by throwing shoe in sky, 91a
creation of M. by mantis Creator God, 93b
Eskimos (Central)
M. is transformed boy who, without her knowing it, made love to his sister, who later became the Sun, in the dark, and was discovered by her after she left soot on him (still seen on M.) during lovemaking, 185b

Eskimos (Polar, Greenland)
M., Sun, and stars are what people become when they die and ascend to sky, 185b
Hebrews (in Genesis)
creation of M., 12c
Irish
M. dies into Sun and is then reborn, 123a
Jicarilla Apache
gods, with help of shamans, etc., make mountain grow from sand painting to hole in ceiling of underworld, through which Sun and M. have disappeared, 243b
Sun and M. go up through hole in ceiling of underworld, producing eclipse, 243a
when it is all dark underground, Creator Gods take little Sun and M. from bags, make them grow, and put them up in air, where they move and give the first light, 243a
Kung
M. is associated with women, 95c
Kwakiutl
M. is released to place in sky by Raven, **315**-189
Melanesians
first and last phases of M. (crescents) are like boar's tusks, 123a
North American Indians
M. sheds its shadow to be reborn, 210a
Oglala Sioux
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M. is identified with First Man, 106c
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Ona
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Kwakiutl
m. helps culture hero get totem pole, house, masks, and dance, 190a
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Old Man asks animals floating with him on raft to dive and bring up m. from bottom, but all fail until muskrat succeeds, 236b
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Yakuts
n. in a larch tree in the Upper World are where those destined to be reborn as shamans are reared between lives, 177a
Netmaking
Andamanese
n. is taught to female Ancestors by First Woman, 121c
Night
Eskimos (Alaskan)
n. appears when father of Raven (child with raven's beak) takes away bladder, which Raven has partially damaged (producing light), from Raven, 187c
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Altaics
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Nit
Winnebago
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Navaho
O. A. sings song to the four directions so that everything that grows will grow old, 245b
O. A. warns twins on way to Sun not to walk in her path, but makes them young again when they do, 245b
Selk'nam
culture hero and three Ancestors in o. a. fall into long sleep but do not die and are still old when they get up, 255a
culture hero and three Ancestors undergo transformation sleep that changes o. a. to youth, 255a
Old Man
Blackfeet
in the beginning all is under water, and animals and O. M. float on large raft, 236b
in the beginning there is a great primal womb in which the Old Man and the Ancestors of the animals are conceived, 236b
O. M., after punishing the thief of all the animals, makes him change back from raven to human and sends him home to his wife and child to hunt like anyone else, 238b
O. M. asks animals floating with him on raft to dive and bring up mud, but all fail until muskrat succeeds, 236b
O. M. asks animals for help in getting back his eyes, 237b
O. M. creates animals, birds, mountains, prairies, trees, grass, etc., 237a
O. M. creates antelope in mountains, but since it doesn't travel well there, he puts it on prairie, where it does, 237a
O. M. creates bighorn on prairie, but since it doesn't travel well there, he puts it in mountains, where it does, 237a
O. M. forms earth and people from bit of mud muskrat brings up from far under water, 236b
O. M. is burned by forest fire set by leggings Sun gave him, and they are destroyed by it, 237c
O. M. is chief of all peoples and tribes and makes mountains, prairies, and rocks, 238b
O. M. is first to jump from primal womb, so he calls animals Young Brothers and they call him O.M., 236B
O. M. is same as Sun, Creator, and Trickster, 236b, 237b
O. M. learns from bird the trick of making his eyes leave his head, fasten on a tree, and then come back, but doing it too many times, he can't get them back, 237b
O. M. plays fire-bed game with rabbits, in which they lie on hot coals without being burned through singing medicine song, but then tricks them, so that he roasts all but one, 238b
O. M. ties thief of all the animals, who has taken form of a raven, over smokehole of chief's lodge to punish him, 238a

O. M. transformed to a dog and chief's son transformed to a stick thwart theft of all the animals, 237c–238a
O. M. transforms himself into a beaver, lies as though dead, and catches raven (transformed thief of all the animals) when latter dives to pick at him, 238a
O. M. tricks all rabbits but one into being roasted, but Coyote tricks him out of roasted rabbits, 238b
O. M. tries twice unsuccessfully to steal Sun's leggings that cause forest fires for hunting, but always finds himself in Sun's lodge, 237c
O. M. uses test involving buffalo chip to determine that death should only last four days, but woman rejects test, 237a
Sun gives leggings to O. M. after latter tries twice to steal them, 237c
wolf teases O.M. with buffalo meat when he has lost his eyes through doing a trick too often, but O.M. plucks one of wolf's eyes and finds his own with it, 237b-c
Yakuts
O.M., ruler of the Lower World, sends back "living corpse" brought to him by his bull son, since the person was destined to be reared in the Upper World to become a shaman when reborn in the Middle World, 176c
O. M., ruler of the Upper World, directs his raven son to bring three women from the Middle World, two of whom are taken back by shaman, 177a
O. M., ruler of the Upper World, directs sending of person, reared in a nest in a larch tree there, down to the Middle World to be reborn and become a shaman, 177b
O. M., ruler of the Upper World, directs placement of person brought from the Middle World in a nest in a larch tree, where he is reared to be reborn to become a shaman, 177a
Old men
Tlingit
O. m., one who foresees all trouble and other who knows everything that happens, dwell with first Raven at beginning, 188a
Old people
Jicarilla Apache
two o. p. have to stay underground after others emerge, because ladders are worn out, so everyone must return to underworld at death, 243c
Old woman
Blackfeet
medicines from o. w. met in dream help hero to go to Ghost Country, and giving them back to o. w. allows him to become again fully a person, 236a
o. w. gives food and mocassins to poor hero for journey to Sun, 234c
Gunwinggu
O. W. (All-Mother) arrives from north as Rainbow Serpent with people inside her, who later make more people, 140a
O. W. (All-Mother), as Rainbow Serpent, gives breath to people and shapes their bodies inside their mothers, 141a
O. W. (All-Mother) cleans first people after they are born, 141a
O. W. (All-Mother) comes to Australia from region in the northeast, 140a
O. W. (All-Mother), in form of Rainbow Serpent, makes water for people by urinating, 140a
O. W. (All-Mother), in form of Rainbow Serpent, shows people how to dig for and eat food, 140a
O. W. (All-Mother), makes people, i.e., makes body parts, emotions, and understanding, 140a
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Old women
Blackfeet
dreams of o. w. help hero find way to Ghost Country to get back dead wife, 235c
Opposites
Hindus
pairs of o. proceed from mouth or mask of eternity and pass back through it into death, 200c
Origin of death
Pygmies
d. originates when Creator God's (or First Man's) daughter sees him when she is told not to, 109a
o. of d. is a result of Fire Theft, 108b
o. of d. is due to negligence of frog and toad entrusted by Creator God with pot containing it, 108c
o. of d. takes place through eating of forbidden fruit, 109a
Origin of millet, among Bassari, 14c
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Original home
Mandans
o. h. of people is inside of the earth, 226a
Osiris, as fertility god, 122b
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Kung
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Other world, under waves, is represented in Zimbabwe rock painting, 156-88
Otter
Blackfeet
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Our Father
Kurnai
O. F., who once lived on earth, teaches Kurnai, but teachings are revealed only in male initiation ceremonies, 138b–c
Outer One
Koryaks
O. O. is Big Raven, ancestor of Koryaks, and is also known as Big Grandfather, World, and Creator, 182a
Owl
Ainu
o. is a village god, 152b
Mayans (in Dresden Codex)
o. is perched on the head of a black god, 9-17
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Cosmic, sacrificed in Mithraic ritual, 76c
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Pain of childbirth
Pygmies
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Paint
Andamanese
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Painting
Andamanese
p. of face and body with clay is taught to female Ancestors by first woman, 121c
Painting and engraving, original purpose magical: atonement for slaying animals and increase in their numbers, 129c
Paintings, in Lascaux caves, served ritual purposes and the like, 58b, 59c, 90-59, 91–92-60, 93-61
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Panther, as possible cult figure for later Magdalenians, as evidenced in caves in Switzerland and Germany, 55c
Parasites
Eskimos (Greenland)
p. (which are really abortions or dead-born children) on head of Old Woman, or sea goddess, rouse her anger so she withholds animals of the hunt, and shaman must go down to relieve her to get animals released for hunting, 186a
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Partridges
Kung
red-wing p. as vehicles of supernatural power, 94a
Paternal recognition
Navaho
twins survive three tests by Sun, and he recognizes them as his sons, 246a
Payments
Tsimshian
p. of canoes, blankets, slaves, houses, chiefs' daughters, etc., induce spirits to help shaman to cure patient, 310-181
Pearl shell
Andamanese
p. s., thrown by Creator Goddess, cuts off Kingfisher's head during Fire Theft, releasing swallowed fire, 123b
p. s., thrown by Creator Goddess, cuts off wings and tail of Kingfisher during Fire Theft, transforming Kingfisher into man, 123b
Penis
Yamana
elder male culture bringer hears younger told by their wife that younger's p. is larger than his own and gives her more pleasure, so he makes his own p. swell in her until she bleeds, which is first menstruation, 261c
People
Andamanese
p. after death go to sky as spirits, live with First Man, 122a
p. are transformed to fishes by fire thrown at them by Dimdori, 123c
p. receive fire from Dove, who has stolen it from Kingfisher, 123c
Bassari
creation of p., 14a
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p. are hunted and eaten by animals until culture hero reverses roles by turning animals' power against them, 205a
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Old Man creates p. (a woman and child) from clay, 237a
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p. are given game to eat by mantis Creator God and wife's making later elands from fat and blood of slain first eland, 92c
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Eskimos (Polar, Greenland)
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p. come from earth and get food from it, 185a
Gunwinggu
first p. are cleaned by Old Woman (All-Mother) when born, 141a
p. are given breath, and their bodies are shaped inside mothers, by All-Mother or Old Woman, as Rainbow Serpent, 141a
Hebrews (in Genesis)
creation of p., 12c
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p. ascend on ladders through hole onto surface of earth, 243c
p. at first dwell under earth in darkness, as shadows, not flesh and blood, 241c–242a
surface of earth is covered with water just before p.'s emergence from underground, 243b
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p. are created by great (in-the-east) Creator God, 91c
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p. plant holy mountains and place gods in them, 248c
when twins return from Sun, their mother and the p. are hiding from monsters, 247a
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Polynesians (Rurutu Island)
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Selk'nam
cannibal giant catches and eats p. everywhere, so no one can hunt and everyone starves, 256c
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Suquamish Chief Seattle
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Yamana
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P. S. is Jesus, who has been killed by whites and has turned to the Indians, 250c
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p., first caught in jungle, acquires eyes, ears, and nostrils when put on fire, 122c
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Pig hunter
Andamanese
Creator Goddess helps her husband, a p. h., to bring home a pig, 122c
Pigs
Andamanese, 123b
p. are given ears, noses, and eyes by Lady Dove (First Woman), 122c
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North American Indians
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Cape Bushmen
p. is procured by mantis Creator God to kill eland his wife bore, 93a
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twins survive test of being thrown by Sun against p. of cardinal colors, jagged with flint knives, with help of eagle feathers, 246a
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P. S. is culmination of vertical succession of holes connecting several planes, both above and below earth, through which souls of dead and spirits of dead pass between worlds, 179b
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Ghost Dancers
all Indian dead are seen in trance and vision, returning, driving before them buffaloes, p., and game of all kinds, 403-233
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Blackfeet
p. m. with scar on face asks girl belonging to Sun to marry him, and she accepts, if he can get Sun to remove scar as sign of acquiescence, 234c
Pork
Andamanese
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Porpoises
Kurnai
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Possession
Haida
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Powder
Kung
p. is means of reviving dancer from trance, 96a
Power
Chukchi
p. pervading universe is referred to as Creator, Zenith, Midday Dawn, Upper Being, Outer One, Merciful Being, Life-Giving Being, Luck-bringing Being, and Reindeer Being, 179b
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Power regained
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Powers
Jicarilla Apache
boastful shamans, despite displays of p., can't bring Sun back when there's an eclipse, 243a
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Power to kill with a glance
Yamana
elder male culture bringer gets p. to k. with a g., but younger brother thinks people should work: make weapons and use cunning; so elder loses power and people must hunt with effort and cunning, 260a
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Prevention of resurrection
Navaho
twins, advised by Little Wind and Big Fly, confine blood of slain giant to flat place so he won't come back to life, 246c
Primal material
Jicarilla Apache
in the beginning, the gods have p. m. out of which everything is to be made, 241c
Primal sea
Eastern Finns
Creator God in the beginning sits on golden pillar in middle of p. s., and Devil is pillar's shadow on p. s., 236c
Devil, sent by Creator God to bring up earth from p. s., keeps some in his mouth, 236c
Yakuts
Creator blesses earth Satan brings from bottom of p. s. and sits on it, 236c
Mother of God sends duck and diver bird down into p. s. to get mud from bottom, but only duck succeeds, 236c
Satan, trying vainly to drown Creator, stretches small bit of earth he's brought from bottom of p. s. over large part of its surface, 236c
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in the beginning, all is p. s. until diver bird brings up from under the water mud from which Creator makes earth, 236b
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Primal womb
Blackfeet
in the beginning there is a great p. w. in which Old Man and the ancestors of all the animals are conceived, 236b
Old Man is first to jump from p. w., so he calls animals Young Brothers and they call him Old Man, 236b
Primeval darkness
Hebrews (in Genesis), 12b
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Mayans (in *Popol Vuh*), 17a
Primeval water
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Prince
Tsimshian
son of chief and wife dies, and his place is taken by shining youth who falsely claims to be son and later becomes Giant or Raven, 188b
Prophet
Ghost Dancers
God in a vision tells p. (Wovoka) to tell his people to be good and to love each other and not to fight, steal, or lie, 232
God in vision gives p. (Wovoka) Ghost Dance to give to his people, 232
Iroquois
p. who inspires culture hero to found league of five nations is born of a virgin, 206b
Propitiation ceremony, cave painting probably part of, 93c
Protection
Navaho
Spider Woman gives eagle feathers, stolen from Sun, for p. to twins on way to Sun, 245c
twins are advised by Little Wind to ask their father, the Sun, for his medicine bundle, for by this their father would always know when they were in danger, 246b
Protector
Seneca
man-eater made by younger Creator twin becomes p. of people when older Creator twin puts other man-eaters under ground, 208b–c
Woodland Indians
first animal, bird, or reptile dreamed of during Vision Quest is one's p. through life, 204b
Protectors, *see* Personal guardians
Protectress of the Hearth, goddess recognizable in Late Stone Age art, 73a
Pubescence
Andamanese
time of p. as life crisis causing dangerous power to reside in people, 119b

