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ASIATIC INFLUENCES
IN AMERICAN FOLKLORE

BY

GUDMUND HATT



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Introduction.

European motifs are often conspicuous in American Indian folk tales. The Indians have adopted many tales, especially from Spanish, Portuguese, and French sources. These European influences are Post-Columbian. In Pre-Columbian times the Atlantic Ocean was a barrier against the movements of men and culture. It is true that the Norsemen passed this barrier during their colonization of Greenland and Wineland. The Greenland Eskimos received certain cultural impulses from the Norsemen, of a material and technical kind. However, it has not been proved that the Eskimo nor any other aboriginal American people have received cultural influences of a mental kind from the Scandinavians in Pre-Columbian time.

On the other side, the Pacific Ocean has probably never been a quite effective barrier against the movements of men and culture, at least not in its northernmost part, where North East Asia and North West America are each others neighbors.

The cultural independence of Pre-Columbian America is strongly maintained by American Ethnologists—a natural reaction against many ill-founded attempts at explaining the higher cultures in Central America and Peru as results of influences from the cultural centers of Asia. This reaction should, however, not go so far as to deny the probability of any influences in Pre-Columbian time. The peculiar stamp of Pre-Columbian America asserts itself most strongly within the higher cultures, where American developments have had most force and originality. It is, however, improbable that America at any period since the latest glacial age was hermetically sealed against cultural influences from Asia via the regions around the Bering Sea.

American ethnology's grand old man, FRANZ BOAS, of whose research-work a considerable part was done in North West

America, did not evade the problem of cultural relations between the Old and the New World. To elucidate this problem, FRANZ BOAS organized "The Jesup North Pacific Expedition", a series of ethnographic researches which were performed by American and Russian investigators in the regions around the northern Pacific Ocean in the first years of the 20th century, resulting in the demonstration of the existence of deep cultural similarities between northwestern America and northeastern Asia. These similarities were especially evident within the mental culture. The folklore of the Indians on the American North West Coast—particularly the northern tribes Tlingit and Tsimshian—bears a striking resemblance to the folklore of the North-East-Asiatic peoples, the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal, to some extent also the Yukaghir. Big-Raven is the most prominent mythical figure in North West American and North East Asiatic tales. Also outside of the Raven cycle a considerable number of common tales or motifs are found. Many resemblances exist between Eskimo and North East Asiatic folklore, as would be expected. However, the folkloristic resemblances are more numerous and more profound between the American Indians and the North East Asiatics than between these and the Eskimo—in spite of the fact that there is a considerable geographical distance between Chukchee, Koryak, and Kamchadal on one side and North West American Indians on the other, while the Western Eskimo are living between these two groups, the Asiatic Eskimo being immediate neighbors to the Chukchee, and the Eskimo in southern Alaska being the neighbors of the North West Coast Indians.

This fact was first pointed out by BOGORAS¹, by means of a statistical demonstration. BOGORAS adduced 26 Chukchee tales, essentially similar to corresponding Eskimo tales. Between Chukchee and North American Indian tales he found 33 cases of similarity. However, several of the Chukchee and Eskimo tales are identical, while the similarities between Chukchee and

¹ BOGORAS 1902. — The statistical treatment of the material, employed by BOGORAS, is quite similar to that used by BOAS in his work of 1895 on the tales of the North West American Indians, where BOAS has demonstrated the similarities in motifs among the tribes on the American North West Coast and between this area and some representative tribes in other parts of North America.

American Indian tales generally refer to episodes. Therefore, BOGORAS is inclined to regard the Chukchee-Eskimo conformity as equal in weight to the Chukchee-Indian correspondence. However, matters look different when one examines the folklore of the other North East Asiatics, the Koryak, the Kamchadal, and the Yukaghir, who are not immediate neighbors to the Eskimo. In the folklore of these other North East Asiatics, BOGORAS found 18 conformities with the American Indians, but only 12 conformities with the Eskimo; and the similarities to American Indian tales are more striking than the similarities to Eskimo tales.

JOHELSON's analysis of Koryak folklore¹ has confirmed and deepened this conclusion. JOHELSON has proved, that Koryak myths are closely related to North American Indian myths, especially to the Raven cycle on the North West Coast. Comparing episodes in Koryak myths with myths from the Old World, the Eskimo, and the Indians of North America, JOHELSON came to the following result: out of 122 episodes in the Koryak myths 8 episodes are found in the Old World, 12 in Eskimo, 75 in North American Indian myths, 10 are common to Indian and Eskimo mythology, 9 are found in Indian and Old World myths, 8 in Indian, Eskimo, and Old World myths; none can be pointed out in Eskimo and Old World myths alone.

It should be added that in this comparative list JOHELSON has not included episodes from Eskimo tales from Alaska, which E. W. NELSON has published in his work "The Eskimo about Bering Strait". The folklore of the Alaskan Eskimo has received strong Indian influences. An inclusion of these tales in the comparative matter would have increased the number of elements, common to Indian and Eskimo mythology. And this—says JOHELSON—would have wrought confusion. At least, he has made the conformity between the folklore of the Koryak and the American Indian more conspicuous by not including the myths of the Alaskan Eskimo in the comparison. The question is, if this procedure is quite admissible. JOHELSON assumes as correct the opinion, that the Eskimos of Alaska have immigrated from the Central Eskimo area. North West Indian and North East Asiatic folklore is strongly represented among the Western

¹ JOHELSON 1905.

Eskimos; however, this phenomenon was by JOCHELSON regarded as secondary, in accordance with the theory of the American origin of the Eskimos. As a matter of fact, the archaeological investigations in Alaska in later years have not confirmed the view that the Eskimos are late comers here; on the contrary, it has been proven that Eskimo settlement reaches far back into the Alaskan past—which is more in accordance with the opinion that the Eskimos have a western origin—a view which was set forth by RINK already long ago, and in later years especially maintained and supported by THALBITZER. The fact that the Central and Eastern Eskimo have fewer tales in common with the North West Indians and North East Asiatics, might probably also be satisfactorily explained on the assumption that the original Eskimo area is to be sought in the West. The Central and Eastern Eskimos may have left Alaska at a period when North West American—North East Asiatic folklore had not yet reached its rich development.

The near relationship between the material cultures of the North East Asiatic and the North West American peoples, and especially the many fundamental similarities in their myths and tales prove, anyway, that Old America was not without connection with Old Asia. The fact that the folklore of the Koryaks and the Kamchadals has more points of similarity with the North West Indians than with the Eskimos (outside of North West America) was considered as a proof of the theory, that the Eskimos had pushed into Alaska from the East comparatively late and so had broken up an older connection between the American Indians and the North East Asiatics. The similarities between the cultures of the North West American Indians and the North East Asiatics were by American ethnologists preferably explained as a result of intrusion of American tribes and aboriginal American culture into Asia. This opinion was expressed in a forceful way by JOCHELSON, who employs the designation Americanoids for the old tribes of North East Asia, the same tribes which LEOPOLD VON SCHRENCK, in his day, called Palæasiatics. JOCHELSON designates as Americanoids the Chukchee, the Koryaks, the Kamchadals, the Yukaghirs and the Chuvantzys, and the Gilyaks. JOCHELSON alleges a number of reasons for this view, not only the conformity with American tribes with regard to folklore, but

also certain linguistic and physical-anthropological facts, connecting the North East Asiatics with the North West American Indians¹.

The opinion, that the Palæasiatics culturally, linguistically and physically are related to North West American Indians, and that this relationship might be best explained as the result of an early immigration from America into Asia, was expressed by BOAS on the Americanist-Congress in Vienna, 1908, in the following words: "So scheint es, dass wir Altsibirier und Nordwestamerikaner als eine Einheit zusammenfassen müssen". And further: "So scheint es nicht unmöglich, dass die isolierten Völker Sibiriens einen nachglazialen Rückwanderung aus Amerika darstellen". In 1910, BOAS formulated the same idea: "A consideration of the distribution, and the characteristics of language and human types in America and Siberia, have led me to formulate the theory that the so-called Palae-Asiatic tribes of Siberia must be considered as an offshoot of the American race, which may have migrated back to the Old World after the retreat of the Arctic glaciers"².

The results of the Jesup Expedition were then well adapted to support the opinion that Pre-Columbian America was culturally quite independent of the rest of the world. True enough, it had been proven that no cultural border line passes over the Bering Strait; a significant conformity exists between the cultures of North West America and North East Asia. But this conformity was explained as the result of an American intrusion on Asiatic soil.

The individuality of America was constantly stressed by leading American ethnologists. And at the same time, the inner connection between lower and higher American aboriginal culture was demonstrated by thorough investigations. Many apparent similarities between the cultural evolution in the Old World and in America are best explained as the results of convergence. This applies to agriculture in aboriginal America, the fundament of the higher cultural development. Aboriginal American plantbreeding had no connection whatever with the plantbreeding of the Old World, as none of the aboriginal cultivated plants seems to have been introduced into America from the outside—possibly with one

¹ JOCHELSON 1928, pp. 43 ff.

² BOAS 1910, p. 534.

exception: the gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris*¹. In Americas aboriginal folklore certain features are absent which play a great rôle outside America. BOAS has called attention to the fact, that the proverb, although distributed throughout the Old World, is unknown in America. He has maintained that the riddle is almost absent in America, except in the Yukon River district in Alaska and among the Eskimos of Labrador. The moralizing animal tale is also unknown in aboriginal America².

An important contribution to the proplem of relations between the myths of the Old World and America was given by PAUL EHRENREICH³, who maintained that Asiatic elements are to be found in American myths. In EHRENREICH's opinion, especial importance should be assigned to the Japanese Shinto myths, recorded in the old Japanese works *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, 7th and 8th century A. D. In the tale of Okuninushi's visit to Susanovo, the Lord of the lower world, whose daughter he marries, after which his father-in-law compells him to go through a series of hard tests, EHRENREICH will recognize essential features in American myths and tales, where the hero must likewise undergo severe trials. EHRENREICH compares Susanovo to certain cannibalistic ogres who play a rôle in many American tales. Another old Japanese myth of peculiar interest relates how Susanovo's father Izanagi descended to the lower regions to bring Izanami, his dead wife, back from the realm of death. This myth contains features which also are known from American tales. Fleeing from the realm of death, Izanagi throws objects behind him, in order to detain or hinder his pursuers. This is a version of "the magic flight"—the well-known motif, found all over the world and also in American myths.

EHRENREICH's view was strongly influenced by the mythological school, which would interpret the myths as a sort of poetical representations of celestial phenomena—partly astronomical,

¹ ZINGG, 1937, pp. 129 f.

² BOAS 1925, pp. 329–339. — However, the fact that the proverb and the moralizing tale are absent in aboriginal America should probably be taken as a proof of the relative youth of these forms of folklore. HEINRICH SCHURTZ has long ago proven that the moral sentence does not belong to the animal fables in their oldest shape (cf. FROBENIUS 1904, p. 25). — ARCHER TAYLOR (1944) has presented strong arguments against the theory of the non-existence of American Indian riddles. As early as the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the American Indians knew and asked riddles.

³ EHRENREICH 1905.

partly meteorological, e. g. sunrise and sunset, the phases of the moon, constellations, clouds, wind, lightning, thunder¹. According to EHRENREICH and many mythologists of his day, the primitive myths are expressions of a naive view of nature. He maintains that this assumption is necessary for any comparative mythology. Constantly he finds the sun and the moon as the leading characters in the dramatic events whereof the myths relate. The critique against EHRENREICH'S works has mainly been aimed at his fundamental views, his interpretation of the myths as nature-poetry. American ethnologists of the Boas-school have always laid stress upon the human element in the myths, and they have sharply rejected the idea that myths were the expression of a naive nature-interpretation or evidence of an old nature-religion, spread over the world in the remote past, carrying with it myths of the sun, the moon, and the stars. American ethnologists have been more in accord with WUNDT, when he lays emphasis upon the human character of heroic myths, whose fountain-head is to be found in the hopes and wishes of mankind².

The main attack against EHRENREICH'S view is ROBERT L. LOWIE'S paper "The test-theme in North American mythology"³. EHRENREICH has interpreted as sun-myths a large group of American tales where difficult and dangerous test are imposed upon the hero. The old Japanese tale about Okuninushi's severe trials at his father-in-law, Susanovo, is also by EHRENREICH understood as a sun-myth. LOWIE proves that EHRENREICH'S interpretation must be wrong, as the test-motif in American tales cannot have originated in any sun-myth. The hero is generally human, and the conflict between father-in-law and son-in-law reflects probably a wide-spread social phenomenon. There are tales where the hero is identified with the sun; but then the traits are missing which, according to EHRENREICH, should be

¹ EHRENREICH 1906 and 1910.

² "Seine psychologischen Motive aber liegen klar vor Augen. Sie brauchen durchaus nicht in den Höhen einer verschollenen Himmelsmythologie gesucht zu werden, sondern sie bestehen einerseits in dem nie ganz überwundenen Zauberglauben, der, wenn er auch seine Sicherheit einbüßt, mindestens in den Hoffnungen und Wünschen des Menschen fortlebt; und sie bestehen anderseits in den Idealen einer naiven Phantasie. Der Starke, der durch seine physische Kraft alles niederwirft, was sich ihm in den Weg stellt, und der Kluge, der durch seine Schlaueit seine Gegner überlistet—das sind allezeit die beiden Idealmenschen der Volksphantasie." WUNDT, II, 1905, p. 351.

³ LOWIE 1908.

characteristic of sun-myths. And in some tales, where actually the complex of elements is present which EHRENREICH regards as typical of sun-myths, it may in some cases be demonstrated that this complex has arisen secondarily, as a result of amalgamation of elements which did not originally belong together. Tales where the hero is identified with sun or moon, are not essentially different from other tales where the hero is human. Sun- and moon-heros seem to be human beings, who are named after or identified with the sun and the moon.

It must be admitted that LOWIE has directed a hard blow against the nature-mythological interpretation. The critique hits not only the attempts at interpreting North American tales upon nature-mythological principles; in other parts of the world, the untenability of nature-mythological interpretation may be demonstrated in the same way.

LOWIE's critique has not to the same extent demolished EHRENREICH's pointing out of Asiatic elements in American folklore. But the fact that EHRENREICH's nature-mythological interpretation was placed in "the historical cabinet"¹ for obsolete theories, lessened the importance of his attempt to demonstrate Asiatic motifs in American folklore.

The last generation has brought several investigations which prove that Pre-Columbian America was not altogether cut off from cultural influences from the outside. Concerning material culture, I may refer to my own work on the clothing in the circumpolar area² and to DAVIDSON's snowshoe-studies³. Elements of mental culture have also found their way across the regions around the Bering Sea; this was pointed out by HALLOWELL in his analysis of the bear-cult in the circumpolar regions⁴. HALLOWELL finds it probable that the bear cult belongs to a boreal culture which originated in the Old World and spread from there to America. HALLOWELL refers to my hypothesis about a coast-culture and an inland-culture in the circumpolar area, and he identifies his boreal culture with my inland-culture.

¹ WISSLER 1917, p. 195.

² HATT 1914, pp. 220-241. 1916 a, pp. 284-290. 1916 b, pp. 246-250. Cf. BIRKET-SMITH 1929, pp. 212 ff. HATT 1933.

³ DAVIDSON 1937, p. 156.

⁴ HALLOWELL 1926.

The boreal inland-culture comprises the snow-shoe, a special type of clothing, a special technic of skindressing, the cradle-board, the birch-bark-canoe, the conical tent. HALLOWELL will also reckon the bear-cult among the boreal inland-culture elements. He thinks that an important folklore-element, the "earth-diver" motif, may also belong to the boreal inland-culture which has spread from Asia to North America in a distant past.

In the north-pacific coastal region, the boreal inland-culture is rather weakly represented. The cultural connection between North West America and North East Asia, investigated by the Jesup-Expedition, belongs evidently to another cultural layer than the boreal inland-culture. Perhaps the boreal inland-culture may be older than the north-pacific culture. Or the boreal inland culture may not have been able to assert itself within the north-pacific coastal area, because an older culture had already taken possession there.

The cultural connection between North West America and North East Asia is mainly established upon folklore material¹. The prevalent opinion among American ethnologists has been, that the cultural movements went from North West America to North East Asia. However, similarities with American folklore are also found in other parts of Asia. In some cases, these similarities seem to indicate a movement from Asia into America. BOAS does not deny this. He admits that a few folklore motifs have spread from Asia into North West America—among them he mentions "the magical flight" and the story of the ogre whose head was infested with vermin in the shape of frogs. BOAS would draw the border line for Asiatic influences in America somewhere between California and Labrador².

LOWIE seems to be inclined to assume a somewhat stronger influx of Asiatic culture elements than BOAS would admit in 1914. Especially, LOWIE has called attention to the "earth-diver" motif³—which HALLOWELL also mentions as an element which may have spread from Asia to America.

An investigation of folklore-motifs, common to Asia and Ame-

¹ BARBEAU (1933) has pointed out a number of striking musical similarities between the songs of North West American Indians and East Asiatic songs. He maintains that the North West American Indians sing songs of Asiatic origin.

² BOAS 1914, pp. 384—385.

³ LOWIE 1925, p. 180. — LOWIE 1926.

rica, may therefore conveniently begin with the story of how the earth was brought up from the bottom of the primeval sea.

Earth-diver.

The myth of the earth-diver is one of those who were first recorded in North America. It plays a great rôle in the cosmogony of the Iroquois, recorded in several versions by Jesuit fathers in the 17. century. More copious and careful records have been made in modern times by ethnologists¹.

According to the Iroquoian view of the world, human beings lived at first in the sky, that is upon the opposite side of the visible sky. This upper world was imagined to be rather similar to the earth. In the place, where the earth is now, there was originally a large ocean. A woman, married to a chieftain in the sky, was by her husband thrown down through a hole which had been formed in digging up a big tree. The animals of the primeval sea caught sight of her while she was falling through space, and they began immediately to deliberate how they might procure for her a suitable place of residence. In the Onondaga and Mohawk versions, a flock of sea-birds fly up towards the falling woman, receive her, carry her on their backs, and place her then upon the back of the turtle. The turtle must carry more: it is he who carries the Earth. In the Onondaga and Mohawk versions, the animals procure the soil. Several of them try to dive to the bottom of the primeval sea to bring up soil. The beaver and the otter fail. But the musk-rat succeeds. He returns from the primeval sea, dead, but with soil in his claws and in his mouth. This soil is placed by the animals upon the back of the turtle, and so a small Earth is created for the woman to rest upon. Later on the Earth grows. Every time the woman wakes up, the Earth has grown somewhat. Rivers are formed, trees, bushes and herbs appear, and the land animals come into existence.—In the Seneca version, the diver-motif is replaced by another motif. The woman, landed upon the back of the turtle, has carried some soil from the sky with her in her hands, because she tried to hold on to the edge of the hole in the sky.

¹ HEWITT 1904. — BARBEAU 1915, pp. 37–51, 288–311. — CURTIN and HEWITT 1918, pp. 409 ff., 460 ff.

This soil from the sky is spread out by her over the back of the turtle, and later on the Earth increases in size.

In a Wyandot myth on the origin of the world, it is told that the big tree, dug up in the sky, fell trough space together with the woman. Swans rescued her from drowning. The otter, the musk-rat, and the beaver dive, in order to bring up some of the soil clinging to the roots of the tree; they die, however, being unable to accomplish the task. At last the old toad makes an attempt; he dies also, but succeeds in bringing up some soil which is placed upon the turtle's carapace and grows to be the Earth. In this myth—as in the Seneca version—the Earth is made from sky-material¹.

Cosmogonic myths with the earth-diver motif in one form or other are widely distributed in North America. Sometimes the earth-diver episode is combined with the story of the flood. The Earth has been flooded through the activity of evil or avenging powers, and a culture-hero recreates the Earth. At the Algonkin tribes, the earth-diver motif is found as well in the myth about the first genesis of the Earth in the primeval sea as also in the myth about the remaking of the earth after the flood. The culture-hero Nanabozho, "the big hare", also known as Manabosho, Messou, Michabo, Glooscap and other names, plays a prominent part in these earth-diver stories. He sends out the divers and conjures forth the Earth out of the particle of soil brought up from the bottom of the sea. In Le Jeunes relation from 1633² a version is given from the Montagnais Indians. Messou was hunting elks, using his brothers the lynxes as dogs. The lynxes pursued the elk into a lake, where they were caught by water monsters who caused a flood, covering the whole Earth. Messou sent first the raven out to find a little piece of soil from which he could build a new world. The raven could find nothing, as the water had covered everything. Messou let an otter dive, but the water was too deep. At last a musk-rat dived, and he brought up a little soil, from which Messou re-established the world.

One of the essential features in the earth-diver motif is the miraculous growth of the small piece of soil which the diver has brought. Some Algonkin tribes have the idea, that the Earth is

¹ BARBEAU 1915, pp. 37–40, 304.

² Quoted by ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 42–43.

still continually growing, because "the big hare" is walking around the Earth and in that way enlarges it¹.

The earth-diver motif is spread over great parts of North America². The divers are in most cases swimming quadrupeds. About as often, it is birds who act as earth-divers³. Crustaceans⁴, insects⁵, and fishes⁶ occur also. The earth-diver motif is particularly prominent in the eastern and northern Woodland, where it is found in the folklore of many tribes, especially of the Algonkin, Athapascan, and Iroquois stocks. It is also frequent among the tribes in the northern and middle plains, as far south as Shoshoni, Arapaho, and Iowa. It is unknown among the Eskimos and in most of the North West Coast area; however, it has been found in two places in the southern part of the North West Coast: the Kwakiutl tribe Newetsee in Vancouver Island and the Chinook tribe Kathlamet in Oregon. In California, the motif is found in the folklore of several peoples: Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, Yokuts, Mono, and Salinan. In the Pueblo area and in the southern part of the Plains it is unknown. The Papago Indians have a myth which may possibly be regarded as a very aberrant

¹ HEWITT 1910, p. 22.

² Cf. THOMPSON 1929, p. 279, note 30, with numerous references, especially TEIT 1917, pp. 427 ff., and REICHARD, pp. 269 ff.

³ Shoshoni: LOWIE and ST. CLAIR, pp. 272–273. — Fox: JONES 1911, p. 209. — Blackfoot: WISSLER and DUVAL, pp. 7–8 and 19. — Chipewyan: PETITOT Monographie des Déné-dindjé, Paris 1876. Here quoted after DÄHNHARDT, I, p. 87. — Newetsee: BOAS 1895, pp. 173 and 336. — Yokuts in southern California: BOAS 1895, p. 337. — Mandan: Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, II, p. 152. — Hidatsa: Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, II, p. 121. — Cheyenne and Arapaho: GRINNELL 1907, p. 170. — The Arikara relate that Wolf and Lucky-Man created land by means of soil which a duck brought up from the bottom of a big lake. In this myth, the big lake replaces the primeval sea. Wolf created the even prairie-land north of the Missouri river, Lucky-Man created the hilly and mountainous land south of the river: DORSEY 1904, p. 11. — Ojibway: KOHL, I, pp. 326 ff. — In the Maidu creation myth, it is the robin who provides the material whereof the Earth is made. Nothing is said about diving, however. Earth-Maker was floating on the primeval sea together with Coyote. Nowhere could he see even a tiny bit of earth. At last they found, floating upon the sea, a robin's nest. Earth-Maker stretched it by extending ropes in the directions east, south, west, northwest and north. Then he said: "Well, sing, you who were the finder of this earth, this mud! In the long, long ago, Robin-man made the world, stuck earth together, making this world. Thus mortal men shall say of you in myth-telling. Then Robin sang, and his world-making song sounded sweet." DIXON 1912, pp. 4–12. — In another of the creation myths of the Maidu, the turtle acts as earth-diver: DIXON 1902, p. 39.

⁴ Yuchi, now in Oklahoma, formerly in Georgia: WAGNER, pp. 2–7, 229–230.

⁵ Cherokee: MOONEY 1900, p. 239.

⁶ In an Iroquois myth and in a tale from the Sauk and Fox Indians, fishes are earth-divers: DÄHNHARDT, I, p. 85.

version of the earth-diver motif (cf. p. 18). Farther south in America, the motif is unknown¹.

The distribution of the earth-diver motif in North America is fairly continuous. There does not seem to be any reason for doubting that this distribution is the result of diffusion. In the eastern and northern Woodland and in the northern and middle part of the Plains area, this motif is one of the most popular. On the North West Coast it is almost lacking. BOAS regards its occurrence at the Newetee as a foreign element; he thinks that it has spread from the Mississippi region across the Rocky Mountains². It is perhaps not unlikely that the Californian occurrences might also be due to influences from the east. However, this must then have happened long ago. The earth-diver motif has a wide distribution in Central California and occurs in very different versions.

The idea of a primeval ocean, one of the fundamental elements in the earth-diver motif, is prevalent in Central California. In North West and South California another idea asserts itself: that the Earth existed first, and the flood was a later episode³.

These opposite views: 1) the primeval sea and 2) the idea that Earth existed before Ocean, would seem to exclude one another. However, they may both exist together in the mind of the same people. A. L. KROEBER found them both in the folklore of the small Algonkin tribe Wiyot (or Wishosk) in northwestern

¹ Kaingang and Are in southeastern Brazil have flood-myths, where land is recreated by birds who bring soil from somewhere else. In the Kaingang myth, Sarakura, a sort of water-hen, acts as the builder of the land; it is told that flocks of this bird came flying with soil in baskets. In the Are myth, Sapakuru (an ibis) and Sarakura act jointly as helpers. The water-hen exhorts the people, who have sought refuge in palm trees, to remove to another place in the neighborhood where there is land. The people are not able to follow this advice. Then the water-hen and the ibis bring earth in their beaks and strew it on the water, in that way making dry land. The ibis makes mountains, because its beak is so large. (KÖCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, pp. 209 and 212). DÄHNHARDT and UNO HARVA regard these South American myths as versions of the earth-diver motif (cf. DÄHNHARDT, I, p. 87. HARVA 1938, p. 107). However, they are in essential parts different from the North American and North Asiatic earth-diver myths. There is no bringing up of soil from the bottom of the sea by diving. And the birds seem to act on their own initiative, they are not sent by any god or hero who wants to rebuild the world. There does not seem to be any reason for assuming a connection with the North American earth-diver myths. The geographical distance is also very considerable. Cf. EHRENREICH (1905, p. 29): "Die in Nordamerika so gewöhnliche Vorstellung von einem Urwasser, aus dem die Erde durch Tiere herausgefischt wird, scheint in Südamerika zu fehlen."

² BOAS 1895, p. 336.

³ KROEBER 1925, p. 638.

California. In one Wiyot myth it is stated, that in the beginning there was no sea, only earth. In another Wiyot myth it is said, that everything was water at first. The creator ("that-above-old-man") took a little dirt and blew it out over the sea; thereby the land came into existence¹.

Another example may be found in father BRÉBEUF's relation about the Hurons. Two totally different cosmogonic myths are found in this account. One of them is very much like the Iroquois myth, related above, p. 12; among its elements are the primeval sea, the woman who fell from the sky, and the animals diving after earth. However, BRÉBEUF gives us also another Huron myth, wherein it is said: In the beginning of the world the earth was dry. All waters were collected beneath the armpit of a big frog. The culture-hero Iouskeha cut a hole beneath the frog's armpit, so that the water gushed forth in plenty and spread all over the earth. That was the origin of rivers, lakes, and seas².

