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Margaret Lantis



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THE MYTHOLOGY OF KODIAK ISLAND, ALASKA

BY MARGARET LANTIS.

INTRODUCTION

Until the past few years there was a tendency to treat the North Pacific Coast culture-area and the Western Eskimo area almost as if there were a fence between them. Northwest Coast was compared with Northeast Siberia with surprising results while the Eskimo tribes of Alaska remained fundamentally something apart, difficult to fit into the picture of distributions around the North Pacific unless one said simply that they were intrusive and let it go at that. Now, however, since the discovery of the Old Bering Sea, Punuk, and Thule cultures, it is possible to characterize different phases and stages of Eskimo culture including that of the modern Alaskan Eskimos and to demonstrate the antiquity of the Eskimo in Alaska. The next step is naturally an attempt to find the relationships of Alaskan Eskimo culture to other cultures.

In a strategic position for such a study of the relationships between the two sharply characterized areas of the Northwest Coast and the West Alaskan Eskimos lay the Koniag, Eskimo inhabitants of Kodiak Island and a little strip of the adjacent mainland, — the subjects of this paper. The geographic position of Kodiak connected it culturally in two directions. (1) Because of a natural pass across the Alaska Peninsula opposite Kodiak Island, relations could be maintained to the northwestward with the Eskimos around Bristol Bay. (2) Because of their proximity northeastward to Cook Inlet and the Kenai Peninsula, where fingers of Tlingit culture stretched westward to clasp the Tanaina arm of the Inland Athabascans (which was reaching down along the shores of Cook Inlet to the sea at the time of the Discovery), and where even some Eskimos were to be found, the Koniag certainly were in a favorable position to partake of the rich Indian culture in this direction.

Before we go on to consider the habitat and culture of this group, I shall state directly the objectives of this paper. I am interested in ascertaining in some detail the cultural relationships of groups in south-

central and southwestern Alaska — the border tribes — which inevitably would have implications for larger problems involving the two major areas: Eskimo and Northwest Coast. However, in many cases we do not have the necessary source material to use in making comparisons and plotting distributions. Therefore we must seek first to obtain and make available whatever we can get of source material and then afterwards to fit this into the whole scheme. As one contribution to such a series of monographs as I believe necessary is this study of Kodiak folklore and its relation to that of neighboring cultures. The two dominant purposes herein are (1) to bring into one collection all the scattered and fragmentary information on this subject, which I have had a somewhat unusual opportunity to collect, and (2) to trace as far as possible with this material at hand the affinity and consanguinity of Kodiak folklore with that of their neighbors.

First, in regard to the sources for the tales and myths, the following should be noted. The tales in this collection were recorded in an approximate century from 1805 to 1905, as the bibliography shows, giving the details of publication. One of the best sources, the manuscript *Field Notes of Alphonse Pinart*, which is at present in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, is at the same time one of the worst. Pinart seems to have been especially interested in folklore and language and made an effort to obtain such material in many settlements. But at the same time he seems to have accepted fragments or usually the bare outlines of stories. Of course he may have heard full versions but wrote down in the Notes only an outline, with the intention of filling in the details later from memory. This does not help us, however, since we do not dare to carry on this filling-in process. We cannot plead for him that the tales were no longer to be obtained because Golder, who was working in the same region thirty years later and who moreover did not pretend to be an ethnographer, obtained much fuller versions (although not such a great variety of stories). Even though Golder may have bodied out his stories somewhat to give them more readable form and sequence, nevertheless he did get more incidents in each plot. At any rate although we are always tantalized by Pinart's Notes, yet we must express gratitude to him for having obtained and preserved certain tales and accounts of shamanism, the whale cult, and other religious practices which no one else has recorded among the Koniag.

With all the limitations of the particular sources which we must use, still these stories and pieces of stories brought together here (and which are all that I have so far been able to find in English, German, or French) are of sufficient range in their type and contents to indicate some very interesting preliminary conclusions concerning the position of Koniag mythology in relation to that of the North Pacific, Bering Sea, and the Arctic. With the aboriginal culture of this people now so attenuated, it seems unlikely that much more information on Koniag

mythology than that given herein can ever be obtained although we can always hope for new material.

Since there are available for none of the myths and tales any texts in the native language, there can be no attempt at a discussion of style. Also all of the versions examined have evidently been very freely translated into the English, French, or German of these authors, leaving no trace of the original tone, even. As noted before, many versions are apparently fragmentary or garbled so that one can make no conclusions as to the full content. Possibly some of the stories, which are known from other Eskimo groups or from the Indians in fuller form, reached the Koniag in the first place only in fragments; or possibly there was such a rapid break-up of this phase of culture in the nineteenth century that by the time Pinart and Golder came along, the elements of mythology had been thoroughly reshuffled and many of them lost in the shuffle.

Nevertheless — and this relates to our second objective — if we do not have the complete pattern of the mythology, at least we have many elements of the designs and can study their distribution. Therefore the discussion will be limited to distributions in an effort to discover at least whence the Koniag obtained the components of their folklore. The mythologies used in obtaining comparative material are Eskimo, Northeast Siberian (Siberian Eskimo, Chukchee, and Koryak), Lower Yukon Athabascan, and Tlingit. In some cases other tribes of the Northwest Coast have been brought into the range.¹ It is hoped that comparisons traced through this large an area will indicate whether the folklore of Kodiak Island is part and parcel of, say, the Tlingit or of the Bering Strait Eskimos, or some mixture of these.

Since the Kodiak tribe has not figured much in anthropological writings to date, an introductory orientation probably will be of service to the reader. First note that the names Koniag (Konyag) and Kodiak are used interchangeably to designate the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, the tribal name being the former one, sometimes spelled Konjag, Kaniag-miute, etc. They were not a division of the Aleuts although the later Russians and, following their lead, the Americans have almost universally called them Aleuts. Their language, which belongs to the Eskimo stock, is quite different from that of the Aleuts.²

The Koniag inhabited Kodiak Island (Kadjak, etc.) and the smaller islands around it such as Shuyak and Afognak. The Kodiak group is separated from the mainland by Shelikof Strait which is not much more than twenty-five miles wide in its narrowest portion, certainly no barrier

¹ Motifs which are widespread in North America outside the Eskimo and North Pacific areas are noted in footnotes with references to the "Comparative Notes" in Stith Thompson's *Tales of the North American Indians*, given by page and number.

² Petrof, p. 228.

for such able seamen as the Koniag. The boundaries of the Koniag, Aglemute, and Chugatch are not at all clear. The Koniag seem to have had a few settlements on the mainland but it would not matter in the present instance even if we were able to designate exactly their villages as all the source material used herein was recorded on the islands. Although one must keep in mind this insular position of the Koniag, it should not be stressed too much. In the first place the Kodiaks were exceedingly skillful in handling their skin boats and made long journeys to points on the mainland and from island to island for trading, hunting, courting, and warfare. In the second place they were docile but no less skillful hunters after they had been subjected to Russian rule. In particular they were carried back and forth between Sitka and Kodiak.¹ As we have said, they were at a junction: Aleuts west of them, various Eskimo tribes to the northwest and beyond them Siberia, Athabascans northeastward, and Tlingit eastward. Under such circumstances, we should expect their folklore (since tales travel so easily) to be a complete hodge-podge. We shall see in due time to what extent this expectation is borne out.

There are other qualifying geographic items to be noted. Kodiak Island is the largest island in the Territory of Alaska, having 3675 square miles. Its flora and fauna are also distinctive in several ways. The timber line crosses it in the middle: the east portion is timbered, the west not timbered. The temperature is never excessively low, the total precipitation averages over fifty inches a year, and the soil is rich enough to support a luxuriant vegetation of grasses, mosses, ferns, and flowers even where there are no trees.

As for the fauna, although the native American reindeer or caribou spread out to the end of the Alaska Peninsula and to Unimak Island beyond, they did not occur in the Kodiak group in pre-European time, so far as we know now. This was no great loss to the natives as they had sufficient food from other sources. Another distinction of Kodiak Island is that it contains the largest species of bear in the world, now a target of big-game hunters, which anciently was occasionally trapped by the Koniag and eaten, with the proper accompanying ceremonies. In addition to bear, Kodiak contained foxes, land otter and several varieties of ground squirrels and the dog, which was not used as a sledge dog because the terrain did not favor the use of the sledge, the chief means of travel being by boat. Finally the quantity of fish, particularly salmon, has been and is very great, providing a tremendous food supply and setting off distinctly the tribes and conditions of life along the southern rim of Alaska from the Eskimo life on the northern rim

¹ Many were taken away but just how many were actually returned to their original homes is problematical; probably not so many myth motifs and religious concepts were brought to Kodiak from the Northwest Coast in Russian times as one would at first expect.

of the Territory. Of course there were occasional lean periods for the Kodiaks but seldom the extreme cases of starvation as in the north. Probably no other Eskimo tribe anywhere lived in so rich an environment as these tribes in southwestern Alaska. The diet consisted chiefly of (1) sea-mammals (whale, seal, sea-lion), (2) fish, (3) shell-fish in the proper season (mainly clams, mussels, and sea-urchins). After these in importance came land mammals, the edible birds (ducks, ptarmigan, geese and the smaller water-fowl such as sea-parrots), and plants, berries being the most important.

The present paper does not allow space for any detailed description of the material culture of the Koniag but it is hoped that the following statement will orient the Koniag culturally and provide a background for the mythology and religion. On Kodiak the varied food supply was obtained in the following way: dip-nets and spears were used for taking salmon in the rivers; on the open sea, hooks and lines were used for such fish as cod. (It is not clear whether weirs were used in the streams.) For taking birds large nets arranged with drawstrings were employed to catch whole flocks, and probably other methods were also used, such as the many-pronged Eskimo bird-dart. The bear-trap consisted of spikes on which the animal so deeply wounded its feet that it could not move rapidly and so could be shot more easily. Harpoons were used for sea-mammals. The most prized objects of the hunt were sea-otters and whales. However, for the latter poisoned slate lance-heads were used instead of harpoons; inflated bladders were used for floats in the chase of sea-mammals, also with the exception of the whale-hunt. The importance of the spear-thrower cannot be doubted, but the value of the bow and arrow is not so certain. At any rate it was used in warfare if not in important phases of hunting. Also for warfare slat armor was employed. Another device for hunting was the bolas. A large quantity of dried fish was stored for winter use; berries were preserved in oil, in its own right an important article of diet. Although both the umiak and the kayak were employed, it is difficult to say now just what was the relative value and use of each. Dugouts were not used.

The house was a semi-subterranean earth-covered structure with four-post wood foundation and entrance apparently through the side even in pre-European times, not through the roof as among the Aleuts. There was a central fireplace and corresponding central smoke-hole. There were side compartments for sleeping quarters, with mats and skins for bedding. In regard to the sweat-bath, it is not entirely clear from the early sources whether the heat from hot stones alone was depended on (along with the use of urine) or whether steam was employed.¹ Of household utensils, the Koniag had kantags (rectangular wooden dishes), baskets

¹ DeLaguna, pp. 160 and 162.

made in twined technique, stone lamps, horn spoons, and storage pits in the house floor. They probably did not have true fired pottery. Their other artifacts, such as the ulu or woman's knife, the composite fishhook, whalebone wedge, birdbone awl, type of lip plug, lamp types, all point to the Eskimos of the nearby mainland. On the other hand the Koniag apparently did not do so much carving in ivory as the Eskimos north to Bering Strait. A little copper was obtained by trade according to one early authority, but amber and dentalia were more valuable.

The most important articles of clothing were fur and birdskin parkas, and "oilskin" parkas made of pieces of sea-mammal or bear intestine cleaned and sewed together, called kamleikas. The people of course wore boots for traveling. The parkas were long and it is not at all certain from the earliest accounts whether tailored trousers were worn under them. One very interesting trait is the hat woven of "the fine roots of trees" and painted on the upper portion (Lisiansky, Sarytchev), a westward extension of the famous Northwest Coast hats. According to Lisiansky, the Koniag also had birdskin caps but no one, so far as I know, has mentioned the big and much decorated wooden hats made by the Aleuts. Although they have been collected on Kodiak, it may be that these specimens were of Aleut manufacture. The baskets and matting, needlework and handicraft in general were very good but did not quite reach the perfection of Aleut work. With ornamentation the Koniag were well supplied, having lip, cheek and ear plugs, nose-pins, strings of beads suspended from the lower lip, tattooing, and for special occasions face-painting (but both sexes did not wear all of these). On ceremonial occasions the hair was powdered with white down, a common trait among the Indians of this area. Wooden masks were worn in shamanistic performances and probably on other occasions.