Quartz crystals
Aranda
q. c. are used by initiators to score bodies of shamanic initiates, supposedly to force them into their bodies, and to pierce their tongues, 170a–c
q. c. fill bodies of shamans, **297-110**
Quest, Vision, *see* Vision Quest

Rabbit
Creeks
R. as Trickster, 209a–c
R. gets stuck on tar image set out to catch pea thief, 209a
R., hiding in hollow tree, sticks Wolf, who escapes to tree during scalding, with splinter, 209b
R. mistakes tar image for silent person, 209a
R. steals fire from Fire People and brings it back to people, 209c
R. tricks Wolf into acting as his horse so R. can win bride they both court, 209b-c
R. tricks Wolf into untying him from stake and letting himself be tied to it, 209a–b
Rabbit-man
Algonquians
r.-m. is Trickster hero, Great Hare, **318-193**
Rabbits
Blackfeet
Old Man tricks all r. but one into being roasted, but Coyote tricks him out of roasted r., 238b
r. have burned place on back because the one that Old Man let get away without being roasted was singed, 238b
r. play fire-bed game in which they lie on hot coals and avoid being burned by singing medicine song, 238b
when Old Man tricks r. into being roasted while playing fire-bed game, he lets a pregnant one get away so that there will be more r., 238b
Raft
Blackfeet
in the beginning all was under water, and animals and Old Man floated on large r., 236b
Old Man asks animals floating with him on r. to dive and bring up mud, but all fail until muskrat does so, 236b
Rain
primordial being personifying, leaves "child germs," by which women conceive, imaged as ancestral heads, where he sinks into ground, in Australian rock painting, **246-140**
Jicarilla Apache
Creator God makes mud from earth and r., bird from mud, and other birds by whirling first one, 242a
Koryaks
r. is made by Universe (Supreme Being) by beating on drum on which the cut-off vulva of his wife is hung, along with his own penis, 184c
Kung
r., along with giraffes' hoofbeats, leads to woman's first medicine song, 94a
r. as vehicle of supernatural power, 94a
r. is caused to thunder by great (in-the-east) Creator God, 91c
Mayans (in Dresden Codex)
serpent goddess of r., **9-17**
Unumbal
all descended from same being personifying r. are rightful owners of region, 141c
anthropomorphic beings personifying r. are discovered by bisexual great serpent Creator God at bottom of waters, 141b
beings personifying r. made hills and plains, brought r., and produced rock paintings by lying on rocks, 141b
each body of water belongs to a specific being personifying r. (one of a group of such beings), who dwells beneath its rock-painting image, in subterranean waters, creating child germs, 141c
oldest descendant of specific local being personifying r. is incarnation of that being, 141c
oldest descendant of specific local being personifying r. refreshes the painting of it, and thence the r. being, by blowing water on it, 141c
Rainbow
Australian aborgines
r. is son of All-Father (Creator), 139a
Chukchi
r. is means of ascent, for souls of dead and spirits of shamans, to the Upper World, 179b
Navaho
r. carries twins on journey to Sun, their father, 244c
see also Lord of the Rainbow
Rainbows
Chukchi
r. have "masters" who live at highest point of r. and descend to earth along it, 178c
Rainbow Serpent
bisexual or feminine, myths of, came to northern Australia from northeast Eurasia, 142c
Gunwinggu
All-Mother or Old Woman as R. S. cleans first people after they're born, 141a
All-Mother or Old Woman as R. S. gives breath to people and shapes their bodies inside their mothers, 141a
R. S. in the form of Old Woman (All-Mother) came underground from northeast, carrying people inside her, 140a
R. S. in the form of Old Woman (All-Mother) makes water for people by urinating, 140a
Rainy season
Andamanese
end of r. s. as time of presence of dangerous power, **219-121**
Ram
crowned with Sun disk, in rock engraving found in Algeria, suggests Sun-ram of Egyptian god Amon of Thebes, 82c, **144-82**
Kabyle
r. is associated with the introduction of agriculture, 82c
Ram of the Sun
Egyptians
r. of the S. is associated with the god Amon of Thebes, 82c
Raptorial bird
Adena culture
shaman as r. b., **355-213, 357-213**
Rash
Tasaday
r. is explained as sign of fairy's urination, 116a
Rats, among Andamanese, 123a
Raven
Blackfeet
hero returns home and gives girl r. feather as sign Sun approves their marriage, 235b
Old Man punishes thief of all the animals in form of r. by tying him over smokehole of chief's lodge, 238a
Old Man, transformed into beaver, seemingly dead, catches r. (transformed animal thief) when he dives to pick at him, 238a
r. turn aside buffalo herd about to go over fall, revealing himself to be transformed thief of all the animals, 238a
Sun calls r. smartest animal, 235a
Sun prescribes that r. feathers be worn by husband of woman who builds a medicine lodge, 235b
Sun removes scar and gives r. feathers to poor hero as sign he gives girl to him to marry, 235b
Chukchi
r. is connected with universal power in its character as Luck-bringing Being, 179c
Eskimos (Alaskan)
boy with r.'s beak produces dry ground by securing land, floating up and down in sea, with spear and rope, 187c
R., child culture hero with beak of r., born to primal woman, causes first light while playing by breaking a bladder belonging to his mother's father, 187c
R., child culture hero with beak of r., is born to primal woman after she swallows a feather from the sea, 187c
R., man with beak of r., makes world by using spear to draw up land from water and fix it in place, 187c
Eskimos (Greenland)
R. is lover and Trickster, 201a
R. is rejected as husband by widowed sparrow, 187b
R. takes two wild geese as wives, flies away with them, but is left to drown by them, his soul being turned into black mollusks (sea ravens), 187b–c
Haida
back of r. is place where man lies while sucking from frog's tongue poison giving shaman power to work spells, **314-189**
R. creates earth from "little thing" floating on ocean, 188a
Koryak
Big R. both is and is not Creator who becomes subordinate to himself as Supreme Being when putting on r. coat, 179c
R. is ambiguous Creator and Trickster, 182a
R. (the bird) or R. Man is droll, contemptible personage who feeds on dogs' carcasses and excrement and supposedly has nothing to do with cult of Big Raven, 179c
Kwakiutl
first R. is grandfather of R., the culture hero and Ancestor of raven clan, **315-189**
R., culture hero, is grandson of first R., ancestral chief of clan, **315-189**
r. helps culture hero get totem pole, house, masks, and dance, 189b–190a
R. once lived with Mink in whale's stomach, eating fish it swallowed, **315-189**
R. releases Sun and Moon to places in sky and so makes daylight, **315-189**
Northwest Coast Indians
R. is most prominent Trickster, 201a
R. is Sun as well as Trickster, 201a
Pygmies
form of R. taken by pygmy who stole fire from Creator God, 107c
Tlingit
first R. creates people from leaf, so like leaves they die, 188a
first R. had Sun, Moon, stars, and daylight in his house in the beginning of things, 188a
first R. makes second R., son of his sister, head man over the world, 188b
second R. is too tough to be killed, 188b
sister of first R. conceives second R. after she swallows a red-hot stone on the advice of Heron, 188b
sister of first R. has many children, who all die young because her brother doesn't want her to bear male offspring, 188b
r., son of the ruler of the upper world, brings back woman from middle world whom shaman is prevented (with fire brands) from rescuing, 177a–b
r., son of ruler of upper world, brings women up from middle world, who are taken back down by shaman, 177a
r. takes man (living corpse) to the upper region, where he is placed in highest nest on larch tree, 177a
see also Big Raven; Raven Man
Raven Man
Koryaks
R. M. and Gull Man do service to acquire daughters of Big Raven as wives, 182b
R. M. brings son of Big Raven back to life three times when he is killed by Triton Man each time as he tries to rescue his wife from Triton Man, 182b–c
R. M. is Trickster aspect of Raven figure (whose other aspect is Creator and Ancestor), personification of the actual bird—greedy, droll, and contemptible, but clever and a shaman, 182a
R. M. swallows Sun after daughter of Big Raven (whom he wants to marry) marries Little Bird Man, but is forced by her tricking him to open mouth and let Sun out, 183b–c
Realms beyond horizon, shamanic flight to, 65a
Rebirth, 52c
Moon as sign of, and of death, 9a
of Moon, through its shedding its shadow, 210a
of plants, through shedding their seeds, 210a
of serpent, through its sloughing its skin, 210a
Rebirth
sloughing of skin of serpent as death and, 9a
Bella Coola
r. is lot of those in the realm of the remembered dead, first realm below the earth, 199a
Cape Bushmen
r. of eland through mantis Creator God's shoe, 93b
Christians
r. in image of New Adam after death of Old Adam, 167a