The idea of the primeval sea is widely spread in North America, but it seems almost unknown in South America, although several flood-myths are recorded in the southern continent. Only the Guarayo Indians in Bolivia have a myth about a primeval sea, out of which a cane grew, where a caterpillar sat, from whom the Europeans have descended³. EHRENREICH considers this final point as an explanatory addition to the tale, meant to explain the fact that there are many white colonists in the inundation areas at the upper Paraguay. The Guarayo-myth about the primeval sea may perhaps be the result of a local development without any connection with the primeval sea motif in North America.

The idea that the land is older than the sea seems to be more prevalent in the mind of South American Indians. At the

¹ KROEBER 1905, pp. 85-107.

² BARBEAU, pp. 292-295. — The idea that all the water in the world has been in some monster's power, often a frog, is widely spread in North America, especially in the northeastern Woodland, but also on the North West Coast and the Plateau. Cf. THOMPSON 1929, p. 293, note 76. It is also known among the Koryak in northeastern Siberia. Cf. JOCHELSON 1905, p. 372. Furthermore this idea is known in eastern Australia; there, as in North America, a frog has swallowed all the water in the world. Cf. DIXON 1916, p. 279. It occurs also in a Tibetan tale about two giant frogs, producing drought and starvation unless they are appeased by human sacrifices; at last two heroes kill the monsters. (MACDONALD 1931, pp. 187 ff.).

³ EHRENREICH 1905, p. 29. — Cf. GRUBB 1924, p. 185.

Taino in Santo Domingo, Ramon Pane found a myth about the origin of the sea. In a calabash some human bones were kept; they were transformed into fishes. Four brothers surreptitiously ate of the fish, but dropped the calabash. It was broken, and the water ran out and became the sea. The Antillean Caraihs had a myth about the origin of the sea water from the urine and sweat of good spirits, an explanation of the salt taste. The Tupinambá in Brazil, on the coast of Rio, relate how the sea came into existence as the result of a heavy rain after a world-conflagration: the ashes made the sea salt¹.

Myths on the origin of the sea are also found in North America. E. g. the Shoshoni tribe Juaneño, in southern California, relates that the sea was at first very small and crowded with living beings, until a big fish brought a stone, containing bile. The bile made the water salt and caused it to increase, until the sea reached its present size². Another Shoshoni tribe in southern California, Louiseño, relates that the Earth was a woman, and the sky a man, her younger brother. She became pregnant and bore mankind and everything else, e. g. the sun, the stars, the rocks, the trees. The sea is her urine and therefore salt³.

The idea that water existed before land is, however, much more wide-spread in North America⁴. The idea of the primeval sea has a wider distribution than the earth-diver motif. In some myths, the land comes into existence in the primeval sea without the agency of any earth-diver. I have just mentioned one example from the Wiyot in northern California (p. 16). A similar myth is known from the southern Ute: the creator, being alone in the world, wandering upon the sea and the clouds, found one day a little dirt upon the sea, and he thought it might be a good idea to make the world from this dirt, whereupon he did so⁵.

¹ LEHMANN-NITSCHKE, p. 162–163. The Taino myth is told by RAMON PANE, The Caraibean myth is found in DE LA BORDE: *Rélation de l'origine, moeurs, coutumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraihes*, supplement to LOUIS HENNEPIN: *Voyage curieux*, Leiden 1704, p. 528–529. The Tupinambá myth in ANDRÉ THEVET: *La cosmographie universelle*, Paris 1575, II, p. 914a.

² KROEBER 1925, p. 637.

³ KROEBER 1906, pp. 312–314.

⁴ At the Dakota, this idea lies behind the custom that the Indians pray first to Water and then to Earth. WALLIS 1923, pp. 36–40.

⁵ LOWIE 1924, pp. 1–2.

The Papago-Indians in Arizona and Sonora relate that in the beginning there was only darkness and water. From darkness and water a living being was born, "Older Brother". He noticed that bubbles and scum collected around him—as it always does around an object in the water. He took some of the matter and made it into earth-worms. These he sent out to collect the matter he had seen. They went around collecting and collecting and left it all around him, piling it up. By and by he found himself upon a little piece of dry land. He kept on sending them out, and they continued piling up. In this way he made the Earth. First he made the earth-worms, and they made the Earth¹.

In this cosmogonic myth, two different systems of thought meet each other. One of them is characterized by the idea that the world's origin is due to procreation. Darkness and water beget the first living being. Within North America, this generative system of thought asserts itself especially in the South West. The other system is characterized by the idea that Earth is created out of material which is brought up from the primeval sea through the activity of living beings. In the Papago myth, the earth-worms play a rôle similar to that of the birds and the swimming animals in North American earth-diver myths. In so far, it might be admissible to regard the Papago myth as a version of the earth-diver motif. One characteristic feature of this motif is absent, namely the magical growth of the land; this feature is here replaced by the continuous activity of the earth-worms, collecting material and piling it up.

The Cora Indians in Sierra del Nayarit in northwestern Mexico have a creation myth with certain points of similarity to the earth-diver motif, although no earth-diver is among the actors. The creating divinity is the Earth-goddess. First she creates raingods, before the earth has come into being. She places them in a big water, undoubtedly corresponding to the primeval sea, although it is called a lake, because the Cora Indians do not know the ocean and have no words for it. The raingods are not content with the water as a place of residence. Therefore, she draws them up to the sky by means of a rope which she has twisted of her hair. However, the raingods are also dissatisfied with their sojourn in the sky. The goddess begs them then search

¹ HENRIETTE ROTHSCHILD KROEBER 1912, pp. 95–99.

their own bodies. They find earth, and make of it a ball which they give to the goddess. She lays the earth upon a cross, made of two arrows, bound together by means of a snake and with some of her hair. After the earth has been placed upon this arrow-cross, she lets the rain-gods dance upon it; by that means the earth grows towards all sides¹. This last point is strongly reminiscent of the earth-diver motif, where the earth grows by somebody walking on it, towards its rim.

A peculiar creation myth is found in the folklore of the Eyak Indians in the Copper River Delta, Alaska. It is told that the raven came down to the sea from above. He flew around in a circle. The top of a tree stuck out of the water, and he took his seat there. Near by, all sorts of things drifted around in the water. He fastened them to the tree, saying: "Turn into earth!" for every stick of driftwood. The earth gets bigger and bigger each day².

The Eyak myth reminds of the Papago myth by that trait that the material, drifting in the water, collects around a firm body. This feature may have its foundation in real experience, and it may be said to have an almost scientific character. On the other hand, the Eyak myth lacks the generative element as well as the earth-diver motif.

The fact that the primeval sea in most cases coincides with the earth-diver motif in North American myths, might tempt one to assume that these two elements belong together originally. This assumption can, however, hardly be proven. It is possible that the primeval sea is the oldest of the two elements, which would agree with the fact that the idea of the primeval sea is more widely spread than the idea of the earth-diver. The primeval sea occurs as far south as the Quiché in Guatemala. In the first part of *Popol Vuh* it is told how the world came into being. At first only sky and sea existed. The earth was created through the activities of the sky-gods³. The earth-diver motif does not appear here.

It has long been known, that the earth-diver story is found also in Asia and Europe. And the obvious question has often

¹ PREUSS, pp. 57-61.

² BIRKET-SMITH and de Laguna 1938, pp. 257-258.

³ BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG 1861, pp. 7-13.

been asked, whether this motif has migrated to America from the Old World. DE CHARENCEY compared a Vogul version of the earth-diver myth with an Algonkin version, and he maintained, that the latter represented an older stage of development; nevertheless, he held the opinion that the myth must have wandered from Asia to North America. He attempted to support this theory by adducing other likenesses between myths in the Old and the New World. He did not, however, try to make clear the geographical distribution of the earth-diver motif in Asia nor in America. He cited a few East-European versions from Galizia and Bulgaria¹.

DE CHARENCEY's argumentation was not convincing. The existence of the earth-diver motif in West Siberia and East Europe raises a problem, but it does not solve it. Between the Voguls and the Algonkins, one half or more of the circumpolar area intervenes. The question of the distribution of the motif in the rest of North Asia will immediately come up.

JOCHELSON says that the earth-diver story is unknown by the Koryaks, but known by the Chukchees and the Yukaghirs and also by the Buryats and Turkish and Finnish tribes². The North East Asiatic instances, by the Chukchees and the Yukaghirs, are of course especially interesting for the problem about a historical connection between American and Asiatic earth-diver stories. Unfortunately, JOCHELSON does not quote his authorities for these instances.

The fullest treatment of the earth-diver motif has been given by DÄHNHARDT. He sees this motif in connection with a large group of creation myths, whose geographical distribution reaches from India and Eastern Europe through North Asia and deep into North America. Not only the earth-diver motif but also some other myth-elements, more or less connected with the earth-diver story, are found as well in Asia as in North America. This proves, according to DÄHNHARDT, a historical connection. DÄHNHARDT has in his work presented a copious collection of material and a deep analysis³. Still, his results have not made much impression upon American colleagues—probably because

¹ CHARENCEY 1894, pp. 11—74.

² JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 351—352.

³ DÄHNHARDT, I, 1907, pp. 1—89.

American ethnologists are sceptical about any culture-historical explanation of similarities, when the geographical distribution of these similarities is not quite continuous.

It may also be said against DÄHNHARDT'S analysis of the earth-diver myths, that he has given more attention to the similarities than to the differences.

In East Europe and North Asia there is generally a contrast between the creator and the earth-diver. In most versions, the creator is God, the diver is Satan. The Evil One tries to make his influence felt by taking part in the creative action. Often he hides some of the soil which he has brought up from the bottom of the sea and he makes thereof mountains and morasses. The created World is therefore the result of a sort of cooperation between God and Satan. This dualism is a main feature in the Old World's earth-diver stories, but it is not found in the North American versions. In North America, the divers are always animals; and between these diving animals and the person who makes from the bit of soil a whole world, no opposition does ever exist. And still, a dualistic view of the world is often prevalent in North American folklore—also in the creation myths. In Californian myths, the contrast between the creator and Coyote is a main theme. The creator intended to make the world good and comfortable, existence easy for mankind. Coyote created mountains, made the food sparse, and brought death into the world. But Coyote is no earth-diver.

The cosmogonic myths of the Iroquois contain also a dualistic feature, not directly connected with the earth-diver motif. The woman who fell from the sky—or in some versions her daughter—gives birth to twins, two boys, one of which is good, the other evil. They quarrel in the womb about which way they shall pass out of their mother's body. The good brother selects the natural way, but the evil brother breaks a way out through his mother's armpit, and so kills her. Later on, the quarrel between the two brothers is continued. The new-created earth, whereon they live, grows constantly, being formed by the brothers. The good brother wishes to make the world comfortable for the men who are to come; he creates even or undulating plains and open forests, and alongside of each river he creates another river, running in the opposite direction, so that one may

always travel with the current. But the evil brother creates hills and mountains, spreads rocks and stones over the country, and he undoes the good brother's plan about the parallel rivers running in opposite directions. He also deteriorates the fruit trees and bushes which the good brother has produced. At last, the opposition develops into a fight, and the good brother kills the evil brother. But the world is still suffering from the effects of the evil brother's doings¹. After HEWITT's Onondaga-version, the good brother binds the evil brother, who will not be let loose again before the day of judgement.

The story about the twins quarrelling in the womb, one of them breaking out through the mother's side, is widely distributed in North America's eastern Woodland among peoples of Algonkin and Iroquois stock², and it is also known from a Siouan tribe³. DÄHNHARDT compares this story to the Iranian tale about the quarrel of AHRIMAN and ORMUZD in the womb⁴, and he will maintain that the North American myth about the quarrelling twins originates in Iranian ideas. It must be admitted that he has not proven this. The distance from North America's eastern Woodland to Iran is far. Curiously enough, BRINTON was also aware of the fact, that the Iroquois and Algonkin myths of the quarrelling twins have a striking similarity to an old Asiatic myth; however, he drew from it the opposite conclusion, namely this, that such similarities must be the result of parallel development, wherefore he denied any historical relation between the Algonkin and the Iroquois versions of the myth⁵. It seems to me, that neither BRINTON nor DÄHNHARDT have proven the validity of their conclusions.

The fact that the dualistic antagonism between a friendly and a hostile divine power, although evidently present in North American myths, has not set its stamp upon the earth-diver motif itself, must awake the suspicion, that this dualistic feature does not originally belong to the earth-diver story. In any case, if the earth-diver motif and the dualistic view of the world have both

¹ BARBEAU, pp. 44-46, 48-49, 51, 298-299, 301-302, 306-308. HEWITT 1904, pp. 185-218, 230 ff., 292-332.

² THOMPSON 1929, p. 279, note 33.

³ MEEKER 1901, p. 161.

⁴ DÄHNHARDT, I, pp. 10-11 and 79.

⁵ BRINTON, pp. 172-173. "Such uniformity points not to a common source in history, but in psychology".

reached North America from the outside, then these two features must have come separately, not combined into one myth.

If it could be demonstrated, that the earth-diver story in Asia was dualistic from the beginning—which seems to be DÄHNHARDT'S opinion—then this would be an important argument against the assumption, that the earth-diver motif reached America from Asia.

However, there is reason for assuming that the earth-diver story was not originally dualistic in Asia. Non-dualistic forms are known from North Asia.

UNO HARVA quotes a series of earth-diver versions from North Asia, where no antagonism is present between the creator and the diver. In those versions, it is not Satan, but a common water-fowl that is sent to bring soil up from the bottom of the sea¹.

The Yenisseis relate, that a big shaman, Doh, flew over the primeval sea together with several water-fowls. As he could not find any resting place, he asked the redbreast-diver to bring him a piece of soil from the bottom of the sea. The bird made two unsuccessful attempts, but the third time it succeeded and brought up some mud in its beak. Therefrom Doh created an island in the sea.

Among the Lebedtatars, it is God who sends a white swan after soil from the bottom of the primeval sea. The bird comes with mud in its beak and blows it out over the surface of the water, by which means the earth was formed, gradually. Later on, the Devil made his entrance and did harm upon the earth.

From the Buryats, UNO HARVA quotes several versions, likewise without any antagonism between diver and creator. He quotes also an example from the northern Yakuts.

UNO HARVA has compared a Buryat and a Votyak version in order to prove that the dualistic antagonism is a late feature. In the Buryat story, Sombol-Burkhan sends a water-fowl to bring soil from the bottom of the sea. On the way through the ocean, the bird meets a crawfish who asks where it is going. The bird answers that it is diving to bring up soil from the bottom of the sea. The crawfish gets angry and says: "I live continually in the water, and yet I have not seen the bottom. You had

¹ HARVA 1938, pp. 103—106.

better turn back or I will cut you to pieces with my scissors." The bird returns without having accomplished its errand, and it tells Sombol-Burkhan how the crawfish has treated it. Then Sombol-Burkhan provides the bird with a magical formula, and by that means the bird succeeds in reaching the sea bottom. Among the Votyaks in the district of Sarapul a similar tale is found; but there it is the Devil who plays the rôle of the earth-diver and meets the crawfish on his way through the ocean.

Now, it must be admitted that the crawfish's part is more natural in the Buryat version where the crawfish chases the bird away, than it is in the Votyak version where it chases the devil away. Therefore, it seems probable that the Buryat version is the older form from which the Votyak version was derived at a time when the dualistic doctrine was prevalent.

It might be added, that dualism is also absent from the old Indian versions, where Brahma, taking the appearance of a boar, brought earth up from the bottom of the primeval sea, as it is told in *Rāmāyāna*, *Vishnu Purana* and other Sanskrit texts which DÄHNHARDT quotes¹. Nor has dualism set its stamp upon the earth-diver tales of modern Indian folklore.

The fact that the dualistic antagonism between earth-diver and creator is absent in American folklore can therefore not be utilized as argument against an Asiatic origin for the earth-diver motif in America.

Another point may be mentioned where the American versions differ from the North Asiatic and East European versions. In America it is a generally occurring feature that several animals in succession attempt to dive after earth. The first and the second diver fail, but the third or the fourth succeeds. In North Asia and East Europe the same diver makes often two unsuccessful attempts and succeeds the third time; but more than one diver does almost never appear. Only in one version, from the northern Yakuts, where the mother of God acts as the earth's creator, two divers are sent, the redbreast-diver and the wild duck, but at the same time. The wild duck brings up earth, the redbreast-diver comes up again without earth and says that it could not find any. The redbreast-diver is therefore damned².

¹ DÄHNHARDT, I, pp. 15—17. Cf. MUIR 1858, I, pp. 19—20.

² HARVA 1938, p. 105.

The feature of several divers operating in sequel, the third and last one succeeding, is found in modern Indian folklore. At the Bihors, a jungle tribe in Chota Nagpur, it is told that everything was water in the beginning. The highest spirit, Singbōngā, was in the nether regions, but he came up to the surface of the water through the hollow stem of a lotus plant. He sat down upon the lotus flower and commanded the turtle to bring some clay up from the bottom. The turtle dived and placed some clay upon his back; but in rising through the water, the clay was washed away. Singbōngā then commanded the crab to dive after clay. The crab took it up with his legs, but the water washed it away again. At last Singbōngā sent the leech down. The leech swallowed the clay and came up with it in his stomach and gulped it up into the hand of Singbōngā, whereupon Singbōngā created the earth of that clay¹.—The Garo in Assam relate, that the goddess Nosta Nōpantu sent the big crab down into the primeval sea to fetch some clay. The sea was too deep, however, and the big crab came back without having accomplished his errand. The little crab did also fail. At last, the third time, a beetle was sent down, and it returned with a lump of clay, from which the goddess formed the earth².

LOWIE points out that the reason why it is generally the fourth diver which succeeds in North American versions is to be found in the ceremonial quality of the number four in most North American tribes. It should be added, though, that the number four is not present in all North American earth-diver versions. In many cases it is the third diver who succeeds.

In North America, the earth-diver motif is in some cases connected with the flood-myth, as already mentioned p. 13. An example of this connection is, however, also known from North Asia³.

¹ ROY, pp. 398—400.

² A. PLAYFAIR: *The Garos*. Quoted by LOWIE 1926 a, pp. 615—616.

³ ANDERSON, pp. 17—18, relates a Samoyedic flood-myth from the Turuchansk district, where it is told that the water rose so high that seven rescued persons in a boat were lifted up against the sky, so that they could not stand upright but had to bow. On their request, the loon (*Colymbus*) dives for earth and comes up after seven days with earth, sand and grass, which the human persons throw into the water, begging Nua, the Samoyedic chief-god, to fit up the earth for them. The water begins to fall, the trees and the earth appear again. Evidently, the connection between the earth-diver motif and the flood-myth is more superficial in this Asiatic version than in the North American versions.

The differences which separate the American versions of the earth-diver story from the Asiatic and European versions, are not so important that they can be used as arguments against the theory of an Asiatic origin for the earth-diver motif in America. The most important difference, the dualistic feature which is prevalent in Europe and North Asia and has not had any influence upon the American versions, is not decisive, because this feature cannot be regarded as belonging to the myth in its oldest form. On the other hand, the conformities are essential—the diving itself, and the miraculous growth of the new-created earth. In America and in the Old World it is a general feature, that the earth grows when a person walks out towards its borders.

On the other hand, the geographical distribution of the motif presents a difficulty for the theory of a transfer of the motif from Asia to America. JOCHELSON'S statement, that the story is found among the Yukaghirs and the Chukchees, should perhaps be taken with a little reservation, as he does not give the versions nor quote the sources. It is a well established fact that the story is found among the Yakuts at Lena. In North America, the most western occurrence of the motif is at the Loucheux Indians, west of the mouth of Mackenzie river. From here to the Yakut at the lower Lena there is some 3500 km. The lacuna is less, of course, if we may reckon with the occurrence of the motif among the Chukchees¹. However, it has never been found among the Eskimos, and it is absent from the mythology of most of the American North West Coast tribes. And the occurrences on the southern part of the North West Coast are probably due to influence from the American inland (cf. p. 15).

If the motif has come to America from Asia across the Bering region, it has not been able to hold its own among the Pacific Coast-peoples. It may perhaps have been superseded by other cosmogonic myths, belonging to the great raven cycle. However, in the North American inland it found fertile soil.

¹ In one of the Chukehee creation tales the Raven's wife bears twins, and then the Raven says to his wife: "Now I shall go and try to create the earth. If I do not come back, you may say, "He has been drowned in the water, let him stay there!" I am going to make the attempt." However, the Raven does not attempt any diving. He makes the earth from his own excrements. "Raven flies and defecates. Every piece of excrement falls upon the water, grows quickly and becomes land." BOGORAS 1910, p. 152. In this tale there appear some traces of the earth-diver myth. The Raven mentions the possibility of being drowned, and the land grows miraculously.

If the earth-diver motif did not come to America from Asia, it must have arisen independently in North America. In that case, the profound similarity to the older Asiatic versions seems surprising. It is not possible in this case to find any explanation in general human tendencies. Later in the present work, I shall mention some motifs whose general human character is evident—especially the Orpheus motif and the Amazone motif—and whose presence in Pre-Colombian America is not necessarily due to any intrusion of motifs. It is otherwise, however, with the earth-diver motif; in this it will be difficult to find any general human source.

In support of the assumption that the earth-diver motif originated independently in America, one might adduce the fact, that the present geographical distribution of the motif in North America may be explained as due to spreading from the regions around the great lakes (Central Woodland Area), as GLADYS A. REICHARD has demonstrated¹. This circumstance, and also the fact that the motif is absent from the Eskimos and from most of the American North West Coast might apparently make superfluous the theory about an intrusion from Asia. In any case it must be admitted that the earth-diver story has undergone special transformations in America, probably within more than one centre; and the present American distribution is to be explained as a result of diffusion from these centres. If the motif did come originally from Asia, this intrusion is not reflected in the present distribution. However, this does not disprove that the motif may nevertheless have come from Asia in a distant past and may have unfolded itself within certain areas where conditions were favorable.

The earth-diver myth is not the only cultural element distributed over large parts of Inner North America and North Asia and Europe and at the same time lacking or only weakly represented on the North Pacific coasts. The same distribution applies also to the bear cult, as HALLOWELL has shown. And the complex of material culture features which I have named "arctic inland culture"², and which BIRKET-SMITH gave the name of

¹ REICHARD 1921, p. 295.

² Containing the snowshoe, a special type of clothing (moccasins, breech-cloth-trowsers, caftan or skin-shirt of caftan-cut), a special skindressing-technic (e. g. smoking of the skin and fat-tanning), the cradle board, the birch-bark canoe and the conical tent.

“snowshoe-culture” (cf. p. 10, note 2), has a similar distribution. That is the reason why HALLOWELL has reckoned also the bear cult to this culture-complex, and he has proposed to refer the earth-diver motif to the same group of culture features¹.

The probability of an Asiatic origin of the earth-diver motif in America is increased by the fact, that a considerable group of cultural elements have a similar geographical distribution, with the same break in the North Pacific coast-regions.

It should also be observed that another lacuna in the geographical distribution of the earth-diver motif exists within Asia, not less considerable than the area which separates the North Asiatic from the North American occurrences. The earth-diver motif is not only distributed over a wide area in North Asia and East Europe, it has also a considerable distribution in India. The motif is old here, occurring several times in the Sanskrit literature, and it has persisted until the present time in the folklore of remote and uncivilized peoples as the Sema Nagas, the Bihors, the Garos, the Mundas. Versions are also known from Ceylon, from the Shans in Burma, from the negritic pygmies on the Malayan peninsula, from the Dayak in Borneo².

LOWIE has put the question, whether earth-diver stories exist in Tibet, China, and Mongolia, genetically related to the Indian tales on one side, and to the Siberian-American tales on the other side³. It may be answered, that DÄHNHARDT has already mentioned Mongolian earth-diver versions, after POTANIN⁴. No versions seem to be known, so far, from Tibet or from China. Nevertheless, DÄHNHARDT has not doubted that the Indian creation myths with earth-diver motif have a genetic relation to North Asiatic and European myths. His idea is that the myth in its dualistic form originated in Iran, under influences from India, and then spread from there to East Europe and to North Asia and America⁵. However, the earth-diver motif is not known from Iran. Neither is it known from Mesopotamia nor from Asia Minor.

¹ HALLOWELL, p. 158.

² A map of the distribution of the earth-diver motif in Asia and Europe, with list of literary sources, by WALK, p. 76.

³ LOWIE 1926.

⁴ DÄHNHARDT, I, pp. 70 ff.

⁵ DÄHNHARDT, I, pp. 14—38.

UNO HARVA (UNO HOLMBERG) is also inclined to seek the origin of the motif in India. He produces two arguments for this assumption¹. In the first place, India is the only Asiatic land where the idea of bringing the earth up from the bottom of the sea is to be found already in an old literature and is bound up with the beliefs of a distant past. The earth-diver motif is not found in the literature of any other old civilized Asiatic people. Secondly, UNO HARVA finds it inconceivable that the idea of the primeval sea could arise in the mind of a Central Asiatic people, far away from the ocean. He finds it necessary to assume that the peoples of Inner Asia have held the view, originally, that the earth has been always in existence. This belief is still held here and there in Asia, e. g. by the Yakuts, although they also have the earth diver myth. I have already mentioned (p. 15) that one may find in America the view that the earth is primeval, and that once in the distant past no water was found. Exactly the same idea occurs in Inner Asia. In a Kirghiz tale it is said that no water existed in the beginning. Two men were tending a large ox, but they were about to die from thirst. The ox then decided that it would procure water for them by digging in the earth with its big horns. In that way, lakes and rivers were formed².

The first one of UNO HARVA's arguments is the strongest. The second argument seems to be weak. The idea that the earth is older than the sea is found not only in the inner parts of Asia, but also in the folklore of many peoples who live at the sea, e. g. in California and in old West India (see above p. 15—17), furthermore in Melanesia³. On the other side, the geographical distribution of the earth-diver motif does not show any affinity to the sea. On the contrary, it looks as if this motif thrives badly near the ocean, but unfolds profusely in the inner parts of big continents. The reason for this may perhaps be, that this fantastic motif does not harmonize with the ideas about the ocean which coast- and island-dwellers have gained from harsh reality. It is striking, that the earth-diver story is not found on the pacific coast of Asia, and only weakly represented on America's

¹ UNO HOLMBERG 1927, p. 328. UNO HARVA 1938, p. 108.

² HOLMBERG 1927, p. 331.