We cannot get any adequate conception of the social culture without speculating beyond the meagre reliable sources. At least we know that the Koniag recognized three hereditary classes: nobles, commoners, and slaves; and there was a well defined office of chieftain. At present one cannot say on direct evidence whether the Koniag had either unilateral descent or totemism. The strong expectancy on the basis of evidence from surrounding tribes is that they had clans with matrilineal descent. However, von Wrangell stated definitely that they did not have moieties. On the economic side of their culture, esteem for wealth stands out very prominently, being probably more important than caste. The following summary is put forth tentatively: Kodiak culture was basically Eskimo with an overlay from the Northwest Coast which was considerably heavier in social than in material culture. Now how does the mythology fit into this general statement of cultural relationships? First we must examine our source material, a sizeable portion of which — the Pinart Notes — has never been published to my knowledge. Then we must trace the elements and see in which direction they point.

MYTHOLOGY

The myths used here are not a selection but include all that the author has been able to collect in a fairly exhaustive library search. Regarding their provenience, note that all of them were collected on the islands, none on the mainland. They were collected in the nineteenth century in the following order with the approximate dates: Lisiansky 1805, Holmberg 1850, Pinart 1870, Golder 1900.

Since we are not interested in considering the Kodiak literature as such (literary style, occasion for story-telling, attitudes of the people toward their literature, etc. — factors on which we have no information) but are interested rather in the bonds between Kodiak literature and that of surrounding peoples, we must frankly conduct a survey of distributions of motifs. The method of dealing with these distributions will be chiefly one of description, and rather full synopses and analyses will be given of the Kodiak myths from which we start, as a number of the tales and special versions of tales are not readily accessible and not familiar to any except a very limited group. In such a situation, i. e. when the literature of this southwestern Alaskan area is probably unknown to the reader, too frequent use of epithets and catch phrases in place of description is unfair to the individuality of the mythology and sometimes a misrepresentation. On the other hand, the versions will not be given in complete and original form since we are not discussing style and this paper does not purport to be a publication of personally gathered source material. Each motif and incident which has been recorded somewhere else in the area under consideration (Eskimo, Northeast Siberia, Alaskan Athabascan, and Northwest Coast) will be noted and also the variations in versions without any attempt being made at present to ascertain either the links between apparently isolated occurrences or the processes of change from one version to another.

My classification of the stories in this collection, the order of their presentation, and the source for each are combined in Table 1, for ready reference. Any classification made when we know so little about the people's attitudes toward the stories, the occasion for telling them and the like, must be artificial and hence not proposed or accepted as final. It is the stories themselves which matter, not the grouping of them.

Table 1

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Source by Page</i>
I. COSMOGONIC AND COSMOLOGICAL MYTHS	
<i>A. Creation</i>	
General Creation	Lisiansky 197
"Sedna" or the Eskimo "Dog-husband"	,, 196—7
Origin of People	Holmberg 140—1

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Source by Page</i>	
Origin of Animals (2 versions)	Pinart, I	
" " Thunder and Lightning	" "	
" " Sun and Moon (2 versions)	" "	
" " Stars	" "	
<i>B. Earth and the Celestial Bodies after Creation</i>		
Limits and Form of the Earth	Pinart, I	
The Winds	" "	
Volcanic Eruptions	" "	
Earthquakes	" "	
The Flood	" "	
"Star-Husband" (3 versions)	Golder, I	21—5
	Pinart, I	
The Phases of the Moon (2 versions)	" "	
II. MAN AND THE SUPERNATURAL		
<i>A. Shamanism and Witchcraft</i>		
Demonstrations of Shamanistic Power		
(5 legends)	Pinart, I	
Bear Transformation by Witchcraft	Golder, III,	296—9
<i>B. Hunting Talismans and Visions</i>		
Hunting Tabu	Pinart, I	
Magic Boat	" "	
The Dwarfs	" "	
Magic Rope	Golder, V	22—3
Masks and Hunting Songs (2 versions)	Pinart, I	
III. HERO TALES		
<i>A. Raven Tales</i>		
Raven Steals Light	Golder, I	85—7
Raven Takes Human Wives	" "	16—19
<i>B. "Boy-hero" Stories</i>		
The Two Brothers	Pinart, I	
"Jealous Uncle"	Golder, I	90—5
Boy Who Became a Mink	" "	95—8
Boy Who Went under the Sea	Pinart, I	
Man Who Killed the Sea-creature	" "	
The Men Who Discovered Ukamok Island . .	Holmberg	137—9
<i>C. Amazon Tales</i>		
The Huntress	Pinart, I	
The Girl and the Cannibals	Golder, I	26—8
IV. TALES OF LOVE AND REVENGE		
"Swan-Maiden"	Golder, I	98—103
"Mysterious Housekeeper"	" "	87—90
"Feigned Death" (2 versions)	Golder, V	10—11
	Pinart, I	
Beginning of War	" "	
V. COMIC TALES		
The Simpleton	Golder, V	23—4
The Two Inquisitive Men	Golder, I	19—21

I. COSMOGONIC AND COSMOLOGICAL MYTHS

A. *Creation.*

1. The myth given by the early and inquisitive explorer, Lisiansky, is so interesting that a complete analysis of it is given.

A. Raven secured light from heaven (method not given).

B. First people: At same time, a bladder descended from heaven, containing a man and woman.

C. Creation of natural features as seen today.

1. They stretched the bladder until it became the world; by blowing; by pushing with their hands and feet.

2. When they pushed with hands and feet, mountains were formed.

3. Man created trees by scattering his hair.

4. Animals sprang up spontaneously in the forests.

5. Woman produced seas by urinating.

6. She made rivers and lakes by spitting into ditches and holes.

7. Woman pulled out one of her teeth and man made a knife.

8. Man cut trees with the knife and threw the chips into the river to make fish.

D. Origin of Kodiak Islanders.

1. The first-born son of this pair played with a stone which became an island (Kodiak).

2. A man (apparently one of the offspring) and a bitch were placed on the island and set afloat.

3. Present Kodiak people descended from this pair.

Although the origin of people from specifically a bladder is distinctive, it is not difficult to see where the Koniag got the idea. Nelson recorded at Kigiktauik:¹ "During four days the first man lay coiled up in the pod of a beach-pea . . . On the fifth day he stretched out his feet and burst the pod, falling to the ground, where he stood up, a full-grown man." Murdoch recorded at Point Barrow an origin myth to the effect that a tall tube (reed?) stuck out of the ground, which "a man" broke and many men and women appeared.² The Koniag version of pushing with hands and feet to produce mountains is, so far as I can find, unique in the area covered in this paper. However, the production of bodies of water by urinating is found all the way from Greenland to Siberia.³ Throwing chips of wood into the water to create fish has the same distribution (this incident appears again in this collection).⁴ The next step in creation

¹ Nelson, p. 452.

² Murdoch, I, p. 595.

³ Bogoras, II, p. 152; Bogoras, III, p. 424; Jochelson, I, p. 206; Rink, p. 428; Boas, I, p. 600 (rain produced by urinating). This item occurs rarely on the Northwest Coast.

⁴ Boas, I, p. 617; Bogoras, II, p. 153; Jochelson, I, pp. 370—1; Murdoch, I, p. 595; Rink, p. 147. On the Northwest Coast also, fish (particularly salmon) are created from pieces of wood *but the wood is carved in fish form*

has a counterpart from the Tlingit: Among other things that he created, Raven made streams and rivers by spitting out water.¹ The creation of trees from hair and of the first knife from a tooth are not so common but could easily arise from the preceding by association of ideas or by parallel construction. Thus our first myth shows a majority in favor of the Eskimos as against the Northwest Coast.

2. The unelaborated conclusion of the first myth, simply the statement of the union of a man and a bitch, introduces the next one: the Dog-husband story which has been amalgamated with the famous Sedna myth in the East and Central Eskimo areas. The following version, given by Lisiansky, contains all the constant elements of the Eskimo Dog-husband which is quite different from the Northwest Coast Dog-husband. Note how the myth has been relocalized and adopted by the Koniag.

Synopsis: A woman, the daughter of a chief, cohabited with a dog and bore three males and two females. Her father banished her and her children to another island while her lover was away. The latter grieved for a long time. When he found out where his family had gone, he started to swim there but drowned. The dog-offspring learned from their mother of the grandfather's action and in revenge tore him to pieces when he came to visit them. The woman returned to her original home then, but gave permission to her children to go where they wished. This took place somewhere north of the Alaska Peninsula. Some of the dog-people went farther north; some came to Kodiak.

That this classic Eskimo tale should be found in such a good version by a person knowing supposedly nothing of Eskimo folklore² in the most southerly Alaskan Eskimo tribe is all the more remarkable since the Dog-husband references from Northern Alaska are so much less complete. At Port Clarence, Boas heard of a myth of a woman who married a dog and had ten offspring (five dogs, five humans). The five human children became the ancestors of the Indians. Nelson recorded a hint of the Dog-husband in a story of a man who married a she-wolf and whose children peopled the earth; and Murdoch referred to a myth known at Pt. Barrow, of a woman who married a dog.³ However, within recent years a version almost identical to that of Kodiak has been collected on Nunivak Island

whereas the Eskimo and Kodiak pattern is that chips and shavings from wood-cutting fall or are thrown into the water. (See Thompson, p. 301, no. 101 for references.) This is one of those cases in which a mere citation of a motif is misleading because "creation of fish from wood" does not refer to the same thing in the two areas.

¹ Swanton, III, p. 4.

² However, this fact makes Lisiansky's report all the more acceptable since he in 1805 undoubtedly knew nothing about Greenland folklore and hence could not have assumed incidents in order to fill in any gaps.

³ Boas, II, p. 207; Nelson, pp. 482-3; Murdoch, I, p. 594.

(between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound) by E. S. Curtis's Expedition. The chief difference is that in the Nunivak story the girl gives birth to five male puppies and one human female.¹

In the Eskimo type of Dog-husband story, the constant elements are (1) marriage of a girl to a dog (almost invariably conceived of as actually a dog, not animal by day and human by night as on the Northwest Coast), and birth of dog-children; (2) her father sends her to an island; (3) her father drowns or at least tries to drown the dog-husband by putting stones in the pack that he wears when he swims to the island to his wife and children; (4) in revenge the girl incites her dog-children to kill the grandfather (or gnaw off his hands and feet); (5) she sends her children away (generally in a boat made of a boot-sole) and they become the ancestors of certain mythical or real races of today.²

In several cases in the East and Central areas Sedna has been combined with this, usually as follows: After the dog-offspring have gnawed the hands and feet of the grandfather, he in revenge throws his daughter out of their boat and when she grabs the gunwhale, cuts off her fingers in the manner well known in the Sedna story. From the different joints of her fingers come the sea-mammals (or fish). In the end usually the father takes her back in the boat to his home.³ Finally, of course, Sedna can and does occur without any Dog-husband elements. Note that the one basic feature of the former myth — the severing of Sedna's fingers — has been reported from Port Clarence, Alaska, and from the Chukchee but not, so far, from Southwest Alaska.⁴

In contrast to the preceding, on the Northwest Coast the Dog-husband story has the following outlines: (1) A girl cohabits with a dog that takes human form at night; (2) when people find it out, they kill the dog; (3) they desert the girl but some person or animal secretly leaves fire for her use; (4) she gives birth to pups but when they are partly grown she destroys their dog-blankets, which they can take off at will, thus making them human; (5) the relatives return when they learn that the dog-children have prospered.⁵

It can be seen at a glance that the Eskimo and Northwest Coast Dog-husbands are not one and the same individual. The interesting question is whether there is any link between them which can be found today. So far I have found none. The Koniag and the Tlingit at the edges of their respective culture-areas should show a fusing of these tales but

¹ Curtis, 20, p. 77. Five is a ritual number in this area.

² For example, see Holm, pp. 270-1; Thalbitzer, I, pp. 389-97; Kroeber, pp. 168-9; Boas, III, pp. 165-7 and 327-8; Jenness, II, p. 81.

³ Examples are: Boas, I, p. 637; Boas, IA, pp. 123-8. The two stories are combined somewhat differently in Boas, III, pp. 163-5.

⁴ Boas, II, p. 205; Bogoras, I, pp. 316-17. For other references to Sedna, see Thompson, p. 272, no. 2, and pp. 3-4.

⁵ Thompson, p. 347, no. 247, and pp. 167-9.

strangely they do not. The Kodiak story as we have seen is clearly Eskimo and the Tlingit Dog-husband recorded by Krause among the Chilkat is just as clearly Northwest Coast without any fusing of elements.¹

3. Another myth of the origin of people is so evidently influenced by Christian teaching and is so un-Eskimo that it can scarcely be taken seriously. A synopsis is given to show what may happen to a tale when it gets "acculturated." (It is the one recorded by Holmberg.)