Oglala Sioux
animals are reborn after returning through gate through which they come to earth, 225c
see also Vulva of rebirth

Recognition of death, 52b
as shown in Neanderthal cave burial, at Shanidar, Iraq, 75–76-53

Red paint
Andamanese
custom of murderer's covering himself with r. p. is begun by Tree Lizard, 125a

Reef
Andamanese
Ancestors are transformed into r. by angry Creator Goddess, 25a
canoes are transformed into r., 122c

Reflections
Navaho
giant, mistaking r. of twins in lake for twins themselves, drinks up lake four times before realizing mistake, 246c

Refusal of suitors
Eskimos (North American)
girl in the Arctic, who later becomes the underworld sea goddess, or Old Woman, refuses all s. until she is seduced by a sea gull, 185c–186a

Regeneration
Ghost Dancers
r. of earth will happen immediately, 232b

Regicide, 88b, **156**-88

Reincarnation
Unumbal
part of soul that undergoes r. after waiting in waterhole after death is child germ from rain being, 141c

Reindeer
Chukchi
specific herds of r. are protected by amulets and images connected with universal power in character of R. Being, 179c
supply of r. is diminished when one eye of R. Master closes, and will disappear when other eye closes, 185c
Uralo-Altaics
sacrificed r. is associated with shamanic drum of which the drumhead is made of its hide, 175c
Yakuts
r. suckles man destined to be shaman in nest in larch tree, where he is reared between lives, and causes him to become very small, 177a

Reindeer Master
Chukchi
R. M. diminishes reindeer supply when one eye closes, and when other eye closes, all reindeer will disappear, 185c

Rejuvenescence
Navaho
Old Age warns twins on way to Sun not to walk in her path, but makes them young again when they do, 245b
Selk'nam
culture hero and three Ancestors become young again after being put in ground by Ancestors in north and sleeping a few days, 255a

Relatives
Blackfeet
dead r. help hero get back dead wife from Ghost Country, 235c–236a

Relay
Thompson River tribes
Coyote steals fire from Fire People by setting headdress aflame and passing it by r. among other animals, 238c

Remembered dead
Bella Coola
realm of the r. d., who will be reborn, is the first realm below the earth, 199a

Reptile
North American Indians
first r., animal, or bird dreamed of during Vision Quest becomes one's lifelong protector, 204a

Restitution
Ghost Dancers
r. of Indians' destroyed world will happen immediately, **403**-233

Resurrection
Ghost Dancers
r. of buffalo and all Indian dead of all time will take place immediately, 232b, **403**-233
Uralo-Altaics
r. as crucial part of shamanic crisis, 175c
see also Prevention of resurrection

Revival
Yamana
elder male culture bringer first revives dead mother, but younger makes death permanent, so everyone dies, 261c
see also End of revival

Riders
Oglala Sioux
envisioned r. of the four directions take future holy man to top of highest mountain (center of world) for culmination of vision, **396–397**-224

Ritualistic sex change, **MC30**-131

Ritual regicide, 88b, **156**-88

River
Blackfeet
woman determines by test involving throwing stone in r. that death be permanent, 237a

River bank
Chukchi
r. b. has voice and master that shaman contacts and that subjects self to shaman, sacrifices to him, and answers his questions, 178c

Rivers
Blackfeet
r. are created by the Sun, 235a
Selk'nam
in early days r. walk the earth as human beings, 257a
Suquamish Chief Seattle
r. are people's brothers, 251a
water of streams and r. is blood of Ancestors, 251a

Rhinoceros
as back-cave or marginal animal painted with man, in Lascaux cave, 64c
as possible cult figure for later Magdalenians, in caves of Switzerland and Germany, 55c

Rhinoceroses, as animals of tertiary importance, painted in Lascaux caves, 62b

Rock paintings
Unumbal
r. p. are fathers and spiritual centers of living beings, 141a
r. p. as projections of images from dreams of Creator God (Milky Way), 141a

Rocks
Blackfeet
Old Man makes r., 238b
Eastern Finns
r. are created when Devil has to spit out expanding earth in his mouth, 236c
Eskimos (North American)
r. that strike together must be passed through by soul of shaman on way to free head of Old Woman of parasites so she will send forth animals of the hunt, 186b

Roles
Beaver
r. of animals and people are reversed, animals hunting people, until culture hero turns their power against them, 205a

Rope
Eskimo (Alaskan)
r. and spear of Raven (boy with raven's beak) secure land floating up and down in sea to turn it into dry ground, 187c

Ropes
Jicarilla Apache
fly and spider bring back rays from Sun and tie them like r. to underground mountain, 243b

Ruler's daughter
English
d. of Indian chief saves life of settler leader, 221a
Greeks, ancient
king's d. saves life of hero and aids him, 221a

Sacred cedar
Mandans
people are saved from rising waters of flood by power of s. c., 226b

Sacred hoop
Oglala Sioux
s. h. of people is one of many hoops that make one circle, **396–397**-224

Sacred instrument
Pygmies
s. i. is stolen from women by men, 111b

Sacred mountains, 49b

Sacredness
Blackfeet
Sun says buffalo and berries are sacred and belong to him, 235a

Sacred Pipe
Oglala Sioux
S. P. and instructions for its use in ceremonials are brought to people by culture heroine, 225a–b
S. P. in Sun Dance, 224a

Sacred power
Bushmen
s. p. dwells in all things, including people, not uniquely in Creator God, 108c
s. p. is conjured in dances and other rituals, 100c
Pygmies, 107b
if part of s. p. that is to be transmitted to son escapes, it turns into a worm and eventually dies, 107b
part of s. p. is passed from father to son at death, from mouth to mouth, 107b
s. p. dwells in all things, including people, not uniquely in Creator God, 108c
s. p. inheres with especial force in certain animals, plants, and things, e.g., crabs and rising incense smoke, 107c
transmission of s. p. from dying father to eldest son, 107b

Sacred spaces, Oriental and Paleolithic, 77a

Sacrifice, 93c
in jungle mythology, 10a
of people, for service to the dead, 54a
of Savior, in Christian ritual, 76c
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Salmon
Athabascan
men learn needs of s. from animals they marry, 204a
Northwest Coast Indians
vital bones of s. are returned to villages under waves through First S. ceremonies to ensure renewal, 197a–198a

Sand Hills
Blackfeet
S. H. as Land of Shadows where people go at death, 235b-236a
see also Ghost Country; Land of the Shades; Land of Shadows; Land of the Dead

Sand painting
Jicarilla Apache
gods, with help of shamans, etc., make mountain grow from s. p. to hole in ceiling of underworld through which Sun and Moon disappeared, 243b

Satan
Yakuts
S. brings up bit of earth from under primal sea at Creator's command, 236c
S. lives first on earth at bottom of primal sea, 236c
S., trying vainly to drown Creator, stretches bit of earth he's brought from bottom of primal sea until it covers large area, 236c
see also Devil; Evil Spirit

Sawbill Duck
Kwakiuti
mink marries S. D. but she leaves him while he dives for sea eggs, 202c

Scab
Tsimshian
s. from shinbone of voracious slave causes youth who has taken the place of the chief's dead son to be so voracious when he eats it that he has to be sent away, 188c

Scar
Blackfeet
poor man who wishes to marry girl belonging to the Sun has s. on face, 234c
girl belonging to the Sun, whom poor man with s. on his face wants to marry and who wants to marry him, tells him to ask the Sun to remove the s. from his face as sign of his acquiescence, 234c
Sun removes s. and gives raven feathers to poor hero as sign he gives girl to him to marry, 235b