³ DIXON 1916, p. 111. MEYER, *Anthropos* XXVII, p. 431.

pacific coast. As already mentioned, it looks as if it may have reached the southern part of the American North Pacific coast from the American inland. In the creation myth of the Eyak Indians (cf. p. 19), land is formed in the primeval sea, but this is brought about in a natural way, drifting wood collecting about the trunk of a standing tree. In Japanese myths, the idea of the primeval sea plays a part; but the creation of the land, the coming into being of the Japanese islands, is regarded as the result of the procreative power of celestial gods¹. Generative ideas dominate also the Polynesian creation myths. There is one exception to this, though. In a famous Polynesian myth, the land is brought up from the bottom of the sea; but this is effected by Maui's or another god's catching the land on a fish-hook, like a fish. This mythical picture agrees well with the mind of an oceanic people. On the other hand, the earth-diver myth harmonizes with the idea of the primeval sea which may exist in the mind of inland peoples, who are acquainted with lakes and big rivers. The animals, acting as earth-divers—the boar in the oldest known Indian version, turtle, crawfish, beetle, ducks and other waterfowls, beaver, otter, musk-rat etc.—do not call to mind the wild open ocean, but more peaceful lakes and rivers, where the idea of a diving animal bringing mud up from the bottom does not appear altogether impossible.

It is told in one of the old Indian myths, that Prajapati saw a lotus-leaf upon the primeval sea. He got the idea, that the leaf must be supported by something. He transformed himself into a boar, dived and found the earth, broke a piece of soil loose, arose again with it and spread it out upon the lotus-leaf, and in that way he made the earth. The lotus plant appears

¹ FLORENZ, pp. 13–24. — Also another line of thought is found in the old Japanese cosmogony. Standing upon the hanging bridge of heaven, the god Izanagi and the goddess Izanami pounded the ocean with the heavenly jewel-spear and stirred the ocean with it, so that the water thickened. When they raised the spear again, sea-water dripped from it and became the island Onogoro, the first created of the Japanese islands. Afterwards Izanagi and Izanami created other islands through sexual procreation. Cf. CHAMBERLAIN, *Ko-ji-ki*, pp. 18 ff. — UNO HARVA compares the Japanese myth about the origin of the island Onogoro to a Mongol myth, where a celestial being churns the primeval sea with an iron rod and in that manner produces the earth. And UNO HARVA finds the origin of this myth in the Indian cosmogony, where gods and demons churn the primeval sea and create the world by putting the central mountain in rotation by means of a giant snake, slung around the mountain. UNO HARVA 1938, pp. 62–64, 89–90.

also in a modern version from the Bihors in Chota Nagpur (cf. p. 25). In a version from Ceylon, the lotus plant plays an essential rôle. The earth-diver is here the Azura-chieftain Rāhu who asks the god Vishnu to place a lotus seed in the water, and then, when the seed has sprouted, he descends to the bottom along the lotus-stem. The water was so deep, that it took him seven days to arise again¹. It is evident that the idea of the lotus plant in the primeval sea originates in lakes and rivers, not in the ocean.

It is not among coast-dwellers that the earth-diver story is found in modern India. The Sema Nagas, Mundas, Bihors, and Garos are decidedly inland peoples.

In Further India, the motif is found among the Shans of Central Burma², where ants, undoubtedly terrestrial animals, play the rôle of divers in the primeval sea.

In Malaya, the motif is found in the folklore of the negritic Semang, living in the inner parts of the peninsula. Here it is likewise an insect that acts as earth-diver, namely the dung-beetle. According to EVANS, the tribes Menik Kaien and Kintak Bong believe that the earth was brought up from below by the dung-beetle in the shape of a sort of powder. The bear pawed this powder down, else it would have grown until it had almost reached the sky.

In this version, the dung-beetle does not dive in the sea. Perhaps this myth may have something to do with the well-known fact that the dung-beetle brings powdery earth up from below when digging its hole in order to draw dung down under the surface.

Schebesta has recorded another version among the Kintak Bong, where it is stated that there was a big water in the beginning. The dung-beetle brought the earth up from the water in a little heap, which grew higher and higher, so that everything would have become mountains, if not the bear had come and pawed the hills down. At the Kensiu tribe, Schebesta has recorded a version where the dung-beetle pulls the earth up of the mire, after which the sun dries the earth and makes it firm³.

¹ PARKER 1910, I, pp. 47 f.

² HILLIER, Notes on the manners etc. of the Shan States. Ind. Antqu., XXI, 121. Quoted by WALK, pp. 65, 74.

³ EVANS 1927, pp. 159–160. — SCHEBESTA 1927, pp. 212, 242.

The idea of the primeval sea does not appear clearly in the Semang myth, at least not in all the versions. The earth-diver, the dung-beetle, is not sent out, but it acts upon its own initiative. The bear arranges the material which the earth-diver has brought. The Semang myth differs considerably from the Indian versions. However, some of the original essence is there, the diving after earth.

The motif has also found its way into Indonesia. Here the idea of the primeval sea seems to be known everywhere, and is probably older than the earth-diver idea. In a creation myth from the Dayak in northwestern Borneo, it is told that two creating spirits hovered above the primeval sea in the shape of birds. They dived and brought out of the water two firm substances in the shape and size of hen's eggs. One bird made of one egg the sky, the other bird made of the other egg the earth. Now it turned out that the earth was too big and protruded beneath the rim of the sky, and therefore they had to press the earth together, whereby mountains and valleys were formed¹. This last feature is also known from the Angami Nagas in Assam, where it is likewise told in a creation myth that the earth was too big for the sky, and therefore it had to crumble in order that the sky might cover it; through that process the earth got mountains and valleys, but the sky remained smooth². In Southeastern Europe, in a Bulgarian creation myth, the same feature occurs: the newcreated earth was too big, God had to beat it with a stick, so that mountains and valleys were formed, by which means the earth got small enough for the sky to cover it³.

From the Pintados Archipelago in the Philippine group a creation myth has come, where a sea-eagle brings the earth up from the sea⁴—an oceanic version of the earth-diver myth.

In the Gilbert Islands a tale is recorded about the origin of the island of Samoa. In this tale—an episode from an intricate complex of origin-myths—the creator is a spider, Na Areea ("Sir Spider"). Sir Spider calls his brothers, the wave and the

¹ SCHMIDT 1910, p. 7, quoting an article by DUNN, *Anthropos*, I, p. 16. Cf. also DIXON 1916, p. 165.

² HUTTON 1921, pp. 259–260.

³ STRAUSS 1898, p. 11.

⁴ FRA GASPAR DE SAN AGUSTIN: *Conquistas de las isl. Philipinas*, Madrid 1698, p. 196. Quoted by Walk, pp. 65, 74.

polyp, and he commands: "Go, Polyp, and pull sand and stones together!" and to the wave: "Go, Wave, wash sand and stones and join them together!" They obeyed. And by and by sand and stones rose over the sea, a great land. It was named Samoa¹.

If this myth has relation to the earth-diver story, as L. WALK thinks², the motif is here very much changed. The earth-bringer's rôle is assumed by the polyp, and the forming power is exercised by the wave. This is a decidedly oceanic myth, where primitive observation of nature has found expression—reminding of the creation myth of the Eyak Indians (p. 19).

In Indonesia and Micronesia, the earth-diver motif loses its original character and disappears. The same thing has probably happened in the North Pacific coastal regions, where the earth-diver motif has not taken root, while it has unfolded a great variety of forms in the inland of North America.

In Indonesia, the idea is prevalent that the earth was created from material which was brought from the sky. This motif replaces the earth-diver motif. E. g. it is told in the creation myth of the Toba Bataks that a woman from the sky went down into the middle world to escape from the man whom she was ordered to marry. First she threw down a ball of yarn, holding on to the end of the yarn, and then she climbed down along the thread. In the middle world was nothing but wind and water. The waves of the primeval sea tossed her backwards and forwards. The creator god Mula djadi, living in the upper world, sent the swallow down after the fleeing woman. She sent the swallow back to Mula djadi with a prayer, that he would send her something which might serve her as a resting place in the middle world. The swallow advanced this prayer and got orders to bring the woman a handful of earth from the sky. She should spread the earth out flat with her hand, so that it might be long and broad, that she, the daughter of a god, might live quietly in the middle world. The woman followed this advice; and verily, the earth became long and broad³.

In the myths of the Da'iri Bataks it is told that the highest god, Batara Guru, sent a raven out after some venison for the

¹ GRIMBLE 1922, p. 96.

² WALK, pp. 63, 65, 74.

³ WARNECK 1909, p. 30.

god's pregnant wife. The raven could not find any venison in the land of the gods; but he entered a cave, whose bottom he could not discern. A bamboo stick, thrown down, disappeared without a sound. The raven sought to solve this mystery by flying down into the depth of the cave. Having flown a long time in the darkness, the raven reached, far down, the surface of an enormous ocean. He would turn back, but could not find the opening. Fortunately he found the bamboo stick, floating upon the sea, and he sat down upon it to rest. Batara Guru became impatient, and accompanied by several servants he flew down through the dark cave, taking with him from the sky-world a handful earth, seven pieces of wood, a chisel, a goat and a bumble-bee. Having reached the surface of the sea, he made of the wood a raft and created light by calling towards the eight corners of the world. The goat and the bumble-bee went down beneath the raft, to support it. And the earth, brought down from the sky, was spread out upon the raft. In this way, he created the world, which he gave the raven to live in¹.

In a creation myth from South Eastern Borneo is told about the primeval sea, where a big snake lived, whose head was as large as the earth. The highest being, Hatalla, threw down earth from the sky upon the head of the snake². In another myth from South Eastern Borneo, there is also spoken about the primeval sea where the earth found its place, the highest god throwing earth down from the sky³. The Kayans in North Western Borneo relate that in olden times, when there was nothing but water and sky, a big rock fell down from the sky. That part of the rock which projected above the water was hard, smooth, and naked. But in the course of a long time, the rain produced slime on the rock, and in that slime small worms came into existence, boring into the rock and producing sand, which turned into earth and covered the rock. Later on, there fell from the sun a sword-handle which became a tree, and from the moon a vine which wound around the tree. From the tree and the vine, human beings originated, and animals, birds and fishes

¹ SCHMIDT 1910, pp. 51—52. (After H. N. VAN DER TUUK, *Bataksch Leesboek*, vierde Stuk. Amsterdam 1862, pp. 48—73).

² SCHMIDT 1910, p. 19. (After C. A. L. M. SCHWANER: *Borneo*, Amsterdam 1853, I, pp. 177 ff.).

³ SCHMIDT 1910, p. 20. (After SCHWANER, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 105 ff.).

came from the twigs and leaves of the tree, while the slime on the rock produced moss and small plants¹.

The idea, that the earth is made from celestial material, is known also from North America, e. g. it occurs in the cosmogonic myth of the Seneca Indians (p. 12), where the woman, who fell from the sky, took some soil with her from the upper world. It is also known from the Thompson Indians². This motif acts as a sort of substitute for the earth-diver motif. However, outside of Indonesia the idea of the celestial origin of the earth has a less continuous geographical distribution. It is found, though, in North Asia among the Voguls³ and the Kamchadals⁴, and it is also known from the Eskimos⁵.

From this great and somewhat scattered distribution it might be tempting to draw the conclusion that the idea of the earth's celestial origin is older than the earth-diver motif. However, the belief that the earth came from the sky may almost be regarded as a logical inference from the world-wide conception, that the sky on its upper side is a large country with natural conditions rather similar to those, which are known on the earth. It seems therefore quite possible that the idea of the earth's celestial origin may have arisen independently more than once.

On the other hand, it is a less obvious idea that the earth was made from material which a diver brought up from the bottom of the sea. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the earth-diver motif's wide distribution is due to cultural transmission. The fact that the motif is almost absent from the Pacific coast regions, may be explained as due to its inland-character, which does hardly agree with a coastal tribe's conception of the ocean.

This explanation cannot be used for the other big lacuna,

¹ FURNESS 1899, pp. 6—7.

² TEIT 1911, p. 320.

³ MUNKÁCSI, 1908, p. 209. In a myth from the Ssygwa-region it is told that the sky-god, Numi-Tarem, sent a woman and an old man down from above in a great cradle, hanging in an iron chain. The wind blew it backwards and forwards over the primeval sea. The old man begged the sky-god send them a piece of sacred soil, as big as a house.

⁴ KRASHENINNIKOV, II, p. 100. Kutkhu (Big Raven) and his sister carried the earth down from the sky and fastened it in the ocean.

⁵ RASMUSSEN 1925, III, p. 47. "Long, long ago, when the earth should come into existence, it fell down from above; earth, mountains, and rocks—from the sky; in that way the earth came into being." (Cape York district).

which separates the earth-diver motif's Indian area from its East European-North Asiatic area of distribution. And DÄHNHARDT's theory, that the myth, in its dualistic form, should have originated in Iran under Indian influences, does not remove the difficulties, because the motif is not at all known from Iran.

However, nobody doubts that many motifs have spread from India. The lack of a continuous geographical distribution may be due to insufficient collection of folklore, or it may be caused by the fact that no folkloristic motif fits equally well into every surrounding; in some places a motif will flourish, in other places the same motif will not find lasting acceptance.

The Thunderbird.

In the tradition of the Chipewyan Indians, as related by ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, a large bird descended to the primeval sea and touched its surface, after which the earth rose above the waters¹. MACKENZIE describes this being as "a mighty bird, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings were thunder". It does not appear from MACKENZIE's statement, that this thunderbird performed any diving or brought earth from the bottom of the sea. It would hardly be correct to regard the story as a version of the earth-diver myth. Perhaps it should rather be compared to a Tungusian creation myth, where it is told that God hurled a fire from the sky, so that a part of the primeval sea dried and hardened, whereby earth and water were separated from each other².

The Chipewyan tradition, related by MACKENZIE, is the only case, known to me, where the thunderbird takes an active part in the earth's coming into being. Otherwise, the thunderbird is widely distributed in North American folklore. The thunderbird makes lightning and thunder and calls forth thunder-showers. Sometimes it is described as enormously large, carrying a whole lake of water on its back. Sometimes it is said to be like to a big hawk or an eagle. In some cases, there seems to be only one thunderbird³. In other instances, there is told about a whole

¹ MACKENZIE 1801, p. CXVIII.

² HARVA 1938, p. 90.

³ The Hare Indians, north of Great Bear Lake, seem to believe in only one thunder bird, Iiti, of an enormous size. In winter it lives beneath the earth

family of thunderbirds with a nest full of young ones. On the American North West coast, it is told that the thunderbird catches whales and carries them away in his talons. In many tales the hero fights the thunderbird. Sometimes he arrives at the nest of the thunderbird, voluntary or involuntary, and he succeeds in killing the old thunderbirds. However, the hero may also act as the friend of the thunderbirds, defending their young ones against a snake-like water-monster, who seems to be the main enemy of the thunderbirds; as a recompense the hero attains supernatural powers¹. The Thompson Indians in British Columbia relate that the thunderbird shoots with arrows, using its wings as a bow. The arrowheads of the thunder are found in many places; they are of black stone and very large². Among the Lillooet Indians in British Columbia, the thunderbird is described as being quite small, of the size of a humming-bird³. By the Algonkin tribe Passamaquoddy in the northeastern Woodland, the thunderbirds are almost human beings. They shoot with arrows and have wings. Thunder is the sound of their wings. But they may remove the wings, when they do not use them. There is a Passamaquoddy tale about an Indian who was taken by the wind during a thunderstorm and carried to the thunder-village. He lived there seven years, got a pair of wings himself and learned to fly and to thunder. The thunder-weapon is of stone, and it means good luck to find it⁴.

The idea of the thunderbird is found over most of North America north of Mexico⁵, especially on the North West coast, in the Mackenzie area, Great Plains, and all of the eastern Woodland. It seems to be absent from most of the Eskimo area⁶, but it is known to Alaskan Eskimos, who have tales about a thunderbird,

far away in the WSW, at the rim of the sky-vault, where also the dead and the migratory birds are staying. When it gets warm again and the birds of passing appear, Iti comes also, accompanied by the spirits of the dead. When the feathers of his tail vibrate, it thunders, and when he winks with his eyes, the lightning flashes. PETITOT 1886, pp. 283 f.

¹ DORSEY 1904, pp. 73 ff.

² TEIT 1900, p. 338.

³ TEIT 1906, pp. 275 f.

⁴ LELAND 1898, pp. 263-267.

⁵ THOMPSON 1929, p. 318, note 151 c. — SWANTON 1910. — ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 287 f., note 32. — BOAS 1916, pp. 708 ff., 712 ff. — BOAS 1918, p. 286.

⁶ By the Polar Eskimos the thunder-spirits are described as two sisters, producing the thunder by shaking a dry boot-skin, the lightning by striking their firestone, and the rain by urinating. RASMUSSEN 1925, III, pp. 61 f.

acting as a dreadful bird of prey, carrying whole reindeer and human persons up to its rocky nest¹. A similar idea is found among the Russianized Yukaghirs at the mouth of Kolyma in Siberia². In South Western USA, the thunderbird-idea seems to be absent; in stead of that, tales are told about other giant birds, against whom the heros have to fight.

In Central America the thunderbird seems also to be absent, although thunder-gods are found. Hurakan by the Maya people the Quiché reveals himself in the lightning, the flash of lightning, and the stroke of lightning, and his messenger is the bird Voc, a sort of hawk³. This corresponds not quite, however, to the North American thunderbird.

In South America, the thunderbird-concept is not so conspicuous as in North America, but it is not absent, although EHRENREICH thought so⁴. MÉTRAUX has collected a number of references to the belief in thunderbirds among South American Indians. The Ashluslays and the Lenguas of the Paraguayan Chaco believe that fire was obtained by stealth from the thunderbird who feels enmity against mankind on that account. The thunderbird-idea is also found among the Chanés in the Northern Chaco, the Caxinauas of the Juruá region in Western Brazil, and the Cayapas in Ecuador. Arawak and Carib tribes in the Guianas and the West Indies seem to have identified the thunderbird with a constellation⁵.

The thunderbird-idea is by no means confined to America. It seems to play a similar rôle in North Asia as in North America. According to HOLMBERG (HARVA), the Tungus of the district of Turuchansk believe, that thunder is the roaring sound of the wings of a flying giant-bird. The Tungus do not sacrifice to the thunderbird. They believe, however, that this bird protects the soul of the shaman on its dangerous journeys, and that the shaman may send the thunderbird against his enemies. Similar ideas concerning the thunderbird are found among the eastern Samoyedes as well as the Samoyedes in Northern Russia,

¹ NELSON 1899, pp. 486—487.

² BOGORAS 1902, p. 663.

³ BOURBOURG 1861, pp. 9, 11, 71.

⁴ EHRENREICH 1905, p. 15. "Eine in Südamerika gänzlich fehlende Gestalt ist der im Norden so bedeutsame Donnervogel".

⁵ MÉTRAUX 1944, pp. 132—135. — GRUBB 1911, pp. 97—99.

further at the Tremyugan-Ostyaks, by the Yakuts, by the Orotshones in Transbaikalia, and by the Chukchees¹. This belief in a near relation between the shaman and the thunderbird, who protects him and with whom he travels, should be compared to the above mentioned Passamaquoddy-tale about an Indian's long sojourn with the thunder-people.

At the Mongols, the peoples in Altai and some eastern Tungus, the Chinese idea is found, that the thunder-god is a flying dragon. The same concept prevails in Japan. The dragon has probably replaced the thunderbird-idea, which is very old in Asia.

SCHNITGER attempts to prove, archaeologically, that the belief in the thunderbird was widely spread in eastern and southern Asia in Neolithicum. He supposes that the thunderbird-idea reached Indonesia from the West, via Southern India, probably with the megalithic culture. This assumption makes it intelligible—SCHNITGER says—that the thunderbird-concept has reached America².

In Central Europe, Italy, and Greece, a bird figure occurs in the Hallstatt period, generally double, together with the wheel and sometimes with the axe and a vessel. A. ROES will interpret this figure as a thunder- and rainbird, and she indicates similar bird-figures in Western Asia, especially Iran, together with the sun-wheel³.

RENDEL HARRIS has shown that the thunderbird was known in old Greece and Rome. According to a Greek legend, there had been a time when Zeus did not yet exist, but the woodpecker, Picus, was king. This legend is behind an utterance in Aristophanes' "the birds"⁴.

In Africa, a belief in thunderbirds is widely distributed, but it cannot off-hand be identified with the thunderbird-concept in North America and North Asia. The Baziba, dwelling at the western coast of Victoria Nyanza, relate that the thunder-god throws brightly coloured small thunderbirds towards the ground; that causes the lightning, and the thunder is the rushing sound of the wings⁵. These African thunderbirds are the thundergod's

¹ HOLMBERG 1927, pp. 439 ff. — HARVA 1938, pp. 205 ff. — For the Chukchees, cf. BOGORAS 1904, pp. 322, 331, and BOGORAS 1910, pp. 175–176.

² SCHNITGER 1941, pp. 338–345.

³ ROES 1941, pp. 57–84.

⁴ HARRIS 1913, pp. 14 ff.

⁵ REHSE 1910, pp. 129, 146.

implements. The Zulus relate that the colour of the thunderbird changes between red and green, and sometimes it is found on the ground where the lightning has struck. It may then be killed, and medicin-men regard it as a strong charm¹.

The E'we-speaking people on the Slave Coast in West Africa have traces of a thunderbird-belief, more alike to the North American belief. The name of the lightning-god, Khebioso, means literally "the bird, hurling fire". Khebioso is a flying god, having to a certain extent the nature of a bird. Flint implements of the stone age are also on the Slave Coast regarded as thunder-weapons. It is believed that Khebioso hurls them².

RENDEL HARRIS has pointed out the fact, that anthropomorphic thunder-gods sometimes have traces of an original bird-nature—or they have displaced a thunderbird. His line of thought is evolutionistic.

The thunderbird-idea is one of the widely distributed concepts, which are often—by evolutionists—regarded as belonging to general human nature.

However, it cannot be doubted that the thunderbird-idea has in some cases spread from people to people like other culture elements. Its continuous distribution over most of North America must be understood as a result of cultural spreading. The same idea, in similar forms, is also distributed over North Asia. The most natural explanation is, that the thunderbird-idea has intruded into North America from North Asia.

Travel between Earth and Sky.

The arrow-chain and the magical flight of arrows.

On both sides of the Pacific Ocean, the concept prevails that the sky is inhabited by beings, who are the relatives of the earth-dwellers. In many myths and tales a more or less intimate intercourse is described between the inhabitants of the earth and the sky. Terrestrial women marry star-men. The sun and the moon have lived upon the earth in former times. Earth-dwellers and sky-dwellers have dealings with each other, sometimes peaceful, sometimes warlike. Travel between earth and sky

¹ CALLAWAY 1870, p. 383. — WERNER 1925, p. 237.

² ELLIS 1890, pp. 37–38.

is mentioned very often, and the primitive conception of the universe is thereby illuminated and moulded.

In this chapter and the following, I propose to discuss the means of conveyance by which the myths and tales let the traffic between earth and sky take place.

One of the most characteristic motifs in American folklore is the story about a hero—or sometimes two heroes—gaining access to the sky by forming a sky-ladder from arrows. The hero shoots an arrow up against the sky; it fastens in the celestial vault. Thereupon he shoots his next arrow, which fastens itself in the end of the first one. And so he goes on, until he has made a chain of arrows, reaching from the earth to the sky.

This motif has a remarkable geographical distribution. In North America it is prevalent in the North West, especially on the North West Coast, but also on the Plateau¹. It seems to be absent, in its fully developed form, from other parts of North America. However, there is another motif which reminds somewhat of the arrow-chain: the hero follows his arrow and passes in that way a large stretch of land or a lake, or he goes with his arrow up in the sky. This other motif, "the magical arrow-flight", is especially prevalent among the Plains Indians, e. g. by the Pawnees², but it is also known from some tribes in the Mackenzie area, from the Hupa in northern California, and from several peoples of Athapascan, Algonkin, and Iroquoian stock in the Central and North Eastern Woodland area³.

In North Eastern Asia, geographically near to the arrow-chain motif in North West America, "the magical arrow flight" also occurs, e. g. in a Chukchee tale where the hero goes out in search of his wife, a polar bear, who has been abducted. He equips himself with several pairs of shoes and with bow and arrows. He shoots an arrow out into the open sea; land arises where the arrow falls. When he has passed through this land and worn out a pair of shoes, he shoots an arrow again, and

¹ BOAS 1895, p. 338. — BOAS 1916, pp. 863 f. — THOMPSON 1929, pp. 131 f., 333, note 202—203.

² In a Pawnee tale the hero escapes from his pursuers by shooting an arrow, letting the arrow carry him away. DORSEY 1906, p. 72. In another Pawnee tale the moon-woman teaches a boy how to cross a lake by shooting an arrow over it. *Op. cit.* p. 159. In a third tale, two brothers shoot their arrows up in the sky, and by that means they themselves ascend to the sky. *Op. cit.* p. 493.

³ THOMPSON 1929, p. 315, note 145a.

land comes again into view in the same direction; he puts other shoes on and walks further. In that way he continues, and having used all his arrows he reaches the land of the polar bears on the other side of the sea¹. In a Koryak tale, an arrow is shot upwards, forming a road to the sky². Similarly an arrow may also, in Koryak folklore, form a road to the under-world, when the arrow is thrown into the fire³. In a Chuvantzy tale, the hero shoots an arrow up into the sky and himself jumps up, following after the arrow⁴. In an Ainu tale, the hero shoots two arrows, first one with a black feather, then one with a white feather, grasps with his hands the ends of the two arrows and ascends in that way to the sky, where he visits the man in the moon⁵.

In a Chukchee tale, the hero reaches the upper world by means of needle and thread. He throws the needle upwards, as a dart, so that it fastens in the sky, whereupon he ascends, using the thread as a rope-ladder⁶. This may perhaps be regarded as a version of the arrow-chain motif. It is strikingly similar to certain Australian myths (quoted beneath, p. 46) where the hero throws a spear with a line up in the sky and afterwards ascends by means of the line.

The magical arrow flight embodies an idea, very close to the arrow-chain. And its distribution in North America and North East Asia is adjacent to the distribution of the arrow-chain motif in North West America.

The story of the arrow-chain is found, however, within two other geographical areas, namely in South America and in Melanesia.

In South America, the motif is found in the Amazonas region, especially among tribes of the Tupi stock. E. g. the Guarayo Indians in North Eastern Bolivia relate that their ancestor had two sons, each of whom made a chain of arrows, shooting arrows up into the sky. One of the sons was transformed into the sun, the other one into the moon. An Indian tribe at Rio Jamundá (northern affluent to Amazonas) relates about a wo-

¹ BOGORAS: *Chukchee Mythology*, 1910, pp. 112 f. Quoted by KUNIKE, 1940, pp. 170 ff.

² JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 293, 304, 358, 377.

³ JOCHELSON 1905, p. 141.

⁴ BOGORAS 1918, pp. 136–138. — KUNIKE 1940, pp. 118–121.

⁵ PILSUDSKI 1912, pp. 73–74.

⁶ BOGORAS 1904, p. 331.

man who fell in love with her brother and visited him unknown at night. The brother felt suspicion and put marks in her face. In the morning when she saw her image in the water she felt ashamed because she was recognized. She took then her bow and arrows and shot up in the sky, forming a chain of arrows by which she climbed up and became the moon¹. North of the Amazonas, the Palikur-Indians at Rio Uaçá in Brazilian Guiana have a tale about a man who, in a conflict with his brother-in-law, escaped to the sky by means of an arrow-chain and became the constellation of Orion². South of the Amazonas region, the arrow-chain occurs in a tale among the Matakó Indians in Gran Chaco; in this version the arrow-chain forms a bridge across an Ocean³.