Synopsis: The Creator, he who created earth and the heavens, sent two human beings, brother and sister, to earth with the injunction not to eat grass (sic). As there was no light on earth at this time, the sister wanted to eat grass to see whether it would produce light. The brother did not want this because he foresaw that they should not look on each other's naked bodies. As one might expect, the woman ate grass and secured light. But the brother and sister were ashamed to look at each other and went off in opposite directions. Since they could not hide anywhere on earth, they returned to heaven. On the steps to heaven, they met, loved each other and produced five children, all of whom died. The Creator, seeing that they were grieving, sang a song and so removed the curse on them. The sixth child lived. After this, God sent them back to earth and their children became the human race.

4. The following account of the origin of animals is one of those in Pinart's Field Notes which is given in little more than an outline but which is remarkable even in a bare form.

Synopsis: Two old men lived with their niece who, when brought to bed, was delivered of all the marine and land animals one after the other, the sole being the first. The two old uncles acted as accoucheurs and, as the animals appeared, threw them on land or into the sea according to their form. When the girl had recovered, she fled from her home and wandered a long time, finally arriving at a large river. There she found a great number of animals and finally her husband, a *mittak*.² He told her that they had to kill their children, the animals, to nourish themselves. They returned to the girl's home and settled. By this time, the two old men were dead.

This myth may have been influenced by the Star-husband one. At any rate, there seems to have been some attempt at organization of religious belief, in spite of the many contradictions within and between myths. Any glimmer of consistency is undoubtedly the effect of a priest-teacher group, the *Kashat* (pl.), in Kodiak culture.

¹ Krause, p. 269.

² Pinart, III, p. 677: the *Mittat* (pl.) were the star-people who lived in the first world above this one. They apparently were thought of ordinarily as spirits and not the stars which we see in the sky.

5. A last tag-end of what may have been a creation story is also contained in Pinart's unpublished Notes.

Synopsis: Two men and a woman came from the north in their boat. The woman threw into the sea some Aludak (?)¹ and from this the seal was created, but without skin. In their travels, these people left a certain place between two cliffs which closed in on the boat, breaking one end (formerly both ends were pointed). Thereafter the bidarka (kayak) was made with only one sharp end. When the people arrived on "the land," they found all the animals and birds except the seal.

It seems permissible to include here another notation by Pinart.

The earth is encircled by high mountains with only one entrance through them. Man came into the world through this opening. Some later travelers found the entrance but the cliffs had drawn together, closing it, and the sea broke heavily.

To find the motif of symplegades here is interesting since it is so widespread and also because it occurs in such aberrant versions in the particular area which we are considering. It occurs in Greenland in the form of closing ice-bergs which catch the stern-point of the hero's kayak and "bruise" it, just as the stern of the kayak is caught by cliffs in the Kodiak version. Still further variations occur in different versions of "Kivioq."²

6. As the next one is rather important from the standpoint of distribution, I give it directly from Pinart (a translation of course):

"There were two young girls. They were poor and had nothing to eat. The various inhabitants of the settlement fed them, each in his turn; but ere long, they tired (of this) and put them out the door. They wandered a long time and one day along a tangent they flew away and became the thunder and the lightning."

The two types found among the Central Eskimos concern either (1) two sisters who stole something in the old days when people never stole; and then although they considered becoming all manner of animals in order to conceal themselves, they finally resolved on the thunder and lightning as most invulnerable;³ or (2) two sisters who had run away from home, the elder of whom did not give the younger enough to eat and who therefore proposed that they should become animals or finally the thunder,

¹ As the writing of the MS. from which this is obtained is not good, I cannot be sure about this word. An *aludak* (*uludax*) was a knife, according to Pinart, II, pp. 11-12.

² Rink, p. 158. Also Chukchee—Bogoras, I, p. 332. For references to other occurrences of the symplegades motif in North America, see Thompson, p. 275, no. 15; and Reichard, pp. 270-1.

³ Rasmussen, III, p. 17. A somewhat garbled variant has been reported from Cumberland Sound—Boas, III, p. 175.

so that they could kill animals and get food.¹ I know of no version from the Western Eskimos other than this Kodiak one.

7. The famous Eskimo Sun-sister and Moon-brother myth was known to the Koniag but scarcely more than this is known about it, as no one has recorded it except Pinart who got only a strange variant:

A man fell in love with his sister who was very beautiful. Twins were born to them, one of whom became the sun and the other the moon.

Considering that Nelson gave two Alaskan Eskimo variants, that Chapman obtained a good version from the Athabascans of the Lower Yukon, and that even the Tlingit knew the story,² one can surmise that this myth was also known in Southwestern Alaska in a more typical form than this by Pinart.

8. An entirely different account is the following:

The sun and moon are really one: One side shines during the day and the other during the night. Originally there were two brothers living at the end of Cook Inlet, but one killed the other and then fled to the sky where he became the sun.

Following this, Pinart wrote the Kodiak conception of eclipses and of the phases of the moon, which is exactly the same as that incorporated in one of the Star-husband versions recorded by Golder. (See below, p. 143.) The Koniag undoubtedly regarded the Moon and Stars as masculine when they thought of them as animate at all but did not have uniform ideas about the Sun.

9. A fragmentary and confused account is the following:

Some stones were spilled on the floor of a certain large barabara (earth-house). The people took the stones out and threw them "on the sky" where they became stars. The sky was another earth like this one, inhabited by men who were immortal. In the beginning, the sky was much nearer this earth, but later rose.

Whether the star-stones became people or spirits is not indicated and indeed this seems contradictory to the concept given by Pinart elsewhere, viz. that the star-people were the souls of inhabitants of this earth in their first transformation after death,³ and yet perhaps we can reconcile these ideas. The star-people or *mittat* included also the spirits of sun, moon, and aurora borealis; so perhaps the Koniag conceived of the heavenly phenomena as objects in which dwelt these spirit-people.

¹ Rasmussen, II, pp. 261-3.

² Nelson, pp. 481-2; Chapman, I, p. 183, and II, pp. 21-2; Veniaminov, quoted in Krause, p. 270.

³ Pinart, III, p. 677.

The reference to men who were immortal reminds us that we have from the Kodiak no myth of the origin of death, although the Aleuts and Anvik Athabascans had such an explanation.¹

B. Earth and the Celestial Bodies after Creation.

Although the religion of the Koniag is not being presented and discussed in this paper, it may be interesting to include here the available statements from the Kodiaks concerning form and movements of earth and celestial bodies, even when these are not incorporated in tales, in order to bring together all pertinent material on the same subject.

1. The earth was flat and according to one myth had only one opening through the mountains which encircled it. Another statement, possibly of the same idea, is also from Pinart's Notes:

"They say that at the limits of the earth are two large pillars. If by any chance, these pillars were to be moved, then the earth would be destroyed."

Having in mind the Tlingit conception of the post guarded by Old Woman Underneath which supports the world, and the story that when Raven tried to drive her from the post, the earth quaked,² we can question whether the two pillars were two supporting posts (Rink said the Greenland Eskimos believed the world rested on pillars and covered an underworld which was "accessible by various entrances from the sea, as well as from the mountain clefts")³ or whether the two pillars rested on the edges of this earth and supported the sky. Credence can be given to the latter possibility. Thalbitzer several years ago pointed out that the "pillars of heaven" is a concept characteristic of Eskimo belief.⁴

2. A hero tale, the Visit to the Winds, is stolen from its proper place and inserted here because of its cosmological features.

Synopsis: At a settlement in a distant part, the wind always blew hard. No one dared leave the village except one man who took extra kayak covers, clothing, etc., and started toward the Northwest. He arrived at a cape where he saw a man sitting on top of the cliff and blowing out a violent wind. He shot the man but when he went to retrieve his arrow could not find him. Later, he found him lying in a crowded kashim (dance-house), the arrow not yet extracted. The man sent the people out, obtained the

¹ Aleut—Sarytchev, p. 75. Anvik—Chapman, II, p. 9. These tales are not alike, however.

² Swanton, I, p. 452.

³ Rink, p. 37. Rasmussen also found this concept among the Iglulik Eskimos, II, p. 252.

⁴ Thalbitzer, II, p. 239.

arrow and fled. When they pursued him, he threw them black paint which they stopped to put on their faces. When again they pursued him, he threw them red paint with which they painted their faces; at this point, he arrived at his kayak and left the shore. ("From that, they used the colors red and black to paint the face when they danced.") The man continued to travel a long time, making a "tour of the world." "He visited the different winds and encountered them again and again, and filled their mouths with moss. From that comes the fact that sometimes the wind blows and sometimes it is calm."

Apparently the man is still going around stuffing moss in the mouth of the winds. (If Pinart had written up these notes himself, undoubtedly he would have cleared up such points; however, as it is I feel constrained not to elaborate or to fill in gaps.) Among the Eskimos there is a concept which may be a prototype for the legend given above. The Iglulik believe that when the Spirit of the Wind blows without relief, a shaman must go to him, thrash him and *bind his clothing tightly about him so that the wind cannot come forth*. In this case, though, there is only one Wind Spirit.¹ On the other hand, this portrayal of the winds is different from all stories relating to winds which Boas has enumerated from the Northwest Coast,² except for a mere suggestion in a Tlingit story recorded at Wrangell: Raven lived for a while with the North Wind in a cliff near Taku.³

The type of pursuit in this story is of course not the magic flight but the Atalanta or temptation variety. From the Tsimshian comes exactly the same idea: Paint is thrown back by the fleeing one and stars stop to paint their faces (Boas' Tsimshian Texts, p. 92). Incidentally there is not a single example of the magic flight motif in this Kodiak collection.

Taking many extra kayak-covers and articles of clothing, in this case five of each (five being the ritual number), occurs often in Eskimo folklore and occasionally on Western Plains, Plateau and the lower North Pacific Coast. Whenever a hero starts on a very long journey, he takes many pairs of gloves or of boots, etc., this being a literary device to indicate the great distance and hardship of the journey.⁴

3. Concerning volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, there is no legend as complete as the one from the Aleuts, which should be read for comparison.⁵ Pinart simply stated the native belief that there are

¹ Rasmussen, II, pp. 72-3. Also the Russianized Chukchee of Kolyma and Anadyr catch the wind in a coat and tie it up to stop its blowing, — Bogoras, I, p. 475.

² Boas, VI, pp. 732-3.

³ Swanton, III, p. 89.

⁴ For further references, see Thompson, p. 358, no. 287k.

⁵ Veniaminov, translated in Petrof, pp. 241-2. The Aleut myth describes a contest which took place between the volcanoes of Umnak and Unalaska Islands in which the latter was victorious.

invisible men living inside the earth and when they are at war, the volcanoes fire and smoke. Holmberg's version is that strong men live in the volcanoes who, "when they heat their bath or cook their food," cause fire and smoke to come from the craters.¹ The theme of the Waring Mountains is certainly not unique but, so far as the meagre published collections indicate, the Aleut and Kodiak occurrences are unique in the Alaskan Eskimo region.

4. One explanation of earthquakes or of a particular one is that there was once a shaman who had a son whom he lost. "In his grief he said that the earth [should] quake and the earth quaked." Another is that Hlam Shua, the highest being, had a favorite animal which in the convulsions of parturition caused the earth to quake. (Both are from Pinart.)

5. Although there is only one tale from the Koniag incorporating a flood legend (see below, second version of Feigned Death, p. 165), they shared with the other Eskimos a belief in a great flood which covered all the earth except the tops of certain mountains. This was of course not a primeval flood, but subsequent to the creation of mankind.² However, one scarcely decipherable sentence in the Kodiak Notes is very intriguing: "They have traditions that all the islands rose from the water." This follows the statement that there are high mountains at the end of the earth; otherwise there is no indication whether this took place in the beginning or at some subsequent time.

6. The Star-husband. It is interesting that the Eskimo and Chukchee versions of this widespread plot all incorporate the theme of *the mistreated wife who is rescued by Moon-man or Star-man* (or his mother), thereby being distinctly different from their nearest neighbors, the Northern Athabascan stories of two girls, one or both of whom wish for a star-husband and whose wish is answered. Here is the surprising situation of both types occurring in Kodiak folklore. An outline of the story of the first type (from Golder) follows:

- I. A chief's daughter who is kept in seclusion from her suitors is sad and refuses to marry.
- II. She is abducted.
 - A. A young man with a white face calls to her through the roof-window.
 - B. She goes away with him and his friend in a kayak.
- III. She is mistreated by her husbands.
 - A. She lives in a good house the first three days.
 - B. Then she is kept in a cold house and is starved.
 - C. She is fed secretly by an old woman who knows the intentions of the men.

¹ Holmberg, p. 141.

² Holmberg, p. 141; Nelson, p. 452; Petitot, pp. 4-5; Veniaminov, in Petrof, p. 241.