Scarification
Andamanese
s. is first practiced by First Man, 121c

Sculpture, original purpose mystical: identification of person or object portrayed with sculpture's material, in Europe and Africa, 129c

Sea
Bushmen
s. is subject of questions to mantis, 98a–b
Yakuts
Mother of God dooms diver bird to live always on s., never on land, for reporting that s. has no bottom, 236c
see also Cosmic sea; Primal sea

Sea foam
Andamanese
s. f. as child of southeast monsoon (First Man) and clay woman (First Woman), 121c

Sea goddess
Chukchi
s. g., Mother of the Walrus, originally has two tusks, but one is broken, so that in anger she reduces game supply, and when second tusk is broken, all game will disappear, 185c
Eskimos (North American)
s. g. (Old Woman) and father are swallowed by the earth, so they become underworld powers, after he's cursed her, himself, and her dogs because she's had them gnaw off his feet and hands in revenge for similar injury, 186a
s. g. (Old Woman) as a girl is thrown into the sea by her father to appease sea gulls pursuing them after father kills a sea gull for seducing his daughter, 186a
s. g. sends forth animals for the hunt from her dwelling or from vessel that receives oil continually flowing from her lamp, 186a
s. g. (Old Woman), when angry, withholds animals of the hunt so that people starve, 186a
s. g. (Old Woman) withholds animals of the hunt when angry because of parasites on her head, so shaman must go down to her to relieve her, 186a

Sea gull
Eskimos
s. g. seduces girl who has hitherto refused suitors, and is killed by girl's father, and their consequent pursuit by other sea gulls leads eventually to their becoming underworld powers, 185c–186a

Sea lion hunt
Yamana
elder male culture bringer loses unerring, returning harpoon his eldest sister gives him, when it breaks on big sea lion, 260b

Sea lion husband
Yamana
male culture bringers kill their middle sister's s. l. h., 261c
parts of slain s. l. h. of middle sister culture bringer are flung at her by her brothers, and after long hesitation, she too eats s. l. meat and likes it, 261
parts of slain s. l. h. of middle sister culture bringer, thrown at her son by her brothers, are eaten by him before she returns home, 261c
s. l. becomes h. of middle sister culture bringer, who has son by him 261c
s. l. h. brings home middle sister culture bringer and their son, 261c

Sea lions
Selk'nam
whoever thinks of huge conical form of men's big house and calls out name of group of mountains of which one has that form will find many s. l. or a stranded whale, 258c
Yamana
because younger male culture bringer vetoes unerring, returning harpoon that never breaks or gets lost, unskilled hunters break or lose harpoons that stick in backs of escaping s. l., 260b

Seals
Eskimos (North American)
s. and dogs guarding Old Woman's house must be passed by shaman's soul on way to free her head of parasites so she will send forth the animals of the hunt, 186b
s. are transformations of second joints of fingers of girl (later Old Woman or sea goddess), cut off by father escaping sea gulls pursuing to avenge killing of other gull, 186a
Eskimos (Greenland)
s. are made of wood chips by woodcutter, 187a

Sea turtles, among Andamanese, 123b

Sea urchin
Yamana
middle female culture bringer throws s. u. at son's head, turning him into a thornfish, when she finds her brothers have killed her sea lion husband and fed pieces of his flesh to her son, 261c

Seeds
plant sheds, to be reborn, 210a
Bassari
God gives s., 14b
s. are planted first time, 14b
Jicarilla Apache
Creator God makes insects for birds to eat from s. that fall into his palm, 242a

Selfishness
Selk'nam
first herdsman is notoriously selfish, never shares meat with tribesmen, 255a

Semen
masked figure spilling, portrayed in rock painting in Zimbabwe, **156**-88
Australian aborigines
s. as magic sleep inducer in pointing-bone rite, 66a
Cape Bushmen
s. is symbolized by honey in legend, 92b

Separation
Andamanese
s. of sky from earth is caused by arrow shot by husband of Creator Goddess, 124b

Separation of people
Mandans
people above are separated from those still inside earth when vine on which they climb up is broken by weight of fat woman, 226a

Serpent
sloughing of skin of, as death and rebirth, 9a, 210a
Adena culture
s. of S. Mound bears egglike form in its jaws, 212c
Australian aborigines
great s. as bisexual Creator, 143a
Indians (in India)
s. of cosmic sea bears universe on its head, 212c
Mayans (in Dresden Codex)
s. is goddess of floods and rain, 9-17
Mayans (in *Popol Vuh*)
Feathered S. is Maker God, 17a
Pygmies
bearded s. as Lord of Lightning and Rainbow, 106c
Unumbal
Creator Goddess as s. at the beginning of the world, 141a
see also Feathered Serpent; Rainbow Serpent

Serpent numbers
Mayans (in *Popol Vuh*)
s. n. represent astronomical cycles, 9-17

Serpents
associated with goddess portrayed by figurine found at Mal'ta, U.S.S.R., 73a
as shamanic symbols in Siberia, 73b
Seven-day week, as creation analogy, 9b
Sex change
Winnebago
Coyote turns himself into a woman, using elk's liver and kidneys for vagina and breasts, 238c
see also Ritualistic sex change
Sexes, *see* Genders
Shadow
Moon sheds, to be reborn, 210a
Eastern Finns
in the beginning the Devil is the s. of the Creator sitting on a golden pillar in the middle of the sea, 236c
Shadows
Chukchi
s. constitute tribes that have their own country where they dwell in huts and subsist by hunting, 178c
see also Land of Shadows
Shaman
birds as vehicles of flights of, 65b
cult of, passed from northern Europe through Siberia to the Americas at close of last glacial age; essentials constant, from Norway to Tierra del Fuego, 156b–c
in Lascaux cave painting, **100**-63, 65b
Adena culture
s. as raptorial bird, **355**-213, **357**-213
Altaics
s. determines cause of sickness by divination, then either breaks spell by rites or goes on visionary journey to upper or lower realm to recover patient's abducted soul, 158a–159a
s., returning from either the Land of the Dead or Heaven and carrying back patient's abducted soul, rides wild gander, 159a
Aranda
body of s. is filled with quartz crystals, **297**-170
Buriats
s., first of his line, can bring souls back from the dead through power of his double-headed drum, 176a
s. rides on drum to High God, who is keeping a man's soul in a bottle, with his thumb over the opening, 176a
s., transformed into a wasp, stings High God, making him take his thumb away from bottle opening so soul inside escapes, 176a
s., when soul escapes from bottle, takes it back down to his patient, riding on his drum, 176a
Chukchi
s. hears voices of stones, trees, etc., and is led by their songs to his own song, 179a
s., through his song, is sustained in a life inflated by the breath and winds of the unseen, 179a
s. is vehicle of powers seemingly supernatural, but actually those of nature, 179a
s. represents to his people the voices of things, their masters, opening intuitions of unseen powers behind appearances, 179a
Eskimos (Greenland)
power of s. over helping spirits is increased by allowing himself to be eaten and vomited by polar bear, 166c
s. is called to be s. by songs of wilderness spirits, 166a
s. is initiated by Animal Master, 167a
s. must go down to sea goddess (Old Woman) to relieve her of parasites on her head that anger her so she withholds the animals of the hunt, 186a
s. must have his body bound with thongs while his soul goes down to Old Woman (sea goddess) to free her head of parasites so she sends forth the animals of the hunt, 186a
soul of s., with help of guardian spirits, must pass through many perils on way to Old Woman (sea goddess) to free her head of parasites (abortions or deadborn children) that anger her so she withholds the animals of the hunt, 186b
Eskimos (North American)
drum of s. beats itself as he prepares for spirit fight, **317**-186
s. must wear wings and have head bound to knees and hands bound behind when his soul goes out on spirit fight, **317**-186
Huichol
s. makes visionary journey to bring back soul of ancestral shaman in form of rock crystal: shown in yarn painting, **280**-159
Koryaks
spirit of s. rides on animal whose hide is head of his drum, **311**-184
Kwakiutl
s. is given power to cure sick, catch souls of the sick, and make his enemies sick, by wolf he has helped earlier, when he was only a hunter, 180c
s. is taught four songs by wolf he has helped earlier and who has cured him of smallpox and made him a s., 181a
s. cures chief of illness by following instructions given in dream by wolf he has helped earlier and who has made him a s., 181b
s. who helped wolf when a hunter is given s. power by wolf after latter has helped him hunt seals and cured him of smallpox; is transformed into s. by wolf, 180c
Lapps
spirit of s. may be prevented from returning to body by touch of a fly, **302**-173
Ona
child who frequently sings in sleep or in half-abstracted state by day will become a s., 161c
external appearance of s. is illusion — really has skin cover filled with a downlike substance of which a particle is sometimes brought forth during healing, 162a
inner substance of s. is a malignant spirit that can introduce insects, mice, stones, etc., into the body of a person incurring s.'s displeasure, 163b–c
older s. transfers own inner substance into young would-be s. over a four-year period, until latter is completely filled with it, 162a
portrait of a s., **283**-161
rival s. is often blamed for illness of s.'s patient, 162b
s. can magically elongate a strip of leather indefinitely and then shrink it to nothing, 162c
s. can take a piece of a downlike substance out of himself, expand it to transparency, and then make it vanish, 163a–b
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s. can perform magic by sleight of hand or actual necromancy, 164c