A Patagonian myth contains a feature which reminds of the magical arrow flight in the above mentioned Chukchee tale. The hero El-lal, having taught mankind the use of the fire, invented the bow and arrow, and conquered wild animals and a cannibalistic giant, is nevertheless rejected when he woos the sun's daughter. Then he leaves the earth. Carried on the wings of a swan over the ocean towards the East, he finds eternal rest on the green island which arises between the waves in the places where his arrows fall upon the surface of the sea⁴.

In Melanesia the arrow-chain motif has been recorded, e. g. by Father Suas in the island of Logana in the New Hebrides in a swan-maiden tale. In this version the hero shoots a hundred arrows, forming a chain of arrows between the sky and the earth. At first he tries the solidity of the arrow-chain carefully—a feature, also known from North American versions—and then he ascends to the sky by means of the arrow-chain, in search of his runaway wife and her son. Later on he descends again by means of the arrow-chain, whereafter all the arrows fall down. Trying again to form an arrow-chain, he fails⁵.

¹ EHRENREICH 1905, pp. 37, 49. — KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, p. 283. — PETTAZONI 1924, pp. 151—165. — GRUBB 1924, pp. 184—194, especially p. 187.

² NIMUENDAJÚ 1926, p. 90.

³ MÉTRAUX 1939, pp. 54—55.

⁴ The myth about El-lal is given by RAMON LISTA: *Los Indios Tehuelches*, Buenos Aires 1894. Quoted by J. DENIKER in the article *Patagonians* in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, and by ALEXANDER 1920, pp. 335—336.

⁵ P. J. BT. SUAS: *Mythes et Légendes des Nouvelles Hébrides*. *Anthropos*, VII, 1912, pp. 54—59.

CODRINGTON has another version from the Arago Island in the New Hebrides, where the child of a god shoots an arrow which fastens itself in the sky and is transformed into a sort of aerial root, by which the child and its mother climb up into the sky¹. CODRINGTON has also a tale from the Torres Islands in the New Hebrides, where the arrow-chain occurs in another combination. A number of men, caught in a deep cave, help themselves out again by shooting an arrow into the branch of a banyan tree over the cave and continuing shooting arrows, which fasten themselves into one another and form a chain of arrows, by means of which the men climb up from the cave².

The arrow-chain motif is also known from New Guinea. It occurs in the folklore of two Melanesian tribes, Jabim and Tami, at the Huon Golf in the former German part of New Guinea³. The hero enters into a love intrigue with his brother's wife. Pursued by the injured husband, he seeks shelter in a high tree; and when the tree is felled, he shoots an arrow into the sky, fastens the next arrow in the first one, the third in the second one etc., forming an arrow-chain, by the means of which he escapes. In the Jabim version, he takes the brother's wife with him to the sky. In the Tami version, the brother's wife is killed, but the hero takes with him all his household, consisting of wife and children. A curious feature occurs, the ants helping the hero by placing a sort of glue over the joints between the arrows. In the Tami version, the hero and his household are identical with the Pleiades; he tells his pursuers that they will be without taro and suffer lack of food when he disappears, but when he shows his face again, they will get something to eat. This corresponds to the fact that the Pleiades are invisible during the month of May and June, when food is scarce; the old taro is then finished, and the yams are not yet ripe.

¹ CODRINGTON 1891, p. 169.

² CODRINGTON 1891, p. 375.

³ ZAHN 1911, p. 390. — BÄMLER 1911, p. 352. — Among Papuans West of the Fly River, F. E. WILLIAMS found an idea which reminds of "the magical arrow flight". The magician is believed to perform several kinds of levitation. "He can, for instance, shoot his missile into a tree and, following it, enter the trunk; whereupon the tree grows to a gigantic height, like the fabled beenstalk, and bending over enables the sorcerer to alight under the cover of night in any village he chooses." WILLIAMS 1936, p. 342.

This tripartite distribution of the arrow-chain motif raises several problems. How did this curious motif arise? Did it originate in several places independently? or has the idea spread from one area? In the last case, how did the lacunae in the geographical distribution originate?

For the mythological school which regarded the myths as poetical pictures of natural phenomena and especially of meteorological facts, the arrow chain was identical with the sunbeams. The archer who sends a series of arrows against the celestial vault, and so creates the road by which he ascends to the sky, was interpreted as the rising sun¹.

As a matter of fact, the arrow-chain occurs often in connection with sun- and moon-myths. It is hardly possible to reject the thought, that the arrow-chain may originally be a poetical simile, representing the beams of the rising sun or moon. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to interpret all arrow-chain tales as sun- and moon-myths. For instance, in the version from Tami in New Guinea, the hero is not to be identified with sun nor moon, but with the Pleiades. In some regions, the arrow-chain has become a very popular motif; this is especially true of North West America, where the motif occurs in many combinations.

The arrow-chain idea must be especially pleasing to peoples, for whom the bow and arrow is an important weapon. By this line of thought, WILHELM WUNDT has attempted to explain the distribution of the motif. The reason why the arrow-chain does not occur in Polynesian folklore may be quite simple: the Polynesians do not use bow and arrow. In Africa, where the

¹ FROBENIUS 1898, pp. 150 f., 169 f. — EHRENREICH 1910, p. 207. — The idea of the sunbeams making a road to the sky seems so obvious that it might arise everywhere. It is much wider distributed than the arrow-chain idea. For instance, it is found in Christian legends about the child Jesus, ascending by means of sunbeams. This idea occurs also in an English ballad, "The bitter withy":

Our Saviour built a bridge with the beams of the sun,
And over He gone, He gone He,

PHILLIPS BARRY thinks, that the idea of the bridge of sunbeams, as it appears in Christian legends, may possibly go back to Old Egypt, where the pyramid-texts speak about a ladder of sunbeams, by which the king ascends to the gods. BARRY 1914.

Traffic between earth and sky by means of sunbeams occurs in Chukechee tales (BOGORAS 1904, p. 331), and upon the North West American coast (BOAS 1898, p. 95).

motif does not occur, the bow and arrow is used by many peoples, but does not play as great a rôle as in Melanesia¹. WUNDT's explanation is not satisfactory, however, the motif being absent in great areas where the bow and arrow is an important weapon. And PETTAZONI has called attention to the still more remarkable fact, that the arrow-chain motif, in a somewhat altered shape, occurs in Southern Australia, where the bow and arrow is altogether unknown. The natives in the Adelaide and Encounter Bay region in South Australia have a tale about a mythical being, Monana, who once in former times threw a lance up in the air to such a height that it did not fall down again, then another lance in the same direction and yet several more, forming a chain of lances, by means of which Monana ascended to the sky². Among the Narrinyeris in South Australia, a myth is recorded about two brothers, one of whom engages in a love intrigue with the two wives of his brother. Pursued by the deceived husband, the fleeing brother throws a lance with barbs and a line up towards the sky, where the lance fastens itself in the celestial vault, whereupon he and the two women climb up by means of the line and ascend to the sky, where all three become stars. The pursuing husband ascends the sky afterwards in the same manner³.—Among the natives at Lake Condah a myth has been recorded about a man who likewise threw a lance with a line up in the sky and ascended by means of the line, whereafter he brought fire from the sun to the earth. The myth continues with an account of, how all human beings later on ascended to the sky in the same manner, except one man who became the ancestor of all the earth's now living inhabitants⁴.—Among the Euahlayi in Northern New South Wales a tale is recorded, similar to the one just quoted from the Narrinyeris, with one difference: the hero, pursued by the deceived husband, forms a continuous chain of javelins,

¹ WUNDT 1909, II, 3, pp. 222—226.

² J. P. WYATT in J. D. WOODS: *The native tribes of South Australia*, Adelaide 1879, pp. 165 f. Here quoted after PETTAZONI 1924, p. 163. Cf. also RATZEL, I, p. 352, and FROBENIUS 1898, pp. 178—179.

³ Rev. G. TAPLIN, "The Narrinyeri or tribes of aborigines inhabiting the lakes Alexandrina and Albert and lower Murray" in J. D. WOODS, *op. cit.* Cf. also R. BROUGH SMYTH, I, p. 425.

⁴ SMYTH, I, p. 462.

reaching from the sky to the earth¹, as in the South Australian myth about Monana. The Euahlayi-version, enlarging the Australian distribution of the motif considerably towards the North, seems to have escaped the attention of PETTAZONI.

PETTAZONI regards the chain of lances in the South Australian myth as a variant of the arrow-chain. He thinks that this motif has entered Australia from Melanesia, undergoing a transformation. The Australians, not knowing the bow, have simply replaced the arrow with the lance in taking over the motif.

This line of thought seems reasonable—although the distance between Melanesia and South Australia is not inconsiderable.

The Narrinyeri-myth and the Euahlayi-version have essential similarity to the arrow-chain story from New Guinea—which PETTAZONI does not quote. Therefore, the motif has probably reached Australia via New Guinea. On its way the motif must, however, have passed a number of peoples, where it has not survived in the traditions, or at least it has not been noticed by ethnologists.

Still larger lacunae separate the arrow-chain's Melanesian area from North West America, and North West America from the Amazonas region, even if we regard "the magical arrow flight", distributed over North East Asia and in North Americas Plains and the Northern and North Eastern Woodland, as a sort of variant of the arrow-chain motif. PETTAZONI will explain the American lacuna as due to the fact that the bow and arrow plays only a small rôle by the agricultural peoples, wherefore the motif has not been able to persist with them. From Zuñi in the Pueblo region, PETTAZONI quotes a peculiar parallel to the arrow-chain motif: the sun-father's two sons ascend to the sky along a path which they have made by throwing flour up into the air². PETTAZONI regards this as a variant of the arrow-chain, an adaptation of the motif to the mind of an agricultural people.

This explanation of the lacuna in the American distribution

¹ K. L. PARKER: *More Australian legendary tales*, p. 11. Here quoted after DIXON 1916, p. 294. Cf. also K. L. PARKER 1905, p. 97; the magician Beereun forms a chain of spears, in order to ascend the sky and continue the pursuit of the fleeing women.

² STEVENSON 1904, pp. 24 f.

of the motif does not seem to be altogether unreasonable. And it is tempting to look for a similar explanation of the other large lacuna which separates the North Pacific and the Melanesian areas of the motif. In the East Asiatic high civilizations, the arrow-chain motif fits as badly as in the American agricultural civilizations.

It must be admitted, however, that none of the problems, raised by the geographical distribution of the arrow-chain motif, has been finally solved. It is still uncertain whether this motif has had one or several places of origin. BOAS has maintained that the arrow-chain motif might very well have originated in more than one place, as the idea is not very complicated¹. The answer may be, that the arrow-chain idea, although being quite simple, is nevertheless of a queer and bold improbability. It is intelligible that this idea might become popular and widely spread among primitive hunters. But it does not seem likely that it would originate in several places independently and in exactly the same queer and bold form.

The lacunae in the geographical distribution may perhaps be explained to some extent by the fact, that other motifs may serve as substitutes for the arrow-chain, that is, take its place in the stories about traffic between the earth and the sky.

The sky-rope, the sky-ladder, the sky-tree.

The arrow-chain is only one of several means, by which the myths and the tales establish connection between the earth and the sky. The tree, growing into the sky, the sky-ladder, and the sky-rope appear partly within the same areas as the arrow-chain, but also outside of these, having a very wide geographical distribution, as well in America as west of the Pacific Ocean.

The psychological relation between the arrow-chain and the sky-ladder and sky-rope is sometimes apparent. In a tale from the Tlingit Indians on the American North West Coast, the arrow-chain is transformed into a ladder². By the Achomawi Indians in North California, it is told, that a rope, attached to an arrow, was shot up into the sky, afterwards serving as a sky-

¹ BOAS 1914, p. 384.

² SWANTON 1909, pp. 209-210.

rope¹. Cf. also the version of the arrow-chain motif from Arago Island in the New Hebrides, where the arrow, fastened into the sky-vault, grows out to an aerial root, that is a sky-rope (p. 44).

The sky-rope is a widely spread motif in North America; it occurs often in the tale about the girl who married a star. According to STITH THOMPSON, the sky-rope is very common in Western North America, especially the North West Coast, the Plateau, California, and the Plains; it occurs also in the Mackenzie area, by the Ojibwas in the Central Woodland, by the Caddos in the South East, and by the Mohave-Apaches in the South West². Sometimes it is the spider who spins the sky-rope.—In North East Asia, the sky-rope is also known. In a Chukchee myth it is related, how the supreme being sends a young man and his bride down to the earth from the upper world by means of a spider's thread, strong enough to carry twenty reindeer loads³. BOGORAS refers to similar stories from Lower Frazer River in North West America⁴.

The sky-ladder is not common in North American folklore; it occurs, however, for instance in the above-mentioned story from the Tlingit Indians, where the arrow-chain is transformed into a ladder.

More frequent is the tree, growing into the sky, often occurring in the story about the girl who married a star, and in the story about a father, who is jealous of his son and tries to get rid of him by sending him up into a tree, which begins to grow quickly up into the sky. The sky-tree motif is found all over North America, particularly often on the North West Coast, the Plateau, and in California, but also in the Plains, the Mackenzie region, and in South West, and also in some parts of the Eastern Woodland⁵.—From the Kamchadals in North East Asia, JOCHELSON gives a tale, comparing it to the American tale about the quickly growing tree. The raven's wife, having caught some mice in a sack, places the sack with the mice in the top of a high tree, asking the tree to bend its top down and

¹ DIXON 1908, p. 166.

² THOMPSON 1929, pp. 283, 332.

³ BOGORAS 1902, pp. 591, 677.

⁴ BOAS 1895, p. 40.

⁵ THOMPSON 1929, p. 332, note 199 and 200.

to raise it again¹. There is no mention of any real growth, however.

In Mexican mythology, the sky-tree occurs as a means of raising the fallen sky. According to Codex Ramirez (*Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*) the sky fell down at the end of the period of the fourth sun, owing to a violent rain. The two gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca transformed themselves into two giant trees, in that way contributing essentially to the raising of the sky².

In old Mexico it was believed that some of the dead climbed up into the starry sky by means of a sky-tree. This climbing is pictured in Codex Aubin³. The Mexicans believed, that those who had died in war, and those who were sacrificed at religious ceremonies, and also the women who died at childbirth, all went to the sky, where they accompanied the sun in his daily journey across the sky, the warrior-souls following him in the forenoon until culmination, where he was received by the women-souls, accompanying him down until the horizon was reached. Furthermore, it was believed that the warrior-souls flew from the sky to the earth in the shape of humming birds and other brilliantly feathered birds, while the woman-souls visited the earth in the shape of moths⁴. According to old Mexican ideas, there was a rather lively traffic going on between the earth and the sky.

Among the Mayas of Yucatan, a religious belief in a sky-tree is found in modern times. A. M. TOZZER found the belief in Yucatec villages, that there are seven skies above the earth, each of them with a hole in the middle. A giant tree, a ceiba, growing in the exact middle of the earth, stretches its branches up through the holes in the skies, reaching as far as the seventh sky, where the great god of the Spaniards is living. By means of this tree, the spirits of the dead arise from sky to sky. Below the uppermost Christian sky certain spirits are living, which are the old Maya gods, although they are governed by El Gran Dios⁵.

¹ JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 331, 376.

² PHILLIPS 1884, p. 621.

³ PREUSS 1912, p. XXVI, Abb. 10.

⁴ JOYCE 1920, p. 102.

⁵ TOZZER. Here quoted after ALEXANDER, p. 140.

TOZZER has also found the concept of a sort of sky-rope among the modern Mayas. According to the belief of the Mayas, the world was dark in the first period of its existence, because the sun had not yet come into being. During this period a dwarf-people lived in Yucatan, building the towns which are now lying in ruins. The builders received their food through a living rope, extended between the sky and the earth. There was blood in the rope. But the rope was cut, the blood ran out, the earth and the sky were separated, and the period ended in a devastating flood of water. In this myth, the sky-rope is of a special kind, a sort of supply-tube¹.

As a means of travel, the sky-rope occurs in the creation myth of the Cora Indians; the earth-goddess, living in the sky, hauls the rain-gods up from the primeval sea by means of a rope, made from her own hair².

The sky-ladder is found in Mexican picture-writing from Christian times, in a representation of the confession of faith. The sky-ladder stands for the sentence "ascended unto heaven"³.

In South America, the sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree are widely known. The Warraú Indians in British Guayana relate, that their forefathers lived originally in a beautiful region above the sky. One day a hunter, searching for a lost arrow, found a hole through which the arrow had fallen; he looked through the hole and saw the earth lying beneath with herds of wild swine, deer, and other animals. Together with his friends he made a rope or a ladder of cotton; and by means of that the ancestors of the Warraús descended to the earth⁴. The sky-ladder is also mentioned in a tale from the Caraiib tribe Taulipang in Guiana, where the hero marries the daughter of the condor, and later on he visits the condor's house in the sky. One of the brothers-in-law has furnished him with a feather-dress; however, strange to tell, the birds use not only their wings, but also a sky-ladder⁵. In some tales, the spider spins

¹ TOZZER. Here quoted after ALEXANDER 1920, p. 153.

² PREUSS 1912, p. 58.

³ SELER 1902, I, p. 294.

⁴ BRETT 1880, pp. 55 f. Here quoted after KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, pp. 1—2.

⁵ KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1916, II, pp. 81—91. In another Taulipang tale, the moon ascends to the sky by means of a vine. This vine is very broad, formed like a ladder, and its Indian name means "the moon has ascended by it" Medicine men are supposed to ascend to the sky by the same vine. *Ibid.* p. 54.

the sky-rope¹. A curious parallel to the sky-rope occurs in a tale from the Tupi tribe Mundrucu in central Brazil; the original home of human beings was an underground world, from where a culture hero brought them up to the surface of the earth by means of a rope, made from cotton². The sky-tree occurs in a tale from the Gês tribe Cherente at Rio Tocantins in central Brazil; a young man falls in love with a star maiden who asks him to bring her fruits from a palm tree, and when he has reached the top of the tree, it grows into the sky³. The Mosekene Indians in Bolivia have a myth about the culture-hero Dohitt, making several journeys between the earth and the sky and using different means of conveyance: the sky-ladder, the sky-rope, the feather-dress, and the rapidly growing tree⁴. The Matako Indians in Gran Chaco say that the sky and the earth were formerly connected by a big tree⁵.

A parallel to the sky-tree is the mountain that grows into the sky. This motif occurs in a tale from the Akawoio Indians in British Guiana⁶. It is also known from western North America⁷.

The lacuna between the North West American and the Brazilian area of the arrow-chain motif may then be said to be filled out by other means of travel through space. And in the same way, the other large lacuna in the geographical distribution of the arrow-chain motif, in Oceania and Asia, is also filled out by other magical means of conveyance. In Oceania, the sky-tree concept is widely known⁸. The sky-rope idea is

¹ ALEXANDER 1920, p. 274.

² RODRIGUES 1890, pp. 245 ff. Here quoted after KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, pp. 225—227.

³ OLIVEIRA 1912, pp. 394 f. The star maiden has led the young man to the world of the dead, which is in the sky, according to Cherente ideas. At the feast of the dead, the Cherente medicine-men are supposed to climb a high pole in order to speak with their relatives, who are in the sun, the moon, or the stars. Cf. the ascension of Siberian shamans by means of the "world-column", mentioned below p. 60.

⁴ NORDENSKIÖLD 1915, pp. 247—251.

⁵ MÉTRAUX 1939, p. 9.

⁶ W. H. BRETT: *The Indian tribes of Guiana*, London 1868, pp. 377—378. Here quoted after ALEXANDER 1920, p. 270.

⁷ From the Maidu in California (POWERS 1877, p. 342), from the Bella Coola (BOAS 1898, p. 102), and from the Athapascan tribe Tsetsaut at Portland Canal in Alaska (BOAS 1897, p. 38).

⁸ Magaia, GILL 1878, pp. 109 f. — Nauru, BRANDEIS 1904, pp. 111 f. — Tonga, COLLOCOTT 1924, pp. 279 f. — Yap, MÜLLER 1918, II, pp. 660—661. — Fiji, FISON 1894, pp. 49 f. — The rapid growth occurs also in a myth from the Tinguian tribe on the Philippine island Luzon; a vine carries a woman up into the sky,

also general, especially in Melanesia and Indonesia; sometimes it is twined by the spider¹.

In North Asia, the sky-rope is known by the Chukchees (p.49), where also it is a spider's thread. In one of the Chukchee myths, the hero is sent home to the earth from the Polar Star's house, the Spider-Woman letting him down by a thread².

In the East-Asiatic culture area, where the arrow-chain motif is entirely absent, the sky-rope³, the sky-ladder⁴, and the sky-

where she marries the sun. COLE 1915, pp. 33, 202. — In Indonesia and Micronesia, the sky-tree is often planted in the sky with its top down towards the earth, see for instance FURNESS 1899, pp. 20 f. However, the tree which from the earth grows into the sky is also known in Indonesian myths, see for instance DE JOSSELYN DE JONG 1937, p. 72. — In Malayan folklore, the mythical world-tree is sometimes combined with the idea of the "navel of the ocean", where an awful whirlpool swallows the ships. It is told that a Malayan sailor, his ship going down, rescued himself by climbing up in the tree. SKEAT 1900, pp. 6—9.

¹ The sky-rope is a very common feature in Indonesian tales. Sometimes a liana does service. — British Borneo, HAMBRUCH 1922, pp. 110 f. — Batak, Sumatra, HAMBRUCH 1922, pp. 85 f. — Toba Batak, see above p. 33. — Alfoers, Seran in the Moluccas, G. DE VRIES 1927, pp. 264—270. — Kei Islands, RIEDEL 1886, pp. 217—218. — The sky-rope is also known in tales from New Guinea and New Hebrides, DIXON 1916, p. 66, note 28. — In the Micronesian island Yap it occurs in a variant of the Swan-maiden story, MÜLLER 1918, p. 485. The sky-rope is here a spider-thread. — In New Hebrides, the sky-rope, twined by the spider, is also known (COBRINGTON 1891, p. 383, note), likewise in New Zealand and Hawaii (DIXON 1916, p. 66). — A curious combination of the sky-rope and the sky-tree is found in a tale from the northern Solomon Islands (BLACKWOOD 1932, pp. 74—76).

² BOGORAS 1910, pp. 117 f.—The sky-tree is also found in Chukchee tales. BOGORAS 1910, p. 173. The hero, pursued by an ogre, climbs to the top of a tree and then falls from the tree upwards, in that way reaching the upper world.

³ The sky-rope occurs in the Chinese tale about the tiger and the children. The tiger—or another evil animal—has eaten the mother of the children and gains admittance to the house, purporting to be the mother. The children seek refuge in a tree, and in some versions the children climb from the tree into the sky by means of a rope, while the animal, attempting to follow after them, falls down. This tale is widely spread in China, and also in Korea and Japan. In Korean versions, the children are transformed into the sun and the moon. EBERHARD 1937, pp. 19 f. The sky-rope occurs also in a Japanese version of the swan-maiden motif. The swan-maiden returns to the sky and sends a thread from the sky to the top of an oak tree. By means of this thread, her terrestrial husband ascends to the sky, and the loving pair is now to be seen as two constellations, Orime (the female weaver) and Hikoboshi (the star of the youth). RUMPF 1937, pp. 225—226.

⁴ The sky-ladder occurs by the Chinese story-teller Pu Sung-ling, from the 17. century. The old and poor Chao marries a woman from the spirit-world, who liberates him from poverty. He gets many friends. However, when the friends become too many and too importunate, Chao and his wife and their servant boy leave the terrestrial world by means of a ladder, resting against a high tree and rising above the top of the tree, and—as it is said in GILES'S translation—"Thus they went up, up, up, up, until they disappeared in the

tree¹ are all known. The sky and the earth are as closely connected in Chinese, Korean, and Japanese folk-tales as in the myths and tales of Oceania and North Asia. The same near relation between the earth and the sky is also present in the old Japanese myths².

In Oceania and East Asia, the idea of traffic between the earth and the sky is often combined with the concept, that the sky was formerly nearer to the earth than now—a thought, naturally connected with the wide-spread myth about an original sexual union between the male sky and the female earth, who were at last forced to separate, because their numerous progeny required room³. However, the tale about the former proximity of the sky and the earth is often told without any further explanation.

In America, the idea of the former proximity of the sky and the earth is not as prevalent as in Oceania and Asia; it is found, however, in some places, especially in the North West. For instance, the Nootka Indians on the American North West coast relate the myth about the hero Anthine who ascended the sky by means of an arrow-chain, which is made more believable by the remark that the sky was nearer to the earth in those days⁴. The Kaska Indians in northern British Columbia relate, that the sky was lifted up to its present height by a big clouds and were seen no more. However, when the bystanders came to look at the ladder, they found it was only an old door-frame with the panels knocked out". GILES, pp. 364—366. — In this Chinese version of the sky-ladder we find again the supernatural growth, otherwise characteristic of the sky-tree.

¹ The plant growing into the sky is a motif in several Chinese folk-tales. The rapidly growing plant is sometimes a gourd-vine. The man who climbs the plant is sometimes transformed into the man in the moon. EBERHARD 1937, pp. 36—37. The motif is sometimes combined with the idea that the sky was formerly much nearer to the earth than in our days. EBERHARD 1937, p. 134.

² The sky or heaven was—as BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN says—"an actual place,—not more ethereal than earth—nor thought of as the abode of the blessed after death,—but simply a "high plain" situated above Japan and communicating with Japan by a bridge or ladder, and forming the residence of some powerful personages called kami,—a word which we must make shift to translate by "god" or "goddess", or "deity". An arrow shot from earth could reach heaven and make a hole in it." Ko-ji-ki, p. LV.

In the myth about the creation of the island Onogoro it is told that the male and the female divinity, Izanagi and Izanami, were standing upon the floating bridge of heaven, and with a spear they whipped the ocean into foam, from which the island originated. Of this bridge, connecting the sky with the earth, some have tried to find traces in the so-called sky-stairs, certain rocky promontories on the coasts of Japan. CHAMBERLAIN: Ko-ji-ki, pp. 18—19, note 3.

³ DIXON 1916, pp. 30—36, 50—51, 178, 250. — DE JOSSELIN DE JONG 1937, p. 71. — EBERHARD 1937, pp. 97 f., 134. — ERKES 1931, pp. 363 f.

⁴ BOAS 1895, p. 117.

man, living in former days, because he felt it disagreeable that the sky was so low that he had to crawl¹. The Mohave Indians at the lower Colorado River have the myth about the sexual union of the earth and the sky. The earth gave birth to twins, and the first work of the twins was to lift the sky up². The Aztek related, that the sky fell down upon the earth once, as a result of exceedingly heavy rain, but the two gods Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl transformed themselves into giant trees and lifted the sky up again in its place by the help of four strong men³. This Aztek relation differs strongly from the other stories about the lifting of the sky. However, in Eastern and Central Brazil, among the Tembes and Bakāiris versions are found, more similar to the Oceanic and East Asiatic stories about the former proximity and separation of the earth and the sky. The Tembe Indians relate that the sky and the earth were very much nearer to each other in the beginning than now. The birds resolved to lift the sky, and they all joined in this work⁴. The Bakāiri myth about the twins Keri and Kame, putting the world in order, contains the feature that the sky and the earth are interchanged. In the beginning, everything went on in the sky; all the beings were living there. But Keri decided to shift his place of residence; he and all his people went down upon the earth, which was then quite near to the sky, and the sky arose to the place where it is now⁵. The idea of interchanging of sky and earth is also known to the Matakos and the Toba Indians of the Gran Chaco⁶.