- IV. The girl is rescued.
- A. Girl is asked by old woman to marry her son.
 - B. Old woman carries her through the air in a basket.
 1. She must keep her eyes closed or they will fall in the water.
 2. The wind whizzes around them.
 - C. Arrive at a good clean house and the girl is given good clothing.
- V. Marriage with the star.
- A. Appearance of old woman's son.
 1. Only one side.
 2. Moss on his head and willow twigs for hair.
 3. One very bright eye in the middle of his forehead.
 4. Mice in his hair instead of lice.
 - B. Star-man provides well for her and she is happy.
 - C. A son is born, like the father.
- VI. Girl's return to earth.
- A. She grows homesick.
 - B. Old woman tells her to look in (under?) rocks around the fireplace. She sees night in one, dawn in the second, sunset in the third, and her father's village at noonday in the fourth.
 - C. Method of returning to earth: old woman lets her down in a basket.
 1. She must not open her eyes.
 2. She encounters two obstacles. (No details.)
 - D. Return home.
 1. Relatives have mourned for her as dead.
 2. They are afraid of her queer child.
- VII. Girl returns to heaven in the basket.

Several incidents here which are not essential to the main plot are interesting in themselves, hence will be considered each for its own value. First there is the girl secluded by her parents that she may not be seen by suitors. Jochelson has pointed out its prominence in Koryak mythology and its occurrence also in Yakut and Tungus material.¹ The Koniag even extended the idea to seclusion of a chief's son, which forms the opening of their version of Swan-maiden (see below, p. 159). Next we have the theme of the mistreated wife. In the Greenland version given by Rink, she leaves home one winter night, in her wandering encounters moon-man and is taken to his home where she is treated kindly. Later she returns to her first husband but the son whom she bears is taken by moon-man.² The Iglulik version is the same except that the woman apparently keeps the child whom she bears by the moon-man.³ A Cumberland Sound variant preserves the same outlines although the details differ.⁴ In a Maritime Chukchee version a woman is deserted by her husband, leaving her to starve. She crawls in search of food, arriving at Moon's house. She marries him. She breaks a tabu and is sent back (to earth?) by Moon. The theme is repeated in the same legend, although

¹ Jochelson, I, p. 363.

³ Rasmussen, II, pp. 87-8.

² Rink, p. 441.

⁴ Boas, III, p. 198.

this time it is Polar Star who protects her from the evil husband whom she has married in the meantime.¹ In still another version from the Maritime Chukchee, a girl is maltreated by her husband but Upper Being pities her and causes her to be carried on her reindeer to heaven on a path of light. She descends to earth again and remains.² The Reindeer Chukchee variant is so much of a variant that it has nothing comparable to the Koniag version.

Finally, much closer home, among the Anvik (Athabascans on the Lower Yukon and part of the Kuskokwim) Chapman obtained a tale about a man who put his wife out of the house because he thought her unfaithful and then Moon-man took her to his house where she remained.³ An interesting situation is presented by the following facts. Father Jetté got from the lower Koyukuk region a Tena (Athabaskan) story of a woman whose husband deserted her for another woman. She went away, had several adventures, finally was shut up by Gull-man but rescued by Eagle-man with whom she then lived happily. They went back to visit her people, but did not stay.⁴ Even though the male characters are all different from the familiar Star-husband story, nevertheless the *details* of this Tena story (which I cannot give for lack of space) do suggest the Kodiak Star-husband; and these details are almost identical with another tale from this area (this time from Chapman's Anvik collection) which attributes the same characteristics and the same situation to a *young man* as the Koniag version attributes to the girl who married Star-man: a young man who refused to marry was lured away and shut up by two women who gave him bad food, treated him harshly, and planned to kill him. But he was fed and finally assisted to escape by a beautiful young woman whom he married.⁵ Thus on the Yukon and on Kodiak the general Eskimo theme of the mistreated wife changes into a particular variant of the young unmarried woman (or man) being shut up and then rescued by someone, the connecting link being — logically if not historically — Father Jetté's story of the mistreated wife who wandered into captivity but was rescued.

To return to the Kodiak story, — the girl is carried through the air by her rescuer in a basket. Air-traveling and the tabu, breaking of which has the disastrous consequence of falling, occur in a continuous distribution around the North Pacific,⁶ but it is only among the Eskimos of the Bering Strait region that we find people traveling back and forth between heaven and earth in a basket.⁷ Among the other tribes a train of sledges, a reindeer, a spider web, etc. serve as vehicles.

¹ Bogoras, II, pp. 86-7.

² Bogoras, II, pp. 162-5.

³ Chapman, III, pp. 61-2.

⁴ Jetté, pp. 329-333.

⁵ Chapman, III, pp. 64-73.

⁶ "Looking tabu" — Thompson, p. 338, no. 217.

⁷ Nelson, p. 460; "Sky-basket" — Thompson, p. 355, no. 283.

The very unusual appearance of the Star-husband cannot be overlooked. This is a particularly good example of the process of incorporation. Details which in other mythologies appear in a quite different connection have been fitted in here in a really individual description, to me the outstanding one of the whole collection. Having for parts of the body what would ordinarily be independent natural objects is of course a world-wide motif in its generalized form. Some special adaptations in the areas considered here: Greenland Eskimo — A child born under the sea, of normal parents, has jellyfish eyes, seaweed hair, and a mouth like a mussel.¹ Koryak — Raven and his wife come to the house of a spirit. In it they see an old man on the crown of whose head are two lakes with two ducks swimming in them.² It is not claimed that such descriptions are equivalent by any means but simply that they indicate the substratum of subject matter in the native literature which is available for the individual story-teller. It is like having certain ores in a given locality. If they are there, they can be mined and cast in many forms and for many uses. To continue with Star-man's description, — one-eyed people are common in Eskimo folklore and present in that of the Northwest Coast, and of course they appear frequently in Russian "fairy tales."³ Also, one-sided people are not limited to the Koniag.⁴

One more element which cannot be passed over is the motif of a person looking through a hole in heaven and seeing his (usually her) own earth-home. Note that in this and the Chukchee versions the woman looks through a hole *in the house* of the Sky-being whereas in so many versions she looks through a hole in the open country-side.⁵

In summary, this tale is a very individual variant of the Eskimo type of Star-husband, the rescue type.

7. An outline of the other Koniag version of Star-husband will indicate its similarities to and differences from the preceding without much special comment. Unlike the Athabascan versions analyzed by Miss Reichard, in both these Kodiak tales the wife lives happily ever after with her Star-husband.

- I. Two girls make love to the Moon when they sleep on the beach.
- II. Moon-man answers their wish to marry him.
 - A. Tests their patience by carrying them through the air, holding them only by the hair.
 - B. They must keep their eyes closed.
 - C. One loses patience, opens her eyes and therefore falls to the ground, leaving her hair in his hands.

¹ Rasmussen, I, p. 64.

² Jochelson, I, p. 127.

³ Holm, p. 234; Rink, numerous; Swanton, III, p. 95.

⁴ For example, Chukchee — Bogoras, I, p. 322.

⁵ "Sky-window" — Thompson, p. 278, no. 28.

III. Marriage with Moon-man.

- A. He provides a good home and the girl is satisfied.
- B. She becomes piqued because he will not explain why he comes and goes.
- C. They quarrel; she disobeys a tabu.

IV. Girl explores the sky-world.

- A. She goes walking and discovers the stars.
 - 1. Each one is a man with one bright eye, who lies face down on the ground.
 - 2. When she kicks each of them, he tells her not to bother him—he is working.
- B. She looks behind a curtain in a house (the tabued act) and discovers three pieces of moon. In another house, she discovers three other pieces (sizes or phases).
- C. She puts the nearly-full moon on her face and it sticks fast.

V. She becomes Moon-man's assistant.

- A. He removes the moon from her face but gives her the task of making the rounds after the full moon.
- B. They thus divide the work ever after.

The similarity of Kodiak folklore to that of the more eastern Eskimos is at times startling. From a Smith Sound version of Star-husband comes this: "He forbade the woman he had brought to look into another house. She, however, disobeyed him, and in consequence the side of her face was burnt."¹ If one side of her face was dark, then she could have represented the moon for half the time as in the Kodiak story. It would be interesting to know for certain whether the Smith Sound people had this idea. Also Bogoras said of the Chukchee, "The Moon's wife is represented with her face half blackened with soot."²

As stated previously, Pinart's Notes corroborate certain particulars of this version (neither Pinart nor Golder gave the name of his informant):

"They say for the different phases of the moon that that same man has a big cassim in which he goes every evening and changes his clothing and puts on a mask corresponding to every different phase."

"They say for the eclipse of the moon that the same man puts some grease on his face and so becomes dark and afterwards cleans himself."³

Among the Copper Eskimos, the sun's face "is covered with black at eclipses. . . . and the shamans have to wipe away the black."⁴ An entirely different explanation of the waning and waxing of the moon is this, also from Pinart:

When the moon is dying, he takes a rich person from among the people in order to replace himself, and for that reason the rich men do not sleep in the village.

¹ Kroeber, p. 180.

² Bogoras, I, p. 311.

³ This is from the portion of the Notes written in English.

⁴ Jenness, I, p. 179.

The idea of stars being men who look down through holes in the floor of heaven is not duplicated in other Eskimo cosmologies to my knowledge. But Caribou Eskimos and those of the Lower Yukon and Nunivak Island believed the stars are holes in the sky.¹

8. Pinart also recorded the general Star-husband theme.

Synopsis: Once there were five young girls, four of whom obtained husbands, but for the fifth, who was the oldest, there was no one; she said she would take the moon for a husband, but the moon did not come to claim her. When the people asked her why she was not married, she began to cry and to sing. Then the moon carried her away.

II. MAN AND THE SUPERNATURAL

A. Shamanism and Witchcraft.

In the next two sections we shall consider stories which deal with personal religious experience, no matter whether they are examples of mythification and adoption of common folktales or are reports of what were originally actual visions and other religious experiences. Since we know that Koniag and Aleut shamans made great journeys and had wonderful experiences while in trance condition or alone and absent from the village, we must be on the alert to evaluate such episodes from the standpoint of religion as well as folklore.

1. Synopsis: A priest (kashak) and a shaman traveled "a long time and everywhere" in the north. Once they found a very small man. The kashak knew that the dwarf could be transformed into an animal or a bird according to the men's need. The shaman failed when he attempted such a transformation. The priest, however, succeeded. At different places they found the same little beings and from them created the different animals. To create fish, they split some wood and threw the pieces into the water. Another time they needed fresh water. The kashak said water could be obtained from the cliff but the shaman was unable to produce it. The kashak made a straight line on the cliff with a stick and water flowed from it. When they needed fire, the kashak produced it by blowing on the wood and saying certain words, again after the shaman had failed.

(a) In each case Pinart said that the shaman turned round and round but mentioned no other magic. Obtaining fire by blowing and by incantation does suggest use of magic. (b) In this collection of Kodiak tales the creation of fish is nowhere explained in any other way than by throwing chips of wood into the water, no matter how much the remaining episodes of the myths may vary — a good example of the stability of certain motifs. (c) Drawing a line on the cliff to obtain water is probably Mosaic. (d) The dwarfs were probably the spirits of animals or other

¹ Rasmussen, III, p. 79; Nelson, p. 495; Curtis, vol. 20, p. 90.

spirits contained in amulets; hence what Pinart recorded was very likely a wonder-tale of how a certain kashak produced animals, fire, etc. magically as he needed them when on a journey, with the aid of amulets that he found. Or it may have been a true creation myth that was locally adopted.

The terminology used by Pinart resembles the European "once upon a time there lived. . .," whether he was recording a true myth or a semi-historical legend. However, the names of the two men were recorded (now unfortunately illegible), so we shall accept this as an individual demonstration of supernatural power. Since it shows the shaman in a very unfavorable light, it is fortunate that we have some stories — all purported to be true — which show the powers of the shamans.

2. Synopsis: A celebrated shaman on the Alaska Peninsula left his village because the inhabitants wanted to kill him. He went to Kodiak to visit the famous shaman, Aouachala, and they had a contest. Aouachala caused a ball of fire, which was visible from a considerable distance, to come to the kashim, scene of the contest. He said that he also had the power to send the fire where he pleased and that he himself could go to the bottom of the sea or to the moon. At this, the opponent avowed himself beaten and left.