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S. has leggings that cause forest fires that help hunting, and Old Man wants them, 237c
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young man with scar on face, who wants to marry girl belonging to the S., is told by girl to ask the S. to remove scar as sign of acquiescence, 234c
Chinese
cosmic dragon bears the S. in its jaws, 212c
Eskimos (Central)
the S. is a transformed girl who without her knowing it was made love to in the dark by her brother (who is transformed into the Moon), 185b
Eskimos (Polar, Greenland)
the S., Moon, and stars are what people become when they die and ascend to the sky, 185b
Hebrews (in Genesis)
creation of the S., 12c
Irish
the Moon dies into the S. and is then reborn, 123a
Jicarilla Apache
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boastful shamans, despite displays of powers, can't bring the S. back when there's an eclipse, 234a
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deer brings back yucca fruit while trying to bring back the S., 243a
fly and spider bring back rays from the S. and tie them like ropes to underground mountain, 243b
gods with help of shamans, etc., make mountain grow from sand painting to hole in ceiling of underworld through which the S. and Moon have disappeared, 243b
grasshopper brings back bread while trying to bring back the S., 243a
groundhog brings back berries while trying to bring back the S., 243a
S. and Moon go up through hole in ceiling of underworld, producing eclipse, 243a
shamans vainly argue, boast, and show off powers after the S. is produced, 243a
transformation by gods of S. rays tied to underground mountain into ladders up which people can ascend to surface of earth, 243b
turkey brings back maize while trying to bring back the S., 243a
when it is all dark underground, Creator Gods take a little S. and Moon from bags, make them grow, and put them in air, where they move and give the first light, 243a
Kung
the S. as "fight" and "death-thing," 94a
the S. as vessel of supernatural powers, 94a
the S. is associated with men's potency, 95c
Kwakiutl
rays of the S. make Mink's mother conceive him, 202a
the S. asks Mink to take his place but warns him not to brush aside his aunts, the clouds, 202b
the S. gives Mink his ornaments and mask, but takes them away when he nearly burns earth, 202b
the S. is released to its place in the sky by Raven, 315-189
the S. throws Mink through sky when he nearly burns earth while taking the S.'s place, 202b
Mandans
morning rays of the S., chase away ghosts, 228a
Navaho
Lightning Flash carries twins from the S. to hole in the sky, 246c
Rainbow carries twins on journey to the S., their father, 244c
Spider Woman gives twins eagle feathers, stolen from the S., for protection on way to the S., 245c
the S. bestows names on twins, 246b
the S. gives twins wisdom to use and hand on, 246c
the S. is really the father of twin sons born to girl born of Darkness and Dawn, 244a–c
the S. makes human images Thunders give twins to swallow stand upright within them, 246c
the S. promises twins weapons when they reach earth, 246b–c
twins are advised by Little Wind to ask their father, the S., for his medicine bundle, for by this the S. would always know when they were in danger, 246b
twins go to their father, the S., to get weapons to kill monsters their mother fears, 244c
twins kill giant in battle with help of the S., 246c
twins learn their names and acquire distinct powers in the S.'s house of initiation, 246b
twins pass S.'s test of naming holy mountains in order, with help of Little Wind and Big Fly, 246c
twins survive S.'s test by overheated sweat lodge, with help from the daughter of the S., 246a
twins survive the S.'s test by poisoned cornmeal, with help of an inchworm, 246a
twins survive test of being thrown by the S. against poles of cardinal colors, jagged with flint knives, with help of eagle feathers, 246a
twins survive three tests by the S., and he recognizes them as his sons, 246a
twins tell the S. they want first to kill giant and then lesser monsters, 246b
when twins return from the S., their mother and the people are hiding from monsters, 247a
North American Indians
the S. as testing father and model of hunter's and warrior's task, 79c
rays of the S. as hunters' spears, 79c
Oglala Sioux
the S. is forever, though the Moon comes and goes, 225c
Ona
the S. (S.-Man) is the most powerful shaman, showing his anger by turning red or going into eclipse, and could burn up human shamans' inner substance if they sent it up to him, 163c
Pawnees
the S. as means given by God through which people can learn, 68c
Pima
creation of the S. by man, 16c
Selk'nam
in early days, the S. walks earth as human being, 257a
the S. hits the Moon with torch during men's slaughter of women, and she escapes to sky with the S. following, 258c
the S. is the husband of the Moon, who leads women during conclave on how to preserve their hegemony over men, 257b
the S. leads men in killing all women except children and the Moon, when the Moon threatens men with Chief Spirit, 258c
the S., returning from hunting, catches women practicing walking like spirits and transforms them into water birds, 258a–b
the S. secretly tells men that he has caught women practicing walking like spirits, 258b
when Older S. Man is in the sky, there is hardly any night, 256b
when Younger S. Man takes the place of Older S. Man, latter goes away forever, 256b
Siberian tribes
the S. as principal deity of shamanistic rites, 79c
Tlingit
the S. dwells with first Raven at the beginning, when the world is in darkness, 188a
Yamana
the S. melts huge snow, caused by ibis offended at noisy welcome, leading to universal flood, 259a
women, when in authority, decide to get rid of Older S. Man, who has caused universal conflagration, but he breaks free and becomes a star, which later disappears, 259a
Younger S. Man, son of Older S. Man, is kind, loving, helpful, an excellent hunter, and handsome, 259c
see also; Daughter of the Sun; House of the Sun; Sons of the Sun

Sun Dance
Plains Indians, 224a–225a
S. D. ceremony is begun on summer solstice, 223b

Sun disk, on ram, in rock engraving at Djebel Bes Seba, Algeria, suggesting sun-ram of Egyptian god Amon of Thebes, 82c, 144-82

Sun-lion, as mythic model of ways of hunters and warriors and as emblem of kings, 79c

Suns
Chukchi
as many as eight S. are located in other worlds than the earth, 179b

Sun's rays
Chukchi
S. r. are a means of ascent, for souls of the dead and spirits of shamans, from one plane to another, 179b
S. r. have "masters," who live where rays emanate, and descend to earth along rays, 178c

Superior powers, 57c

Supernatural power
Kung
control over s. p. through trance-dance rite, 95c
s. p. as "death-thing" and "fight," 94a
s. p. is activated by trance-dance, 94b
s. p. of Great God is lethal, 94a
s. p. is put into songs and things by Great God, 94a
s. p. rises in dancers, 94c, 172-94

Surface of the earth
Jicarilla Apache
clowns chase away disease before others emerge onto the s. of the e., 243c
clowns, gods, shamans, people, and animals ascend through hole onto the s. of the e., 243c
gods clear the water away from the land on the s. of the e., 243c
the s. of the e. is covered with water just before people's emergence from underground, 243b
transformation by gods of Sun rays tied to underground mountain into ladders up which people can ascend to the s. of the e., 243b

Survivors of the flood
Yamana
only s. of the f. are those who reach five mountaintops that remain above waters, 259a–b
s. of the f. come down from mountaintops when water subsides and build houses along shores, 259b

Swan
Australian aborigines
Black S. is the name of two wives of All-Father (Creator), 139a

Swan People
Beaver
S. P. are Dreamers through whom Dreamers' songs become known to tribe, 205b
S. P. are like swans, the Sun, and the culture hero, 205b
S. P. fly along trails that are songs sent down to earth by earlier Dreamers, 205b
S. P. travel to and from an unearthly land, 205b

Swans
Blackfeet
two s. carry hero on way to the Sun across big water and show

him trail to the Sun on other side, 234c

Sweat house
Blackfeet
hero and formerly dead wife must wash thoroughly in s. h. to remove traces of ghosts, 236a
the Sun prescribes building of medicine lodge and s. h. by the wife of each sick or imperiled man, if he recovers, 235b

Sweat lodge
Navaho
twins survive the Sun's test by overheated s. l., with help from the daughter of the Sun, 246a

Swords
Ainu
s. have spirits of their own, 152b

Symbolic beasts, painted in Lascaux caves, 62a

Tabu
Amazonian Indians
t. against woman's playing bark trumpets, 219a
Andamanese
broken t. as rousing god's wrath and leading to catastrophe resulting in the world as now known, 121c
t. against eating certain plants, 123c
t. against melting beeswax, 123c
Kwakiutl
t. put upon initiate after cannibal spirits possess him, 199a

Tabus
Andamanese
breaking of t. ends Mythological Age, 123c
t. against killing cicada and against making loud noise during its song, 123c

Tammuz, Near Eastern fertility god, 122b

Tar Baby, *see* Tar image

Tar image
Creeks
Rabbit gets stuck on t. i. set out to catch pea thief, 209a
Rabbit mistakes t. i. for silent person, 209a

Tasks
Selk'nam
women, pretending they're commanded by spirits, require men to carry out tasks invented by the Moon, 257b–258a

Teachers
Pawnees
heavenly bodies as t. of people, 8

Temple, cave as, at Pech Merle, France, 88-55b

Temple caves, painted, locations of, M21-64

Temples, Paleolithic Lascaux caves as, 58b

Temptation
Bassari
t. of people by snake to eat fruit, 14b

Test
Blackfeet
Old Man uses t. involving buffalo chip to determine that death should only last four days, but woman rejects t., 237a
woman determines by t. involving throwing stone in river that death be permanent, 239a
Navaho
twins pass the Sun's t. of naming holy mountains in order, with help of Little Wind and Big Fly, 246c
twins survive the Sun's t. by over-heated sweat lodge, with help from daughter of the Sun, 246a
twins survive the Sun's t. by poisoned cornmeal, with help of inchworm, 246a
twins survive t. of being thrown by the Sun against poles of cardinal colors, jagged with flint knives, with help of eagle feathers, 246a

Theft
Blackfeet
t. of all the animals leads Old Man to transform self into a dog and chief's son into a stick to thwart t., 238a
Pygmies
t. of sacred instrument from women by men, 111b
see also Fire Theft

Thief
Blackfeet
Old Man punishes t. of all the animals, who has taken the form of a raven, by tying him over smokehole of chief's lodge, 238a
t. who has stolen all the animals warns wife and child not to have anything to do with dog and stick, which are really transformed Old Man and chief's son, 238a

Thief, Clever, *see* Clever Thief; Fire Theft

Thirteen, as number of lines on horn of sculpture "Venus of Laussel," possible symbol of lunar year, 67a

Thornfish
Yamana
middle female culture bringer turns her son into a t. by throwing a sea urchin at her son's head when she finds her brothers have killed her sea-lion husband and fed pieces of him to her son, 261c

Threads
Kung
t. of spider silk are the ways of passage of gods and spirits of the dead between earth and heaven, 96a

Thunder
Kung
rain is caused to t. by great (in-the-east) Creator God, 91c

Thunderbolt
Buriats
t. let fly by High God splits first shaman's double-headed drum (on which he has been riding while rescuing a man's soul) in half, which is why shaman drums now have but one head, 176a

Thunders
Navaho
Black Thunder gives elder twin a human image made of jet to swallow, Blue Thunder gives younger twin one of turquoise to swallow, and the Sun makes both images stand upright within them, 246b
House of the Sun is guarded by four t., but twins on way to the Sun pass them by throwing breaths at them, 245c–246a