Traffic between the earth and the sky by magical means is then a general feature in myths and tales all over Oceania, East Asia, North East Asia, and most of North and South America. The magical means of conveyance include the arrow-chain, the magical arrow flight, the sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree. Further, the rainbow occurs as a mythical means of conveyance in some places of Oceania⁷, among the

¹ TEIT 1917, pp. 444—445.

² ALEXANDER 1916, p. 179.

³ PHILLIPS 1884, p. 621.

⁴ KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, p. 187.

⁵ KARL VON DEN STEINEN 1894, p. 376.

⁶ MÉTRAUX 1939, p. 9. — MÉTRAUX 1946 pp. 24—25.

⁷ Hawaii and Celebes, DIXON 1916, pp. 67 and 156.

Chukchees¹, and widely in North America². The milky way is regarded by many North American Indians as the road of the spirits of the dead, for instance among the Pawnees and some eastern tribes³. Also in South America—in the Amazonas region—the milky way is the road of the dead⁴. The Chaco Indians believe that bad spirits travel on the milky way to attack human beings⁵. This concept of the milky way as a road of the dead is not so well known outside America. An ascending column of smoke may also serve as a road to heaven. The Chukchees believe that the dead spirit ascends with the smoke from the funeral pyre⁶. The Buryats practise cremation when the dead person was a shaman, believing that the dead ascend to heaven with the smoke⁷. The same idea finds expression in a folk-tale from the Santals in India⁸. In a version of the swan-maiden motif from Java, the swan-maiden ascends to the sky in the smoke from a burning rice straw⁹. From Yap in Micronesia is also recorded a tale, where a column of smoke forms a road between the earth and the sky¹⁰. I cannot quote any American example of the column of smoke as a road to heaven. The idea that birds and human beings in feather-dress can fly up into the sky-world, is found everywhere. The miraculous horse who can carry his rider up into the sky, is known in the Old World only¹¹, but for good reasons unknown in American myths.

As such a large selection of magical means of conveyance is available for the mythical traffic between the earth and the sky, it does not seem unintelligible that some of these means have been preferred in certain areas, while others have maintained themselves in other areas. The lacunae in the geographical distribution of a magical means of conveyance may be the result of a sort of competition and local selection. This seems more

¹ BOGORAS 1904, p. 331.

² Examples from the Mackenzie area, North West Coast, California, Huron-Wyandot and South West, see THOMPSON 1929, p. 333, note 204a.

³ ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 96, 117.

⁴ ALEXANDER 1920, p. 307.

⁵ ALEXANDER 1920, p. 323.

⁶ BOGORAS 1904, p. 331.

⁷ HARVA 1938, p. 361.

⁸ BOMPAS 1909, p. 168.

⁹ DIXON 1916, pp. 208–209.

¹⁰ MÜLLER 1918, pp. 685–686.

¹¹ In East Asia it occurs for instance in an Ainu-tale. CHAMBERLAIN 1888 p. 21.

likely than the assumption that the arrow-chain motif should have originated independently within each of its three geographical areas.

The magical traffic between the earth and the sky is connected with and expression of the belief, that mankind's first origin and near relations are to be found in a sky-world, resembling the terrestrial world in many essentials. This view of the universe is prevailing in Oceania and on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. Further, it is widely spread outside the Pacific Area—all over the earth. The sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree are well-known motifs in Asiatic, European, and African folklore.

For instance it may be mentioned that the sky-rope is known in Danish folklore; in jocose lying-tales, a rope, twined from chaff, is used for letting a person down from the sky or from the moon. Variants of the sky-tree occur also; somebody climbs up into the sky by means of a hazel or by a quickly growing plant, sprouted from a caraway-seed or a mustard-seed¹.

From East Europe, an Esthonian tale from Oesel may be quoted, about a man climbing up into the sky by means of a quickly growing tobacco-plant. The wind having overturned the tobacco-plant, the man asks the thunder-god, father Pitkne, to allow him to twine a rope from the chaff which he finds in two boxes in the sky. One of these boxes contains rain, and the other one snow. The thunder-god does not allow the man to twine ropes from the content of the boxes, but he lets him down to the earth again with the rain². In this tale we find the sky-tree and the sky-rope, the last one in the form of rain.

The idea of the sky's former proximity to the earth is also found in Esthonian folklore³.

In Russian folklore, the sky-tree is a well known feature,

¹ FEILBERG, the articles "Hakkelse", "Himmel", "Reb", with references to KRISTENSEN, *Danske Folkeeventyr* 1888, p. 256, *Jydske Folkeminder*, VII, pp. 254, 246, *Skattegraveren*, XII, p. 211, *Efterslet til Skattegraveren*, pp. 192, 213. J. KAMP: *Danske Folkeminder*, 1877, p. 11.

² STERN 1935, p. 135.

³ STERN, pp. 138—139. The sky was formerly so low that it could be reached with the hands. The tailor's children made holes in the sky with their fingers, and the tailor and his wife cut holes with the scissors. In that way, the children produced the stars, the tailor the moon, and his wife the sun. Grandfather let the sky be lifted higher up, to save his roof from being spoiled.

occurring in many tales. In one version it is a cabbage, in another a pea, in a third version a bean, growing with miraculous speed and at last reaching the sky, in a fourth version the sky-tree sprouts from an acorn. In all instances, a peasant climbs the sky-tree, and in the sky he finds a hand-mill, producing a loaf of bread or a pot of porridge at each turning, or he finds a pancake-house or other miraculous things that may free a man from all anxiety with regard to the daily bread. Afterwards he attempts to take his wife with him into the sky, which proves a failure. In one version, the sky-rope appears also. The peasant, having entered the sky by means of a quickly growing pea, cannot return by the same way, as the pea-plant has disappeared. Then he collects the cobweb or gossamer, flying in the air, and makes from that a rope by means of which he descends¹. The sky-rope is then the spider's product, as in so many Oceanic, Chukchee, and American versions.

The English fairy-tale "Jack and the bean-stalk" is the best known West-European example of the sky-tree². This English version has some similarity to the above-mentioned Russian versions.

The sky-tree and sky-rope motif is much less important in European than in Oceanic and American folklore. One gets the impression that the European, also the East-European peasantry has for a long time been unable to take in earnest those elements of an ancient, naive world of ideas. On the other hand, the complete absence of Christian elements in the stories makes it evident that their origin lies far back in a period before Christianity.

In African folklore, especially in Bantu-Africa, the sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree are well-known features and as important as in Oceanic and American folklore³. The highest god, living in the sky, has in some African myths sojourned on the earth before he ascended into heaven. Some tribes believe that the first men or the first human pair came down from the sky. In other myths it is told, however, that the first human beings came out of a tree, or from a thicket of reeds, or from

¹ RALSTON 1873, pp. 291—298.

² HARTLAND 1890, pp. 35—44.

³ WERNER 1925, pp. 131 ff.

a cave, or from a hole in the ground¹. In many myths it is told that human beings have ascended from the earth to the sky. The means of conveyance is often a rope, which may be twined by the spider². The Wachaga on Kilimanjaro relate, that a nation of pygmies, living on the top of Kilimanjaro, have ladders by means of which they are able to ascend the sky³. The sky-tree is also mentioned in a Wachaga-tale, and it is known from the tales and myths of several South African Bantu tribes⁴. The idea of the sky as a happy land, where one would like to go by means of a sky-rope to find rest and peace, is widespread. But aside of this idea, another concept makes itself felt: The sky is believed to be the seat of an avenging, death-bringing power. This sinister belief is found e. g. by the Bantu-tribe Thonga in Portuguese South East Africa⁵.

In Asia, the ideas of communication between the earth and the sky are widely spread also outside of East Asia and Indonesia, where they are already mentioned.

The idea of the sky's former proximity to the earth, prevalent in Oceanic and East Asiatic folklore, is also known from Ceylon⁶ and from the Santals and the Bihors in Chota Nagpur⁷.

The tree growing into the sky is found likewise in Santal folklore⁸. A variant of the quickly growing tree is met with in a Tibetan fairy tale⁹.

In Central and Northern Asia, the sky-tree is combined with the idea of a world-column, carrying the sky. This idea is

¹ Ibid. pp. 145 ff.

² DENNETT 1898, pp. 74 ff.

³ BRUNO GUTMANN: *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger*, 1909, pp. 5—6. Here quoted after WERNER, 1924, p. 136.

⁴ In a Zulu tale, a brother and sister, fleeing from cannibals, climb a tree where they find a beautiful land. They find an ox and slaughter it. The smell of the meat entices one of the cannibals upon the earth. The brother and sister make a long rope by cutting the oxhide up, and by means of this rope they pull the cannibal up and torment him to death. Afterwards, the brother and sister descend to the earth again by means of the oxhide-rope. This tale has then as well the sky-tree as the sky-rope. CALLAWAY 1868, pp. 147—153.

⁵ JUNOD 1927, II, pp. 420 ff.

⁶ PARKER: *Village folk-tales*, I, p. 50.

⁷ BOMPAS, p. 401—402. Cf. ROY 1925, p. 436.

⁸ BOMPAS, pp. 119, 165, 240 ff.

⁹ Combined with STITH THOMPSON's motif K 1931, 2. The hero, left by his faithless companions on the bottom of a deep well, plants a peach-seed and prays, that it may grow up to a tree with fruit while he sleeps. Having slept several years, he awakes at last when the peach-tree has reached the upper rim of the well, enabling him to climb up. MACDONALD 1931, pp. 294—315.

ancient in Asia and Europe. The ancient Scandinavians must have known the world-column, as shown by AXEL OLRİK¹. An exhaustive treatment of the world-column idea has been given by UNO HOLMBERG in "Der Baum des Lebens". By the ancient Indians and Babylonians, the world-column had the character of a world-mountain, rising from the middle of the earth, the polar star standing over the top of the mountain. The point around which the sky turned was also the point where the celestial vault was supported. The world-column is a very old element in the cosmology of the ancient South- and West-Asiatic civilizations. And this idea has persisted in the beliefs of Central-Asiatic and North-Asiatic peoples, which HOLMBERG has shown. It may be added that the idea of a world-column, carrying the sky, has spread also to primitive tribes in South Asia, still extant by the Semang in Malaya².

The world-column, carrying the sky, is sometimes thought of as a mountain, in other cases as a tree. Some variants have the sky-tree growing on the top of the world-mountain³. The sky-tree is often identified with the tree-of-life, the life-giving tree, occurring in numerous myths and tales in Asia and Europe. In the tree-of-life idea, the world-column function is not prominent.

It is a thing of special interest that the communication between the earth and the sky is often thought of, in North Asiatic shamanism, as moving along the world-column or the sky-tree⁴. In Altaian beliefs, the shaman ascends to the sky during the ceremonies connected with a horse-sacrifice⁵. This imaginary voyage is performed by means of the soul of the sacrificial animal or—when this is supposed to be tired out—on the back of a goose. However, a birch-tree is also used, placed within the jurte where the ceremonies take place. The top of the birch-tree extends through the smoke-hole of the jurte. Nine steps are cut into the trunk of the birch, representing the nine skies which the shaman must pass in his journey. When he has ascended the first sky during his drum-chants, he places

¹ OLRİK 1910.

² EVANS 1927, pp. 185—189.

³ PHILPOT 1897, p. 110.

⁴ HOLMBERG 1923, pp. 133—146.

⁵ RADLOFF 1884, II, pp. 20—49.

his foot upon the first step in the birch-trunk, when he has reached the second sky he places his foot upon the second step etc. The Buryats, Yakuts, and Dolgans use in their shamanistic ceremonies several trees, representing the various skies¹. The Dolgans symbolize the seven skies by a row of nine upright staves or columns. On the top of each staff a wooden sculpture is placed, representing a bird-demon which the shaman must propitiate during his sky-journey by pouring reindeer-milk into a small wooden cup. One cup may be placed upon each of the columns in the row—or all nine cups may be placed upon a platform on one column.

The idea of the great number of skies—probably of Babylonian origin, at first based upon astronomic observations of the movement of the planets, the sun, and the moon—has penetrated throughout northern Asia and reached the Chukchee². In North America, the primitive idea of a single sky-world, rather similar to the terrestrial world, is common. The idea of a plurality of skies is also met with, often combined with a plurality of underworlds, e. g. the Bella Coola Indians believe that there are five worlds, one in the middle where we live, two above, and two below³. In the Pueblo region, the number of upper and lower worlds is believed to be greater. The Mexicans reckoned thirteen skies⁴. This can hardly be explained, however, as due to Asiatic influence.

The concept of a large tree in the middle of the world is found by the Iroquois, the Delaware Indians and some other peoples in North America's eastern Woodland. Sometimes it is stated that this world-tree reaches the sky. It is a tree-of-life; the Delaware Indians said that human beings grew upon the branches of the tree⁵. Apparently, similar ideas are connected with the world-tree as with the tree-of-life in Asiatic and European myths. It is, however, not stated that the world-tree in Eastern North America is believed to carry the sky⁶.

It is tempting to see a parallel to the world-column of the

¹ HOLMBERG 1923, pp. 138 ff.

² BOGORAS 1902, p. 590.

³ BOAS 1898, p. 27.

⁴ JOYCE 1920, p. 55.

⁵ A. C. PARKER 1912, pp. 608—620.

⁶ In Mexican mythology, however, the sky is upheld by giant trees. Cf. above p. 50.

Siberian shamans in the central pole, used by the Cheyenne Indians during the sun-dance in their "hookswinging" ceremony, young men undergoing self-torture as a sort of sacrifice to the sun. This central pole is regarded as a sort of world-tree and represents also the sun. Pole climbing enters into religious rites in the Taos Pueblo, by the Luiseño Indians in Southern California and some of the Pomo and Miwok Indians in Central California. And, according to the Jesuit-Relations for 1642, pole climb was a feature of a feast for the dead in the Algonkin tribe Nipissing at the lake of the same name in Ontario¹. This reminds of the feast of the dead by the Cherente Indians in Central Brazil, where the medicine men are supposed to climb a high pole in order to speak with their relatives in the sky (cf. above p. 52, note 3). In Mexico, at the tenth annual feast, pole climbing occurred. A dough-figure of the god Xocotl was placed on the top of a tree-trunk or a high mast, and it was brought down by young men, climbing in competition. SELER regards this ceremony as a dramatic representation of the fate of the dead warrior's soul, residing with the sun in the sky, but sometimes descending to the earth, flying from flower to flower as a butterfly or humming bird. The climbing of the young men to bring the idol down should make them imitate the dead heros². In these American examples, the erect pole seems to symbolize a road to the sky and may in so far be compared to the world-column of the Siberian shamans.

The Asiatic idea that the polar star forms an entrance to the sky, is known from North America. In Pawnee myths, where the stars play an especially great rôle, the polar star is called "the star which stands still", and it is described as a hole in the sky. Through that hole, the "feather-woman", beloved of the morning-star, was pulled up in the sky and afterwards let down to the earth again. Near the polar star, in the constellation of the crown, the spider-man is living, who twined the thread by which feather-woman was let down from the sky³.

The belief in traffic between the earth and the sky is pro-

¹ MAC LEOD 1934, pp. 1—38. DORSEY 1905, pp. 111 ff, 175 ff., LOEB 1931, pp. 523, 526.

² SELER: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, III, pp. 298—299. SELER: *Sahagun*, 1927, pp. 160—171.

³ ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 95—96.

bably much older than the conception of a world column. The sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree are ancient elements, originally belonging to cultures where astronomical observations had not yet given rise to theories about several skies, and where the curious fear of the sky's eventual downfall, lying behind the sacrifices to a world-column, had not yet appeared.

The notion about traffic between the earth and the sky by means of the sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree belongs in its primitive form to a group of ancient ideas with a world-wide distribution, whose place of origin it would be a hopeless task to search for. They may have been always potentially present in human nature, so that they could be reproduced everywhere and at any time. These elements with a world-wide distribution can hardly be used for the pointing out of culture-historical connections.

For the problem of the arrow-chain it is, however, important to know that the notion of traffic between the earth and the sky is found everywhere and combined with a number of magical means of conveyance which may replace one another. It may depend upon local taste, which means of conveyance the story-teller prefers. This fact makes it intelligible that the geographic distribution of the arrow-chain is not continuous.

General motifs.

In American myths and tales a considerable number of elements are found, which may be pointed out also outside America. Some of these elements are of a general human character, and therefore not usable for the demonstration of culture-historical relations between America and the Old World.

To these general human features must be reckoned the primitive idea of a sky-vault. It seems likewise to be a general human belief that the celestial vault on its upper side carries living beings, analogous to the terrestrial living beings, and also that communication between the earth and the sky is possible by magical means. Some of the magical means of conveyance are so generally known all over the earth, that they may also be characterized as general human ideas. This does not, however, include all the magical means of conveyance; the arrow-

chain embodies a special idea and has a limited geographical distribution.

The concept of a sky-window may also be reckoned to the general human traits. It is evident that communication between the sky and the earth requires an opening in the sky. In North America and Asia, the motif occurs that a human person, having ascended the sky, happens to look through the sky-window and set eyes on home and family, whereupon he or she gets homesick and has to return. In North America, this feature occurs in the story about a girl who married a star ("Star-Husband"). The celestial husband warns his young wife not to lift a certain stone or not to pull up a certain big root when she is out collecting roots. She falls for the temptation to examine what is behind the prohibition. By lifting the stone or pulling the root she makes a hole in the sky and looks down upon the earth. Longing for home, she returns to the earth by means of a long rope. "Star-Husband" is widely spread in North America, especially common in the Plains area, but also known in most of the other North American culture areas, except among the Eskimos and in South West¹. Many of the versions contain the feature of homesickness, awakened by looking through an opening in the sky.

On the Asiatic side of the Pacific Ocean, the "Star-Husband" motif is not known. The sky-window occurs, however, in many tales, and sometimes combined with the feature, that a person sees his home region through the sky window and gets homesick. As an example may be mentioned a Chukchee myth, where the polar star rescues a woman from her evil husband, an ogre, by taking her up in the sky. The polar star lets the woman remove a lid and look down. She sees her parents quite near. "Do you feel lonesome?" the polar star asks. And having taught her which sacrifices he asks for from mankind in return for giving them luck during the hunt, he says to the woman: "You feel lonesome, return to your home"².

The Bagobos, a pagan tribe on Mindanao in the Philippines, have a story about the hero Lumabat and his brother Wari,

¹ THOMPSON 1929, pp. 126-130, 330-331, note 193. REICHARD 1921, pp. 269-307, map p. 290.

² BOGORAS: Chukchee Mythology, pp. 86 ff. Here quoted after KUNIKE 1940, pp. 130-131.

who went to the sky. Wari gets homesick by looking down upon the earth, upon his fields of cane and bananas and his groves of betel and cocos palms. He is for that reason sent home by means of a sky-rope¹.

The Dayaks in Borneo have a story about the hero Si Jura who climbed to the sky by means of a sky-tree and came to the land of the pleiads, where he was taught how to cultivate rice. One day he happened to look down into a high jar, and he discovered that he could look right through the bottom of the jar, down upon the earth, where he saw his father's house and all his brothers and sisters sitting and talking. He became homesick, and his celestial hosts let him down to the earth again by means of a long rope².

This Dayak story has been regarded as a parallel to the tale about the magical mirror wherein far away things can be seen³. This similarity should not be stressed, however. Evidently, the Dayak story is a variant of the sky-window motif.

The distribution of "Star-Husband" in North America must be a result of diffusion. Together with this tale, the feature here mentioned has probably spread through North America: homesickness, caused by looking through the sky-window. Whether the occurrence of this feature in three different tales, by the Chukchees, the Bagobos, and the Dayaks, may also be regarded as a result of diffusion, is quite uncertain. The sky-window must be reckoned to the general human ideas, and homesickness is a general human feeling.

The Orpheus motif has likewise a general human character. The idea that a man goes to the world of the dead to bring back his wife or a dear relative, has found expression in the folklore of many lands. It springs from human feelings of a general kind, and it may have originated many times within different cultures. This motif has nowhere prevailed to such an extent as in North America. European influence is here out of the question; the Orpheus motif is found already in the Jesuit Relations from 1636, recorded by Father BRÉBEUF among the

¹ BENEDICT 1913, pp. 21—23.

² Sir SPENCER ST. JOHN: *Forests of the Far East*, I, p. 213. Quoted after Furness 1899, p. 20.

³ HARTLAND: *The legend of Perseus*, II, p 14.

Hurons¹, and in Father LE CLERCQ's *Nouvelle Relation*, 1691, from the Micmac Indians on the Gaspé peninsula². In BRÉBEUF's tale a man attempts to bring his sister back from the world of the dead. In LE CLERCQ's tale, it is a father who attempts to bring his son back. Versions are also known where a father tries to bring his daughter back, or sons go to the world of the dead to bring back their mother. In a version from the Cherokee Indians, the Orpheus motif is combined with a sun myth³. In most of the North American versions, however, it is the husband who tries to bring his wife back from the world of the dead. The most human feelings find expression.

The Orpheus motif is especially popular in the eastern Woodland and in California, but also found in the eastern and northern parts of the Plains area, in the Plateau area and on the North West Coast. It is known in South West, among the Zuñis and the Navahos. It is absent in the western part of the Plains area, and it seems to be absent also in the Mackenzie area and among the Eskimos⁴.

GAYTON has shown in his paper that the North American Orpheus tales do not contain any features indicating influences from the classical myth about Orpheus and Euridike. The versions from the different North American culture areas have local peculiarities, owing to adaptation to different culture milieus; but the fundamental features in the tale are the same in all North American versions. The man, going to the world of the dead, journeys westwards, meets hindrances, for instance a water, difficult to pass over; he makes the acquaintance of a keeper or chieftain in the other world, who helps him. The world of the dead is a happy place, the dead passing part of

¹ BARBEAU 1915, pp. 327—329.

² LE CLERCQ, pp. 312—326.

³ The sun's daughter has died. The sun grieves, and the earth lies in continual darkness. Seven men go to the world of the dead to bring the sun's daughter back. They take her with them in a box; but on the road, she asks them to open the lid that she may breathe. She escapes as a little bird, Red-bird, who is the sun's daughter. MOONEY 1900, pp. 252—254.

⁴ GAYTON 1935, pp. 263—293. THOMPSON 1929, pp. 145—148 and 337, note 215.—The Greenland myth, quoted by THOMPSON (RINK: *Tales and Traditions*, p. 298, No. 51, *Eskimoiske Eventyr og Sagn*, I, pp. 188 f.), should not be regarded as an Orpheus version. The dead person is taken out of the grave and resuscitated by magical incantations. Later on, when the revived man marries a girl of the mythical people Ignersuit, a sort of underground people, his friends who have revived him cannot follow him.

the time dancing, the food never failing. The man is allowed to return with the dead person or her soul. He is told that the venture cannot succeed, unless certain tabus are held. He must not touch the dead person during the journey, not look at her etc. In most versions, one of the tabus is broken, and the dead returns to the world of death.

The North American Orpheus tale has not undergone very considerable local transformations, in spite of its age. It has reached a form, satisfactory for the story tellers and for the listeners. The considerable and continuous geographical distribution must be the result of spreading. Although the motif is of a general human character, it is probably not invented more than once in North America; but when it first was there, it spread very quickly, keeping its form in the main¹.

The great popularity of this motif by the North American Indians has probably something to do with a deep feeling for dead relatives, which is characteristic of North American Indians. This peculiarity is also the emotional background of the Ghost Dance religion, the religious movement which swept through many North American Indian tribes in the years around 1890. The central idea of this movement was the belief that the dead Indians would soon return and join the living in a happy Indian existence upon a renewed earth².

In Oceania, the Orpheus motif is widely known. In a Hawaiian tale, a woman dies from grief because her husband has left her. The man descends into the underground world of the dead, brings the soul of his wife back in the shape of a butterfly, enclosed in a cocos-shell, and compels the soul to enter again into the corpse³. A similar myth is told in New Zealand. Other versions of the Orpheus motif are known from Mangaia, Samoa, New Hebrides, Banks Islands, and New Guinea⁴.

Each version bears the stamp of the local culture. The Papuan Orpheus tale is wild and sinister. A man descends in a cave on the western side of Sattelberg, in search of his dead wife. He succeeds in finding her. She and his dead father-in-law protect him against the cannibalistic tendencies of other dead

¹ GAYTON, p. 286.

² MOONEY 1896, especially pp. 777 ff.

³ DIXON 1916, pp. 75 f.—THURM 1907, pp. 43—50.

⁴ DIXON 1916, pp. 72—78.

persons, which are appeased by receiving a pig instead. The father-in-law, playing a similar rôle as the keeper or chieftain of the world of the dead in North American Orpheus tales, resuscitates his daughter; he lets her bring her own bones from her grave, joins them together and surrounds them with her skin. She becomes a living person again and flees with her husband to the upper world. Shortly after that, the man dies. His wife puts then her bones back into her grave, from where she had taken them, and she leads her husband to the underworld¹.

An interesting variant of the Orpheus motif is combined with the creation myths of the Maoris. It is told that Tane married his own daughter. When she found out, that Tane was her father, she killed herself from shame, descended into the underworld, and became the goddess of night, Hine-nui-te-po. Tane grieved and went to the underworld in search of his wife. She refused to follow him and told him to go back to the world of light and support their children, while she would remain in the underworld and draw the children down to darkness and death².

DIXON has pointed out a remarkable parallel to this Maori myth in Japanese Shinto mythology³, namely the myth about Izanagi's descent into the realm of death to bring his dead wife Izanami back. It is told in *Kojiki* that Izanami lamented her husband's too late arrival, she having already eaten of the food of the realm of death. Nevertheless, she would fain follow him, but she had first to speak with the gods of the realm of death about the matter. And she asked him not to look at her. But Izanagi could not control his impatience. He broke the end-tooth of his hair-comb, lighted it as a torch and went in and saw his wife. She was a corpse in dissolution. Eight thunder-gods were born and resided in her body. Izanagi fled terrified. The dead sent the demons of the realm of death after him. He delayed the pursuers by magical means. "The magic flight" is here linked together with the Orpheus motif. At the exit from the realm of death, Izanagi placed an enormous rock between

¹ KEYSER 1911, pp. 213—214.

² DIXON 1916, p. 73—74.

³ DIXON 1916, p. 321, note 60.

himself and his wife, who herself was now pursuing him. They said each other farewell. She threatened him by promising to kill a thousand human beings in his land in one day. He answered that he would then let one thousand and five hundred be born in a day¹.

In the Maori myth as well as in the old Japanese myth, the great mother-goddess changes into the goddess of death, parting from her husband, who tries in vain to win her back from the underworld. It seems likely that the Maori version and the old Japanese version have a common origin.