In giving the Koniag conception of the soul and immortality, Pinart said they believed one person had five successive lives and "they say that in the fifth death, the man flies from the tomb, in the form of a band of fire, toward the west. There in the west is the end of the earth."¹ In the Kodiak tale, undoubtedly the ball of fire was a *tunghak* (tornrak, etc.), i. e. assistant spirit of the shaman, since the latter explained it was "one of his sort." Rink said regarding the Greenland Eskimo that supernatural beings in general made their appearance like a flame or brightness;² even among the Naskapi the soul-spirit occasionally appeared as a flame from the mouth of a person, as related in "tales of conjuring;"³ and Rasmussen gave even more specific testimony for the Iglulik: "Often a ghost will appear in the form of a lethal fire. . ."⁴ Nelson reported from Sledge Island a story of a human spirit entering a kashim, unbidden, in the form of a ball of fire. After entering, it became a skeleton and killed the people.⁵ A woman from Cape Prince of Wales told Jenness a story of a human spirit that pursued a boy in the form of a ball of fire, which occurrence supposedly took place near Nome.⁶ Stefansson on the other hand recorded in the Mackenzie region the belief that some of such fires were meteors, others were angatkut on spirit flights.⁷ The spirit explanation seems to fit the Kodiak story better than these, however.

¹ Pinart, I.

² Rink, p. 104.

³ Speck, p. 48.

⁴ Rasmussen, II, p. 107.

⁵ Nelson, p. 510.

⁶ Jenness, II, pp. 62-3.

⁷ Stefansson, pp. 341-2.

3. The skull of this same Aouachala was taken to Petersburg, said Pinart with confidence. (I should like to know more about this circumstance — whether the shaman died after the coming of the Russians or whether his skull alone was preserved from pre-Russian times. The tone of Pinart's references would indicate that the former supposition is correct.)

Aouachala predicted the time of his death four days before it occurred. He asked that his body be not buried but be left outside to petrify. He said that his spirit would go to the bottom of the sea, that there was a place for him under a lobster (?). If he was not received there, "he would go to the Aurora borealis; if not there, to the moon; if not there, to the sun." Immediately after his death, the Aurora appeared.¹

Among the Iglulik, anyone who wished to join his relatives among the People of the Day after his death, instead of going to the land under the sea where he would ordinarily go, had to be laid out on the ice instead of being buried on land.² Even more closely akin to the Kodiak are these practices among the Tlingit: The shaman's spirit ordinarily told him just what day he was going to die; also the usual procedure was to leave his body in the open, according to Swanton. Krause's information is somewhat different but he and Swanton both noted the belief that a shaman's body was supposed to dry up and not rot like other people's.³

4. Another Aouachala story:

Once when the people were assembled in the kashim for the "shaman ceremonies," a man went outside and there saw a man wearing a birdskin parka "and resembling in everything to the men of the past. He came back in the cassim and said that there was a man outside who had the same clothing as theirs but that he had a fear of him, that all in himself trembled." The stranger rushed in and when questioned, said that he had come down from the moon in the form of fire. Aouachala told the young men to seize him but twenty or thirty could not do it. The shaman asked him why he had come to disturb them, saying that he himself had a dwelling place in the moon, and that he would send the moon-man into a part of the ground from which he could not come to light again. When he "shamanized," the moon-man avowed himself beaten, saying that he would die but also that everyone who had seen him would become blind and some would die. Indeed he soon died.⁴

Our authority does not, unfortunately, tell what happened to the onlookers. Presumably so powerful a shaman could shamanize again,

¹ For the possible significance of the lobster, see below, *The Man Who Killed the Sea-creature*.

² Rasmussen, II, p. 95.

³ Krause, p. 289; Swanton, I, p. 466.

⁴ This is from the section of the Notes which is written in English. I have given it in detail to show the nature of the individual religious experience.

saving them from blindness and death. This needs no particular comment at this point. Except for the absence of any description of what actually constituted "shamanizing," the tale is realistic and plausible. Suggestion, ventriloquism, fear, and similar elements are the components here, not the mythic magic of the arrow-chain, miraculous growth, theft of light, and such motifs.

5. The following is another of the supposedly true stories.

A man on the point of death foretold that he would be transformed into a *kucamka*. Shortly after his death, another man's kayak was overturned but was righted by a *kucamka* which accompanied it for a long time, swimming right up to the shore near the settlement.¹

6. One story, called by Golder the White-faced Bear, shows the evil side of the shaman's craft. The motive for the exercise of witchcraft is the envy of certain hunters because another man is so successful a hunter. They induce a "shaman" to bewitch him, transforming him into a bear. This feat is performed by getting him to sleep on a certain bearskin unwittingly. The major portion of the tale, which is relatively long, deals with the promises and recriminations of another famous bear-hunter who assists the hero, i. e. the White-faced Bear, in being retransformed into a man but who is himself eventually killed by the hero bear-man because he will not desist from his hunting. How the retransformation is accomplished is not stated, thus giving no inkling of the nature of the magic involved. Since this story is obtainable in the *Journal of American Folklore* and since it does not seem to offer any incidents comparable to others in our area, I am not giving any further analysis of it.

The tales in this section have a strong Eskimo flavor, notably the accounts of the shaman contest, calling up of helper-spirits by the shaman, transformation of the soul-spirit into an animal, abode of the soul-spirit in the Aurora, the human-spirit-ball-of-fire concept, and possibly others. The idea that the shaman's body is not disposed of as are the corpses of other people, which seems to link the Koniag and the Tlingit, may have been common to Western Eskimos and Tlingit. Although undoubtedly in many cases culture-elements did flow north-westward into Alaska from the Northwest Coast, there is no reason why we should assume this every time that we find traits shared by, for example, the Tlingit and the Koniag.

B. Hunting Talismans and Visions.

This section contains stories which again may relate instances of real contact with the supernatural as the natives conceived of it or may be fictions of such experience; only, in these stories the situations are not

¹ I regret that I cannot give a translation of the native word. Presumably it is some kind of sea-mammal.

demonstrations of magic power for itself alone but relate to hunting. Both the Kodiak Islanders and the Aleuts had a cult of sea-mammal hunting which was most elaborately developed in the case of the whale-hunters who, on Kodiak at least, are supposed to have formed a distinct class within society. However, every man was expected to be and wanted to be as good a hunter as possible, to which end he not only observed the tabus but he also tried to obtain personal talismans through an experience of extraordinary character. The following stories were not classified by their collectors as I have classified them. My reason for doing as I have is this: the point of the stories, no matter how greatly the incidents vary, is that a hunter became very successful as a result of the experiences recounted. As a matter of fact probably none of them do represent actual visions or adventures, but they show the natives' ideas on the subject.

1. Synopsis: An unsuccessful hunter once cohabited with a strange woman who deliberately attracted his attention when he was out hunting one night. She enjoined him not to reveal the fact and not to cohabit with his wife. He became a successful hunter immediately but lost his power when after some time he told his wife. He sought the strange woman again, only to have her rebuke him for what he had done. And eventually his real wife died.

One possible explanation of such a story is found in the common occurrence among the Golds, Yakut, Buryat and other tribes in Eastern Siberia, as noted by Sternberg, of a female spirit appearing to a man in his dreams, seeking to marry him and promising him supernatural aid.¹ This idea of sexual election of the shaman could easily have been extended to any man who obtained spirit-assistance. Moreover among the Chukchee, anthropomorphic amulets were considered the supernatural husbands or wives of their owners.² The concept of a person being married to his spirit-helper certainly is clear in this Koniag case, and the incident of the spirit-woman attracting the attention of the man when he is hunting alone at night (in his dreams?) fits in with Sternberg's thesis, but the secrecy does not agree with the Siberian cases cited by him. It does agree, however, with a Tlingit story of a man who married

¹ Sternberg, pp. 475-93.

² Bogoras, I, p. 343. For a slightly different angle of this question note the following account of a real dream of a Kwakiutl as recorded by Boas: "Good Dream of the Hunter Omx'id. I dreamed that I made ready to bathe in the river here for I intended to go hunting. Then I went inland to the upper part of the river. Before I came to the place where I am accustomed to bathe I saw my sweetheart coming through the salal bushes. I went to her and immediately we lay down. After that we went bathing, I and my sweetheart. After we had finished, I and she, she went home first. Then I awoke from this dream which seemed as if it had really happened." Boas says in a footnote: "This dream corresponds to the procedure of the hunter who tries to secure good fortune." — Boas, VII, p. 17.

a bear and begot bear cubs. Before his return to his village, he was warned to have nothing to do with his human family. As long as he followed these instructions he had good luck in hunting, but when he fed his human children (although he still did not speak to his wife), the bear cubs killed him.¹

2. The Luminous Boat.

Synopsis: A whale-hunter, while out hunting seals, saw a luminous boat. Although he was afraid of it, he finally shot it with a spear, whereupon it disappeared but in its place was a small green luminous stone which floated. He kept the stone as a talisman. It was luminous only at night, in the daytime being an ordinary green color. As long as he had it, he was successful in killing whales; but alas he married and then when he prepared to go hunting, he found that he had lost the stone. He could no longer kill anything; his wife and he both died.

If one wished, one could develop the thesis that these stories serve only to strengthen the mores concerning relations between hunters and women, which must be observed to obtain hunting luck. But this is only a part of the picture, the talisman and the experience by which it is obtained, each occupying its third of the picture. As magic boats and in particular luminous boats are not very common in American folklore, this is rather puzzling. One explanation is that it is a story to enhance the value of a certain genuine talisman, or an account of a dream experience (the boat-stone was evidently obtained at night) in agreement with our suggestion regarding the preceding tale.

3. In connection with the following legend the reader is referred to *The Priest and the Shaman*, this time for a consideration of the little people who were transformed into animals and birds. With this in mind, we can better understand this story of dwarfs once found by hunters.

Synopsis: A kayak (evidently carrying two men) on a hunting trip was overtaken by fog. The men heard strong voices and encountered a very small kayak with two small men. The hunters took kayak and men on board, whereupon the fog dispersed. The hunters took the dwarfs home and cared for them but did not reveal them to others. They were successful in their hunting thereafter.²

Is it not possible that these were the spirits of animals or other spirits which the men kept in the form of amulets? It seems to me that we have here not only characters in the native literature analogous to the dwarfs of European folktales, but that we also have one class of important supernatural beings, especially important to a hunting people.

¹ Swanton, III, pp. 228-9. For further comparative material, see Boas, VI, p. 742.

² Pinart explained that somewhere lived a nation of these little people and that they were *quite hairy and had big voices*.

Amulets played a very special part in the hunt of the larger sea-mammals among the Alaskan Eskimos and the Maritime groups of Northeast Siberia, a point which we shall return to later. Since whale-hunting talismans in particular were preserved with great care in secret caches, were surrounded by tabus, etc., it seems plausible to ascribe these tales to what we may call the amulet-complex of this area.

But about the dwarfs — there is no further information from Kodiak concerning them although from other tribes come the following items, which of course do not exhaust the available references: Holm told a true story from Angmagsalik of a man who got three little folks as spirits when he first became a shaman.¹ Boas, in his paper on the Central Eskimo, said that the Baffin Land Eskimos believed in a dwarf people who lived in the sea. None had ever been got out of the water although the natives fished for them at a certain place.² Nelson gave information from St. Michael and Pikmiktalik that the Eskimos believed there were dwarf people living on land who were usually seen carrying bows and arrows. They were considered a harmless people.³ Stefansson found in the Mackenzie region that the spirit, the "Innum nappata," was thought to be like a small man living inside of one's body.⁴ Some of these instances undoubtedly concern mythical races without any reference to the small-man-spirit idea, but this does not entirely disprove the alternative explanation for the Kodiak stories, viz. that these dwarfs were spirit-helpers, whether or not in the form of amulets.

4. One of Golder's stories is more of a hero tale although the situation is again that of the unsuccessful hunter. The theme is "Out-witting the Cannibal."

Synopsis: A young man was such a poor hunter that he and his parents had to live on game caught by others. He was warned by his mother not to go to a certain place but he went and lay on the beach as if dead and thrown out by the waves. A man came and carried him home, first tying him with a sinew rope. The boy grabbed at the bushes; the bearer said, "Who is pulling me?" Upon his arrival at home, the man's family gathered for a feast. When the baby cried for meat, the cannibal's wife cut off a toe of the young hero. As the baby was choking on the toe, the boy made his escape, taking the rope. The cannibal tried to get the rope back, promising something else in return for it, but the boy refused. As long as he had it, he was a good hunter. He killed game even on his way home from this adventure.

(Note that this tale has no Transformer qualities: the cannibal is not killed or reformed — he is only foiled in one incident, to the end that the

¹ Holm and Peterson, p. 300.

² Boas, I, p. 621.

³ Nelson, pp. 480-1.

⁴ Stefansson, p. 320.

lad obtains hunting luck. The scarcity of Transformer, of Culture Hero, and of Trickster stories in this collection may be due to its incomplete and fragmentary nature. Yet it is obvious that Koniag folklore had no one central heroic figure or trickster character, except of course for Raven who may have been borrowed. See below, Hero Tales.)