Tidal wave
Kurnai
t. w. following Aurora Australis, caused by Creator (All-Father), angry because of secrets told to women, kills most people, except those becoming Ancestors, including those of birds, animals, and fish, 139a

Tjurunga
Aranda
double *t.*, symbolizing bisexual god, the Eternal, is used in culminating ceremonial of initiation season, 252-145
t. as representing stages in life of human Ancestor, chief figure in totemic journey, 137a
t. showing footprints of Emu Ancestor, 242-137

Toad
Pygmies
t. is responsible with frog for origin of death, 108c

Tobacco
Pawnees
t. is incense sent to One Above, 317-193

Tongue
Aranda
t. of shaman is pierced permanently by invisible lance of spirits of cave where he receives initiation 298-170
Blackfeet
Sun says t. of buffalo belongs to him, 235a

Tongues
Aranda
t. of shamans are pierced permanently by Dream Time spirits, 170a

Tortoise
Andamanese
t. as carrier of dangerous power, 119b
Hindus (in Puranas)
India rests on the back of a t., (who is Vishnu, floating in the cosmic sea), 236c
Vishnu takes form of a t. and, floating in the cosmic sea, supports the cosmic mountains on his back, 236c
Hindus (in Shatapatha Brahmana)
when Creator is about to create creatures, he turns himself into a t., 237a
Hindus (in Vedas)
t. is equated with the Creator and is called "self-created," 236c
Mandans
earth is a large t., covered with dirt, 226a
people sink the t. that is the earth by breaking through its shell while digging in dirt on top for badgers, 226a

Tortoises
Mandans
four t. contain waters from the four quarters of the world and have done so since the end of the primeval flood, 228a
four t., one for each direction, each send rain for ten days, covering the earth with water, 226a

Totem
Aranda
Bandicoot, Ancestor of Bandicoot totem, engenders bandicoots and a son, 241-137

Totemic journey
Aranda, 135a
words of chant during end of t. j. are dismembered and the parts are regrouped to prevent understanding by noninitiates, 137a

Totem pole
Kwakiutl
t. p. is acquired by culture hero from animals with their help, 190a

Trance
traditions, shamanistic and Buddhist, in Siberia, India, etc., 73b
Ghost Dancers
all Indian dead, buffaloes, ponies, and game are seen in t. and vision returning, 403-233

Trance dance
Kung, 94b, 95c, 162-91, 164-91, 171-94
t. d. as activator of supernatural power, 94b

Trance dancing
Kung
t. d. is associated with men's potency, 95c

Trance visions, 79c

Trancing song
Kung
t. s. comes to woman and is called medicine song by Great God, 94a

Transformation
of human consciousness, weapons, and tools, in southwestern Europe during Riss-Würm glaciation, 129a
Andamanese
t. of Ancestors into birds, fish, turtles, and beasts for making noise during cicada's song, 123c
t. of Ancestors into reef by angry Creator Goddess, 125a
t. of Ancestors into pigs, 122c
t. of canoes into reef, 122c
t. of Creator Goddess into stone by drowning, 125a
t. of First Woman into civet cat, 122c
t. of Kingfisher into man, 123b
t. of men into turtles, 122c
t. of the Moon into a pig, 122c
t. of people into birds and fishes, by fire thrown by Prawn, 123c
t. of people into fishes by fire thrown by Dim-dori, 123c
t. of pig into dugong, 122c
Aranda
t. of bodies of human Ancestor, chief figure in totemic journey, and his father into rocks filled with seeds of life, 136b
Blackfeet
t. of Old Man into beaver to catch a raven who is a t. of the thief of all the animals, 238a
t. of Old Man into a dog and of chief's son into a stick to thwart theft of all the animals, 238a
t. of a stick, into which Old Man has transformed chief's son, into a snake (to help them thwart theft of all the animals), 238a
t. of thief of all the animals into a raven to turn buffaloes back from a fall and his t. back into human form after Old Man catches and punishes him, 238a–b
Chukchi
t. of male shamans into women, 173a, 174c
Eskimos (Central)
t. of brother and sister into the Moon and the Sun after he makes love to her in the dark and she discovers it was him by putting soot on him in the dark (which is still seen on the Moon), 185b
Eskimos (Greenland)
t. of people into the Sun, Moon, and stars takes place when they die, 185b
t. of soul of Raven, drowned when abandoned by his two wild-geese wives, into black mollusks (sea ravens), 187c
t. of wild geese into women, one of whom is made his wife by a hunter, escapes, and eventually is killed, 187a
t. of wood chips into walruses and seals by woodcutter, 187a
Eskimos (Labrador)
t. of fox into beautiful woman, who lives with a hunter as his wife until he asks about odor, which she reveals is hers, turns back into fox, and goes away, 186b–c
Jicarilla Apache
t. by gods of Sun rays tied to underground mountain into ladders up which people can ascend to the surface of the earth, 243b
Kurnai
t. of people surviving tidal wave following Creator's (All-Father's) anger, into Ancestors, including those of birds, animals, and fishes, 139a
Kwakiutl
t. by Mink's mother of a chain of arrows, shot by Mink's uncle, into a rope by which Mink climbs to and through sky to his father, the Sun, 202a
t. of a hunter into a shaman by a wolf he has helped earlier, 180c
Navaho
when twins are near death after battles with monsters, gods four times perform the ceremony of the story of their lives over them, after which they gain so much power they become four persons, 247a
Oglala Sioux
t. of culture heroine into buffalo calf, 225b
Ojibwa
t. of dead body of spirit youth, who wrestles with culture hero during Vision Quest, into maize, 207b
Primitive hunting people
alternate t. of men into animals and vice-versa, 148b
Selk'nam
Ancestors are transformed into mountains, birds, winds, animals, stars, or clouds when they no longer wish to come back young, 255a
culture hero and three Ancestors undergo t. sleep that changes them from old to young, 255a
culture hero is transformed into a star after raising the sky to its present place, 255a
shaman and family, forced out to sea by blizzard caused by first herdsman, turn into birds, 256b
the Sun transforms women into water birds after catching them practicing walking like spirits to deceive men into carrying out commands, 258a–b
t. of first herdsman and his family into stars after their ascension to the sky, 257a
women slain by men for deceiving them into obedience by pretending to be spirits are transformed into animals with markings like those they were wearing when killed, 258c
Seneca
t. of man-eater made by younger Creator twin into protector of mankind when older Creator twin puts other man-eaters under ground, 208b–c
t. of turtle into man (who mates with woman, who bears twins, dies, and becomes maize) and back to turtle, 208a
Tsimshian
t. of culture hero into cedar leaf so that chief of heaven's daughter will swallow him and bear him as her son and eventually he can steal the box containing light, 189a
t. of people who mock culture hero (Giant or Raven) into frogs, who are blown to mountainous islan and become stuck to rocks, 189b
Tungus
t. of man into bear by his crawling thrice around a tree stump, growling, 148c
Winnebago
Coyote turns himself into a woman, using elk's liver and kidneys for vagina and breasts, 238c
Yamana
culture bringers, after long stay on earth, ascend to the sky and are transformed into stars seen today, 262a
middle sister culture bringer turns her son into a thornfish by throwing a spiny sea urchin at him, so people don't eat thornfish, 261c
Older Sun Man is transformed into a star, which later disappears, when women try to get rid of him for starting universal conflagration, 259a

Transformation sleep
Selk'nam
culture hero and three Ancestors undergo t. s. that changes old age to youth, 255a
culture hero washes Ancestors clean of odor of death after t. s., 255a

Transformer, World, *see* World Transformer

Transvestism, MC30-131, MC38-174

Tree
Andamanese
dipterocarpus t. as *axis mundi*, 123b
Bassari
fruit borne by t., 14b
fruit of first t. is plucked by God, 14b
seed yields t., 14b
Blackfeet
Old Man learns from a bird the trick of making his eyes leave his head, fasten on a t., and then come back, but doing it too many times, can't get eyes back from the t., 237b
Oglala Sioux
t. at center of sacred lodge symbolizes Great Spirit, center of everything, 224a
Pygmies
fruit of one t. is forbidden to people, 109a
Tungus
living larch, from which drum was cut, grows to heaven during rites, and shaman climbs to God on it when shamanizing, 172b
"up above" contains nests in which souls of shamans are reared; the higher the nest, the more the shaman knows and sees, 172b
Yakuts
larch t. in upper region contains nests in which those destined to be reborn as shamans are reared, 177a

Tree Lizard
Andamanese, 123b
T. L. is killed by Crab, 125a
T. L. transforms predecessor beings into birds, beasts, and fishes by throwing them into jungle or sea, 124

Tree Root
Andamanese
t. r. as source of First Man, 121c

Trees
Aranda
gum t. represent spears hurled by human Ancestor, chief figure in totemic journey, 136b
Blackfeet
Old Man creates t., 237a

Chukchi
t. talk to one another, 178c
Ona
t. can be shamans, 163c
Tungus
two t. are created by God when earth is created: a male, the larch, and a female, the fir, 172b

Treetops
Tasaday
t. as home of souls of the dead, 116a

Triadic image of god, among Hindus, 5-13

Trick
Blackfeet
Old Man learns from bird the t. of making his eyes leave his head, fasten on a tree, and then come back, but doing the t. too many times, he can't get them back, 237b

Trickster
universally, spirit of disorder, enemy of boundaries, voracious, phallic, stupid, yet sly, 237b
Blackfeet
Old Man tricks all rabbits but one into being roasted, but Coyote tricks him out of the roasted rabbits, 238b
T. and Creator are the same: Old Man, 237b
T. is the same as Old Man and the Sun, 236b
turtle on whose back universe rests, as T., 239a
Bushmen
mantis is both T. and Creator, 201a
Creeks
Rabbit as T., 209a–c
Koryaks
T. is aspect of Raven figure, who is also Creator, 182a
North American Indians
T. dupes others and is always duped himself, 201a
T. is both giver and negator, 201a
T. is Creator and destroyer, 201a
T. knows neither good nor evil but is responsible for both, 201a
T. possesses no moral or social values, being at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being, 201a
T. wills nothing consciously, behaving from uncontrollable impulses, 201a
Turtle goes on the warpath; rejects Coyote, fox, and hawk as allies; uses help of knife, hairbrush, and awl, 239b
Turtle on the warpath is caught by people, fools them into thinking he's not afraid of being put in fire or boiling water, but of being thrown in the river, so they throw him in and he taunts them, 239c
Turtle taunts people who come to river for water, because he has fooled them into throwing him in, 239c
Northwest Coast Indians
most prominent T. is Raven, 201a
Thompson River tribes
Coyote steals fire from Fire People with help of other animals, 238c
Winnebago
Coyote turns himself into a woman, using elk's liver and kidneys for vagina and breasts, 238c