On the other hand, the North American Orpheus tales do not betray any connection with the old Japanese myth. It might sooner be possible to point out certain likenesses between some other Oceanic versions of the Orpheus motif and the North American versions—for instance the feature that the soul of the dead person is brought back in a receptacle in order to be reinstated into the body. Considering, however, the general human character of the Orpheus motif, there is hardly reason for assuming that this motif has come to North America from Oceania. The idea of going to the world of the dead in order to bring a beloved person back must be rather obvious for any people who has the notion of a world of the dead.

Resuscitation is one of the most common features in myths and folk-tales everywhere in the world. The magical means to this end comprise water of life, cleansing and placing the bones in order, and several other ideas. The geographical distribution of different resuscitation-methods may partly be explained culture-historically, as a result of diffusion. But some of the resuscitation-ideas are so widely spread that they may be called general human—which may be due to their great age, or they may perhaps be potentially present in human nature, so that they may arise everywhere and at any time.

Among these features with a world-wide distribution, I would mention the notion that the preservation of the bones is necessary for successful resuscitation. This idea is particularly important among the tribes of hunters and herdsmen in northern Eurasia and in America, especially North America. The distribution of

¹ CHAMBERLAIN: "Ko-ji-ki", pp. 34—39.—FLORENZ: Nihongi, pp. 47—56.

this idea covers, however, almost the whole earth. Therefore, it can hardly be utilized as a proof of culture-historical connection between Asia and America. The same may be said about the "water of life" although JOCHELSON—rightly—has registered this motif among the elements, common to North East Asia, the Old World, and America¹.

A detailed investigation of the resuscitation-ideas—which I cannot make here—might perhaps give results of culture-historical value. Certain special features have an interesting geographical distribution. I would mention that the resuscitated person often says: "I have slept!" and is answered: "No, you have been dead!" This feature occurs in East European and North Asiatic folk-tales and myths and is very usual in America, also in South America². BOGORAS has probably thought of this special trait when he regards resuscitation by means of the "water of life" as an element which has spread from the Old World to America via North East Asia³. Although the resuscitation-idea is founded upon human wishes and hopes which are manifest everywhere, the special feature mentioned seems to indicate that certain forms of the resuscitation-idea have spread from people to people and in that way have reached America from Asia.

The Amazon motif should also be reckoned among the general human motifs. Indian notions about Amazons are mentioned by some of the first discoverers and conquerors in America. Columbus heard on his first journey about an island whose inhabitants were all women⁴. And after that time, the idea of Amazons turns up repeatedly, especially in Northern South

¹ JOCHELSON 1905, p. 369.—In North America, the idea of the "water of life" has a wide distribution. THOMPSON 1929, p. 355, note 279a.

² RALSTON 1873, pp. 91, 130 ff.—CASTRÉN 1857, pp. 160 ff.—BOGORAS 1918, pp. 44—48.—A considerable number of examples from Europe and Asia are quoted by KÖHLER 1898, I, pp. 555—556.—On the American North West Coast, the resuscitated person rubs his eyes, "as if he had slept". BOAS 1895, pp. 149, 161, 192, 196, 209, 255.—Numerous North American examples of the feature that the resuscitated person believes that he has slept, quoted by THOMPSON 1929, pp. 319—320, note 154. Most of the examples are from the North West Coast, the Plateau, and California, but there are also some from the Plains, the Mackenzie area, and the Eastern Woodland.—From South America, the same motif is known, v. d. STEINEN 1894, p. 377.

³ BOGORAS 1902, p. 613.

⁴ Columbus mentions the woman-island in his journal for the 15. and 16. of January 1493. The Indians in Santo Domingo had told him about this woman-island whose name was Matinino. KOLUMBUS: Bordbuch, pp. 268, 272.

America, where the world's largest river received the name of Rio Amazonas. Several Spanish discoverers have vainly been in search of the land of the Amazons. The Amazon-fables were a sort of mixture between certain Indian myths about a community of women and the classical Amazon-myth, well known to the Spanish discoverers. What the Spaniards relate concerning American Amazons is often very much like a recital of the classical myth. Some investigators have maintained that the Amazon-myth was introduced to the American Indians by the Spaniards¹. This view is, however, untenable. Without doubt, the myth about the woman-island *Matinino* existed in Santo Domingo at the arrival of the Spaniards. It has been recorded by Ramon Pane in his invaluable work. But the Indian myth, in Ramon Panes rendering, has no likeness to the classical tale about the Amazons. According to Ramon Pane's recital, it was the hero Guahagiona who enticed the women to leave their men and children and follow him to *Matinino*, promising them a lot of jewels. He left them in *Matinino*, and himself went to the island of *Guanin* to fetch gold².

Lovén supposes that the word *Matinino*, the name of the woman-island, means "without man"³.

In Northern South America, the myth about the women, who left the men and formed their own community, is very common. As an example may be quoted an Amazon-story from the Akawoio Indians in British Guiana, recorded by W. H. BRETT⁴: A chieftain's wife had a black panther for her lover. The chieftain and his men killed the panther. His wife raised a rebellion of the women against the men. The women poisoned the men by means of manioc-juice and then went away. Discontented women from other tribes joined them. They defended themselves successfully with bow and arrows against pursuing men, and they formed their own community, where men might gain admittance only temporarily as lovers. If boys were born in this community, they were sent away, while the girls were brought up.

Among the Caraya Indians in Central Brazil, EHRENREICH

¹ VON MARTIUS 1867, I, pp. 729—730.

² Ramon Pane, Cap. II—IV. Fernando Colombo, ed. Ulloa, 1571, pp. 127 b ff.

³ LOVÉN 1935, p. 568, note 3.

⁴ KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, pp. 90—93.

has recorded an Amazon-myth, where an alligator plays a similar rôle as the black panther in the Akawoio story¹.

In western Matto Grosso, the Makurops at Upper Guaporé River have a tradition about a village, inhabited only by warlike women².

Amazon-versions are numerous in northern Brazil, north of the Amazon River. EHRENREICH thinks that the motif has originated among the northern Caraihs³.

Myths about discords between men and women in ancient times are also known in North America. This motif is prevalent in the folklore of the South West area, among the Pueblo peoples and the Navahos. It is told that the women left the men and tried to carry on their existence without men. It went well at first, but later on it had bad consequences, whereafter men and women joined again⁴.

It is impossible to explain these American Indian tales about woman-rebellions and more or less warlike woman-communities as results of what Spaniards may have told Indians about the classical Amazons. It is just as absurd, when EUG. BEAUVOIS maintains that the Amazon-story must have reached America across the Atlantic Ocean through some Pre Columbian immigration of Celtic missionaries⁵. If one would seek a foreign origin for the American Amazon-stories, it should be in Asia and Oceania, where the woman-island is a widespread folklore motif, known from the Ainus⁶, from Rarotonga⁷, and from several places in Melanesia, especially New Britain⁸. In New Guinea, stories about a woman-land are also known⁹.

However, enmity between the sexes, female attempts at emancipation and male reaction against such attempts should probably be reckoned to the general human tendencies and may have given rise to myths and folk-tales more than once. EHRENREICH regards one of the South American versions of the Amazon-

¹ EHRENREICH 1891, p. 41.

² MÉTRAUX 1942, p. 152.

³ EHRENREICH 1905, p. 65.

⁴ ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 160, 203-204.

⁵ BEAUVOIS 1904, pp. 324-326.

⁶ CHAMBERLAIN 1888, pp. 37-39.

⁷ DIXON 1916, p. 66.

⁸ DIXON 1916, p. 140.—MEIER 1909, pp. 85-93.

⁹ KEYSER 1911, pp. 175 f.—BAMLER 1911, pp. 550-551.

story as a biased transformation of the motif, for the purpose of legitimizing the privileges of the men's secret societies¹. RICHARD LASCH has maintained, that the South American Amazon-legend is a myth, serving to explain certain social forms. This tendency displays itself in the characteristic gynaeocratic features of the story². ALEXANDER has set forth the conjecture that the Amazon-myth in America has something to do with fertility-ideas, which become recognizable in the feature that a water-being acts as a seducer of women³.

Special motifs.

In contradistinction to the group of general motifs stands another group which may be designated "special motifs". These cannot easily be derived from general human ideas, feelings, or wishes; and therefore it seems less likely that they should have originated more than once, independently. Many elements, common to American and Asiatic folklore, belong to this special group. A number of examples will be mentioned in this chapter.

The curious belief that once in former times there existed several suns, appearing in the sky simultaneous, cannot be reckoned to the general motives. This idea is found in Chinese myths and is also known from North Asia and South East Asia. Further, it is met with on the eastern side of the Pacific Ocean, in California and Peru. The myth about several suns in the sky seems to be in the main, confined in its distribution to the Pacific region. Only a trace of the idea is known from European folklore⁴.

The Chinese myth about ten suns, arising in the sky at one time and threatening to scorch the world, until a hero annihilated nine of them, is found in Chinese literature since the fourth century B. C., and probably much older, according to

¹ EHRENREICH 1905, p. 65.

² LASCH 1910, pp. 278—289.

³ ALEXANDER 1920, p. 286.

⁴ The fear that several suns might appear in the sky and the earth thereby be burned and mankind annihilated, finds also expression in European folklore, at least in Bulgaria, where several tales are recorded, relating how the sun was prevented from marrying, because the Devil—or men—foresaw what the result would be if the sun bore children and there came to be several suns in the world. STRAUZ 1898, pp. 11, 37—38.

ERKES¹, who quotes several old Chinese versions of the myth. In one version, the ten suns grew upon a sun-tree. In another version, the ten suns illuminated the world at first one at a time, after each other, and then they all arose at one time, but they were shot down by the hero Hou Ngi, acting upon Heaven's command. In a third version, the ten suns appeared together with other monsters in the emperor Yao's time as a natural catastrophe and were removed by Ngi, after order of the emperor. ERKES thinks to see certain historical reminiscences in the two last versions, namely the remembrance of a struggle between two cults, which was the spiritual side of a political struggle. The suns, which are shot down, are the children of the Sun-goddess Hin-ho; and orders to the shooting down are given in the second version by the Sun-god T'ien, in the third version by the emperor of China, the Sun-god's terrestrial representative. ERKES understands this strife between the Sun-god and the Sun-goddess as a struggle between North-China's patriarchal and South-China's matriarchal culture. If this is correct, then the myth about the ten suns has a sort of historical foundation upon Chinese ground. The myth—still living in Chinese folklore in Central- and South-China as well as by non-Chinese peoples in South-China²—must then, according to ERKES, be of Chinese origin, and similar myths in South East Asia and North Asia should accordingly be due to cultural influences from China.

The myth about several suns is known by the primitive negroid peoples of the Malayan peninsula—which is another proof of considerable age. SHEBESTA has found, by the Semang-tribe Jehai, the tradition that the sun was female, the moon male. Both of them had originally many children, similar to the parents. The sun-children were hot, the moon-children were cold. It was at that time intolerably hot. The moon took compassion on the human beings and hit upon a stratagem to help them. He concealed his children under his arm. When the sun asked him what had become of his children, he answered that he had eaten them and found that they tasted rather good. He advised the sun to do the same with her children. The sun followed the advice. And immediately it became less warm on

¹ ERKES 1925, pp. 32–53.

² EBERHARD 1937, pp. 112 f.

earth. After that, the moon let his children, the stars, appear again¹.

EVANS found a similar myth by another Semang-tribe, Kintak Bong. Here, however, the moon and the sun are regarded as an older and a younger sister. The moon concealed her children in her hair-koot and told the sun that she had swallowed them. The sun swallowed actually her own children².

The story of the moon luring the sun into eating her own children, is also found in the folklore of some primitive tribes in India, for instance the Bihors in Chota Nagpur. Here the sun and moon are brother and sister. The children of the sun were the most radiant stars, and one of them is yet living, the morning-star³. At the Santals, another of the primitive peoples of the Chota Nagpur plateau, sun and moon are man and wife. In the beginning there were as many stars in the day time as at night. The stars were the children of the sun and moon, and they had divided them. To rescue mankind from being burned up, the moon lured the sun into eating his own children, the day-stars. Only two of them were spared, the morning-star and the evening star⁴.

The Bataks in Sumatra have two different myths about the plurality of suns. One of them is similar to the versions from the Semangs, the Bihor, and the Santal. It is related that the sun had seven sons, all as hot as the sun himself. Human beings could not bear the heat, and plants withered. The swallow was sent to the moon to ask for help. The moon's deceit against the sun follows now. The sun eats his own children⁵.—The other Batak myth is quite different. The creator, Mula djadi, had sent some soil down to his granddaughter in the middle world, and she had made the earth (cf. above p. 33). But the dragon of the sea felt oppressed, the earth resting upon his head. He turned round, and the earth was soaked in the primeval sea. When Mula djadi heard about the destruction of the earth, he created eight suns to dry the ocean up. And the sea dragon being defeated, the earth was re-created. The heat from the eight suns was, however, unbearable for the

¹ SCHEBESTA 1927, p. 101.

² EVANS 1927, p. 167.

³ ROY 1925, pp. 486—487.

⁴ BOMPAS 1909, pp. 402—404.

⁵ WARNECK 1909 pp. 43—44.

inhabitants of the earth and especially for the plants. Therefore, Mula djadi created one sun instead of the eight suns, and he let day and night alternate¹.

The South East Asiatic myths about a plurality of suns are so different from the known Chinese versions that they cannot be directly derived from these. If the idea about a plurality of suns has originated in China, it has probably reached South East Asia in a shape, older than the Chinese versions quoted by ERKES. The idea that the stars are children of the moon, and that the sun has also had children in former days, rests upon an ancient cosmogony, according to which everything in the world had come into being through procreation. This cosmogony is probably very much older than the struggle between matriarchal and patriarchal culture in China.

On the other hand, the North Asiatic myths about a plurality of suns are more similar to the Chinese versions. The Golds in the Amur region relate about three suns. The water boiled in the rivers, and people were perishing from the heat and blinded by the light. Three moons arose at night, which made the night so light that people could not sleep. A hero shot down with his bow the two superfluous suns and moons. Some other Tungusian tribes in the Amur region say that the coal-measures in the mountains remind of the time, when three suns set the earth on fire. The two killed suns are said to be visible as "shadows" on each side of the still living sun. The Gilyaks speak also about three suns and moons; the earth burned and the sea boiled, and life did not start again until a hero, sitting upon the back of a flying reindeer, shot down the superfluous suns and moons. The Buryats relate likewise, that several suns, three or four, were in the sky in ancient times, and there was awfully hot, until a hero shot the superfluous suns down with his bow so that they fell into the Ocean. The Torguts say that the devil made three suns in order to burn up the earth, made by God. But God let a water flood come over the earth and hurled the superfluous suns into the abyss².

East of the Pacific Ocean, a parallel to the myth about a plurality of suns is found in the folklore of the Shasta Indians

¹ WARNECK 1909, pp. 30–32.

² HARVA 1938, pp. 180–181.

in California. It is told in a myth, recorded by POWERS, that the sun had nine brothers, all like himself and flaming of fire. The whole world was perishing from heat. Coyote killed nine of the brothers and rescued humanity from being burned up. The moon had also nine brothers, all like himself and made of ice, so that people were almost freezing to death at night. Coyote went to the eastern rim of the world with his knife of flint and killed the nine moons, one by one, and so he rescued mankind from being frozen to death¹.

The tale about ten moons has also been recorded by R. B. DIXON among the Shastas: Long ago, when the first men lived, there were ten moons. The winters were too long. Coyote killed five of the moons².

ERKES emphasizes the fact that the number ten is not common elsewhere in American folklore. The Shasta story about ten suns is remarkably similar to the Chinese myth. And ERKES produces reasons for assuming that the parallel about the ten moons has also existed in China³.

The most remarkable circumstance is, however, the fact that this motif is not known elsewhere in North America. The single Californian occurrence stands as a foreign element which has not been able to gain ground. It seems likely that an Asiatic motif has found its way to California, perhaps in rather recent times; it has not become popular, however, and therefore it has not spread further.

The productive imagination of the Californian Indians, manifest in their numerous myths about the creation of the world and about world-annihilating catastrophes, might perhaps have brought forth the idea of several suns and moons. However, if this idea had originated in the brains of Californian Indians, it would be still more remarkable that it has not maintained itself better. Consequently, it is most probable that the motif "several suns and several moons" is in California a foreign element which has not become firmly established.

¹ POWERS 1877, p. 251.

² DIXON 1910, pp. 30-31.

³ ERKES 1925, pp. 44-45. Cf. also Erke's additions in T'oung Pao XXV, pp. 97-98, where, after P. F. M. SAVINA: Histoire des Miao, Hongkong 1924, a myth is quoted from the Miao-tze, according to which the Lord of Heaven created in the beginning ten female suns and nine male moons. Human beings shot down nine suns and eight moons.—Cf. also EBERHARD 1937, pp. 214-215.

In Peru, a myth about several suns has also been recorded, to which ERKES likewise has called attention¹. Cieza de Leon relates in his book from 1554 a Peruvian legend about five suns, appearing in the sky and with their radiance chasing away a large crowd of devils, who were annoying mankind². This Peruvian example stands isolated, as the Californian instance.

The idea that the celestial vault moves up and down, opening and closing an interval between the rim of the sky and the earth (THOMPSON'S Motif-Index F791) may also be reckoned among the special motifs. It is widely distributed in North America; Stith THOMPSON quotes it from the Mackenzie area (Kaska), North Pacific (Tahltan), Plains (Ponca), Central Woodland (Fox), Iroquois Woodland (Seneca), South East (Louisiana's coast), and South West (Navaho)³. The motif is found on the American North West Coast among the Haida Indians who believe that the up- and down-going movement of the sky causes the clouds to collide with the mountains, producing an audible sound⁴.

In North East Asia, this idea is found among the Chukchees, who believe that the birds have their own world on the other side of the celestial vault, and in the fall when they migrate towards their home behind the sky, they fly through the opening between the sky-rim and the earth. The birds who lag behind are caught and crushed between the rocks of the sky and the earth, the opening closing up⁵.—This should be compared to the Tahltan and Kaska legends about the swan-people, living on the other side of the sky and migrating back and forth through the interval between the earth and the sky, which is moving up and down⁶. The Hare Indians believe that the migratory birds and also the thunder-bird pass the winter in the land of the dead, far away in the West-South-West, at the "foot of the sky" (*pied du ciel*)⁷.—The Chukchees think that the sky, in moving up and down produces winds, like bellows.

¹ ERKES 1925, p. 46.

² CIEZA de LEON 1554, Cap. 84, p. 216a.

³ THOMPSON 1929, p. 275, note 15a. The motif is found also in a Shawnee tale, cf. VOEGELIN 1936, p. 5, and in an Alabama tale, SWANTON 1929, p. 141.

⁴ ALEXANDER 1916, pp. 249 f.

⁵ BOGORAS 1904, p. 352.

⁶ TEIT 1921, pp. 336–337.—TEIT 1917, pp. 453–455.

⁷ PETITOT 1886, p. 283.

The Gilyaks in the Amur region have similar ideas as the Chukchees regarding the sky's up- and down-going movement. They believe that migratory birds, e. g. swans, fly out through the opening in the moment when the sky rises, and they also think that a strong wind enters from without when the rim of the sky ascends from the earth. Among the Buryats the idea of the sky's up- and down-going movement is also found in some districts. It is told that a hero placed his arrow between the earth and the rim of the sky, while the sky was up, and in that way he succeeded in making a trip outside the world¹.

The notion that the migratory birds are passing the cold season in a warm land, lying at the rim of the sky or on the other side of the sky-rim, is prevalent in the folklore of many northern peoples in Asia and Europe and is connected with ancient cosmological ideas—as shown by Y. H. TOIVONEN².

ERKES finds it likely that the curious idea about the winds being produced by the sky's moving up and down, has existed also in China³.

The Bagobos in the Philippine-island Mindanao have the idea about the up- and down-going sky in the story about the hero Lumabat, who decided to go to the sky. Accompanied by some of his brothers, he journeyed to the horizon, where the sky went up and down. They all attempted to jump through the interval between the sky-rim and the earth. Lumabat alone succeeded; the others perished in the attempt. Afterwards Lumabat went through several wonderful adventures. It is of special interest that a god cut him up and removed his intestines, whereby he became a god himself and did not feel hunger any more⁴.

This Bagobo myth is remarkably alike to a myth from the Seneca Indians, where two brothers succeed in getting through the opening between the earth and the sky. The peculiar feature occurs also here, that their bodies are cleansed; a god flays them, removes the muscles and scrapes the bones, takes out the intestines and washes them, whereupon he builds their bodies up again. The brothers say, on coming to life again: "It seems that we have

¹ HARVA 1938, pp. 35—36.

² TOIVONEN 1937, pp. 87—126.

³ ERKES 1925, pp. 51—52.

⁴ BENEDICT 1913, pp. 21—23.

slept?" This is the expression which is often used in Asiatic and American folklore after resuscitation of dead bones. Through this cleansing, the brothers have received supernatural powers, they are able to catch deer with their hands, and nothing can kill them¹.

If the Bagobo and the Iroquois were neighbors, it would be natural here to assume a case of spreading of a myth. However, it is a long way from Mindanao to the state of New York. And although the "visit in the sky" is a widely known motif in Oceania and America, I do not know of any other instances which come so close to the Bagobo myth as the Seneca myth does. The passage through the opening between the earth and the rim of the sky is often combined with other motifs—among the Kaska and Tahltan Indians e. g. with war-expeditions against the swan-people, who have abducted terrestrial women.

The striking similarity between the Bagobo myth and the Seneca myth is due to the fact that in both of them the motif "up- and down-moving sky-rim" is combined with the motif "immortalization by cleansing". This combination may very well have happened more than once.

One can hardly evade the opinion that single motifs are possessed of a remarkable stability, while the combination of motifs are constantly shifting². It may happen, then, that the same combination of motifs occurs independently in two places—which is not so remarkable as it looks.

Blood-Clot-Boy, the story of the boy who originates from a clot of blood and is the supporter and avenger of an old man or an old couple, THOMPSON'S Motif-Index T541·1·1, plays a great rôle in North Americas Plains, where it is recorded among many tribes³. Near parallels are recorded in California (Maidu and Yokuts), Central Woodlands (Winnebago), North Eastern Woodland (Micmac), and South-East (Texas Coast). In these parallels, the boy does not always originate from a blood-clot, but in other miraculous ways, and he is always the helper of

¹ PARKER 1911, pp. 474—477.

² CURTIN and HEWITT 1918, pp. 251 ff. A Seneca version of the "visit in the sky", collected by Curtin, contains the "immortalization by cleansing", but instead of the "up-and down-moving sky-rim" it has a trail through the air by which the two adventurous brothers reach the sky, starting from the top of a hemlock tree.

³ WATERMAN 1914, p. 42.—THOMPSON 1929, pp. 108—113, 322—323, note 165.

old persons.—In South America, blood-clot-children occur in a tale from the Matakó Indians in Gran Chaco¹.

In Oceania, the blood-clot-boy motif is also very common. It is found in Melanesian myths about the first origin of men². As an instance may be mentioned a myth from the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain³. An old woman was wading in the ocean, looking for mussels. She felt tired in her arms, and therefore she scratched herself in her arms with the thorny edge of a pandanus leaf, first in the left arm, wiping the blood off upon a leaflet of a cocos palm, then in the right arm, again wiping the blood off upon a cocos-leaflet. She thrust the bloody leaflets into a refuse-heap which she wanted to burn. Then she saw two boys, arisen from the blood. One of them was right-handed, the other one was lefthanded. The old woman was happy about her two sons and taught them how to hunt wild pigs.—Tales about children arisen from blood-clots are also found in New Guinea⁴. One of these tales is a flood-myth. All mankind has perished, except one old man. He cuts himself in a finger and lets the blood fall on a taro-leaf. A boy arises from the blood. He lets blood upon another taro-leaf, wherefrom a girl arises. From the boy and the girl, the new mankind descends. In other tales from New Guinea, the wonder-children are not regarded as the ancestors of mankind.—In the Ratak Islands in Micronesia, the motif occurs in a myth about the origin of two gods⁵.

The folklore of the Tinguian in the Philippine island of Luzon contains a tale about two childless female spirits who take possession of some blood issued from two bathing women. From the blood, they produce two boys who grow immediately to big heros. The childless spirits have let these two miraculous children come into being, because they wanted inheritors⁶.

The mountain-Alfoers in Ceram have a myth about the hunter Toewale, who cuts his finger accidentally while he is drawing juice from a cocos palm. The blood mixes with juice in a leaf-axil, and a wonder-child arises from it, a boy, later

¹ MÉTRAUX 1939, p. 49.

² DIXON 1916, pp. 109-110.

³ MEIER 1909, pp. 25-27.

⁴ MEYER 1932, pp. 448-449.—KEYSSER 1911, p. 189.

⁵ ERDLAND 1914, p. 311.

⁶ COLE, 1915, pp. 124-128.

on killed by jealous neighbors. From the dead boy, the maize and several edible roots originate¹.

In Samoa it is told that certain gods arose from blood-clots, and among the Morioris in the Chatham Islands a myth is found about the origin of the first man from a blood-clot, placed by two gods in a hollow tree. DIXON would regard these myths as evidence of an early Melanesian element in western Polynesia and in the Chatham Islands².

The blood-clot-boy motif has then a North American and an Oceanic area of distribution, but it seems to be absent from North and East Asia and also from North West America.

However, the blood-clot-boy is in North West America replaced by another related motif, where the wonder-child originates from mucus or from tears, generally wept by a woman who is left alone after the death or disappearance of the other inhabitants of the village³. The wonder-child becomes her helper and avenger. BOAS has called this motif "the magical origin of children of the survivor", and he has given numerous examples from North West America. Besides, this motif is widely spread over the world, as BOAS remarks⁴. Related to this motif is the origin of the wonder-child from wounds or boils or from abnormal parts of the body of father or mother⁵.

In North East Asia, this motif-group is found, although it is not very conspicuous. The Yukaghirs have a tale about an old woman who got a wonder-child, a grass-blade being transformed into a little girl⁶. In some Koryak jesting myths, the Raven creates persons from his own excrements⁷. Among the Ainus, a tale is recorded about a childless couple, sincerely wishing for a child and therefore adopting a foundling which, however, turns out to be an evil spirit. A god takes pity on them and lets them beget a real child⁸.

Behind the widely spread ideas about miraculous births or

¹ VRIES 1927, pp. 152 ff. This myth is recorded in another form by AD. E. JENSEN 1938, pp. 199-216, where the wonder-child is a girl.

² DIXON 1916, p. 30.

³ As an example may be quoted the Tlingit tale "The mucus child", SWANTON 1909, pp. 194-196.

⁴ BOAS 1916, pp. 734 f.

⁵ Cf. Thompson's Motif-Index T 541.

⁶ BOGORAS 1918, p. 52.

⁷ JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 218, 316.