In a somewhat different Iglulik version, the myth has an etiological end which explains the origin of fogs, while a Copper Eskimo version ends with an explanation of the origin of clouds. Those elements in the Iglulik tale which are similar to the Kodiak version can be seen from the following:

A bear in human form carried off a man who pretended to be dead. Twice along the way, the man caught hold of a willow twig, causing the bear to stop and see if his burden was really dead. When they arrived at the bear's home, its children came out saying, "I will eat the hands," etc. The bear's wife tried to cut him open but did not succeed. (From here on, the plots diverge.)

The Copper Eskimo version also features the bear-captor instead of a human captor.¹

5. The myth which, from the standpoint of culture in general, is by far the most interesting in the present section is this from Pinart's Notes, given in two versions:

Synopsis: A man once was unsuccessful as a hunter even though he observed the food tabus like other hunters; so he made a general appeal for supernatural aid. In a dream one night he saw masks as if they were alive and heard songs sung by an unknown man. Thereafter the man sang the songs and became a great hunter. When others wished to know what his talisman was, he taught them the songs and made the masks as he had seen them. And this was the beginning of these two things.

The other version is incomplete:

A certain hunter could kill nothing. One time he went far into a bay and drew up his kayak on the shore. There he slept for two days and nights. In his dreams, he saw different masks.

The stories told concerning sea-mammal hunting reflect three of the most important elements in this phase of culture, — talismans, tabus, and masks and ritual. However and wherever the motifs of the stories may have been derived, it seems clear that they were employed in a manner well adjusted to the "drives" in Kodiak life.

¹ Rasmussen, II, pp. 263-4; Rasmussen, V, pp. 209-12.

III. HERO TALES

A. *Raven Tales.*

This group can be disposed of quickly as there are only two specimens of Raven tales. That there were more once upon a time cannot be doubted, as Pinart mentioned a great bird prominent in Koniag mythology to which the people attributed "all kinds of remarkable deeds" and which he identified specifically with the Tlingit Raven.¹ Although his description of this bird fits the Thunderbird concept rather than Raven, the name *kanhlaɣpaḱ* is almost identical with the Aleut word for Raven, *kány'laɣ*. Probably he fused all descriptions by the natives of a great bird and called the fusion Raven. We can readily believe that the Kodiak had both, as even the Bering Strait Eskimos knew the powerful Eagle as well as the culture-hero, Raven.²

1. Raven steals light for his village in a myth which almost might have been recorded at Sitka or Wrangell, so similar is it to the Tlingit versions.³ Kodiak version:

Synopsis: Raven impregnated the daughter of the light-owning chief by having her swallow him in the form of a bit of down, floating in spring-water. When he was born as a raven-child, he cried for one after another of the chief's possessions until he got the two caskets, one of which contained the Moon and Stars, the other the Sun. As a reward for securing light for the people, he was given the two daughters of his own chief.

The Koniag may have obtained this story after their forced contact with the Tlingit at Sitka, but one can just as well assume that they had the myth in pre-Russian times since even more similar versions were recorded from the Unalit Eskimos and the Kobuk⁴ and a quite similar one from the Anvik Athabascans;⁵ it is unlikely that all these obtained Raven after the coming of the Russians.

2. The tale of Raven's desire for a human wife has considerable individuality. For one thing, Raven is never represented as assuming human form although he can speak like human beings. The description of Raven is graphic, but it would take too much space to quote it all here.

Synopsis: Raven, generally despised by the village, lived with his grandmother. For feeding the people when they were starving, he was given the chief's daughter for wife. She found that his outstretched wings which he offered her as bed and coverlet were uncomfortable and stifling and the Raven odor unbearable, so she left him. He then married another girl who had the same experience but forced herself to live with him, as he provided

¹ Pinart, III, p. 675.

² Nelson, pp. 445-6.

³ Swanton, III, pp. 3-5 and 82-3.

⁴ Unalit — Nelson, p. 461; Kobuk — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 216-7.

⁵ Chapman, II, pp. 22-6; Jetté, pp. 304-5.

food when she was starving and the grandmother treated her well. Raven towed in a whale for the village but refused to give any of it to the chief and his daughter. All except Raven and his family died from eating too much blubber.¹

The personal characteristics as portrayed in this story are in a general way those of the Northwest Coast Raven: He bosses his old grandmother; he is boastful; he shames his first wife for leaving him, defecating on his own child in order to insult her; but at the same time he is very strong (note that he tows a whale) and, as the preceding myth has shown, he is a real transformer and culture hero.²

B. "Boy-hero" Stories.³

Now for the next few pages we can tread more firmly than we have in some other parts of this paper, since we shall be covering the well recognized terrain of the Boy-hero Story. Of course in this particular region, the hero is sometimes a young grown man and sometimes even a heroine but still recognizable.

I. The Two Brothers:

Synopsis: Two brothers once ventured far over the ocean in their kayak and came to a waterfall. When they were precipitated over it without experiencing any ill effects, they landed on a new sea where they found fish that spoke a human language. Traveling on, they arrived at a land unknown to them "and there found very evil beings." They traveled over the sea again, arriving at another land where they encountered these same beings, who during the night killed one of the men. The other fled. He came to a settlement where he found all the inhabitants wearing the masks which "the Aleuts" placed on their deceased (?). Again he fled but shortly arrived at a village where he found people resembling those on earth, except that the women each had one shoulder higher than the other. This was due to the hole made in the side of the woman to extract the infant at the time of delivery. The man married a woman there but did not know of their method of birth until he saw his father-in-law sharpening his knife for the operation. He would not allow his father-in-law to perform the operation at his wife's accouchement, pretending that he himself would do it. Instead he showed her the natural way of bearing a child and since that time these people have allowed children to be born as they should be. The man remained at that settlement, which is in the east.

¹ See also the Kobuk version already referred to, — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 216-7. In a Koryak tale, Fox-Woman complains of the smell of her husband, Raven-Man, — Jochelson, I, p. 364. (This is the reverse of the usual incident in which someone complains of the smell of Fox-Woman.)

² For distribution, see Thompson, p. 282, nos. 44 and 45.

³ One tale in this group has been given already: The Man Who Visited the Winds (see Section I, B).

For a recurrence of the waterfall incident, see the story of The Girl Who Killed the Cannibals (recorded by Golder) in which a girl also encounters evil beings when she is precipitated over the cascade.

The Origin of Natural Birth seems to be no common motif in this area. It does, however, appear in Rasmussen's Iglulik material in an astonishing myth which combines the themes of the blind boy who was mistreated by his grandmother, the origin of female genitals and natural birth, and finally sun-sister and moon-brother! A detail of the Iglulik and Kodiak versions is exactly the same: One parent of the pregnant young wife makes thread and sharpens his (or her) knife in preparation for the operation, which gives the young man a warning of what is intended. The same motif was also told to Jenness by a woman from Cape Prince of Wales as follows:¹

A boy was carried away by drifting ice to a strange country where a child was always delivered by an incision made in the side of the mother while she slept. When the young man's wife neared her time of confinement and her father sharpened a knife, the young man taught the people natural delivery. Thereafter the women did not have *one shoulder lower than the other*.

This motif is quite widespread in Polynesia and Melanesia but rare in North America and particularly on the Northwest Coast. Thompson has listed only a Tahltan instance which on examination proves to be quite different.²

2. The Jealous Uncle is one of the few tales in this collection which can be compared as a unit with versions from other tribes. Moreover, such a comparison has already been made. Boas in his compendium of all Northwest Coast mythology included the Kodiak version in his analysis of the Son-in-law or Nephew Tests,³ hence an analysis of it will not be repeated here since one of our main objectives is to present material not so readily accessible. In the analysis and comparison which Boas made, the Kodiak tale is seen to conform closely to the Tlingit one.

3. In our discussion of the next tale, The Boy Who Became a Mink, we are back where we have been right along, i. e. the plot contains a number of familiar motifs, but it cannot be compared as a whole with anything else.

Synopsis: Introduction. The situation is typical. A boy lives alone with his grandmother who is an unusually capable old lady, as she hunts and fishes to provide necessities for them, builds his first kayak and makes his bow and arrows. She prepares him for his exploits by giving him a mink skin, four tiny arrows and a bow.

¹ Iglulik — Rasmussen, II, pp. 80-1. Cape Prince of Wales — Jenness, II, p. 69. A mere reference to birth by Caesarian operation, practised by a peculiar race, is mentioned in a Copper Eskimo collection — Rasmussen, V, pp. 207-8.

² Thompson, p. 288, no. 59a. The reference is to: Teit, Tahltan Tales, *JAF* 32: 207.

³ Boas, VI, pp. 796-817 and 951-2.

First test. Rocks roll down hill, imprisoning him in a hole. He puts on the mink skin and squeezes his way out (of course in the form of a mink).

Second test. He encounters a large woman in an earth house, making mats. She throws a spear at him but he changes into a mink and the spear passes over his head. He resumes his shape, kills her with her spear, cutting her in two. This causes an earthquake and the house tumbles in. As a mink, he gets out.

Third test. An old man offers him a girl for a wife. In the son-in-law rôle, he goes to get wood and finds human bones in the woods. With his magic arrows, he kills the animal monster which comes with a great noise.

Fourth test. He is invited to swim with the girls. A whale swallows him but he puts on the mink skin and escapes through the blow-hole. The girls then invite him to get on the whale's tail, to be flipped into the sea (a primitive thrill). Pretending to ask where to get on, he sticks arrows into the whale from head to tail.

Fifth test. Mink skin talks, warning him of danger. A huge wave nearly overtakes him, but he breaks it by shooting an arrow into it.

Sixth test. A sea monster swallows him and his kayak. In the form of a mink, he escapes through its gills. The grandmother, who has been watching his activities, sends a raven to peck out the eyes of the monster.

Conclusion. On his way home, the boy finds some minks at a lake; he decides to remain with them.

"Missing the missiles" is found in Swanton's Tlingit collection in a directly comparable form: A boy has a knife-throwing contest with a woman whom he succeeds in killing. When the opening to her cave-dwelling grows small, he puts on an ermine skin, is transformed to an ermine, and crawls out. These and other versions are compared in the following table.¹

Table 2

	Kodiak	Tlingit	Noatak	Koryak	Greenland Eskimo
A. Contest is between man and woman	×	×	×	×	
man and man					×
B. Missiles are knives . . .		×	×		×
spears	×				
stones				×	
C. Missile is missed by rising in the air				×	×
animal transformation	×				×
jumping to one side . .		×	×		
D. Hero kills his opponent cuts leg or foot	×	×		×	
wounds him in throat					×

¹ Tlingit — Swanton, III, p. 96; Noatak — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 204-5; Koryak — Jochelson, I, p. 172; Greenland Eskimo — Holm, pp. 240-1.

The animal monster of this story is not described, hence is undifferentiated from many such in folklore; the two Jonah episodes are also unremarkable, unless it be for the absence of the heart-cutting or oil-tube-cutting inside the monster, which one usually finds in this area.¹

Shooting the huge wave is quite distinctive, although it occurs in a Lower Yukon Tena tale.²

4. The Boy Who Went under the Sea.

Synopsis: A boy, playing on the sea-shore near his home, shot an arrow (?) at a large fish. By the cord fastened to the arrow, he was drawn "to the river," and led to a distant land. There he lived among a great number of marine animals. In the autumn, the same fish took him back home. Among the women on shore cooking fish was his mother with the black paint of mourning on her cheeks. When they saw the large fish lying quietly with an arrow in it, the boy's father understood what had happened. The mother shot another arrow and pulled her son to her by the cord. The boy recounted what he had seen.³

This is reminiscent of the well-known Tlingit story, Moldy-end, which is interesting for its similarity not only to this Kodiak one but also to the myth containing a waterfall and fish that talked (The Two Brothers).

Moldy-end: A boy was carried off by the salmon people because he complained of some moldy salmon. When he returned from their land, he became a shaman. He tested his spirits by sending a raft-load of people over a waterfall which led under the sea to the land of the salmon-people. They returned safely.⁴

5. The Man Who Killed the Sea-creature; from Afognak Island.

Synopsis: Formerly, near a cape at the entrance of Kalzinski Bay, there was a marine animal about the size of a cat which upset all the kayaks passing by. The people did not dare go near the place. One young man, resolving to kill the creature, painted a kayak red on one side and black on the other. He painted a lobster on the left of the bow, a human hand on the right; a star on the left of the stern and a kayak on the right of the stern. He repeated the same figures on his hands (?). He took a spear with which he had killed five men and left without disclosing his intentions. When he encountered the animal, he addressed it, saying it was powerless against the power of the sea (the lobster), the power of man (the human hand), the power from above (the star), all of which could seize it, and finally the kayak, which could hold it. With the spear, he killed the animal. When he returned home, the people were mourning for him as dead. He asked for volunteers to kill the sea-creature, but of course the men all refused. Then he revealed what he had done. The people continued to paint these figures on their kayaks as a safeguard against these fabulous creatures.