Triple goddess, 69a
symbolized by cranes, in Celtic mythology, 112-68, 69a
possible sculptures of, in caves at La Magdeleine and Angles-sur-Anglin, 73a
possibly symbolized by female figures, in Paleolithic cave at Angles-sur-Anglin, 111-68

Triton Man
Koryaks
after successfully abducting and retaking the wife of the son of Big Raven three times, T. M. is killed by the latter in successful fourth rescue attempt, 183c

Trumpets, bark, *see* Bark trumpets

Tubelike passage, struggle through, in Paleolithic temple caves in France and Spain, 77a

Turkey
Jicarilla Apache
t. brings back maize while trying to bring back the Sun, 243a

Turquoise
Navaho
Blue Thunder gives younger twin a human image of t. to swallow, and the Sun makes it stand upright within him, 246b

Turtle
Andamanese
first eating of t. as time of presence of dangerous power, 219-121
magic associated with t. 122c
North American Indians
T. goes on the warpath; rejects Coyote, fox, and hawk as allies; uses help of knife, hairbrush, and awl, 239b
T. on the warpath is caught by people, fools them into thinking he's not afraid of being put in fire or boiling water, but of being thrown in river, so they throw him in and he taunts them, 239c
Seneca
mud is piled on the back of a t. by water birds and animals to make earth, 208a
t., disguised as a young man, mates with a young woman, who dies bearing twins and from whose buried body maize first sprouts, 208a

Turtle dove
Mandans
t. d. brings home willow bough, signaling end of primeval flood, 226b

Turtles
Andamanese
men are transformed into t., 122c
mythic roles of sea t., 123b

Twenty-eight
Oglala Sioux
buffalo has t.-e. ribs; war bonnets have t.-e. feathers; Sun Dance lodge has t.-e. posts; and the Moon grows and dies in t.-e. days, 225c

Twins
Apache
t. are born to virgin mother right after First People emerge from the earth, 241b
Navaho
daughter of the Sun hides t. in the house of the Sun, 246a
giant, mistaking reflections of t. for themselves, drinks up lake four times before realizing his mistake, 246c
giant whom t. want to kill is, like them, also a son of the Sun, 246b
girl born of Darkness and Dawn bears twin sons, seemingly without a father, but the Sun is really their father, 244a–c
guardians of the South, North, East, and West threaten t. on way to the Sun, but are appeased by songs of praise, 244c–245b
guardian of the South threatens t. on way to the Sun, but is appeased by songs of praise, 245b
Lightning Flash carries t. from the Sun to hole in the sky, 246c
Old Age warns t. on way to the Sun not to walk in her path, but makes them young again when they do, 245b
Rainbow carries t. on journey to the Sun, their father, 244c
Spider Woman gives cornmeal for strength and eagle feathers, stolen from the Sun, to t. for protection on way to the Sun, 245c
the Sun bestows names on t., 246b
the Sun gives t. his wisdom to use and hand on, 246c
the Sun promises t. weapons when they reach earth, 246b–c
t., advised by Little Wind and Big Fly, confine slain giant's blood to a flat place so he won't come back to life, 246c
t. are advised by Little Wind to ask their father, the Sun, for his medicine bundle, for by this their father would always know when they were in danger, 246b
t. are born to a virgin mother right after First People emerge from the earth, 241b
t. go to their father, the Sun, to get weapons to kill monsters their mother fears, 244c
Thunders give t. human images to swallow, and the Sun makes both images stand upright within them, 246b
t. kill five monsters in great battles, 247a
t. kill giant in battle, with help of the Sun, 246c
t. learn their names and acquire distinct powers in the Sun's house of initiation, 246b
t. on way to Sun pass bears, snakes, winds, and thunders, guarding the house of the Sun, by throwing breaths at them, 245c–246a
t. pass the Sun's test of naming holy mountains in order, with help of Little Wind and Big Fly, 246c
t. survive Sun's test by overheated sweat lodge, with help from the daughter of the Sun, 246a
t. survive the Sun's test by poisoned cornmeal, with help of an inchworm, 246a
t. survive test of being thrown by the Sun against poles of the cardinal colors, jagged with flint knives, with help of eagle feathers, 246a
t. survive three tests by the Sun, and he recognizes them as his sons, 246a
t. tell the Sun they want first to kill giant and then lesser monsters, 246b
t. trip and fall coming down a mountain, dropping their lightning arrows, which cut the mountain in two, 246c
when t. are near death after battles with monsters, gods perform the ceremony of the story of their lives over them four times, after which they gain so much power they become four persons, 247a
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twins are born to v. m. right after First People emerge from earth, 241b

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ABM = Armando Braun Menendez, Buenos Aires; **AHB** = Abbé H. Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art* (Montignac, France: Centre d'Etudes et Documentation Préhistoriques, 1952); **AI** = Anthropos Institute, Moravske Museum, Brno; **AIS** = Australian Information Service, New York; **AL** = Andreas Lommel; **AMNH** = American Museum of Natural History, New York; **AP** = Associated Press; **ARRB** = A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1933); **AW** = Achille Weider, Zurich; **BM** = British Museum, London; **BNM** = Brooklyn Museum, New York; **EB** = Emil Bächler, *Das alpine Paläolithikum der Schweitz im Wilderkirschli, Drachenloch und Wildenmannlisloch* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhauser, 1940); **EC** = Edward Curtis; **FI** = Frobenius Institute, Frankfurt-am-Main; **FM** = Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; **GA** = George Armstrong; **GC** = George Catlin; **HH** = Hans Hinz, Basel; **HL** = Hermitage Museum, Leningrad; **HP** = Harald Pager, *Ndedema: A Documentation of the Rock Paintings of the Ndedema Gorge* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druk und Verlagsanstalt, 1971); **HVL** = Hugo von Lawick; **JNM** = John Nance/Magnum, New York; **JPH** = Jean-Pierre Hallet, Los Angeles; **JR** = John Reader, London; **JV** = Jean Vertut, Issy-Les-Moulineaux, France; **KR** = Knud Rasmussen, *Across Arctic America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927); **LB** = Lee Boltin, New York; **LM** = Laurence Marshall, Cambridge, Mass.; **MAI** = Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation, New York; **MG** = Martin Gusinde, *Die Feuerland Indianer*, 2 vols. (Mödling bei Wein, Austria: Verlag der Internationalen Zeitschrift "Anthropos"—vol. 1, 1931; vol. 2, 1932); **MH** = Musée de L'Homme, Paris; **MSGL** = Musée de St. Germaine en Laye; **MV** = Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich; **NCFA** = National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C.; **NRFL** = N. R. Farbman/*Life*, New York; **NYPL** = New York Public Library; **OHS** = Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; **PMA** = Philadelphia Museum of Art; **PKRL** = Peter Kain, London/Richard Leakey; **PRM** = Pitt Rivers Museum, London; **RAI** = Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, London; **SEPA** = Scala/Editorial Photocolor Archive; **SI** = Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; **SM** = Stovall Museum of Science and History, Norman, Oklahoma; **UPI** = United Press International.

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1 Museo de La Plata, Argentina; **2** SEPA; **3** MAI; **4** SEPA; **5** Eliot Elisofon/Time-Life, New York; **6** Delmar Lipp, Museum of African Art, SI; **7** BM; **8** MAI; **9** AMNH; Evolution Charts: GA; **10** GA/Museum Trustees of Kenya, Nairobi; **11** GA/MH; **12** GA/SI; **13** GA/MH; **14–17** GA; **18** LB; **19** Tartarsky/Design Photographers International, New York; **20** Tim White, University of California at Berkeley; **21** PKRL; **22–24** JR; **25** PKRL; **26–27** JR; **28** JNM; **29** Panamin/AP; **30** GA; **31** AMNH; **32** BM; **33** Department of Anatomy, University of Sydney, Australia; **34** Chris Stringer, Department of Paleontology, British Museum of Natural History, London; **35** AMNH; **36** Axel Poignant, London; **37** Dacre Stubbs, *Prehistoric Art of Australia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974); **38** GA; **39** AMNH; **40** GA; **41** AMNH; **42** GA; **43** AMNH; **44–45** GA; **46** AMNH; **47** Texas Memorial Museum, Austin; **48** GA; **49** ABM; **50** The Art Institute, Chicago; **51** GA; **52–55** AMNH; **56–57** HL; **58–59** AMNH; **60** BM; **61** Wilfred Thesiger, London; **62–63** The University Museum, Philadelphia; **64–65** LM.

MYTHOLOGIES OF THE PRIMITIVE HUNTERS AND GATHERERS: JV

66 AW; **67** Gillett G. Griffin, Princeton, N.J.; **68** Cherel Ito; **69** AMNH; **70** HVL; **71** Franz Coray; **72** Institute de Paleontologie Humaine, Paris; **73** GA; **74** MH; **75–76** Ralph S. Solecki, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University; **77–78** BM; **79** HVL; **80** Knocher Magazine, Frankfort Schadel Steinkiste; **81** Toni Nigg; **82** Museum, St. Gallen, Switzerland; **83** EB; **84** AMNH; **85** EB; **86–87** National Museum of Hungary, Budapest; **88** JV; **89** Collection Bégouën, Paris; **90** AW; **91–92** HH; **93** JV; **94** André Leroi-Gourhan; **95** AW; **96** HH; **97–98** Caisse National des Monuments Historiques & Sites, Paris; **99** AW; **100** AHB; **101** AW; **102–103** JV; **104** A. Rosenfeld, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra; **105** JV; **106** AW; **107** AMNH; **108** AW; **109** MH; **110** AW; **111–112** Musée de Cluny, Paris; **113** JV/GA; **114** MSGL; **115–116** AI; **117** Alain Roussot, Bordeaux; **118** Natural History Museum, Vienna; **119** MH; **120** AI; **121** Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Paris; **122** Institute of Archaeology, Brno; **123** AI; **124** Nina Ellinger, Copenhagen; **125–130** Institute of Archaeology of The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Leningrad; **131** AHB; **132** AW; **133** Herbert Kühn, *Auf den Spuren des Eiszeitmenschen* (Wiesbaden, W. Germany: F. A. Brockhaus, 1953); **134** JV; **135** Jean Gausson, Neuvic-sur-L'isle, France; **136–137** JV; **138** FI; **139** AW; **140** Museo Ethnologico de Morella y del Maestrazgo, Spain; **141** Graham Clark, *The Stone Age Hunters* (London: Thames & Hudson); **142** Herbert Kühn, *Rock Art of Europe*; **143–144** FI; **145–155** Documents Henri Lhote's Expedition, Paris; **156** FI; **157** National Cultural History Museum, Pretoria; **158** FI; **159** National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, Umtali; **160** LM; **161** NRFL; **162** LM; **163** HP; **164** LM; **165** HP; **166** Henri P. Junod, *Art of Africa* (Johannesburg: Shuter & Shuter); **167** LM; **168** Constance Stuart/Black Star, New York; **169–170** LM; **171** Seeliger/Stern/Black Star; **172–174** LM; **175** Richard B. Lee, Toronto; **176–178** HP; **179–181** Lorna Marshall, Cambridge, Mass.; **182** NRFL; **183** JPH; **184** JNM; **185** P. Muller/Hao-Qui, Paris; **186** Colin M. Turnbull; **187** Noël Baliff, Paris; **188–189** Elisofon Archives, Museum of African Art, SI; **190–193** JPH; **194** George Rodger/Magnum; **195** JPH; **196** E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians* (London: Methuen, 1904); **197** Cairo Museum; **198–201** JPH; **202–211** JNM; **212** PRM; **213** RAI; **214** ARRB; **215** PRM; **216–220** ARRB; **221–222** RAI.

MYTHOLOGIES OF THE GREAT HUNT: GC/NCFA

223 JV; **224** MAI; **225** AIS; **226** Linden Museum, Stuttgart; **227** Kühn, *Rock Art of Europe*; **228** JV; **229–231** AI; **232** Robert R. R. Brooks, *Stone Age Painting in India* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1976); **233** AL; **234** Edward L. Ruhe, Lawrence, Kansas; **235** MV; **236** AL; **237** NYPL; **238–239** AIS; **240** Mountford Sheard Collection of Ethnology, State Library of South Australia; **241** AMNH; **242** BM; **243** NYPL; **244** AIS; **245** Robert Edwards, International Cultural Corporation of Australia, Sydney; **246** MV; **247–248** J. E. Stanton/Anthropology Research Museum, University of Western Australia; **249** Charles Kerry/National Library of Australia, Canberra; **250** NYPL; **251–253** AMNH; **254** National Museum, Copenhagen; **255** George Kopak Tayarak, Sugluk La Fédération des Cooperatives du Nouveau, Quebec/Ernest Mayer, Winnipeg Art Gallery; **256** LB; **257** Vince Ambromitis/Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Pittsburgh; **258** FM; **259** NYPL; **260–261** AMNH; **262–264** BNM; **265** EC/PMA; **266** MSGL; **268** Soprintendenza alle antichità dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome; **269–272** GA; **273** NYPL; **274** MAI; **275** Alice Marriott Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman; **276–279** AMNH; **280** Peter Furst, Albany, New York; **281** Louis Faran, Stony Brook, New York; **282–284** ABM; **285–286** MG; **287** N. Bouvier, Cologny-Genève; **288** NYPL; **289** ABM; **290** National Museum of Canada, Ottawa; **291** SI; **292** Jessie Oonark, Winnipeg Art Gallery/Ernest Mayer; **293** KR; **294** Sam Kimura/Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka; **295** KR; **296** Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley; **297–298** Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London: MacMillan, 1899); **299–300** AMNH; **301** HL; **302** Radio Times Hulton Picture Library, London; **303** KR; **304** AMNH; **305** Sakan Pals/National Museum of Finland, Helsinki; **306–307** MV; **308** AMNH; **309–310** Werner Forman Photo Archives, London; **311** LB; **312** GA/KR; **313** Burt Glinn/Magnum; **314** MAI; **315** University of Washington Extension Series, adapted from Viola E. Garfield, 1940; **316–317** EC; **319** J. A. Shuck Collection of Western History, University of Oklahoma Library; **320** Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C.; **321** AMNH; **322** Musée Cernuschi, Paris; **323** University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, England; **324** AMNH; **325** Collection Tropen Museum, Amsterdam; **326** Museo Nacional de Rio de Janeiro; **327–328** Eberhard Otto, Toronto; **329–332** AMNH; **333** Bill McLennan/Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia; **334** AMNH; **335** MAI; **336** AMNH; **337** EC; **338** GC/NCFA; **339** NYPL; **340** Paul Kane/Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; **341** MV; **342** MAI; **343** National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, Ottawa; **344** NYPL; **345** OHS; **346** BNM; **347** OHS; **348** MAI; **349–350** FM; **351** MAI; **352** University of Alabama Museum of Natural History; **353** Bob Campagna/Cote Library Powers Collection, Cornell Library, Mt. Vernon, Iowa; **354** George Gerster/Photo Researchers; **355–357** OHS; **358** FM; **359** MAI; **360** John W. Melton Jr., Glen Allen, Va.; **361** Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass; **362** OHS; **363** FM; **364** SM; **365** MAI; **366–367** SM; **368–376** MAI; **377** SM; **378** MAI; **379–381** GA; **382–383** NYPL; **384** SI; **385** Kjell B. Sandved, Washington, D.C.; **387–388** NYPL; **389** U.S. Forest Service; **393–394** AMNH; **395** Glenbow Archives, Calgary; **396** AMNH; **397** Joseph Epes Brown, Missoula, Montana; **398** AMNH; **399–400** GC/NCFA; **401** AMNH; **402** GC/NCFA; **403–404** SI; **405** Nevada Historical Society; **406** GC/NYPL; **407** Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, Santa Fe; **408** Harvey Lloyd/Peter Arnold Inc.; **409** SI; **410** Southwest Museum, Los Angeles; **411** UPI; **412** Museum of New Mexico; **413–420** *Where the Two Came to Their Father: A Navaho War Ceremonial*, given by Jeff King, text and paintings recorded by Maud Oakes, edited and with commentary by Joseph Campbell, Bollingen 1 (New York: Pantheon, 1943); **421** Allan Reed; **422** UPI; **423** EC; **424** NYPL; **425** EC; **426** Bette Andresen; **427** MG; **428–430** ABM; **431–432** MG; **433–435** ABM; **436–440** MG.

MAPS

Map 7. Based on information adapted from J. L. Bischoff and R. J. Rosenbauer, "Uranium Series Dating of Human Skeletal Remains from the Del Mar and Sunnyville Sites, California," *Science*, vol. 213 (August 28, 1981), pp. 1003–1005; "Little Spring, Florida—A Unique Underwater Site," *Science*, vol. 203 (February 16, 1979), p. 609; M. Penkala, *A Correlated History of the Far East (An Atlas)* (The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1966); D. J. Clark, *The Prehistory of Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1970); W. Bray and D. Trump, *The American Heritage Guide to Archaeology* (New York: American Heritage, 1970); B. M. Fagan, *People of the Earth*, 3rd. ed. (Boston: Little Brown, 1980); and J. Hawkes, *Atlas of Ancient Archaeology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978; used with permission of Rainbird Publishing Group, London).

Maps 9, 10, 11, 12. From Hansjurgen Müller-Beck, "Paleohunters in America: Origin and Diffusion," *Science*, vol. 152 (May 27, 1966), pp. 1191–1210.

Map 13. Based on information adapted from G. R. Willey, *An Introduction to American Archaeology*, vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966); *American Heritage Pictorial Atlas of United States History* (New York: American Heritage, 1966); R. S. MacNeish, "Early Man in the New World," *American Scientist*, vol. 64 (May-June 1976), pp. 316–327; Henry P. Walker and Don Bufkin, *Historical Atlas of Arizona* (copyright © 1979 University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma); and Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase, *Historical Atlas of New Mexico* (copyright © 1969 University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma).

Map 14. Based on information adapted from H. G. Bandi, *Eskimo Prehistory* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1969), and David M. Hopkins (ed.), *The Bering Land Bridge* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1967).

Map 15. Based on information adapted from Andreas Lommel, *Prehistoric and Primitive Man* (Feltham, Middlesex: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1967).

Maps 16, 17, 18. Based on information adapted from Carleton S. Coon, *The Origin of the Races* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

Map 20. Based on information adapted from David Whitehouse and Ruth Whitehouse, *Archaeological Atlas of the World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975).

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Map 33. Based on information adapted from H. Baumann, *Das Doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1955).

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Map 38. Based on information adapted from H. Baumann, *Das Doppelte Geschlecht: Ethnologische Studien zur Bisexualität in Ritus und Mythos* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1955).

Map 41. Based on information adapted from Miguel Covarrubias, *The Eagle, the Jaguar and the Serpent: Indian Art in the Americas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967); Thor Heyerdahl, *Aku-Aku* (New York: Rand McNally, 1958; copyright © 1958 by Thor Heyerdahl; used by permission of Rand McNally);

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Map 47. Based on information adapted from John A. Eddy, "Medicine Wheels and Plains Indian Astronomy," in Anthony E Aveni (ed.), *Native American Astronomy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977, all rights reserved), and Miguel Covarrubias, *The Eagle, the Jaguar and the Serpent: Indian Art of the Americas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967).

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Map 50. Based in part on information from Martin Gusinde, *Die Feuerland Indianer*, vol. 1, *Die Selk'nam*, translated with commentary and analyses by Johannes Wilbert, *Folk Literature of the Selknam Indians*, U.C.L.A. Latin American Studies Series, vol. 32 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975).

EXTRACTS

From Emil Bächler, *Das alpine Paläolithikum der Schweitz im Wildkirschli, Drachenloch und Wildenmannlisloch*, Schwizerische Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte, Monographien zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Schweiz, vol. 2 (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhauser, 1940), used with permission.

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