⁸ CHAMBERLAIN 1888, pp. 26-27.

other wonderful coming into existence of children, a general human wish is present which may easily give rise to wishing-dreams, especially by old and childless persons. Blood-clot-boy may be regarded as a special form of a general motif. There is a numerous selection of parallel motifs, all treating of how childless persons get wonder-children. These motifs may have competed with each other, and in that way breaks in their distribution may have originated. The lack of continuity may, however, also have come about in another way, the same motif originating more than once. The blood-clot-motif has a near connection with a very common idea, that the blood, and especially the menstruation-blood, is a necessary condition for the coming into being of the child. It is possible, therefore, that this motif may have originated more than once. It has a near connection with general human ideas and feelings, and perhaps it ought to be reckoned among the general motifs.

It should be added, that besides the North American and the Oceanic area of distribution there is also a South African. The blood-clot-boy motif is namely known also by South Africa's Bantus. As an example, a Zulu-tale may be mentioned about a childless woman, whom the pigeons give the advice of cupping herself with a horn, placing the blood-clot in a jar, closing it, and opening it again after nine months. There is a child in the blood-clot after nine months, and the child grows up¹. In another Zulu-legend, the childless woman is a queen; and in the same manner, the pigeons help her to get a son and a daughter².

The abnormal birth, the story about the people who always perform the cesarean operation upon a woman at child-birth, so that the mother always must die, that the child may be born, is a folklore-motif in Western North America. As an example may be mentioned one of the Lillooet Indians' myths of Coyote who used to cut up his pregnant wife and take out the child, later on, when the child had grown up to woman, marrying her and reiterating the operation. At last, four culture heroes, "transformers", made an end of this old custom and

¹ CALLAWAY 1868, pp. 72 f.

² CALLAWAY 1868, pp. 105 ff.

introduced normal birth¹. This curious motif is especially known from the Salish tribes in the inner part of British Columbia; it is found in the folklore of the Lillooets, the Thompson River, and the Shuswap Indians. It is also known from the Athapascan tribes Tahltan² and Chilcotin in British Columbia³, furthermore from the Hupa⁴ and Yurok Indians in northern California⁵. Among the Eskimos at Cumberland Sound, the motif is found in a story about a strange people, where it was customary to perform the cesarean operation upon all women at childbirth; the hero of the tale teaches the strange people that this custom is unnecessary⁶.

In Oceania, this motif is widely spread. It occurs in a Maori tale, where the hero journeys to a distant land and marries a woman of a foreign people who uses this fearful custom. The hero teaches the foreign people that the birth may take place in a natural way, and that the death of the mother is not necessary⁷. A similar story is recorded in Rarotonga; here the strange people is living underground⁸. From Niué and from Rotuma a similar story is known, where the foreign people lives in the sky⁹. Further, the motif is known in similar forms from Santa Cruz Islands in Melanesia and from the Marshall Islands in Micronesia¹⁰. In the latter version, the woman is rescued by her tutelary spirits. The motif is also known from the island of Yap¹¹, furthermore from the Malayan peninsula¹² and from India¹³.

STITH THOMPSON links this curious motif to another, treating of wrongly placed sexual organs, which are put in their right position by a culture hero. In the same connection, STITH THOMPSON places the feature that a god or culture hero teaches

¹ TEIT 1912, p. 368.

² TEIT 1919, p. 207.

³ BOAS 1916, p. 609, No. 70.

⁴ GODDARD 1904, p. 126.

⁵ KROEBER 1925, p. 73.

⁶ BOAS 1916, p. 829.

⁷ DIXON 1916, pp. 78-79.

⁸ GILL 1876, pp. 265-266.

⁹ DIXON 1916, p. 79.

¹⁰ DIXON 1916, p. 79. ERDLAND 1914, pp. 243-44.

¹¹ MÜLLER 1918, pp. 666, 685.

¹² SKEAT and BLADGEN 1906, II, p. 336.

¹³ TAWNEY, I, 1880, pp. 227 ff.

the first men the right performance of the sexual act¹. If this linking is sound, then it fills out a part of the interval between the American and the Oceanic area of the motif of the cesarean operation. The motif about the wrongly placed genitalia etc. is namely found in northwestern America² and in northeastern Asia³.

Vagina dentata, the story about the dangerous woman who kills men with her toothed vagina—STITH THOMPSON'S Motif-Index F 247.1.1—is widely spread in North America, prevalent on the North West coast, the Plateau, the Mackenzie area, California, and the Plains, but also known from the North Eastern Woodland, from the Iroquois, from the Apaches in South Western U. S. A.⁴, and from the Koasatis and the Natchez in the South East⁵. It is not known from the Eskimo Area, and—as far as I know—not found in Central America. However, it occurs sporadically in South America. The Tarumas in Guiana have a myth about the origin of women, where the first woman had in her vagina a fish which mutilated her husband⁶. And in the Gran Chaco the Toba and the Mataco Indians have origin-myths, where the first women were armed with toothed vaginas until the culture-hero broke the dangerous teeth⁷. In North East Asia the motif is known from the Chukchees⁸. Sternberg mentions it from the Gilyaks⁹. It is found also in Ainu folklore¹⁰.

The Koryak have the related motif about the woman whose anus was armoured with sharp teeth, which made her able to gnaw a man's snowshoes to pieces by sitting down upon them.¹¹

In Yukaghir tales a cannibal woman appears with teeth on her neck. JOCHELSON compares this feature with vagina dentata.¹²

¹ THOMPSON 1929, p. 288, note 59a. Motif A 1313, 3.

² BOAS 1895, p. 23.—TEIT 1919, p. 207.

³ JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 169, 377.—CHAMBERLAIN 1888, p. 9.

⁴ BOAS 1916, pp. 604, 614, 809.—WATERMAN 1914, pp. 49 f.—THOMPSON 1929, p. 309, note 115.—The analogous motif, that the penis is provided with teeth, is very much less spread; it occurs, however, in a tale from the Athapascan tribe Tahltan and from some Salish tribes. TEIT 1921, pp. 245 f.

⁵ SWANTON 1929, pp. 179, 231, 270.

⁶ FARABEE 1918, pp. 143—145.

⁷ MÉTRAUX 1946, pp. 100-107.—MÉTRAUX 1939, pp. 49-52.

⁸ BOGORAS 1902, p. 668.—BOGORAS 1910, p. 172, 179-180.

⁹ STERNBERG 1904, p. 138.

¹⁰ CHAMBERLAIN 1888, pp. 38 f.

¹¹ JOCHELSON 1905, pp. 166 ff.

¹² JOCHELSON 1924, p. 397.

—In this connection it might be appropriate to remember a tale from the Carrier Indians, “the man who ate his wives”, where the culprit has a huge mouth hid beneath the hair in the back of his head¹, and also a Polynesian tale about a cannibalistic man, provided on his back with a shark’s mouth, used for killing his victims while bathing².

In a tale from the Russianized Yukaghirs at Kolyma, *vagina dentata* occurs in the form, that a female ogre’s vagina is provided with teeth, so that it is like to a pike’s head. The hero removes this vagina with his knife and finds beneath it a normal vagina³. In the Chukchee version and in North American versions, the hero removes the teeth by means of a stone.

BOGORAS has found the motif also outside North East Asia, namely among the peasants of Northern Russia, in a somewhat tempered form: a girl tries to scare a young man whom she has been forced to marry against her will. “To cause his love to cease, the girl inserts in her vagina a dry pike’s head, the teeth of which severely prick the young man at his first approach”. BOGORAS thinks that the story, like many other stories in North Russia, may possibly be of Finnish origin⁴. However, this motif is, as far as I know, not known from Finland. It does not occur in AARNE’S and THOMPSON’S “The types of the folk-tale”. On the other hand, the southern Slavs have tales, quite similar to the version from North Russia, given by BOGORAS⁵. The story about the pike’s head is then evidently widely spread on Slavic territory. It may possibly be regarded as a western radiation of an old motif, having its strongest representation and probably its origin in North America. It is one of many motifs which seem to have invaded North East Asia from North West America. Most of these American motifs—especially those belonging to the Raven cycle—have not spread west of the Kolyma. But *vagina dentata*, as an indecent curiosity, has probably caught the interest of Russian colonists and soldiers, and has therefore spread as a jesting tale among the Slavs in Europe.

That the motif should have wandered in the opposite direc-

¹ JENNESS 1934, p. 172.

² THURM 1907, pp. 255—268.

³ BOGORAS 1902, p. 667.

⁴ BOGORAS 1902, p. 668.

⁵ KRAUSS 1904, pp. 230—254.

tion, from Eurasia to America, seems less likely, as it plays a comparatively slight rôle in the Old World.

Vagina dentata may possibly be regarded as an American parallel to a widely distributed motif in the Old World about a dangerous woman, causing the death of her husbands, because she is possessed by or attached to an evil being, often a snake. The oldest known version is the Tobias story¹. The dangerous woman is made harmless through the killing of the evil being. In an analogous way, most vagina dentata stories are ended by the hero removing the vagina-teeth.

The onesided man, STITH THOMPSON'S Motif-Index F525 ("Person with half a body") is a widely spread motif. In North America, it is known from the Mackenzie area, the North Pacific area, the Plains, and the Woodland Iroquois area, according to THOMPSON². It is also known from the Pima and Papago Indians in the South West³. Further, it is known from the Eskimos, at least from West Greenland⁴. The onesided man is a supernatural being, acting several parts. In a tale from West Greenland, he visits the settlements at night as an entertaining narrator; he flees, however, when fish is served, because his wounds would bleed if he eats fish. In the folklore of the Chipewyans, the onesided man is a dreadful cannibalistic monster⁵, likewise by the Chinook Indians⁶. Among the Bella Coolas on the North Pacific coast, he is a solitary man, having made for himself a wife of a knotty piece of wood, which he discards, however, when two inquisitive daughters of a chieftain visit him and become his wives⁷. In an Eskimo tale from Kodiak Island about the girl who married a star, the star-husband is onesided⁸. In North East Asia, the idea about the onesided man is found among the Koryaks, who regard him as a tutelary spirit and represent him in primitive wooden sculptures. JOCHEL-

¹ AARNE and THOMPSON 1928, pp. 79—81, No. 506.—THOMPSON, Motif-Index, F 582, 582. 1.—LILJEBLAD 1927.

² THOMPSON 1929, p. 357, note 287 d.

³ Neff 1912, pp. 52—53.

⁴ RASMUSSEN, II, pp. 164 ff.

⁵ PETITOT 1886, pp. 363 f.

⁶ JACOBS 1936, pp. 1—3.

⁷ BOAS 1895, pp. 256—257.

⁸ GOLDER 1903, pp. 21—26.

SON mentions the onesided man among the motifs which the Koryaks have in common with America and the Old World¹. In North Asia, JOCHELSON quotes this motif from the Gilyaks, the Tungus, and the Russianized Yukaghirs. BOGORAS has recorded a tale from the last named people, somewhat like to the one from the Bella Coolas, mentioned above; the solitary onesided man is visited by a young girl who becomes his wife². In another Yukaghir tale, the onesided man is combined with the swan-maiden motif³. The onesided man or "half-man" is also found in western North Asia. Among the Votyaks, he is a forest-spirit, terrifying solitary wanderers. He seems to be known also to the Ostyaks, and he plays a part in the superstitious ideas of the Chuvashes and the Tatars⁴.

In a Samoyedic tale recorded by CASTRÉN, a one-legged, one-armed, and one-eyed old man occurs, with great magical powers; he resuscitates the hero several times⁵.

In Indonesia, the one-sided man is a deformed individual whose misfortune is caused by his mother's having cursed the weather. The miserable child visits the sky and is healed, God giving him the missing half-part of his body⁶.

In Africa, the onesided man is also known. In the Zulu tale about the princess Umkxakaza, a whole nation of such monsters appears⁷. The Basutos relate, that the Matebeles are half-men, that is, they are like persons divided longitudinally⁸. And the natives in Nyassaland believe that this kind of beings are living in the forests⁹.

The geographical distribution of the motif is not yet fully indicated. In Arabian folklore, two kinds of half-men are found, Shiḳḳ and Nesnás, both of them described as "a man, divided longitudinally", with half a head, half a body, one arm and one leg¹⁰. Further, one-legged fabulous beings are also known from European, Indian, and Melanesian folklore. Other ideas

¹ JOCHELSON 1905, p. 367.

² BOGORAS 1902, p. 662.

³ BOGORAS 1918, pp. 38 ff.

⁴ HOLMBERG 1927, pp. 181—182.

⁵ CASTRÉN 1857, pp. 157 ff.

⁶ DIXON 1916, pp. 215—216.—G. de VRIES, 1927, pp. 182—183.

⁷ CALLAWAY 1868, p. 199, note 43, og p. 202.

⁸ JACOTTET 1908, p. 160, note 4.

⁹ WERNER 1925, pp. 244—245.

¹⁰ LANE 1839, I, p. 37.

about monsters may be in a way related to the onesided men—for instance fabulous beings consisting of two coalesced persons, or who have one side consisting of stone or of iron. Such ideas may have been conceived, because real monsters, human or animal, have activated the imagination. The motif “the onesided man” may possibly have been invented several times. Its geographical distribution makes this assumption probable. It should also be noted that the motif occurs in tales which have, otherwise, nothing in common. The similarity between certain North Asiatic and American tales of this group is so great, that it must be assumed that the motif has been transmitted through the Bering Sea region in one or the other direction. On the other hand, the Indonesian versions are totally different from the American ones.

The origin of the moskitos from the body of an ogre is a common motif in North West America. The ogre is burned in many of the tales, and moskitos arise from the ashes. This motif is found among the Tlingits, Haidas, Tsimshians, Comoxes, Bella Coolas, and Kwakiutls on the North Pacific Coast¹. In the folklore of the Kaska Indians, the ogre’s skull is full of moskitos which fly out when the hero has killed the ogre and opened his head with the axe². Sporadically, this motif occurs also in South America, as it is known from the Uaupés Indians in the northwestern part of the Amazonas region³ and from the Apacóyva-Guaraní in southern Matto Grosso⁴.

On the Asiatic side of the Pacific ocean, the same motif is found. The Ainus relate about a one-eyed ogre who is killed by an Ainu hunter. The hunter burned the ogre in a great fire and spread the ashes in the air. But from the ashes arose gnats, mosquitos, and gad-flies⁵.—In a Chinese tale, common in South China, it is told that formerly there were no moskitos, but they arose from the ashes of a monster or an evil woman who was burned⁶.

¹ WATERMAN 1914, pp. 42—43.—BOAS 1895, pp. 89, 164, 165, 224, 253.—BOAS 1916, pp. 740 f.

² TEIT 1917, p. 445.

³ EHRENREICH 1905, pp. 33—34, 79.

⁴ NIMUENDAJÚ 1914, p. 368.

⁵ BATCHELOR 1901, p. 74.

⁶ EBERHARD 1937, p. 128.

The Sakai in the Malayan peninsula have a tradition about cannibalistic giants who were killed at last. When their blood fell upon the ground, leeches arose, but when it fell upon grass, moskitos came into existence¹.

In many tales about ogres who are burned up, other animals than moskitos arise from the ashes, generally small animals. All these tales may be regarded as variations of the same motif, distributed over most of North America North of Mexico². Also outside America, the tales about the burning of the ogre have a wide distribution; and in some cases the feature appears that animals come out of the ashes. In North East Asia this feature occurs in Yukaghir folklore³.

The story of the lost fishing-hook—THOMPSON'S Motif Index B548 2. 3.—is spread over Japan, Indonesia and Micronesia, and closely related forms are found in America, especially on the North Pacific Coast. This has been pointed out long ago by BOAS⁴. DIXON has also been interested in this motif⁵; he quotes it from Kei Islands, Halmahera, Soemba, Celebes, and Sumatra. In Micronesia, it is recorded by Kubary on the Pelew Islands⁶. It is also known from Yap⁷. The most famous version is the old Japanese one, which is recorded in Nihongi and Kojiki⁸. Here is told about two divine brothers, the eldest of whom, Hosusori no Mikoto, had success upon the sea, while the younger brother, Hiko-ho-ho-de-mi no Mikoto, was succesful in the mountains. The two brothers decided to change their fortune. The elder brother lent the younger one his fishing-hook and received in return the younger brother's bow and arrows. But none of them gained anything by the change. The elder brother regretted the change and gave the bow and arrows back to the younger one, asking for his fishing-hook. But the younger brother had lost the fishing-hook and could not find it again. The elder brother claimed his fishing-hook and would not be satisfied

¹ SKEAT and BLADGEN 1906, II, pp. 284—285.

² THOMPSON 1939, p. 353, note 274.

³ JOCHELSON 1924, p. 306.

⁴ BOAS 1895, p. 352.

⁵ DIXON 1916, pp. 156—157 and note 6.

⁶ BOAS 1895, p. 352.

⁷ MÜLLER 1918, p. 654.

⁸ FLORENZ: Nihongi, pp. 217 ff.—CHAMBERLAIN: Kojiki, pp. 119 ff.

with any compensation. The younger brother went down into the sea and came to the sea-god's castle. The daughter of the sea-god fell in love with him and became his wife; and the lost fishing-hook was brought to light, being found in the mouth of a fish which had been ill for some time, having swallowed the hook.

In some Oceanic versions of this motif, the borrowed fishing-hook appears, being lost and found again. There are also versions, however, where the fishing-hook is replaced by a spear, which the hero throws against a supernatural being which is stealing food. As an example may be quoted a tale from Halmahera¹ where a man throws his spear after a wild pig, that is plundering his garden. The animal escapes with the spear sticking in its back. The man traces the animal, and in that way he reaches an underground town. It turns out that he has hit a young girl, whom he heals and marries. In a version from Celebes², seven brothers have been hunting and are drying the meat of the killed wild pig. A strange man steals some of the meat and runs away with it. The youngest brother hits the robber with a spear, but the robber escapes with the spear sticking in him. The spear belongs to the young man's grandfather, who demands that the spear must be found and returned to him. The young man is let down into the underworld through the hole through which the robber used to come up. It turns out that the person, whom he has hit by the spear, is chieftain of a town in the lower world. The young man offers to heal him, but uses the opportunity for killing him. He recovers the spear, and on his way back he meets seven girls who become the wives of the seven brothers.

The North American versions of the motif are more alike to these Indonesian tales than to the old Japanese version, especially by the feature, that a person of the supernatural people steals food and is wounded by some missile. BOAS has stressed the peculiarity in American versions, that the wounding weapon—arrow, spear or harpoon—is invisible to the supernatural people³, who, in some versions, are living beneath the sea, in others in

¹ DIXON 1916, p. 213 f.

² DIXON 1916, p. 214 f.

³ This feature is also found in the version recorded by KUBARY from the Pelew Islands.

a far away region of the earth or in the sky, generally near to a lake. BOAS gives the motif the following designation "Geschoss der Menschen, Geistern unsichtbar" or "The invisible arrow", and he has given versions from Comox, Nootka, Kwakiutl, Bella Coola and Tsimshian¹, further from Nass, Tlingit, Haida, Chehalis and Coos².

Rather isolated—and almost as far from North West America geographically, as is North West America from Japan—a version has been recorded among the Micmac Indians in Nova Scotia by S. T. RAND³. It relates how the fearful man-eating bird Culloo is hit by a small boy's arrows and afterwards killed, the same boy being called as medicine-man to the wounded monster.

The magic flight, undoubtedly one of the oldest tales in the world, is spread all over the earth. This is due not only to the great age of this tale, but also to the great vitality of the tale. In the course of time, the tale has developed, through addition of episodes, such as the transformation of the fleeing persons, and through the connection with other motifs, such as the feature that several apparently impossible tasks are imposed upon the hero. The oldest element of the tale is—as AARNE has shown—the feature that the fleeing persons throw behind them various magical objects which change into serious obstacles to the pursuer⁴.

The idea to hinder a pursuer is so obvious that one might be tempted to regard it as belonging to human nature. This view has been expressed by N. M. PENZER in the following words: "So natural, indeed, does the motif appear, that it seems quite useless to attach any particular origin to it This motif, then, appears to be one which has not migrated, but is the spontaneous production of many different lands and of varying stages of civilization. Variants may have travelled from country to country, but the basic idea of hindering a pursuer is universal"⁵.

It may be answered, that if this motif, "the magic flight", had arisen spontaneously several times and in several places, it

¹ BOAS 1895, pp. 94, 98—99, 149, 189—190, 237—238, 254—255, 288—289.

² BOAS 1916, pp. 820 f.

³ RAND 1894, pp. 86—88.

⁴ AARNE 1930.

⁵ N. M. PENZER's notes to "The Ocean of Story", vol. III, pp. 384, 386.

would hardly have been possible to point out detailed conformities between versions from all lands. The character of the motif has made it popular everywhere and has greatly furthered the spreading of it. It can, however, hardly be doubted that the universal distribution of the motif is due to spreading from land to land, from continent to continent. This view seems to be generally accepted in the folkloristic science, also in America.

BOAS has mentioned, already in 1895, "the magical flight" as one of the most remarkable among the numerous complicated tales in East Asia and West America¹. In an important paper from 1914, BOAS has again mentioned "the magic flight" as one of the proofs of transmission of elements between the Old and the New World². BOAS has pointed out that this motif has reached America by two different currents—"an ancient one, coming from Siberia by way of the Bering Strait; a recent one, originating in Spain, and passing into Latin America, and gradually extending northwards until the two met in northern California".

According to BOAS, the current from Asia did not reach further than to California. He declares also: "The area of well-established Old-World influence upon the New World is confined to that part of North America limited in the south-east by a line running approximately from California to Labrador. South-east of this line, only weak indications of this influence are noticeable"³.

This opinion runs counter to EHRENREICH's view. EHRENREICH has maintained, that South American versions of "the magic flight" show unmistakable Asiatic "Anklänge". The oldest South American version, a part of the Huarochiri-myth about Coniraya Viracocha, does not contain the important feature, that objects are thrown behind to hinder the pursuers, but it has the transformation-motif. In EHRENREICH's opinion, this myth has the stamp of priestly influence, and this should be the reason why the flight-story does not appear in its original shape. However, two Brazilian versions, from the Mundrukus and the Karayas, have preserved a more original and complete form, reminding of versions from California and North West America⁴.

¹ BOAS 1895, p. 352.

² BOAS 1914, pp. 384, 386.

³ BOAS 1914, p. 384

⁴ EHRENREICH 1905, pp. 83—92.

AARNE sides with EHRENREICH's opinion in the following words: "Nach Nord-Amerika ist das Märchen von der magischen Flucht ursprünglich auf dem nördlichen Weg, über die Bering-Strasse gekommen und dann augenscheinlich von Nord-Amerika auch nach Süd-America gewandert"¹. AARNE finds in the Mundruku- and Karaya versions a proof of the probability of a spreading from North America to South America².

It may then be regarded as certain, that "the magic flight" has spread in Pre-Columbian times from Asia to America. And it is very probable, that the motif reached South America also in Pre-Columbian times—although things are complicated by the spreading of the motif from Europe in recent time.

The Japanese literary version of "the magic flight", Izanagi's flight from the realm of death, in the old Japanese myth-collections Kojiki and Nihongi, cannot be regarded as the original form of the motif, which EHRENREICH has already pointed out. It contains one feature, however, which is, probably very old, namely this, that the object of the flight is to escape from the realm of death. In this connection it should be remembered, that certain magical obstacles are employed by the Chukchees at burials: mountains being raised from small stones and deep rivers indicated by the drawing of lines with a stick upon the ground, in order to prevent the dead person from returning³.

AARNE regards the flight out of the realm of death as the fundamental idea of the tale⁴. This idea is clearly preserved in the old Japanese version and by primitive peoples in North East Asia which seems to indicate that the motif reached North East Asia in an early form.

The tale about the swan-maiden—who became the wife of a mortal man when she had lost her feather-dress, but who fled to her home-land later on, having recovered her feather-dress, after which her husband attempted to follow her—is almost as widespread over the world as "the magic flight". Cf. STITH THOMPSON's Motif-Index D361. 1. According to BOAS, a transmission of the motif from the Old to the New World is not proven

¹ AARNE 1930, p. 153.

² AARNE 1930, p. 142.

³ BOGORAS 1902, pp. 626—627.

⁴ AARNE 1930, pp. 154—155.

in this case. He finds that the geographical distribution is not sufficiently continuous to warrant this assumption, and also he does not find the story sufficiently complicated to exclude the possibility of its having originated independently in America¹.

Regarding the geographical distribution, it should be observed, though, that the motif is found among the Chukchees and, in similar forms, among the Eskimos, as mentioned by BOGORAS². The connection between the Old and the New World is therefore unbroken. It should also be observed, that the swan-maiden motif is old as well in China as in Japan³. If it is denied that a part of the swan-maiden versions in America are due to transmission from Asia, one may as well doubt that the continuous distribution of this motif in other parts of the world can be regarded as the result of diffusion. HOLMSTRÖM quotes from the northern tribes in America some versions which are, in his opinion, in "diktsammanhang" with Asiatic and European versions⁴.

In Oceania, the swan-maiden motif is very common in Indonesia⁵, Melanesia⁶, and Australia⁷. It seems to be less common in Polynesia⁸. The motif has reached America by the northern way, over North East Asia. A transmission via Polynesia is unlikely.

The swan-maiden motif has also reached America from Europe, in recent times. STITH THOMPSON has pointed out the motif in tales, whose European origin is beyond doubt⁹. But the motif occurs also in North American Indian tales which do not bear the stamp of European influence¹⁰. Its early existence among the Eskimos is proved by the fact, that it was recorded already by PAUL EGEDE in Greenland¹¹. In PAUL EGEDE's version, the woman does not recover her original feather-dress, but she collects feathers and makes new feather-dresses for herself and for her son, and then flies away. Similar versions are recorded by RINK¹² and

¹ BOAS 1914, p. 385.

² BOGORAS 1902, pp. 611 ff.

³ EBERHARD 1937, pp. 55—59.—BRAUNS 1885, pp. 349—350.—RUMPF 1937, pp. 220—267.—FLORENZ: Nihongi, pp. 305—306.

⁴ HOLMSTRÖM 1919, p. 106.

⁵ DIXON 1916, pp. 206 ff.

⁶ DIXON 1916, pp. 138 f.

⁷ DIXON 1916, pp. 294 ff.

⁸ DIXON 1916, pp. 63—64.

⁹ THOMPSON 1919, pp. 366—378.

¹⁰ THOMPSON 1929, p. 356, note 284.

¹¹ EGEDE 1788, pp. 55—57.

¹² RINK 1866, pp. 91—93.

by KNUD RASMUSSEN¹. Also from the Baffin Land Eskimo, a similar version is known², further, from the Chukchees in North East Asia³. These northern swan-maiden versions are fundamentally alike.

The animal-wife. The mysterious housekeeper. The swan-maiden has a certain relationship to the animal-wife. This designation may cover more than one motif. Stories about men being married to women in animal-shape or of animal descent are found everywhere in the World and have probably arisen more than once. There is, however, a special animal-wife motif, which is linked together with "the mysterious housekeeper" (STITH THOMPSON'S Motif-Index N831. 1). The hero of the story is generally a lonesome hunter, but sometimes one of several hunters, living together. Returning from the hunt, he finds the tent or house made in order, and a well prepared meal is served. This happens several times. The hunter lies in wait, to find out how it happens, and he sees that an animal throws its skin and is transformed into a beautiful girl who brings his house in order. He seizes the animal-skin, hides it or burns it, and compels the girl to become his wife. The story ends often tragically, like most of the swan-maiden versions, the wife leaving the husband because he has betrayed her origin or offended her in some other way.

The mysterious housekeeper is most frequently an animal, very often a fox. In this form, the motif is common among the Eskimos⁴. In a version from the Eskimos in Kodiak Island, Alaska, she is a grouse⁵. In an Eskimo version from Lower Yukon, she is a goose, combining the rôles of a mysterious housekeeper and a swan-maiden⁶. She may also be a supernatural being of another kind. In a tale from the Plains Cree⁷, "the mysterious housekeeper" is of the thunder-family, whose home is in the sky. She marries one of ten brothers, who are living together in one wigwam. A jealousy-drama develops, resulting in the girl's flight to her own people, pursued by her husband, who at last

¹ RASMUSSEN 1921—25, I, p. 364, II, pp. 12—14, III, pp. 74—76.

² BOAS 1888, pp. 615—618.

³ BOGORAS 1902, pp. 611 f.

⁴ TURNER 1894, p. 264.—BOAS 1901, p. 360.—RINK 1871, pp. 68 f.

⁵ GOLDER 1903, pp. 87—90.—LANTIS 1938, p. 162. A similar tale is recorded from Nuniwak Island, according to Lantis.

⁶ BURROWS 1926, p. 80.

⁷ SKINNER 1916, pp. 353—361.

wins her back and brings her and her nine sisters with him to the earth, so that he and his nine brothers all are provided with a wife for each of them. The same story is also recorded among the Ojibwa¹. Influence from the swan-maiden motif is here apparent. The girl of the thunder-family can fly, and she has her home in the sky, like the swan-maiden.

Among the Lillooet Indians and the Kwakiutl Indians in British Columbia, "the mysterious housekeeper" is linked together with the story about the solitary man, who makes for himself a wife of wood, rejecting the wooden wife, however, when a real human wife turns up². In this tale, "the mysterious housekeeper" is not supernatural³.

A very similar tale is recorded among the Iroquois. But here, it has not—as among the Lillooet and the Kwakiutl—the character of a jesting tale. The man's human wife has died, and he has buried her in the hut. Longing for her, he makes a wooden doll of about her size, putting her clothes on it. One day when he returns from the hunt, there is a fire upon the hearth, and food in the pot, but no human being to be seen. The next time, when he returns from the hunt, he sees a woman go into the hut with a bundle of firewood upon her shoulder. He opens the door quickly, and sees his dead wife in the hut, the woman doll having disappeared. The tale ends tragically. The wife, returned from the realm of death, tells him that he must not touch her, before they have seen all their relatives. After a while, they start on their journey towards the headcamp of the tribe. But on the way, the man is overpowered by his desire, and when he seizes her in his arms, it is only the wooden doll he is holding⁴. In this version, an influence from the Orpheus-motif is perceivable.

However, the Iroquois have also "the mysterious housekeeper" in the—probably more original—connection with the animal-wife motif, namely in the Seneca-tale about the hunter who married a moose-woman, whose magical powers made him successful in the hunting⁵.

¹ JONES, ed. MICHELSON, 1919, pp. 133—149.

² BOAS 1916, pp. 152—154, 744—746.—BOAS and HUNT 1903, pp. 122—123.

³ TEIT 1912, pp. 309—310.

⁴ E. A. SMITH 1883, pp. 103—104. The Tlingit Indians have a version of the tale about the wooden wife, somewhat similar to the Iroquois version, but without the motif "the mysterious housekeeper". SWANTON 1909, pp. 181—182.

⁵ CURTIN and HEWITT 1918, pp. 361—365.

In a Passamaquoddy-tale, "the mysterious housekeeper" is a partridge. She brings success in the hunt, and she wins the heart of the hunter so completely that he dies, when they have to part¹.

In the folklore of the Huichol Indians in Mexico, "the mysterious housekeeper" and the "animal-wife" are combined with the flood-myth. The hero rescues himself and a black dog from the flood and starts cultivating the soil. Every night when he comes home, there are corn-cakes for him. At last he discovers, that it is the dog who makes them; while he is away, the dog takes her skin off, and then she is a woman, grinding corn upon the metate. He throws the skin upon the fire and marries the woman. And their issue populates the earth².—A similar tale is known from the Coras^{2a} and from the Tepecanos³. The Populucas have the dog-wife and "mysterious housekeeper" in another context, without the flood story⁴.

BOAS maintained that Spanish-American folk-tales are derived largely from Spanish sources. He was of the opinion that folk-tales, current among the Indians of Mexico, were European, mostly Spanish⁵. Of late, this theory has been criticized by RADIN⁶ and FOSTER⁷. The folk-lore of Mexican Indians contains, without doubt, a large amount of imported European material, but also old American elements, often mixed together.

With regard to the Huichol tale, mentioned above, the story about the flood shows unmistakable influence from the Bible; the hero is warned by an old woman of the coming flood and told to make a box of fig tree, in order to rescue himself, five grains of corn of each color, five beans of each color, the fire, and the dog. This is Noah's ark in Indian disguise. In the Tepecano version, the biblical influence is even more evident. However, the dog-wife and the "mysterious housekeeper" are of course not from the Bible; and the fact that the Huichol and the Tepecano tale combine them with the story of the

¹ LELAND 1898, pp. 295—300.

² LUMHOLTZ 1900, pp. 169—170.

^{2a} PREUSS 1912, pp. 277—281.

³ MASON 1914, pp. 163—164.

⁴ FOSTER 1945, p. 226.

⁵ BOAS 1912, p. 247.

⁶ RADIN 1944.

⁷ FOSTER 1945.

flood, does not say anything about their origin—although the closing remark about the dog-wife's issue populating the earth may remind of the fruitful Eve in the Genesis.

The animal-wife and "mysterious housekeeper" seem to be as popular in Northern South America as they are in North America. The Arawaks in Surinam have a version, where the dog-wife works secretly in the manioc garden¹. In a story from the Warrau Indians, south of the mouth of Orinoco, it is a female ape who throws her skin and does housework and afterwards becomes a man's wife². And among the Taulipang Indians, a condor plays the rôle; this version is strongly influenced by the swan-maiden motif³. Another Carib tribe (Kamarakoto) in Venezuela has a similar version where the queen of the buzzards acts as "mysterious housekeeper"⁴.

Outside America, the "mysterious housekeeper" is widely spread⁵. In European folklore it occurs in some variants of the Sneewittchen tale⁶, and also in other tales⁷, but never—as far as I know—in connection with the animal-wife motif, except one swan-maiden variant from Silesia where the heroine, a human girl, is changed into a goose and in that condition wounded by a hunter in whose home she acts the part of the "mysterious housekeeper"⁸.

Outside Europe, the "mysterious housekeeper" is generally linked to the animal-wife motif. She may also be a supernatural forest-spirit, as in a tale from Galela in Halmahera⁹, or she may issue from a plant, as it happens in a tale from the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain¹⁰. The animal-wife is not necessarily a quadruped or a bird; in a tale from British Borneo the mysterious female is a bee¹¹; in a tale from the Admiralty Islands she is a dove¹². The motif of the "mysterious housekeeper" is

¹ KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1920, pp. 56—57.

² ROTH 1915, p. 150.

³ KOCH-GRÜNBERG 1916, pp. 81 ff.

⁴ SIMPSON 1944.

⁵ THOMPSON: Motif-Index, V, pp. 106 f.

⁶ BÖKLEN 1910, pp. 89—93.

⁷ BASILE, ed. PENZER 1932, II, pp. 43—51. BOGGS 1930, p. 48. SÉBILLOT 1892, p. 518 (ménage: fait par soeur cachée).

⁸ HOLMSTRÖM 1919, p. 39.

⁹ VRIES 1925, I, pp. 313—316.

¹⁰ MEIER 1909, p. 35.

¹¹ HAMBRUCH 1922, pp. 116—21.

¹² MEIER 1908, pp. 203—206.

especially common in Indonesia, and possibly it may have spread from there to Melanesia¹.

A large number of versions may be quoted from the Asiatic continent, although STITH THOMPSON'S *Motif-Index* does not give any examples from there. In a Turkish tale from Minor Asia the mysterious woman is a turtle². In India the motif is found in the folklore of the Santals where the woman is a supernatural being, a Bonga³. But the motif is especially prevalent in China, and it is known to be very old in Chinese folk-literature. A curious Chinese version is the tale about the snail-woman: a man finds a snail and brings it to his home. In his absence the snail changes into a girl, cooks food and cleans the house. After some days the man discovers the girl, seizes her and makes her his wife. But after some time the girl gets hold of her snail-shell, which the man has hidden, and then she walks off. This tale can be traced back so the fifth century through the literature, and it is spread in the provinces of Kwangtung, Chekiang, and Kiangsu⁴.

There are many other Chinese tales about animal-wives. An animal comes to a lonesome man and becomes his wife, the skin of the animal being hidden away. Later on, she gets her skin back and flees. The animal may be a fox, a tiger, or a fresh-water mussel. This story is spread all over China, and from it has originated numerous tales about fox-women in Chinese literature⁵. P'u Sung-ling's famous tales, well-known in GILES'S translation, contain many accounts about beautiful and helpful fox-girls.

The tale about the woman who issues from her picture in order to keep house for a poor man, and then becomes his wife and bears him children, but at last returns to her picture, is probably known all over⁶ China. In this tale, the motif of the "mysterious housekeeper" is combined with the motif of the picture who becomes alive—reminding of the Iroquois tale about the wooden doll that changed into a living woman (p.97).

¹ DIXON 1916, pp. 110, 218, 224.

² VINCZE 1908, pp. 158 ff.

³ BOMPAS 1909, pp. 218 ff.

⁴ EBERHARD 1937, pp. 59 ff.

⁵ EBERHARD 1937, pp. 62 f.

⁶ EBERHARD 1937, pp. 61—62.

The "mysterious housekeeper" appears also in North East Asia, in connection with the animal-wife motif. For instance, the Ainu have a tale about a sable-hunter who finds, on returning to his hunting-lodge, a woman perfectly alike to his own wife. She has made a fire upon the hearth and is cooking his food. Next morning, the woman leaving him, it turns out that she is a bear¹.—The Yukaghirs have the story about the fish-girl. A poor man catches a fish-girl in the sea, brings her home to his hut, and lays her in a corner. Next time when he returns from fishing, the hut is cleaned up and the food is ready, but the fish-girl is lying in the corner as before. It continues thus, until he hides himself one day and sees the fish-girl change into a beautiful young girl. He seizes her and throws her fishskin into the fire. Then she falls to the ground and melts to sea water².—The Koryaks have also a tale about the fish-girl; she is caught by Big-Raven, and he marries her. She has the remarkable quality that she can feed people with her roe. The legitimate wife of Big-Raven is jealous of the fish-girl and kills her. She comes to life again, and she gives Big-Raven food as before, but at last she flees back to the sea³.

The "mysterious housekeeper" is a typical wish-idea, natural for lonesome men. Its almost world-wide distribution is probably due to the fact, that this motif satisfies feelings of a general human character. But at the same time, this motif has a special quality; the story of the lonesome man's home being kept in order and provided with food in a miraculous way is told everywhere with almost the same features. It is intelligible that this special form of the lonesome man's wish-dream could gain foothold in the folklore of many lands. It is improbable, however, that it should have arisen spontaneously in the same special form several times. The most plausible explanation of the distribution seems to be diffusion.

The geographical continuity between the East Asiatic and the North American area of distribution is fairly perfect, as the motif is found on the Asiatic side as far north as the Yukaghirs and the Koryaks, and in North America has been recorded

¹ PILSUDSKI 1912, pp. 75—76.

² BOGORAS 1918, p. 101.

³ JOCHELSON 1905, p. 292.

in several Eskimo localities. Farther south in America it occurs here and there, somewhat sporadically¹.

The mysterious housekeeper has probably reached North America from Asia, and also from Europe. The Eskimo tales about fox-women and grouse-women acting as mysterious housekeepers, and also the Passamaquoddy tale about the partridge-wife and the Iroquoian tale about the moose-wife can hardly be due to European influences, because in western Europe the motif is not connected with the animal-wife. On the other hand, in a Thompson Indian tale of evident European origin, "The Girl who sought for her Brothers", the heroine acts as a mysterious housekeeper for her brothers². In the above mentioned stories from the Crees and the Ojibwas (pp. 96—97), where the mysterious housekeeper is a sort of a swan-maiden, European influence may be suspected.—It must be admitted that considerable space intervenes between the known instances of the motif north of Mexico and the Mexican instances. There is also a long way from Mexico to the localities in Venezuela and Guiana where the South American versions were recorded. However, it is hardly possible that these Mexican and South American versions could be due to European influence, because they are in all cases linked to the animal-wife motif, a combination which has not been recorded in western Europe. I do not know if African influence might be responsible?

Among the northern Athapascans another tale is found, about an invisible woman who gives to the preferred hunter erotic joys and luck in the hunt³. Evidently, this motif fills a function somewhat similar to that of the mysterious housekeeper—from which it may perhaps be derived.

Conclusion.

It has long been recognized that a few elements in American folklore must have come from the West, from the Old World. BOAS admits that certain tales, namely "the magic flight", "vagina dentata", and the story about the ogre whose head was

¹ THOMPSON 1929, p. 334—335, notes 206 and 207.

² TEIT 1911, p. 396.

³ PETITOT 1886, pp. 19 f, 121 f, 237 f.

infested with vermin, have spread from the Old World to North West America. In these instances the claim is fulfilled that the geographical distribution should be continuous. Concerning "vagina dentata", I find it more probable, that this motif has spread from America to the Old World (cf. p. 86).

The material here produced shows a continuous distribution also for certain other motifs, which are found as well in the Old World as in America. This is true of the thunderbird, the sky's up- and down-movement, "the onesided man", "the swan-maiden", and "the mysterious housekeeper". For these motifs a transmission to North America from the west is just as probable as for "the magic flight".

Some other motifs, which are also common to America and the Old World, have not the continuous geographical distribution. If the claim is maintained, that the spreading of a motif must reveal itself through a continuous geographical distribution, then a number of motifs without continuous distribution cannot be utilized as support for a theory about cultural influences from the Old World in America.

It is, however, not possible to maintain the view that the spreading of a motif must always produce a continuous geographical distribution. Within the Old World, the science of folklore must sometimes renounce the claim to the demonstration of continuous distribution in cases where, nevertheless, a cultural spreading cannot be doubted. KAARLE KROHN has certainly compared the spreading of a tale with concentric waves produced by throwing a stone into the water, and he has maintained, that when the same tradition is found in two places, it must also exist in the area between them. This view contains, however, as C. W. von SYDOW has recently shown, a misconception of the real life of the tradition¹. VON SYDOW calls attention to the fact, that tradition has only a few active bearers. Most individuals are only passive bearers, who like to listen to a story, but do not relate it again. Only the active bearers take charge of the spreading of a story—and spreading is possible only when two active bearers meet. On the other hand, if an active bearer of a tradition undertakes a journey, the tradition may be transmitted a considerable distance, and the distribution becomes

¹ C. W. v. SYDOW 1945, pp. 153 f.

discontinuous. This line of thought, set forth by VON SYDOW, is important for the problem of cultural influences between the Old World and America.

Long journeys are rare among primitive peoples, but they do occur, if not voluntary, then involuntarily. Influences may have reached America from Asia or from Oceania, by drifting vessels. EHRENREICH quotes the American CH. BROOKS, who has given information of 60 instances of Japanese vessels, blown off their course and drifted to the West coast of America since 1617¹.

Lacunae in the distribution of a motif may also arise secondarily. A competition is going on between the motifs within any area. Among the motifs which are disposable, the story-tellers of a nation will prefer some, which will be told in many versions and enter into many combinations, while other motifs will not fit so well into the cultural milieu, and therefore be forgotten.

The distribution of the earth-diver myth indicates that this motif is indigenous to an inland-milieu with lakes, rivers, and diving animals, and it does not easily maintain itself in oceanic surroundings. It degenerates on the sea-coast. Its inner probability fades in the presence of the real ocean. This seems to be a sufficient explanation of the lacuna between the North Asiatic and the North American areas of this motif. The lacuna between the Indian and the East European-North Asiatic areas of the motif is as large and cannot, of course, be explained in the same way. I have no explanation to offer in this case. That cultural transmissions from India to North Asia have taken place, cannot be doubted, however.

Travel between the earth and the sky is part of the range of ideas of all peoples, and belongs to a very ancient view of the universe. The traffic is supposed to take place by magical means, several kinds of which are mentioned in myths and tales. Some of the magical means of conveyance occur almost everywhere, especially the sky-rope, the sky-ladder, and the sky-tree. These ideas seem to belong to the most ancient humanity or to be potentially present in human nature, so that they can be

¹ EHRENREICH 1905, p. 92. (Ch. Brooks in Calif. acad. of sciences, San Francisco 1876). Cf. also HENNIG 1928, Cap. V, Unfreiwillige Seefahrten.

reproduced everywhere and at any time. Other magical means of conveyance have a more special character. Flying horses are imaginable only where the real horse is known. The arrow-chain and the magic arrow flight imply that the use of the bow and arrow is known and common. When the arrow-chain idea invades Australia, it is transformed, therefore, to a spear-chain idea. And the arrow-chain idea does not enter into Polynesia, because the bow and arrow is not used there. Pettazoni has attempted to explain the great lacuna between the arrow-chain's North West American and South American areas, by the fact that the arrow-chain does not fit well into the range of habitual ideas of an agricultural people. The same explanation may perhaps be used for the other great lacuna, separating the North Pacific from the Melanesian area of the arrow-chain motif. A certain competition enters into the play between the different magical means of conveyance, which are at the disposal of the creative mythological mind and of the story-teller's imaginative faculty. The very special means of conveyance, the arrow-chain, fits the taste of a hunting-people, but does not appeal to agriculturists. This seems to contain a plausible explanation of the lacunae in the geographical distribution of the arrow-chain—more probable than the other explanation, that this peculiar motif should have been invented independently three times.

The possibility of the same motif originating several times cannot, of course, be rejected. But this possibility does not seem to be equal for all motifs. I have attempted to distinguish between general and special motifs. The first group contains ideas which are spread all over the world, either because of their being so ancient that they may be said to belong to the original stock of human ideas, or because they spring from human feelings of a general kind, and therefore are potentially present in human nature, so that they might originate everywhere and at any time.

To this group of general motifs, I reckon the idea of a sky, carrying upon its upper side living beings, analogous to those of the earth. Further, the idea of traffic between the earth and the sky. A part of the means, by which myths and tales let this traffic go on, belong also to the group of general motifs. And to this same group, I would reckon a series of ideas concern-

ing the resuscitation of dead persons or journeys to the realm of death to bring back a beloved dead person. Further, the Amazone motif, that is, stories about the revolt of women against men's supremacy.

In many instances, general motifs have spread from one people to another. It has always been much easier to retell a tale than to produce, independently, new ideas. But the possibility of an independent invention is comparatively great for the general motifs. The Orpheus motif and the Amazone motif do therefore not lend themselves to the proving of culture-historical connection between the Old World and America.

On the other hand, however, there is a numerous group of special motifs, which cannot immediately be derived from ideas and feelings of a general human kind, and whose independent origin is therefore less likely to have occurred several times. To this group, most of the motifs belong, I think, which are common to America and the Old World. It is difficult, of course, to draw a sharp line of division between the special and the general motifs. A few motifs are transitional, especially the "blood-clot-boy" and other tales about miraculous births or the wonderful coming into existence of children; these tales are manifestations of a general human wish, which may, especially in the minds of old and childless people, seek its gratification in wish-dreams. "The onesided man" and other tales about fabulous beings may possibly have arisen several times, real monsters having set the imagination going. However, between certain North Asiatic and North American tales about "the onesided man", there is a detailed similarity, which makes it probable that this motif has passed through the Bering region.

The following motifs are of a more undoubted special character: the earth-diver, the thunderbird, the idea of several suns and moons in the sky—although this curious thought may have its origin in an ancient cosmogony, letting everything in the world arise from procreation—and the idea of the up- and down-movement of the sky—although this peculiar idea may be the result of the attempt of northern hunters to solve the problem of the residence of the birds of passage in winter. Further the motif of the Cesarean operation or the story about the strange people where all mothers must die, the motif about "vagina

dentata", the origin of moskitos from the body of an ogre, "the lost fish-hook", "the magic flight", "the swan-maiden", and "the mysterious housekeeper".

Several of these special motifs have a continuous distribution, covering as well North East Asia as North West America. The magic flight, the thunderbird, the up- and down-going movement of the sky, the one-sided man, the swan-maiden, and the mysterious housekeeper have probably spread from Asia to America, through the North Pacific region. The vagina dentata motif may probably have spread in the opposite direction, from America to the Old World.

Some of the mentioned special motifs have no continuous distribution. This is true of the earth-diver motif, the arrow-chain, "blood-clot-boy", the Cesarean operation motif, the origin of the moskitos, and the lost fish-hook. It is probable that these motifs have also spread to America from the west, but the distribution has not remained continuous—perhaps as a result of competition with other motifs.

The motif "several suns and several moons", distributed over East and South East Asia, and in the North reaching the Amur region, has two isolated occurrences in Western America, namely in Peru and among the Shasta Indians of California. In this case, the most likely explanation is a spreading by sea, probably quite late, as the motif has not been able to gain a wider distribution in America.

According to BOAS, the Asiatic influence in North America does not assert itself farther to the south than a line between California and Labrador¹. It should be observed though, that several of the motifs, which probably came from Asia, have spread farther to the south than the line mentioned, even as far as South America.

As a whole, however, the Asiatic elements are most conspicuous in North West America, and some of them have not reached South America. This is true of so important a motif as the earth-diver.

Only a part of the American motifs which may be pointed out in the Old World, are mentioned in this paper. Several others deserve investigation. Among these, I would mention the motif

¹ BOAS 1914, p. 384.

about the false beauty-doctor (THOMPSON'S Motif-Index K 1013), which occurs in America in versions, not bearing the stamp of modern European influence, but remarkably like a Lappish version. Unfortunately, I do not know any Asiatic intermediate link. Further, the Jonas-motif may be mentioned (THOMPSON'S Motif-Index F 911,912, and 913), spread in several forms all over the world. FROBENIUS has attached much importance to this motif, and he has published a map of the distribution, unfortunately without indicating the literary sources¹. In the paper quoted, FROBENIUS has also given maps of the distribution of several other motifs, comprehending parts of America and the Old World. The usefulness of these maps is essentially diminished through the lack of indication of sources. And in some instances it is evident that some of the maps do not quite agree with known facts.

Although Pre-Colombian agriculture seems to be entirely of American origin, there is in American agricultural folklore a body of motifs which are also met with in the Old World. I have, however, refrained from treating of agricultural motifs in this paper, hoping to take them up for discussion in another connection.

I have also refrained from treating of the tales of the dog as ancestor, which are so widely found in America and the Old World, and which have been so extensively and learnedly discussed by FREDA KRETSCHMAR in "Hundestammvater und Kerberos" (I-II, Stuttgart 1938). The motif of the canine ancestor raises so many problems that it could not be adequately treated in the present paper.

The transmission of Asiatic culture elements to America has probably mainly passed through the region around the Bering Sea. The shortest route from South Eastern and Eastern Asia to America, geographically, goes through the Bering Sea region; and it may be passed without traversing any long stretches of open sea. It is also probable, however, that some influences passed across the broad Pacific Ocean, using Polynesian islands as stepping stones. It is a fact that numerous crafts have unintentionally made the voyage from Asia to America across the ocean within historic times (cf. p. 104). Why should the same thing not have happened in earlier centuries? The

¹ FROBENIUS 1938, pp. 9—10, Fig. 4.

story of several suns and moons in the sky seems to have passed across the broad ocean. WASSÉN has pointed out another interesting motif, the world tree giving all kinds of fruit, which is found in South America and in Micronesia, and also the motif of throwing fruit into the ocean in order to attract the preying fishes so that the water will be cleared of them and the sun can dive down in it; this curious special motif was recorded by WASSÉN from the Chocó Indians in Colómbia, and by KRÄMER in Palau, Micronesia. WASSÉN thinks that this must be explained either as a singular separate development or as a case of direct transfer across the Pacific; and he calls to mind ERLAND NORDENSKIÖLD'S pointing out of a great number of "Oceanian" elements in South America, especially in Colómbia and Panamá¹.

However, the region around the Bering Sea was probably most important for the influx of Old World elements. And America has probably not at any period since the last Ice Age been entirely isolated from such influences. The cultural impulses, of a material or a spiritual kind, which have reached America, have not by any means deprived aboriginal America's cultural development of its own peculiar stamp. Just as Pre-Columbian American agriculture seems to be an entirely independent creation, without any traceable Old-World elements, so also the mental life within Central America's and South America's higher cultures seem to be essentially free of loans from the civilizations of the Old World. The similarities with the Old World are more apparent within the lower cultures, and especially in Northern North America, north of the area of the Pre-Columbian agriculture.

These similarities consist partly of general human features, which may have been brought in by the first immigrants from Asia to America, or which may have been developed later upon a general human basis. Partly, the similarities consist of special elements which have reached North America at a later period, and some of which have also reached South America. These cultural loans have been assimilated and utilized by the American aborigines. The science of folklore in America has shown, how the story-tellers have combined the motifs in different ways,

¹ WASSÉN 1934.—WASSÉN 1940.

and how their creations are stamped by local taste and style¹. A very large part of the motifs in American folklore have not been found outside America. And some of the elements which play an essential part in Pre-Columbian America, are only weakly represented in other parts of the world. For instance, the idea is prevalent in large regions of America that mankind has a subterranean origin. This idea is certainly ancient and widely spread, known from the Bantu of South Africa², from central Australia³, from the Kei Islands in Indonesia⁴, from certain tribes in Manipur and the Lushai Hills in NE India⁵, and from the Trobriand Islands⁶; but nowhere it has produced so rich and elaborate mythological imaginations as in America, especially in the Pueblo region.

Pre-Colombian America was not altogether isolated from the rest of the human world. American culture sprang from an ancient general human basis, and, from time to time, it received impulses from without. The study of Pre-Columbian America cannot be severed from the culture-history of the rest of the world.

¹ Cf. e. g. REICHARD 1921, GUNTHER 1927.

² WERNER 1925, pp. 145 ff.—CALLAWAY 1870, pp. 9, 31 ff.—JUNOD 1927, II, p. 348.

³ STREHLOW, I, p. 3, II, p. 2.

⁴ DIXON 1916, p. 169.—RIEDEL 1886, pp. 190—218.

⁵ PERRY 1915, pp. 149—151.—SHAKESPEAR 1909, pp. 309 ff., 417.

⁶ MALINOWSKI 1935, I, pp. 64, 68.

Authorities quoted.

Abbreviations:

AA	American Anthropologist.
ARBE	Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.
BAM	Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History.
BBE	Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology.
CA	Comptes rendus du Congrès des Americanistes.
FFC	FF Communications.
FL	Folk-Lore.
JAFLL	Journal of American Folk-Lore.
JAI	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
JE	The Jesup North Pacific Expedition.
MAM	Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History.
MAR	The Mythology of All Races.
PAES	Publications of the American Ethnological Society.
PAM	Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History.

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