¹ Jochelson, I, p. 368; Nelson, p. 465.

² Jetté, p. 313.

³ Harpoon-darts were used by the Western Eskimos.

⁴ Swanton, III, pp. 308-9.

Great power attributed to symbols seems more like a European trait, yet just where this story came from is not easy to figure out. I must leave the implied questions unanswered.

6. The Discovery of Ukamok Island.

Synopsis: Two men started from the Bay of Igak to go to Ayaxtalik for a dance-festival but were lost in a fog. They rowed night and day, finally landing on an unknown island which they called Ukamok. It was wealthy with furs and amber with which they loaded their kayak. Being completely lost, they started northward at random. They arrived on Alaska Peninsula, which was strange to them. The inhabitants of Katmai (Aglegmute) attacked them and took their valuables. A chief offered to save them from death if they would conduct him to the source of such wealth. After a very profitable journey to Ukamok, they were conducted back to Ayaxtalik where they were by now considered dead. As one of the men was a relative of the narrator's father, the latter received them with great hospitality. From gratitude and joy, the men gave the newly discovered island to him; because of this valuable possession, he became wealthy and powerful.

The narrator explained to Holmberg, "it must have been quite a good many years before the arrival of the first Russian, since I was at that time not yet born." Nevertheless the events were definitely linked with the informant's father. Probably we have here the only true example of a family or proprietary legend in the collection, whether or not the events actually occurred as recently as stated.

C. Amazon Tales.

An interesting feature of Koniag folklore is the "girl-heroine" theme. One such story, that of the girl who had remarkable adventures when she went in search of her lost lover, could very well be the story of a boy as far as her exploits are concerned. (This is the story of the girl who killed the cannibals.) The Huntress on the other hand focuses the attention on the abilities of a certain girl in comparison with her brothers.

1. The Huntress.

A. Girl in seclusion.

1. Her first menses.
2. Her parents were poor; they went away, leaving her no food.
3. She ate only sea-weed from the beach, becoming weak.

B. Strength-giver.

1. An old man came one night and told her to get up.
2. Commanded her to drink from the river. Her strength partially returned.
3. Second command to drink: she could place a tree trunk across the river.
4. Third command: she could drink no more.
5. The man disappeared.

- C. Girl became a hunter.
1. Made arrows for herself.
 2. Practised shooting until she could kill a seal.
 3. In hauling in a seal, she made four steps on a cape which can still be seen.
 4. Built a kayak.
- D. Deceived her parents.
1. When parents returned to see how she was, she pretended that she was barely alive.
 2. She was left alone again.
- E. The girl and her three brothers.
1. Went to her family's camping-place alone in her own kayak.
 2. Built a still better kayak.
 3. Killed sea-otters when her brothers could not.
 4. Brothers became jealous.
 5. Brothers attempted to trick her: took her arrows and left her.
 6. She circumvented the trick.
 - a. Took hind flippers of a seal, gnawed them until only the nails were left.
 - b. Tied a nail to her finger and somehow shot two otters.
 - c. Overtook her brothers and accused them.
 7. Heavy sea, but the girl saved herself. (Brothers not mentioned again.)
- F. Girl's marriage.
1. Became handsome and was sought by many men.
 2. Married one man.
 3. They went hunting together.
 - a. Big sea; she took her husband into her kayak.
 - b. Made him close his eyes.
 - c. She cut off her female parts and threw them on the sea.
 - d. It grew calm and they returned home.
- G. This woman continues to go many places.

Strength-giver is a good Tlingit character and the concept of water as an agency for imparting strength is a good Tlingit trait; only, they always speak of the hero immersing himself or at least sitting in water in order to grow strong.¹ Although Rink stated that among the Greenland Eskimos such an abstraction as Strength could have an *inua*, this particular being does not appear in Eskimo folklore nearly so prominently as among the Tlingit.²

Much of the remainder of this story is simply an account of prowess with few tricks resorted to. The use of the flippers of the seal might be a special motif, a trick of arbitrary and traceable nature, but the account is not clear.

In the incident of calming the water we have an uncommon element in this collection. However, the type of stories included in Golder's group in particular suggests that he exercised selection in the kind of

¹ Swanton, III, pp. 146 and 195.

² Rink, p. 37.

tales he recorded or in the phraseology or both. At any rate it is apparent that both his and Pinart's collection do not contain the unglossed references to the sex organs and functions which are so prominent in North-east Siberian and in many other mythologies. In fact this incident stands alone in this collection.

2. The Girl Who Killed the Cannibals.

Synopsis: All the young men who went out from a certain village to hunt failed to return. A girl secretly went in search of her lover who was one of this number. While she closed her eyes and sang, her kayak was borne over a waterfall. A man took her to his house where she saw many human heads, among them the head of her lover. The man himself did not eat them and was not unkind to her but instead gave them to his three sisters. By a simple deception of following him, she found out where they lived and killed them, whereupon the man tried to shoot her (they were outdoors) but she dropped through the smoke-hole of the (semi-subterranean) house and came out through a passage which she had secretly excavated. This was repeated many times. Next, she kept him awake for five days and nights by talking to him. When he finally went to sleep, she cut off his head. The waterfall disappeared — it existed due to his magic — and she returned home.

In spite of the fact that such general elements as cannibal women are so widespread, there is little here that can be specifically traced to other tribes.

The tales of this section more than any of the preceding ones indicate a relationship with the Northwest Coast, not only the Raven Tales and the Nephew Tests which can be compared in toto with similar plots from there, but also a number of incidents and characters such as the knife-throwing contest between the boy and the woman with his escape by putting on the animal-skin after he has killed the woman, or the boy's capture by the salmon-people, or the character of Strength-giver. In regard to the Raven Tales, it should be noted that not only the Koniag but apparently all the tribes of Western Alaska shared this myth-cycle.

IV. TALES OF LOVE AND REVENGE

1. Swan-maiden. The Kodiak version of this well-known tale is surprisingly complete in view of the fragmentary or aberrant nature of some of our other material. It deserves special attention and so has been analyzed and compared in Table 3 with Baffin Land and Greenland versions.¹

¹ Baffin Land — Boas, I, pp. 616-18. Greenland — Rink, pp. 145-8. A variant told to Jenness by a man from Nome, Alaska, incorporates motifs quite different from these but should be read for comparison nonetheless, — Jenness, II, pp. 49-52. Also a version from King Island is quite aberrant, incorporating what seem to be Russian elements, — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 106-7. Cape Prince of Wales — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 254-6.

Table 3

	Kodiak	Baffin Land	Greenland
A. Man gets bird-wife by stealing her clothing when she is bathing (Kodiak: she is one of five girls.)	×	×	×
B. Wife is goose gull	×	×	×
C. Child is born: one son two sons	×	×	×
D. Wife leaves	×	×	×
1. Dissatisfied		×	
Derided by sis.-in-law for queer mouth	×		
No motive			×
2. Takes son (or sons) with her		×	×
Returns after 5 yrs. to get him	×		
E. Husband's search			
1. Encounter with 2 foxes fighting	×	o	o
2. A woman directs him to Salmon-maker	×	o	o
3. Salmon-maker helps him	×	×	×
a. He is hollow-backed	o	×	o
b. Chops wood	×	×	×
c. Chips fall in water, becoming fish .	×	×	o
d. To learn whereabouts of wife, man gives him hatchet	×	o	×
e. Man taken to destination, pulled by salmon	×		
in kayak made of backbone of salmon		×	
sitting on tail of salmon			×
f. Man must keep his eyes shut	o	×	×
F. Man finds his bird-wife			
1. She has married a bird-man	o	×	×
2. Wife and son fly away	o	×	×
3. Husband catches her and kills her . .	o	×	o
or 1. Son finds man on the beach	×	o	o
2. Man lives with wife's people	×	o	o
G. Why sea-gull is white and raven black			
1. Birds dress up and paint themselves, in kashim	×		
2. Man surprises them at this	×		
3. Sea-gull and raven, not yet "dressed," are painted too hurriedly	×		
Sea-gull is painted all white, Raven all black	×		

	Kodiak	Baffin Land	Greenland
H. Raven the Bungler			
1. Eagles assigned to carry man when birds migrate	×		
2. Raven insists on doing this	×		
3. He tires, falling in the sea	×		
a. Raven drowns, becoming tree-trunk	×		
b. Man drowns, becoming white-whale	×		

This story is the most remarkable example of incorporation in the entire collection. First, as we have seen in Lisiansky's creation myth and elsewhere, the creation of salmon from chips of wood can exist independently of Swan-maiden. Another variant among the Tlingit preserves the search by a man for his wife, not a bird-woman, and the encounter with a man chopping wood who directs the searcher, but it omits the creation of fish. This shows how many possibilities of variation actually are realized in some instances.¹ Second, the incident of the fighting animals which obstruct the path occurs in the Iglulik and other versions but strangely not in these Baffin Land and Greenland ones. (The animals in the Iglulik tale are bears, not foxes.)²

Third, the explanation of Raven's color, which is an entirely extraneous incident and does not occur in the Baffin Land and Greenland versions, is one of many such minor etiological motifs which appear now here, now there, tacked on to other motifs. This same incident occurs in the tales collected by Kroeber from the Smith Sound Eskimo. In this case, however, Raven and Hawk are the bird characters instead of Raven and Gull.³ In the version recorded by Jenness from the Mackenzie River Eskimos, Raven and Loon are interrupted by a man when Loon is painting Raven.⁴ All these seem to constitute a variation of the common story of Raven and another bird painting each other, during which activity Raven is so disagreeable that his assistant spills or throws the black paint all over him.⁵ It is interesting to find this Eskimo variation: the birds startled by a human being.

Finally we have Raven the Bungling Imitator or Marriage of Raven to the Goose-girls, linked with Swan-maiden. Raven failing in his attempt to fly over the sea as far and steadily as his wife or wives is found among East, Central, and West Eskimos.⁶

The human characteristics of birds — and animals, of course — and the methods of transformation from human to animal are graphically

¹ Swanton, III, p. 26.

² Rasmussen, II, pp. 265-7.

³ Kroeber, p. 174.

⁴ Jenness, II, p. 47.

⁵ Copper Eskimo — Jenness, II, p. 71. Cumberland Sound — Boas, III, pp. 220-1. West coast of Hudson Bay (tribe?) — Boas, III, p. 320.

⁶ Rasmussen, I, p. 77; Rasmussen, II, pp. 280-1; Nelson, p. 463.

described in Western Eskimo literature. In the general region of Norton Sound, animals become able to speak and act as humans simply by lifting the nose part of their skin.¹ In the Kodiak tales, the whole skin is removed to effect a transformation.

In summary, both the main plot (Swan-maiden) and the little plot at the end (which usually appears in the form of Marriage of Raven to the Goose-girls) serve to strengthen the link between the Koniag and their Eskimo relatives, even the far-away ones.²

2. The Grouse-wife or The Mysterious Housekeeper is a good example of the Kodiak type of animal transformation which we have just mentioned.

Synopsis: A grouse tried to attract the attention of a young and handsome man who was one of two men living and hunting alone. When he rejected her, his companion, who was older, lame and unattractive, took care of her. The older man became suspicious when he discovered the housework done in their absence; spying on her, he found that she was a beautiful young woman when she was not wearing the grouse-skin. He hid it, thus preventing her retransformation, and married her. The young man then coveted her, finally murdering his companion in order to get her; but she rummaged around until she found the grouse-skin, told the murderer what she thought of him, put on the skin and flew away.

This is the general theme of the man who had his chance and lost it, the Grouse-girl motif being from this viewpoint only a decorative arrangement, a very charming one. From another standpoint, the theme of the Mysterious Housekeeper, it has considerable value, particularly when we find, in Thompson's Tales, that the geographically nearest occurrence of it to the south and east is among the Kwakiutl. Moreover the Kwakiutl tale is quite different.³ However, in the north it has been reported from Nunivak Island (where we also found a Dog-husband story very like the Koniag one), and from several groups of East and Central Eskimos.⁴ In all the Eskimo occurrences, the mysterious housekeeper is Fox-woman and the last part of the tale is the familiar theme, as found in the Buffalo-wife and Swan-maiden, of the animal-wife who is taunted and who therefore runs away.

3. The next story, Feigned Death, was widespread in Central and South-western Alaska. The Anvik variant given here, Chapman said, was supposed to have come to the Tena originally from the Lower Yukon Eskimos. However, the plot was well known all along the Yukon. Jetté gave a practically identical version which he also said was well known

¹ An especially good description is the following from Nelson, p. 466: Raven hailed Mink. "Mink stopped, and pushing up his nose like a mask, as Raven had done with his beak, became a small, dark-colored man."

² For distribution of Swan-maiden, see Thompson, p. 356, no. 284.

³ Thompson, p. 335, no. 207.

⁴ Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 91-2. For other references, see Thompson, p. 342, no. 233.

in the area he was familiar with, i. e. the Lower Koyukuk and the Yukon in the Nulato region. Rev. Lavrischeff called the one that he recorded on Hinchinbrook Island (east of the Kenai Peninsula) an "Aleut" tale. It would be interesting to know more about the history of this island — whether true Aleu's were settled there at some time. Other variants have been collected among the Selawik (Eskimo) and the Chukchee, but the lack of detail in them makes a comparison of little value.¹ The fact that all the variants, Indian, Eskimo, and Chukchee alike, are so similar, hints at a recent and rapid dissemination of the tale in which the movements of the Russian traders with their companies of Aleut and Koniag hunters may have been an important factor. It may be no accident that the Eskimo version was recorded at the former Russian post, St. Michael. The story may have come into the Alaskan area in the first place by way of the Athabascans, in spite of what Chapman has said.

(The Tlingit Feigned Death is, peculiarly enough, much more like a portion of a Greenland tale in Rink's collection² than any of these in the table in that (1) the spouse who pretends death is the wife, not the husband; (2) the dénouement is accomplished by the young son who sees his mother with her lover; and (3) the husband kills his deceitful wife and her lover when they are together³).

For analysis and comparison of the Alaska versions of Feigned Death, see Table 4.

Table 4⁴

	Kodiak	St. Michael	Anvik	Aleut		Hinchinbrook
				Belkovsky	Unga	
A. Man disappears						
by feigned death	×	×	×	×		×
fails to return from hunting					×	
B. Wife learns of trickery						
by little bird telling	×		×	×	×	×
3 times	×			×		
2 times						×
by finding his new home accidentally		×				

¹ Selawik — Curtis, vol. 20, pp. 261-2. Chukchee — Bogoras, I, pp. 329 and 602. Bogoras gave only an outline of the story which he said was widely distributed in the Chukchee area.

² Rink, pp. 157-8. This similarity may be due to chance.

³ Swanton, III, pp. 245-7. The wife feigning death to meet her paramour is the general Northwest Coast pattern. See Thompson, p. 305, no. 109t.

⁴ St. Michael — Nelson, pp. 467-70; Anvik — Chapman, III, pp. 42-9 and Jetté, pp. 341-2; Belkovsky and Unga — Golder, V, pp. 14-15 and 15-16; Hinchinbrook — Lavrischeff, pp. 121-2.

	Kodiak	St. Michael	Anvik	Aleut Belkovsky Unga	Hinchinbrook
C. The new wife (or wives)					
1. She is white-faced	×				
has only one eye, in forehead				×	
has no nose				×	
2. There are 3 wives		×			
2 wives			×		×
D. Man is away when first wife comes	×	×	×	×	×
1. Not visible anywhere	×	×	×		
2. He can be seen on the bay				×	×
E. First wife kills her rival (or rivals)	×	×	×	×	×
by holding her face over boiling water	×				
in boiling oil		×			
to make her pretty	×	×			
by cutting off her head				×	
by pushing her face in the soup			×	×	×
F. Woman prepares for husband's return to new home					
1. Props up corpse	×		×	×	×
on the beach				×	×
in the house	×		×		×
Arranges one with smiling and one with frowning face			×		×
Places stick-figures on the beach, like women		×			×
2. Turns into bear	×	×	×		
by donning bear-skin	×	×	×		×
Puts flat rocks on her sides as armor takes them out because Raven laughs at her	×	×	×		
G. Man's return					
1. Calls to his new wife as he comes	×	×		×	×
2. Body of corpse falls over	?		×	×	×
3. He tries to kill the bear-wife	×	×			
H. His death					
1. Killed by bear-wife	×	×	×		×
2. Drowns himself				×	
Is drowned by wife				×	
I. The bear-wife					
1. Remains always a bear	×	×	×		
2. Kills her own children	×	×			
3. Children also become bears			×		
4. Origin of red bears		×			

Before we go any further, we should consider an aberrant version from Pinart's Kodiak Notes.

Synopsis: A man, becoming tired of his wife, took her over the sea and abandoned her on a rock. He returned home to marry another woman. The first wife was rescued, married another man, and they returned to her previous home. She quarreled with her first husband. She took some portion of a bear [several words in this part are illegible], commenced to gnaw it "and at the same time a bear-skin began to cover her body." The second wife gnawed the skin of a "sea-cat," thus turning into that animal. The bear-woman killed her husband, the sea-cat, and the whole village. Soon the sea overflowed. The bear had no "solid place where she could take shelter," so she began to swim. She swam nearly to the end of the earth where she found another land. She threw some kelp on the shore which was transformed into [?].

In spite of the fact that the original of this is in such bad condition, it presents (with the other versions) several interesting points for consideration. In the Kodiak version given in the Table, the woman makes the bear-skin by chewing and stretching the *face-skin* of a bear, and probably we should find Pinart's version is the same if we could only read it. A comparable incident occurs in a Greenland tale: A girl rubs and sings over the head of a thong-seal until the skin has grown large enough to completely cover her younger brother,¹ — some more of the substratum of folklore appearing at the surface. Another interesting point is the conclusion of the St. Michael and Kodiak versions: the ferocity of the transformed woman who even kills her own family. Does this not remind one of the well-known "Bear-woman" which tells of a woman who once committed adultery with a bear? When the bear lover was killed, she turned into a bear and attacked her own family. The significant fact here is that Thompson has given no Eskimo occurrences for this plot and only the Bella Coola and Coos for the Northwest Coast.²

4. Beginning of War. Although the following three legends all profess to explain the origin of War, I prefer to consider them as stories of the commencement of particular wars, since they have been so localized. Probably the proper attitude is to say that one and the same tale can be utilized in several ways even when, as is the case here, the various versions have been adopted as well as relocalized.

¹ Rink, p. 222. In the Selawik version, the deserted wife soaks and stretches a bear-skin until it will fit her.

² "Bear-Woman" — Thompson, p. 345, no. 244. "Feigned Death" — Thompson, p. 305, no. 109t.

Table 5

	Kodiak	Aleut ¹ Unga Atka	
I. Foreign visitors insult one or more in village which they visit	×	×	×
A. Come with hostile intentions	o	×	o
B. Visitors related to hosts	o	o	×
C. Object of insult			
1. A certain kind of chief's hat (Sculptured nose on hat is cut off)	×		
2. Boy whose feet are like seal flippers . . . (General ridicule)		×	
3. Boy with only one hand (Inflated bladder tied to him and he is made to dance)			×
D. No evidence of offense taken	×	×	×
E. Father of the boy is away		×	×
II. The revenge			
A. Hosts follow their visitors and take revenge in latter's territory	×	×	×
B. Get another village or tribe to assist	×	o	o

The first three of the four tales in this group, Swan-Maiden, Mysterious Housekeeper, and Feigned Death, are all much more widespread than either the Eskimo territory or the Northwest Coast, in their generalized or outline form. However, the Kodiak version as it appears actually in the flesh, not the skeleton, has a close family resemblance to other Eskimo versions of these stories. Although there are Northwest Coast variants, the resemblances are not so close there. The fourth story, the Origin of War, seems to be limited to the Koniag and the Aleuts.

V. COMIC TALES

Did the Koniag really have such things as comic tales? The following *may* be so classed. One cannot be sure how these stories would be received by the native audience.

1. The Simpleton.

Synopsis: A mean, half-witted man was the village nuisance. He was not allowed in the kashim, so he hid and tormented the women when they came to the kashim with food. To get rid of him, the people vacated the village, leaving him behind. At first, he did not mind; then he began to think of the sea-monster; he lighted many lamps, danced and sang; and he invited a stone to come and keep him company. He practised lifting the stone until he was

¹ Unga — Golder, V, pp. 20-21; Atka — Veniaminov, vol. 3, pp. 15-16

able to carry it into the house. He placed it over the door with instructions to fall on the sea-monster if it ever came; which it did, roaring for food. It smelled of kelp, was half human and half animal, had kelp on its head and shells on its body. The stone obediently fell on it, killing it. The simpleton cut it up and cooked it, filling all the dishes in the village. When the people returned, he was hidden, so they held a feast to celebrate his disappearance; but he reappeared to torment the women again. He served them pieces of the cooked monster, from which they all died. He continued to live alone with his stone.

Carrying heavy burdens long distances in the arms and also being so big and strong that one's foot leaves a mark in solid rock (see above, *The Huntress*) are part and parcel of Eskimo and Northeast Siberian folklore. A good example of the former feat is found in Jochelson's Koryak collection, in which instance Raven carries heavy objects in his arms, lifts stones, and uproots trees to gain strength.¹ Of these three, the second feat is most common in Eskimo, the third in Northwest Coast literature.

Man-eating sea- and lake-monsters exist all through this region in the fluid of imagination at least.²

2. The Two Inquisitive Men.

Synopsis: Two remarkable men lived together but spoke and looked at each other only when necessary. They knew what was happening in other places, investigated, but never did anything about it. At the opening of the story, they were sitting with their backs to each other, eating shellfish. No. 1 said, twice, that there was a man hunting with his sling. No. 2 answered, twice, that there was whistling in his ear. No. 1 told the name of the man and said they would investigate. They put their earth-house, its insects, the grave and remains of their wife and a hillock on their boat. When they arrived at their destination, the sling-man threw stones at them, damaging the boat, so they returned with the cargo. Later, they held the same kind of conversation, this time saying there was a man heating a bath and cooking codfish. They set off with the same load as before. The man heated a bath for them and fed them a codfish. In the meantime he tied a long rope to their boat so that when they attempted to return home, their boat was pulled back three times, being upset the third time. The wife's grave became a porpoise and the men were transformed into two capes.

This is even more peculiar than the Simpleton's story. I doubt whether there is any symbolism contained here, and if there is not, then there is very little point to the story except to amuse — the peculiar actions and pointless conversation, the ridiculous load which they put in their boat, the purposelessness of the journeys (except to satisfy their curiosity), and the boat being secretly pulled back when the men thought that they were paddling away, all can provoke smiles if one smiles

¹ Jochelson, I, p. 129.

² An Aleut instance: Golder, V, pp. 21-22.

easily. Incidentally, in a Tlingit story Raven, who is always slightly ridiculous, starts to leave the shore in a boat but there is a line tied to it which he has not noticed. When he has paddled out some distance, the boat is pulled back.¹

SUMMARY

Von Wrangell just a hundred years ago pointed out the significant difference between the Chugatch and Koniag on the one hand and the Kolosch (Tlingit) on the other: the Koniag attributed their origin to a dog, the Tlingit to a raven.² Raven is not absent from Kodiak mythology nor from that of the West Alaskan Eskimos in general, but von Wrangell was right in pointing out that there *is* a difference between the mythologies of the upper Northwest Coast and the Koniag. It is not always by whole plots but by minor and isolated motifs that the traits of the parent Eskimo culture have been manifest in the Koniag. In other words, to carry further the figure of speech used in the Introduction, Kodiak folklore is related to Eskimo by affinity, to the Northwest Coast by consanguinity. The following summary will give a more quantitative base for the preceding statement.

These plots and elements of plots, which occur in this Koniag collection, *are particularly characteristic of Eskimo folklore* although not strictly limited to it:

- Emergence of people from bladder or pod. (Alaskan)
- Creation of seas and lakes by urinating.
- Creation of fish from chips of wood.
- Eskimo type of Dog-husband.
- Symplegades motif applied to kayak.
- The poor sisters who became thunder and lightning.
- Sun-sister and Moon-brother.
- Origin of natural birth.
- Stopping the winds.
- Long journey symbolized by traveler taking extra kayak covers, mittens, or boots.
- Eskimo version of Star-husband: the Mistreated Wife.
- Sky-basket. (Alaskan)
- The man who outwitted a cannibal by feigning death.
- Eskimo version of Swan-maiden.
- Origin of Raven's color.
- Marriage of Raven to the Goose-girls.
- Western Eskimo version of Feigned-death: Bear-woman.
- Stone-lifting to gain strength.

These religious beliefs, as given in the mythology, are also characteristic of the Eskimos although not necessarily limited to them:

¹ Swanton, III, p. 92.

² Von Wrangell, p. 116.

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Abbreviations used in footnotes and bibliography:

AA	American Anthropologist
AES	American Ethnological Society
AMNH AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH Bull.	American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin
AMNH Mem.	American Museum of Natural History, Memoir
BAE AR	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report
BAE Bull.	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
JAFI	Journal of American Folk-Lore
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland