NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR: RONALD PETER MESSER


UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ: CARLETON UNIVERSITY

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/GRADUATION pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée: MASTER OF ARTS

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DEGRÉ: 1980

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE: JOHN P. DOURLEY

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A JUNGIAN ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHETYPAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NANABOZHO, THE TRICKSTER-TRANSFORMEP-CULTURE HERO OF CHIPPEWA MYTHOLOGY

by

Ronald Peter Messer

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Department of Religious Studies
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"A Jungian Analysis of the Archetypal Significance of Nanabozho, the Trickster-Transformer-Culture Hero of Chippewa Mythology"

submitted by Ronald Peter Messer, B.A. (McMaster)
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Joel C. Darby
Thesis Supervisor

M. Seth Blatch
Chairman, Department of Religious Studies

Carleton University
1980
For my brother Martin
ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses itself to two archetypes within Jung's model of the psyche. Thereby it focuses upon Jung's understanding of the trickster and archetypal hero within mythology. By using his analyses of these two mythological figures the thesis elucidates the archetypal significance of Nanabozho, the trickster-transformer-culture hero within the context of Chippewa mythology. The thesis proposes that Nanabozho, when viewed from the perspective of Jung's psychology, can be seen as a representative of the self, the total personality. Therefore, by definition he combines both foolish (trickster-like) and heroic qualities in one mythic figure. This dual aspect of Nanabozho's personality is analyzed with reference to the dynamics of Jung's model of the psyche, and is examined within the native tradition in terms of both its mythic and cultic expressions.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing this thesis a variety of people have provided me with both encouragement and assistance. First and foremost I would like to thank Professor John Dourley for the many hours he spent in reading and correcting the numerous rough drafts of this thesis. Thanks are also forthcoming to Professor Georges Tissot for his help with the native Indian mythology. I want to thank Professor Tissot in particular for his keen insight into the theoretical issues involved in my research. I would also like to extend my appreciation to Professors Gualtieri and Goldenberg who provided me with useful criticism of both Jungian theory and Chippewa Indian mythology. In addition I would like to thank Professor Jacques Chevalier of the Sociology/Anthropology department for his insightful assessment of the Jungian paradigm, as well as John Cove for his assistance with the native Indian mythology. Also, I would like to thank anthropologist Ruth Landes, Dr. E. S. Rogers of the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Ojibwa Cultural Foundation for their kind correspondence. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the staff of the Inter-library Loans office for their patience and untiring assistance throughout the course of my research.
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INTRODUCTION

Within North American Indian mythology a certain supernatural being is frequently presented as the synthesis of two apparently divergent traits of character. Therein the trickster-transformer-culture hero, or trickster fixer, as he is sometimes called,\(^1\) is at one and the same time a hero and a fool. The trickster-transformer-culture hero is both respected and ridiculed, admired and admonished, looked up to and yet looked down upon. This apparent contradiction in his personality, which appears so blatantly obvious to the student of native folklore and mythology,\(^2\) is taken as a matter of course by the North American Indian.\(^2\) A variety of explanations have been preferred to account for this paradoxical situation.\(^3\)

In his book *The Myths of the New World*, American Indian folklorist Daniel Brinton put forward his thesis that the dual nature of certain supernatural beings within North American Indian mythology, as both heroes and buffoons, was the result of the debasement of an originally god-like figure.\(^4\) He claims that it was only at a later date that trickster traits were imputed to this originally heroic personage.

In 1891 anthropologist Franz Boas rejected Brinton's thesis on the grounds that it failed to explain why an originally god-like figure should be so uniformly debased in the vast majority of North American Indian mythologies. In response to Brinton's thesis, Boas argued that the trickster symbolized
man's selfish and egotistical nature. He claimed that the trickster's heroic qualities emerged only as a consequence of the development of civilization. As a hero, the trickster bestowed the benefits of culture upon the Indians. In this way, societies with heroic tricksters would be regarded as more civilized than those with purely foolish tricksters, and combined culture hero-trickster mythologies would represent the interim stages in the development of civilization, when man was neither completely selfish, nor entirely selfless. In these instances the trickster, as a culture hero, would only sporadically bestow the benefits of culture upon the Indians.

Yet, notably, within many North American Indian mythologies the trickster-transformer-culture hero is very often self-seeking, and not in the least bit altruistic as Boas claims. This is the case in spite of the fact that his actions frequently contribute to the Indians welfare. In these instances it is only incidentally that his deeds provide for the comfort and well-being of man. In this way Boas' theory that the trickster serves as an indicator of social progress (as indicated by his contributions to Indian culture) is called into question.

For Géza Roheim the trickster-culture hero symbolized the "id or the life principle." Roheim saw the North American Indian as a highly disciplined individual. For him, the native American Indian possessed a strongly developed superego arising
out of a strict childhood upbringing. In this way, speaking from a Freudian perspective, Roheim viewed the trickster as a psychological protest against the authoritarian demands of the superego.  

Wilhelm Wundt, in his book *Elements of Folk Psychology*, developed a psychological model to account for the presence of combined trickster-heroes within primitive mythology. He put forward the thesis that the mythological cycles ascribing both heroic and foolish adventures to a single mythical figure were developed as a psychological defense against the emotional strain created by the serious nature of the culture hero's adventures. For Wundt, the intermingling of culture hero and trickster myths illustrated the psychological law of contrasts, whereby the trickster's light-hearted nature offset the austerity of the culture hero.  

In addressing Wundt's thesis, Robert H. Lowie questioned why the emotional strain generated by the hero myths should necessarily be resolved by blending the serious behavior of the culture hero with the clownish nature of the trickster. In addition, Lowie notes that Wundt's theory does not account for those mythologies where culture hero and trickster are clearly separated, or why only particular culture heroes should be ascribed with trickster traits.  

In place of Wundt's theory Lowie recommends that the trickster-culture hero relationship should be addressed by attributing "to the trickster the origin of whatever cultural
possessions incite primitive curiosity. In this way Lowie suggests that the trickster is an "older type of character" whose mythological adventures indicate the relative advancement of culture. As a result, the more curious the Indian mind, and hence the more culturally advanced the society, the more ingenious and creative will be the events associated with the trickster.

In 1964 Mac Linscott Ricketts completed his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago. In his thesis Ricketts summarized the trickster-transformer-culture hero myths of the North American Indians and examined the shift within the mythology away from a predominantly trickster-transformer-culture hero orientation towards the development of the concept of a high god. Ricketts credits this development to shamanic influence. As the power of the Indian shamans increased, the importance of the high god superceded that of the trickster-transformer-culture hero within the mythology. Therein the Indian trickster-transformer-culture hero lost many of his heroic qualities to the high god, retaining only his trickster traits.

Notably, Ricketts' thesis agrees in many respects with an earlier viewpoint expressed by Paul Radin in his essay "Religion of the North American Indians." Herein, Radin too credits the Indian shamans with responsibility for replacing the trickster with the high god within the mythology.
Raffaele Pettazoni in his book *The All-Knowing God* suggests that the trickster should be viewed as a type of fallen deity who has been replaced by a "Supreme Being of the Creator-type." Such an explanation would account for the gradual replacement of the trickster within the mythology by the high god. However, it does not account for combined culture hero-trickster mythologies such as those of the Chippewa, wherein the high god plays a relatively minor role.15

Lévi-Strauss argues that the trickster can be seen as a mediator within mythology. Accordingly, trickster figures such as those of the Coyote and Raven, who are "carrion-eating animals," mediate between the opposites of herbivorous animals and beasts of prey. He states: "...the trickster is a mediator. Since his mediating function occupies a position halfway between two polar terms, he must retain something of that duality—namely an ambiguous and equivocal character."16

Carl Jung was also indirectly addressed himself to the culture hero-trickster relationship within North American Indian mythology. Jung's psychology maintains that mythology is one source wherein archetypal motifs are manifest.17 In this way he postulates the existence of a "collective unconscious" which is said to contain certain archetypes which are forms, devoid of content, operating within the collective unconscious, and endowed with psychic, or lib-
idual energy. One such archetypal form manifest in culture is that of the trickster. For Jung, this archetypal motif symbolizes the emergence of man as an ego conscious being from the collective unconscious. In addition, the trickster embodies for Jung the inferior traits of character found within all men. Consequently, he symbolizes mankind's "collective shadow."

Another motif derived from the collective unconscious and manifest in culture is that of the archetypal hero. For Jung, the archetypal hero re-enacts man's struggle in emerging from the depths of the collective unconscious. Typically this emergence is brought about by the hero's sacrificing his instinctual nature and transforming it in such a way that it is brought into the service of his ego.

In his book The Trickster anthropologist Paul Radin claims that trickster and culture hero are separate figures within North American Indian mythology. Notably, Radin cites Jung's analysis of the trickster in support of his thesis. However, it is my contention that he does this without fully understanding the ramifications of Jung's analysis.

Using Jung's psychology I propose to demonstrate the compatibility and interdependence of trickster and culture hero, as manifest in the personality of Nanabozho, within the context of Chippewa mythology. Focusing upon Jung's understanding of the trickster and the archetypal
hero, the purpose of this thesis will be to use Jung's model of the psyche as a critical methodological tool whereby cultural data, i.e., Chippewa mythology can be elucidated. In this way I will come to terms with the archetypal significance of Nanabozho within Chippewa tradition. This thesis demonstrates how Jung's psychology can be used to present a new and insightful dimension to the theoretical debate concerning the trickster-transformer-culture hero relationship.
NOTES


2 Traditionally, theories which have addressed the trickster-transformer-culture hero relationship have dealt almost exclusively with the trickster and culture hero aspects of the issue, leaving the notion of transformer as a residual category. This is due to the fact that both trickster and culture hero also manifest the qualities of a transformer in the myths.

3 Broadly speaking, the theories which have addressed the trickster-transformer-culture hero relationship can be classed as either 'cultural' or 'psychological.' This classification is neither rigid or dogmatic, however. It is merely an aid to classifying the different types of viewpoints which have been expressed. In the former category are included the theories put forward by Boas, Lowie, Ricketts, and Radin (early work). The latter category includes the works of Roheim, Wundt, and Jung. Notably, the theories of Brinton, Pettazzoni, and Lévi-Strauss do not readily fit into either category.


10 Ibid., p. 431.

11 Ibid., p. 432.
12 Ibid., p. 433.


15 Raffaele Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1956), p. 376. Cf. Sister Bernard Coleman, Ellen Progner, and Estelle Rich, Ojibwa Myths and Legends (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1971), pp. 57-58: "As far as we could learn, Kijie manido [the high god]...is an ancient Algonquian deity. He does not figure significantly in the myths which are now extant. The informants who mentioned Kijie manido evidently thought of him as formal and remote, a deity to be respected and feared, indeed to such an extent that his name was not usually spoken in ordinary conversation."


CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW OF JUNG'S PSYCHOLOGY

This chapter will present a general overview of Jung's psychology. Herein I hope to provide a contextual framework from which to view his model of the structure and dynamics of the psyche. This framework will become the basis for describing the relation of his psychological perspectives to the mythology of Nanabozho, the trickster-transformer-culture hero of the Chippewa Indians, which will be presented in the third chapter of the thesis.

Jung's psychology concerns itself with the workings of the psyche and with the development of a model which will do justice to the dynamics thereof. In this way Jung discusses the nature of the psyche and the psychic forces which energize the world of human consciousness and the unconscious components inherent therein. The terms psyche and psychic in Jung's psychology are meant to designate psychological operations of the mind which take place on both a conscious and unconscious level. This point is crucial to an understanding of Jung's theoretical perspectives. With reference to the nature of the psyche Jung comments: "All our knowledge consists of the stuff of the psyche, because it alone is immediate, is superlatively real."¹ Jung understands the psyche as "the totality of all psychic processes, conscious as well as unconscious."²

10
For Jung, reality is something inseparably linked to conscious as well as unconscious determinants. Consequently, Jung's model of the psyche postulates a three-tiered system in which the psychic forces active in the unconscious mind (both personal and collective) compensate, and consequently influence, consciousness.  

The conscious aspect of the mind in Jung's psychology is designated as the "ego." Jung's conception of the ego maintains that it is capable of perceiving events in the external environment as well as unconscious internal activity which has become conscious. These events would include one's personal memories along with everything else that is readily available to consciousness. The ego is made up of images recorded by the senses that transmit stimuli from within and from without, and furthermore of an immense accumulation of images of past processes.  

Jung defines the ego as follows:

We understand the ego as the complex factor to which all conscious contents are related. It forms, as it were, the centre of the field of consciousness; and, in so far as this comprises the empirical personality the ego is the subject of all personal acts of consciousness.  

However, unconscious forces continually act upon and influence the conscious level of the individual's psyche. As Jung points out: "The psyche is an equation that cannot be 'solved' without the factor of the unconscious; it is a totality which includes both the empirical ego and its transconscious foundation."

In Jung's model of the psyche the unconscious is divided into two tiers. The first tier represents the "personal
unconscious" in which contents from the personal past unavailable to the ego are stored. He writes:

...the [personal] unconscious is the receptacle of all lost memories and of all contents that are still too weak to become conscious. These contents are products of an unconscious associative activity which also gives rise to dreams. Besides these we must include all more or less intentional repressions of painful thoughts and feelings.7

At a deeper level than the personal unconscious there stands the "collective unconscious" in which the earliest and most archaic vestiges of man's psychic development exist. Herein are contained the archetypes.8

The collective unconscious has its own structure and dynamics. The emergence of unconscious psychic contents into consciousness (in the case of neurosis, psychosis, dreams, myths, folklore, religious experiences, etc.) is an event which affirms the reality of the unconscious mind and the archetypal forms contained therein, and causes, or rather forces, recognition of itself.9 On the basis of these manifestations of unconscious contents in consciousness, Jung's psychology claims to be empirical. It is on these grounds that Jung justifies his endeavours as scientific.10

The energy which drives Jung's psychic system is libidinal. He states: "I have suggested calling the energy concept in analytical psychology by the name libido."11 It arises out of a primal source and is biologically based (i.e., derived from the instincts) but never unrelated to spirit.12 The archetypes within this primal source, i.e., the collective
unconscious embody both an instinctual and a spiritual component and provide the source material for the libidinal energy which congeals in archetypal expressions such as those of symbol and myth.

Nature (instinct) and spirit are opposites within the psyche and often in conflict. Jung points out:

The conflict between nature (instinct) and spirit is itself a reflection of the paradox of psychic life. This reveals a physical and a spiritual aspect which appears a contradiction because ultimately, we do not understand the nature of psychic life itself. The conflict between the physical and the spiritual aspects only shows that psychic life is in the last analysis an incomprehensible ‘something.’

But though psychic life is an “incomprehensible something,” Jung adds immediately, “without a doubt it is our only immediate experience.” The psyche, as an “incomprehensible something,” can be understood in terms of its conscious manifestations, i.e., the archetypal expressions which, emerging from an unconscious source, regulate our lives with, and without, our being entirely aware of it.

Libidinal energy flows between two opposing poles of opposites. The basic opposites being those of ego consciousness and the unconscious. Should too great a quantity of libidinal energy become concentrated at one of the poles of opposites within the psyche thus creating a situation of psychic disequilibrium, the principle of “enantiodromia” forcibly causes the energy surrounding the over-energized pole to switch over to its opposite. For Jung, the term enantiodromia
refers to "the emergence of the unconscious opposite in the course of time."\textsuperscript{15} Jung cites the conversion of St. Paul as an example of this process. Herein the former one-sidedness of Paul's attitude towards the Christians dramatically converts to its opposite.\textsuperscript{16}

In order to allow for the smooth operation of the psychic system, the degree of tension between the poles of opposites in the psyche must be regulated. It is this very tension, however, which is the source of the psychic energy.

For Jung:

The psyche is made up of processes whose energy springs from the equilibrium of all kinds of opposites. The spirit/instinct antithesis is only one of the commonest formulations, but it has the advantage of reducing the greatest number of the most important and the most complex psychic processes to a common denominator.\textsuperscript{17}

In essence, Jung's psyche is a self-regulating system operating between man's unconscious and his ego consciousness.

In Jung's psychology, notions of psychic progression and regression remain essentially neutral. As Jung has pointed out:

...the psychic life of man can be progressive without evolution and regressive without involution. Evolution and involution have as a matter of fact no immediate connection with progression and regression, since the latter are more life movements which, notwithstanding their direction, actually have a static character.\textsuperscript{18}

If the ego is forced to regress by the unconscious due to the irregularity of its position relative to the unconscious, Jung states that a compensatory activity has been set in motion in order to regulate the undue tension within the
psychic system. In regressing to the unconscious the ego seeks revitalization and reorientation. By going into the unconscious and emerging from it the ego attains a more clearly defined relationship to the unconscious.\textsuperscript{19} Regression indicates that some aspect of the psyche's contents has been thrown out of equilibrium in such a way that the free flow of libido within the system has been curtailed. If for some reason the flow of libidinal energy within this model is impeded or in any way restricted at the conscious level (e.g., through repression brought about by conflict in the external world), then the libidinal energy will move to meet and alleviate the restriction. At this time the unconscious may throw up symbols indicating that there is a psychic disruption in the system (e.g., via a mandala).\textsuperscript{20} These symbols will point to the missing equilibrium within the psyche.

The symbol is derived from libidinal energy operating within the psyche. Jung claims that the "psychological mechanism that transforms energy is the symbol."\textsuperscript{21} The symbol transforms energy by presenting conflicting positions in the psyche with the sought for third which mediates the conflict through a higher synthesis, incorporating yet transcending the positions in conflict. Jung writes: "The raw material shaped by thesis and antithesis, and in the shaping of which the opposites are united, is the living symbol."\textsuperscript{22}

The manufacture of symbols for the purpose of assuaging the conflict of opposites at the conscious level and/or
between the conscious and unconscious levels of the psyche is known as the "transcendent function." In regressing to the unconscious level, the psychic system has come up with a symbol that will re-establish the harmony between consciousness and the unconscious through the mediation of the psyche's opposites. Jung describes the transcendent function as follows: "The psychological 'transcendent function' arises from the union of conscious and unconscious contents..."23 Further to this he adds: "The transcendent function manifests itself as a quality of conjoined opposites."24

If the psyche's warnings go unheeded then neurotic (less severe) or psychotic (more severe) symptoms result.25 In light of these eventualities, Jung's psychology addresses itself to the maintenance of a steady state within the psyche whereby ego consciousness and the collective unconscious continually and actively adapt and respond to the demands of one another.

As already stated, libidinal energy, besides serving as the driving force for the unconscious dynamism, provides the source material for man's symbol formation. Certain inherent features of libidinal energy, when brought out of the unconscious, act as the core material for man's symbols.26 These features are the instinctual and spiritual components which make up libido. The raw form of the symbol (as libidinal energy), after a period of gestation, emerges from the collective unconscious and enters consciousness through dreams, myths, or
religious revelation. Here it attracts the libido within the psyche. Consequently, a symbol such as the cross is imbued with a libidinal potential "or attracting the unconscious nature of the individual ego (inasmuch as this symbol is derived from an unconscious source which is common to all men). Jung clarifies his definition of symbol in the following passage.

"By a symbol I do not mean an allegory or a sign, but an image that describes in the best possible way the dimly discerned nature of the spirit. A symbol does not define or explain; it points beyond itself to a meaning that is darkly divined yet still beyond our grasp, and cannot be adequately expressed in the familiar words of our language."

At the same time as they attract the libido, symbols also serve to channel the flow of libido out of the unconscious and into consciousness. In this context symbols can be either intuited or manifest in revelatory experiences such as dreams and myths (in both of these instances the perception of the symbol occurs as a result of its unconscious origin).

The value of a symbol, i.e., some indication of its collective appeal, can be measured in terms of its ability to attract ego consciousness. In this way the cross, as a symbol, acts as a rallying point about which the libido in each individual can orient itself and therein regain contact, through the mediation of the symbol (cross), with the collective unconscious.

Man's symbols relate him back to the unconscious matrix and its libidinal energies from which his ego con-
sciousness has emerged. In going back to the unconscious man is directed towards the archetypes, i.e., the primal "forms" or "motifs" which inhabit the collective unconscious.  

For Jung, the archetype is not directly perceivable as a content, but only as a form. The archetype is considered to be a priori in Jung's psychology. He writes:

A primordial image [archetype] is determined as to its content only when it has become conscious and is therefore filled out with the material of conscious experience. The archetype in itself is empty and purely formal, nothing but a facultas praeformandi, a possibility of representation that is given a priori. The representations themselves are not inherited only the forms....

Jung's psychology equates religious experience with man's encounter with the "numinosum." For Jung the numinosum is "a dynamic agency of affect not caused by an arbitrary act of will." The numinous is grounded in the archetypal, and consequently also in the unconscious.

...the archetypes have, when they appear, a distinctly numinous character which can only be described as "spiritual"...Consequently this phenomenon is of the utmost significance for the psychology of religion.

Thus for Jung the unconscious is the generator of man's religious experience of which he becomes aware via his symbols and myths. Numinosity attaches itself to these symbols and myths as a result of their archetypal basis (at least in their initial expressions).

Jung defines that attitude as religious which faithfully observes the symbols which the unconscious offers to it, and which responds to the numinosity inherent in the
symbol. He states: "Religion it might be said, is the term that designates the attitude peculiar to a consciousness that has been altered by the experience of the numinosum."  

Therefore, it can be seen that religion in Jung's psychology has an internal origin, inasmuch as it is derived from the collective unconscious and its archetypal motifs. To see religion as originating externally (i.e., to accept the idea of a transcendent god) is to engage in an illusion according to Jung. He refers to this as a "systematic blindness." Jung states: "What one could almost call a systematic blindness is simply the effect of the prejudice that the deity is outside man."  

It is in dreams and mythology that the content of archetypal motifs becomes manifest. The dream is a spontaneous product of the psyche which affects ego consciousness vis-à-vis its symbolic manifestations. These symbolic manifestations are a product of the archetypal forms. In a similar way, myths too manifest archetypal motifs. Mythological images, as archetypal motifs, are frequently found in dreams.  

Mythological motifs are found in instances of psychotic dissociation as well. Here the collective unconscious runs amok in consciousness, and the individual lives in a world inhabited by archetypal motifs instead of conscious reality. Jung sees myths as being a very fundamental part of man's nature, and because they arise out of a collective source, their motifs will be cross-culturally similar.
...in so far as the myth is nothing but a projection from the unconscious and not a conscious invention at all, it is quite understandable that we should everywhere come upon the same myth motifs, and that myths actually represent typical psychic phenomena. 39

The key figures in mythological interactions are archetypal in character. These mythological figures represent the constituent elements within the collective unconscious. 40 As a psychologist and interpreter of the psyche Jung considered it of paramount importance to isolate the most common motifs within the collective unconscious and define their interaction patterns (i.e., their dynamism). 41

For the purposes of this chapter only the archetypes of the ego, the shadow (both personal and collective), and the self will be discussed, although Jung's psychology concerns itself with more than just these archetypes. I have limited the scope of Jung's analysis of the archetypes in this way because it is only these archetypes which are central to the analysis of Chippewa mythology which I will be doing in chapter four (the archetypes of the hero and the trickster will also be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters).

As I have already pointed out, the ego in Jung's psychology acts as the subject towards which consciousness and conscious events refer themselves. The ego is understood by Jung to be the subject of all psychic perceptions. The ego as subject, develops out of the interplay of both inner and outer forces, but only insofar as these take place in consciousness. He writes: "...on the one hand the ego rests on the total field of con-
sciousness, and on the other, on the sum total of unconscious contents."

Jung goes to great pains to emphasize how the ego is different from the self. Whereas the ego is the subject of all conscious (hence objective) perceptions, the self represents the always emerging total personality.

I have suggested calling the total personality which, though present, cannot be fully known, the self. The ego is, by definition, subordinate to the self and is related to it like a part to a whole.

Because the self is both conscious and unconscious in nature, and hence at least partially derived from the collective unconscious, which is without limit, it can never be fully realized or definitely achieved. The goal of Jung's psychology is to achieve as full a recognition of this self as possible. The self for Jung represents the entire range of psychic phenomena acting upon the individual. The self portrays a concept of unity within personality.

Jung points out that the self is manifest in dreams, myths, and fairytales as the "supraordinate personality." Figures such as those of the king, hero, prophet, and savior are examples of this supraordinate personality. The self can also be represented by certain "totality symbols" (e.g., a circle, square, or cross) which serve to unite opposites (e.g., the yin and yang of tao, the hostile brother motif in mythology, and the hero and his adversary in ancient hero myths).
Jung refers to the process of achieving selfhood as individuation. The goal of individuation is the development of the total personality, i.e., the self. In seeking his self the individual is led into the collective unconscious wherein he encounters the archetypes. In this regard Jung points out:

This is what makes the archetype so important, firstly as an organization schema and a criterion for judging the quality of an individual psychic structure, and secondly as a vehicle of the synthesis in which the individuation process culminates.

The first of these archetypes to be met and dealt with is the "shadow."

The concept of the shadow in Jung's psychology refers to both a personal and a collective phenomenon. The personal shadow represents the inferior components of personality.

The [personal] shadow personifies everything that the subject refuses to acknowledge about himself and yet is always thrusting itself upon him directly or indirectly—for instance, inferior traits of character and their incompatible tendencies.

In essence the "shadow" is the dark side of personality, which Jung frequently associates with the personal unconscious. He states: "To the extent that the shadow is unconscious it corresponds to the concept of the personal unconscious."

The personal shadow is a necessary part of personality which must be integrated in order for the process of individuation to occur. The major difficulty in dealing with the personal shadow, according to Jung, is in withdrawing the
emotionally-toned projections typically associated with it. Therein another individual is ascribed with one's negative qualities.

The collective, as distinct from the personal shadow, is an archetypal motif symbolizing man's earliest stages in conscious development. In this context Jung views the mythological figure of the North American Indian trickster as an archetype of the "collective shadow." ⁵³

Collectively, projection takes place when a society loses contact with its trickster myth, i.e., the collective shadow figure, and comes to view another social group as inferior, and hence "evil." ⁵⁴ Racial prejudice is an illustration of how a society can project its collective shadow onto another group of persons. ⁵⁵

Inferior traits are characteristic of both individuals and societies. ⁵⁶ Therein the archetype of the shadow can represent a society's or an individual's inferiorities which he, or it, must acknowledge and integrate as it moves towards individuation. ⁵⁷

The characteristics of the shadow (both personal and collective) elicit an emotional response of strong affect. In this regard, Jung asserts that strong affects are generally found where psychological adaptation is weakest. ⁵⁸ Because shadow characteristics are frequently projected onto others, individuals and social groups towards whom one feels a great repugnance can usually be found to possess one's projected
inferior qualities. Herein projection takes place at an unconscious level, inasmuch as the shadow is continually being repressed and therein relegated to the unconscious. On the individual level the personal shadow represents one's inferior personality. On the societal level the "collective shadow" figure designates someone, or some group of persons that is/are viewed as transgressing the societal norms outlining acceptable modes of behavior. The collective shadow figure serves to define the normative structure of a group of persons by embodying the antithesis of these norms within itself.

For Jung, all archetypes are ambivalent, this being true of the shadow as well. He writes: "...all archetypes spontaneously develop favourable and unfavourable, light and dark, good and bad effects." The shadow incorporates the rejected side of the personal and collective consciousness. Yet, precisely because it represents this rejected side it also represents the possibility of both personal and collective renewal through its integration. Consequently, symbols of the shadow can be envisioned as both foolish (negative) and respected (positive), as in the case of the trickster. Therein the trickster, as representative of the rejected (the collective shadow), can become a bearer of the new when he takes on the role of the savior or culture hero in mythology.

For Jung, the North American Indian trickster's foolish escapades (as presented in the myths) personify man's struggle to
come to grips with emergent consciousness as it develops out of the matrix of the collective unconscious. The trickster figure, as the embodiment of the emerging ego conscious being, is set apart as an object of ridicule, and yet strangely respected within North American Indian mythology. The trickster, as an archetype of the collective unconscious, will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter.
NOTES


2 C. G. Jung, C.W. VI, p. 463.

3 Cf. C. G. Jung, "Conscious, Unconscious, and Individuation," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 281: "Consciousness grows out of an unconscious psyche which is older than it, and which goes on functioning together with it or even in spite of it. Although there are numerous cases of conscious contents becoming unconscious again (through being repressed for instance), the unconscious as a whole is far from being a mere remnant of consciousness."


5 C. G. Jung, C.W. IX, Part II, p. 3.


10 Cf. C. G. Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 42: "We must now turn to the question of how the existence of archetypes can be proved. Since archetypes are supposed to produce certain psychic forms, we must discuss how and where one can get hold of the material demonstrating these forms. The main source, then is dreams, which have the advantage of being involuntary, spontaneous products of the unconscious psyche and are therefore pure products of nature not falsified by any conscious purpose."


13. Ibid., p. 212.


20. Cf. C. G. Jung, "Psychology and Religion," C.W. XI, p. 95; "...the mandala denotes and supports an exclusive concentration upon oneself. This state is anything but egocentricity. It is on the contrary a much needed self control with the purpose of avoiding inflation and dissociation."


34 Ibid., p. 221.
36 Ibid., p. 58.
43 Ibid., p. 5. Cf. C. G. Jung, "Forward to Suzuki's Introduction to Zen Buddhism," C.W. XI, p. 542: "However one may define the self, it is always something other than the ego, and inasmuch as a higher insight of the ego leads over to the self, the self is a more comprehensive thing which includes the experience of the ego and therefore transcends it. Just as the ego is a certain experience I have of myself, so is the self an experience of the ego. It is, however no longer experienced in the form of a broader or higher ego, but in the form of a non-ego."
44 C. G. Jung, C.W. VI, p. 460.


C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 262.

Ibid., p. 270.

See C.W. V, p. 183.


Cf. Ibid., pp. 8-9: " Clover examination of the darker characteristics—that is, the inferiorities constituting the shadow—reveals that they have an emotional nature, a kind of autonomy, and accordingly an obsessive or, better, possessive quality. Emotion, incidentally, is not an activity of the individual but something that happens to him. Affects occur usually where adaptation is weakest, and at the same time they reveal the reason for its weakness, namely a certain degree of inferiority and the existence of a lower level of personality."

Ibid., p. 9.


CHAPTER II

JUNG'S CONCEPTION OF THE TRICKSTER

In Volume Nine Part One of his Collected Works Jung has addressed himself to the question of the specific nature of the archetypes found within the collective unconscious. Among these archetypes, one that is of central importance to my thesis is that of the trickster. In this regard, this chapter will present Jung's analysis of the trickster figure and the relationship of this archetype to the collective unconscious and to the consciousness of both the individual and the collectivity.

Jung's analysis of the trickster developed out of his academic exchange with anthropologist Paul Radin. In the mid-1950's Radin requested that Jung formulate a psychological theory to account for the presence of the trickster within the mythology of the Winnebago Indians (which had been collected by Radin). Jung's analysis originally appeared as a part of Radin's Der göttliche Schelm, first published in 1954, and later translated as The Trickster in 1956.

In fitting the trickster into the framework of his overall theoretical perspectives Jung addressed himself specifically to Radin's ethnographic data. However, inasmuch as many of the trickster myths recorded by Radin are found within Chippewa mythology, and others, not the least of
which are European in origin (as pointed out by Jung), Jung's understanding of the trickster goes beyond the Winnebago and addresses itself to the trickster within all mythologies.

Jung sees the trickster as a primeval relic of mankind. Apart from its strictly North American context (i.e., when viewed in the context of North American Indian mythology), Jung finds the figure of the trickster prevalent within European history as well. In this regard, by way of example, Jung recounts the "catuorum papum" of the Middle Ages.¹ This festival, in essence, was a blatant mockery of the Christian Church and its sacraments. Jung cites an example of this festival from French history. The Churches at this time elected a "fools' pope" on certain ceremonial occasions who was charged with the task of telling lewd jokes, defiling the sacraments, and making a general nuisance of himself while the Church service was in progress.

In the very midst of divine service masqueraders with grotesque faces, disguised as women, lions, and mummers, performed their dances, sang indecent songs in the choir, ate their greasy food from a corner of the altar near the priest celebrating Mass, got out their games of dice, burned a striking incense made of old shoe leather, and ran and hopped about all over the Church.²

Jung points out that this type of festival was extremely popular during this time. He attributes this to the fact that the 'fools' pope represented an archetypal motif. The Fools' Pope was in fact a representation of the trickster figure. Hence he appealed to the collective unconscious common to all men.³
To further illustrate the presence of the trickster figure within European history Jung cites the "festum asinorum" in which the flight of Mary into Egypt was commemorated. In this ceremony a donkey bearing the figure of Mary was led into the Church followed by the ceremonial procession. At the conclusion of each segment of the High Mass offered in honour of this occasion, those assembled brayed in unison, the priest also joining in at the conclusion of the Mass. The absurdity of the entire enterprise elicited unbridled enthusiasm from those assembled. Jung writes: "Du Cange says that the more ridiculous this rite seemed, the greater the enthusiasm with which it was celebrated." 4 Here too evidence of a European trickster figure is manifest. 5

Jung claims that as these Church ceremonies became outlawed by papal edict, the figure of the trickster began to appear in other forms. The trickster figure was not one to be so easily eliminated. Again and again he emerged in carnivals, state and local festivals, and in magical healing ceremonies. Jung traces the trickster figure back to his archetypal basis in the collective unconscious. Herein he is a "psychologem," a remnant of archaic man. He is a being undifferentiated from his collective unconscious. He is one who remains, for all essential purposes, at the animal level of existence, although at the same time he is continually moving towards progressively higher states of human consciousness.

In picaresque tales, in carnivals and revels, in
magic rites of healing, in man's religious fears and exaltations, this phantom of the trickster haunts the mythology of all ages, sometimes in quite unmistakable form, sometimes in strangely modulated guise. He is obviously a "psychologem", an archetypal psychic structure of extreme antiquity. In his clearest manifestation he is a faithful reflection of an absolutely undifferentiated human consciousness, corresponding to a psyche that has hardly left the animal level.

Jung postulates that the durability of the trickster archetype is due in large part to the fact that he issues directly out of the collective unconscious. Hence he endures throughout history because of his ability to direct man to those aspects of his primitive libido (i.e., his instinctual nature) which are denied to him by cultural collective consciousness.

Jung refers to the trickster as the "collective shadow". As civilization progressed, i.e., as man's ego became differentiated from its unconscious source, the collective shadow figure became disseminated and attached itself to the psyche of each individual. This collective shadow is re-embodied in folklore and mythology as the trickster and herein he attracts the personalized shadow within each and every man. In this context the collective shadow of man's preconscious existence is reactualized in the form of the trickster. Jung writes:

We are no longer aware that in carnival customs and the like there are remnants of a collective shadow figure which prove that the personal shadow is in part descended from a numinous collective figure. This collective figure gradually breaks up under the impact of civilization, leaving traces in folklore which are difficult to recognize. But the main part of him gets personalized and is made an ob-
ject of personal responsibility. 

In the trickster cycle of the North American Indians the shadow figure as a collective representation, is preserved. For the Indian, according to Jung, "the trickster figure embodies man's earliest stages of conscious development. With the attainment of higher levels of consciousness the trickster was looked upon as an entity set apart by the culture bearing man. The attitude towards this mythological figure developed into one of mocking and contempt, inasmuch as he came to represent an inferior and earlier stage in the development of consciousness. The trickster became an entity scorned by ego consciousness."

Jung claims that the trickster is "a forerunner of the Christian Savior, and, like him, God, man, and animal at once." The figure of the trickster points back to the collective unconscious from whence man, as an ego conscious being, has emerged. He is also indicative of the present condition of human consciousness. In this way man, as an ego conscious being, is situated within nature as a civilized and culture-bound creature.

The trickster also points forward as consciousness and ego differentiation continue. With increasing consciousness the trickster gradually becomes assimilated into the unconscious (both personal and collective). At one and the same time the trickster is more than human and yet less than human. He is an ambiguous and ambivalent entity within North American
Indian mythology. In this regard Jung says:

He [the trickster] is so unconscious of himself that his body is not a unity, and his two hands fight each other. He takes his anus off and entrusts it with a special task. Even his sex is optional despite its phallic qualities: he can turn himself into a woman and bear children. From his penis he makes all kinds of useful plants. This is a reference to his original nature as a Creator

The trickster for Jung is a rather confused creature. He is no longer at the animal level of existence and yet he is still not a culture-bound being (although he is often responsible for the bringing of culture and cultural renewal to society). The trickster is no longer held fast by an animistic mode of existence. He does not possess the necessary skills for survival as do the animals. Yet he is not a completely human (conscious) being either. His inability to match the skills of the animals in obtaining food, which is well documented in North American Indian mythology, points to his humanity, while his foolish adventures illustrate his incomplete development as a human being. The myths of the trickster also point to his great desire to learn and hence become a cultural animal. In so doing he can divorce himself from his instinctual nature.

At one and the same time the trickster is the archetype of the emerging ego, i.e., the prototype of the first man, and also the last remnant of an archaic past. The ability of this figure to continue to attract ego consciousness points to his existence as an archetype within the collective unconscious. The maintenance of the myth at the level of
consciousness allows man to retain a critical attitude towards this figurative representation of the collective shadow. It also allows man to assimilate the personal shadow (which is part of the collective shadow) into the psyche.\textsuperscript{16}

Jung points out that the trickster figure is preserved largely because of its "therapeutic effect."\textsuperscript{17} It presents the cultured man with a reminder of what he had at one time been, and in some sense needs to be again (i.e., a creature of instinct).

The fact that the trickster figure is an archetypal motif allows us to interpret his durability within mythology. The numinous quality of his presence within the myth signifies his power as an archetype. As an archetype of the collective unconscious the trickster acts as a magnet, drawing towards himself the free-flowing libido which energizes Jung's model of the psyche. The trickster is an archetypal representation of the energy flowing between collective consciousness and the collective unconscious.

As the energy within the psyche moves from the unconscious to consciousness the culture creating powers inherent to the trickster are manifest. In this capacity the trickster is recounted as bestowing the benefits of culture upon the Indians. Herein his ability to act as a 'transformer' of both man and nature is demonstrated.

Conversely, as the psychic energy moves from consciousness to the unconscious, cultural renewal is brought
about. In this way the trickster takes on the role of the "archetypal hero" within mythology, whose task it is to enter into the unconscious and emerge from it renewed and revitalized by its energies. This aspect of Nanabozho's personality will be dealt with in Chapter Four.

There is a paradox involved in this analysis, however. The paradox is that although the trickster attracts consciousness because of his archetypal basis (hence his numinosity) at the same time he elicits resistance and rejection because of his shadow qualities. 

To be reminded of his past is embarrassing to the acculturated human being. By mythicizing the foolish escapades of the trickster, who is the embodiment of the shadow figure of each and every individual (and society as a whole), the embarrassment of being identified with this blundering proto-man is deflected away from the individual (and society) and on to the archetypal motif. The negative aspects of the trickster archetype still require assimilation however, or the possibility of their being projected may occur.

Jung points out that as the civilizing process continues, the figure of the trickster, as the embodiment of the newly conscious ego, is viewed as being less evil than before. "Evil" in this context refers to the unassimilated components of the collective shadow. The evil aspects of the trickster's personality are relegated to the unconscious. Herein they are projected, vis-à-vis collective and personal
shadow characteristics, on to others in the external environment. Jung writes:

The devaluation of his earlier unconsciousness is apparent even in the myth.... The darkness and evil have not gone up in smoke, they have merely withdrawn into the unconscious owing to loss of energy, where they remain unconscious so long as all is well with the conscious. But if the conscious should find itself in a critical or doubtful situation, then it soon becomes apparent that the shadow has not dissolved into nothing but is only waiting for a favorable opportunity to reappear as a projection upon one's neighbor. 20

When the individual merges his consciousness into that of the collectivity, the collective shadow figure, as embodied in the trickster archetype, re-emerges in projected form. In this way certain groups of persons are seen (by another group of persons) to possess these collective shadow characteristics. Jung points out:

The trickster is a collective shadow figure, a summation of all the inferior traits of character in individuals. And since the individual shadow is never absent as a component of personality, the collective figure constructs itself out of it continually. Not always, of course, as a mythological figure, but, in consequence of the increasing repression and neglect of the original mythologems, as a corresponding projection on other social groups and nations. 21

In summary then, the trickster, in the mythology of the North American Indians, represents an archetypal motif which, because of its collective appeal (vis-à-vis its origin in the collective unconscious) attracts the 'free flowing libido in the individual's psyche. The trickster is the embodiment of the collective shadow figure and as such he remains a durable mythological motif, drawing the shadow of
the individual and the collectivity to himself, and hence causing the individual and the collectivity to recognize their inferior traits of character. Paradoxically, however, the recognition of these inferior traits of character can also be the occasion for their revitalizing integration. It is in this capacity that the figure of the trickster begins to fuse with that of the savior-culture hero.22

On the individual level, the trickster represents the collective shadow figure. Therein he holds up to the individual the collective aspect of his personalized shadow in such a way that it can be prevented from being projected onto other groups of persons, thereby demarcating the characteristics which the conscious ego rejects, and hence separates from its definition of "self." On the collective level the trickster holds up to society its own shadow. If he fails in exercising this function society can project its collective shadow characteristics destructively—hence Jung's warning of the danger inherent in society's losing sight of the trickster myth.
NOTES

1 C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 257.
2 Ibid., p. 257.
3 Ibid., p. 258.
4 Ibid., p. 259.
5 Ibid., p. 260.
6 Ibid., p. 260.
7 Ibid., pp. 261-262. Cf. on this point my first chapter wherein I discuss Jung's concept of libidinal energy and the generation of archetypal motifs and symbols.
8 Ibid., p. 262.
9 Ibid., pp. 262-263.
10 Ibid., p. 263.
11 Ibid., p. 266.
12 Ibid., pp. 263-264.
13 See the Nanabozho "bumbling host" incidents referred to in chapter three.
14 C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 264.
15 Ibid., pp. 264-265.
16 Ibid., p. 265.
17 Ibid., pp. 267-268.
18 Ibid., p. 268.
19 Ibid., p. 267. "The so-called civilized man has forgotten the trickster. He remembers him only figuratively and metaphorically, when, irritated by his own ineptitude, he speaks of fate playing tricks on him or of things bewitched. He never suspects that his own hidden and apparently harmless shadow has qualities whose dangerousness exceeds his wildest dreams. As soon as people get together in masses and submerge the individual, the shadow is mobilized, and, as history shows,
may even be personified and incarnated."


CHAPTER III

THE TRICKSTER-TRANSFORMER-CULTURE HERO

MYTHOLOGY OF THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS

Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians as derived from my survey of the native tradition. Therein I will:

1. Present a composite version of the Chippewa culture hero mythology, outlining Nanabozho's birth and infancy, his "warpath" incidents, and the flooding and re-creation of the world.

2. Recount some of Nanabozho's exploits as a trickster.

3. Demonstrate how Nanabozho acts as a transformer within the mythology.

This chapter will identify the recurring incidents in the mythical cycle of events pertaining to Nanabozho. In doing this I will be presenting the general form of the mythology to which Jung's psychology will be applied in chapter four of the thesis.

Within Chippewa mythology, Nanabozho combines the characteristics of trickster, transformer, and culture hero in one mythic figure. In this regard Margaret Fisher has pointed out:

Nanabozho...is a composite figure, replete with con-
trdictions. On the one hand he is the most powerful of manitous, capable of re-creating the earth from a few grains of sand, and on the other a harum scarum buffoon, the butt of the grossest of jokes, and a frequent victim of his own stupidity and greed.\textsuperscript{1}

Anthropologist Paul Radin defines the nature of the trickster as follows:

Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dupes others and is always duped himself. He wills nothing consciously. At all times he is constrained to behave as he does from impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil yet is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being.\textsuperscript{2}

As distinct from those qualities attributed to the trickster, Radin regards "myths of heroic theft, regulation of destructive forces in nature, killing of monsters, the origin of death, and in general the establishment of the world as it is" as characteristic of the adventures of the culture hero.\textsuperscript{3} Hartley Alexander has pointed out that "the term 'culture hero' is not infrequently applied to the Trickster-Transformer, who is... a demiurge on his heroic side."\textsuperscript{4}

Within Chippewa mythology Nanabozho manifests many heroic qualities. In this capacity he brings culture to the Indians and battles with the evil manidos (spirits) on mankind's behalf.\textsuperscript{5} Yet at the same time he is a trickster, a dupe and a fool. He is the brunt of jokes and an object of ridicule. In this way his character presents us with a seemingly irresolvable paradox. Ricketts writes: "This
trickster-transformer-culture hero is a problem because he combines in one personage no less than two and sometimes three or more seemingly different and contrary roles.  

In light of this, this chapter will differentiate Nanabozho's various roles by examining them in isolation and determine which parts of the mythology best illustrate his characteristics as a culture hero, as a trickster, and as a transformer. In this way, Jung's understanding of the trickster and hero archetypes can be employed to illuminate, to some extent, Nanabozho's nature as a composite of these three qualities. (Jung's analysis of the Chippewa mythology will be presented in chapter four.)

The Ethnographic Region

For the purposes of this chapter, the ethnographic region under investigation will be delimited in the manner established by the Human Relations Area Files (1978 edition). My reason for using the schema developed by the Human Relations Area Files is because it provides a convenient method for classifying, and isolating a concise ethnographic region for investigation. The huge body of material available on the Ojibwa as a whole has necessitated this concise delineation.

More importantly, however, the ethnographic data collected by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, upon which Jung has based a part of his analysis of the role of the archetypal hero in mythology (which will be dealt with in the next chapter),
was collected from the Chippewa Indians (as delimited by the Human Relations Area Files). In this way Schoolcraft's data can be compared for authenticity and compatibility with the myths collected by other researchers.

The following classification of the Ojibwa Indians (of which the Chippewa are a part) has been suggested by the Human Relations Area Files.7

Principle Cultural-Regional Divisions of the Ojibwa Indians

I Woodlands Ojibwa or Ojibwa Proper

A. Northern Ojibwa or Saulteaux:
   1. Northern Saulteaux
   2. Southern Saulteaux

B. Southern Ojibwa or Chippewa:
   1. Southwestern Chippewa
   2. Southeastern Chippewa

II Plains Ojibwa or Bungi

The Plains Ojibwa or Bungi are a migrant band of the Ojibwa proper.

The trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology analyzed in this chapter will be that of the Southwestern and Southeastern Chippewa. The territory of the Southwestern Chippewa includes:

1. Northern Wisconsin and Minnesota.
2. The area south of the northern Ontario border as far west as Lake of the Woods.
3. Upper Michigan.8

The territory of the Southeastern Chippewa includes:

1. Lower Michigan.
2. The area surrounding Lake Huron and Georgian Bay in Southwestern Ontario.

**The Name "Nanabozho"**

In citing the name Nanabozho as the designation for the Chippewa trickster-transformer-culture hero, I am referring to one title among many ascribed to the latter mythological personage. Many names have been employed to refer to Nanabozho by various tribes. For purposes of simplicity and convenience, I have chosen to refer to him by the one name only. These various names are found in the mythologies of related tribes, most notably the Menominee, Potawatomi, Cree, Saulteaux, Ottawa, and Mississauga. These tribes all refer to their culture hero by various titles. The Potawatomi refer to him as Wi'ske, the Wisconsin Chippewa as Wenebojo, the Menominee as Nanabush, and the Ottawa as Nanabush. The Saulteaux and Cree refer to him as Wiskendjac, the Blackfoot as Old Man, and the Mississauga as Nanibozu. The names Nanabozho and Wenebojo, and the variations thereof, are found fairly regularly in the mythology of the Southeastern and Southwestern Chippewa.

**History**

Contained in the native lore of the Chippewa Indians is a tradition relating how the tribe had at one time lived far to the east near a great salt water ocean. In the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century the Chippewa, Potawatomi,
and Ottawa tribes migrated west towards Lake Huron in search of more bountiful hunting territories. At the Mackinac Straits the three tribes went their separate ways, with the Potawatomi going into the lower peninsula of what is present-day Michigan, the Ottawa settling in the Lake Nipissing region, and the Chippewa continuing to move westward.¹⁵

The first historical account given of the Chippewa (Ojibwa) is found in the Jesuit Relations of 1640.¹⁶ Here they were encountered at Sault Ste. Marie by the French traders and missionaries. From here the Chippewa moved westward around Lake Superior, either into Wisconsin and Minnesota or towards Fort William (present-day Thunder Bay). During this time the Chippewa established peaceful relations with the neighbouring Menominee. They also continued to exist on peaceful terms with the Ottawa and Potawatomi tribes. At the same time they were fighting against the Iroquois who were attacking them from the East, and the Sioux whom they encountered during their westward migration.

In the eighteenth century the Chippewa succeeded in ousting the Santee Sioux from their land-holdings in northern Minnesota.¹⁷ At this time some Chippewa bands continued westward into the region of Manitoba and the Plains. These bands are known today as the Plains Ojibwa or "Bungi."¹⁸

The Classification of the Myths

In order to analyze the trickster-transformer-culture
hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians I have developed a typology which classifies the different 'types' of tales told by the Indians. These tales are categorized as trickster-transformer or culture hero-transformer myths within this chapter. (Note that Nanabozho acts as a transformer in his capacity as both culture hero and trickster within the mythology.)

Naturally, the typology which I have developed is an artificial one inasmuch as the Chippewa themselves did not categorize their myths in this manner. Interspersed in the re-telling of their myths were tales which portrayed Nanabozho as a trickster-transformer and a culture hero-transformer. The Chippewa made no differentiation between culture hero-transformer and trickster-transformer myths as I have done, although the different 'types' of tales were told for different reasons. The culture hero-transformer tales were told to account for the creation of the world, as well as the origin of both cultural and natural phenomena. The trickster-transformer myths were related variously as humorous stories, pornographic jokes, and/or to convey a certain moral. The important point is that the Chippewa saw no contradiction in Nanabozho's personality when manifest in these different, and seemingly contradictory roles. I have developed this typology in order to facilitate the application of Jungian categories to the myths. For no other reason than this has this typology been developed.
Notably, within the culture hero-transformer mythology, there is frequently some indication that the trickster side of Nanabozho's personality is present. In this way he deceives, or 'tricks,' through cunning, his adversaries. As a result, determining which parts of the mythology constitute Nanabozho's adventures as a culture hero-transformer and which his exploits as a trickster-transformer is made problematic. Yet, it should be borne in mind that a clear-cut distinction between Nanabozho as a culture hero-transformer and as a trickster-transformer is difficult to make, especially in view of the Chippewa's attitude towards this mythological personage. For them, Nanabozho was both of these seemingly diverse personalities. Yet, in spite of this, there are still some incidents which portray Nanabozho as being more 'heroic' than others, even if he does trick his opponents in order to attain victory over them. Also, there are some incidents in the mythology which picture Nanabozho as more 'foolish' than others. It is in considering these myths that I developed my distinction between culture hero-transformer and trickster-transformer myths. (Note that Nanabozho is rarely viewed as a 'fool' in his heroic adventures.)

The Nanabozho Culture Hero-
Transformer Mythology

The manner in which I have arrived at my reconstruction of the culture hero-transformer mythology associated with Nanabozho is as follows:
1. I have collected as wide a body of myths pertaining to the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology as possible.
2. I have identified the basic, i.e., the most frequently recurring mythical incidents from this conglomerate of myths.
3. By using the results of one and two above, and by focusing upon the main events presented within the myths (as derived from the recurring incidents) I have reconstructed the general form of this part of the mythology.

The criteria whereby I selected my mythological data were:
1. The myth had to be related by a Chippewa informant. 21
2. The myth had to pertain specifically to the culture hero-transformer mythology of Nanabozho.

When referring to the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology, I mean those myths which:
1. Concern themselves with Nanabozho's birth and infancy, his "warpath" incidents, and the flooding and re-creation of the world.
2. Present Nanabozho as responsible for various facets of Chippewa culture (in this capacity Nanabozho acts as a transformer within the mythology).
3. Are retold because of their 'heroic' qualities. By heroic I mean, qualities portrayed by Nanabozho (in the myths) which are idealized and held in esteem by the Chippewa. 22

Based on the results of my research I propose that the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology can be
divided into two basic segments. I have divided each of these segments into three categories. These segments (and their corresponding categories) have been designated as 'A' and 'B' within this chapter and have been developed on the basis of their constituting clearly defined units within the mythology. Each unit addresses itself to a specific event in Nanabozho's development from infancy to adulthood.

The 'A' myths in this analysis concern themselves with Nanabozho's birth and infancy and his "warpath" incidents. The 'B' myths deal with the death of Nanabozho's wolf brother (also referred to as his "son" or "nephew"), the flood, and the re-creation of the world.

The three categories which make up the 'A' mythology are:

1. The birth of Nanabozho.

   2a. The large fish incident (part of Nanabozho's "warpath" incidents).

2. The enemy-on-the-island incident (part of Nanabozho's "warpath" incidents).

3. The theft of fire incident.

   Each of these categories of the 'A' mythology is in some sense dependent and yet independent of the others. In collecting the mythological data from which I derived my 'A' category I found that some informants related more of the mythical cycle than did others. As an example of this, a certain informant may relate a myth concerning the birth of Nanabozho and then conclude his narrative, whereas another
informant may recount the birth of Nanabozho as well as the large fish and the enemy-on-the-island sequences. Consequently, my reconstruction of the Nanabozho birth and infancy and warpath incidents is derived from a variety of myths, not all of which relate the entire cycle. It is for this reason that I found it necessary to divide my 'A' mythology into categories, hence numbers one, two, (a, b) and three. In this way the myth of an informant who related only a part of the 'A' mythology could be compared with another informant's version of the same part of the mythology. By analyzing the general order of the mythical incidents presented in the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology I have been able to derive an approximate sequence for the narrative elements contained therein. In this way I have elicited the general form of the mythology.

Within the 'B' mythology the following myths presented themselves most frequently:

1. Nanabozho joins a wolf pack (trickster-like incidents).
   2a. Nanabozho and the death of Wolf

2. 
   2b. Nanabozho and the toad-woman.

3. The flooding and re-creation of the world.

Again, the points I have mentioned concerning the re-telling of the 'A' myths apply here as well. In the mythological data collected for this category either a part, or the whole of the 'B' mythology was recounted.

The actual mythical series, as I have been able to
identify it, for the 'A' category of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology runs somewhat as follows: (The following compilation of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology is based upon the most frequently recurring series of incidents within the myths, as derived from my analysis of twenty-seven different sources. See Appendix B for a more detailed account of how this myth was derived.)

At one time there was an old woman living with her daughter. One day the mother warns her daughter not to face in a certain direction. Unwittingly the girl violates this interdiction and is impregnated (usually by the wind). Eventually she gives birth to one, two, three, or four children. (It is almost never, with one exception, more than four children. These four children are always males and are always referred to as brothers. Nanabozho is always one of the brothers.) In giving birth the mother dies. In some versions one of the brothers born of the mother is held responsible for her death. Usually this brother is known as 'Flint.' Nanabozho, upon reaching maturity, discovers that Flint is responsible for his mother's death. Consequently Nanabozho goes after Flint, finds, and does battle with him. In fighting Flint Nanabozho chips pieces off the latter's body. (It is these pieces from Flint's body which become the flint which the Chippewa has in his possession today.)

In some versions of the mythology Nanabozho is born from a clot or particle of blood (Herein Nanabozho's grandmother finds the clot or particle of blood, wraps it in a piece of birch bark, and places it under a bowl. After a period of time she lifts the bowl and discovers Nanabozho underneath in the form of a rabbit.) While in the form of a rabbit Nanabozho crosses a body of water to the other side. (Here he intends to steal fire from the owner of the fire.) The father, on seeing the rabbit, warns his daughters that it may be Nanabozho in disguise. The daughters do not believe that a harmless rabbit could possibly be Nanabozho and so they allow him to stay. Nanabozho jumps from the arms of the daughter who is holding him, takes the fire, and runs from the house. He escapes across the water to the other side where he gives the fire to his grandmother.

The two mythical series which I have just recounted deal with the birth and infancy of Nanabozho and the theft
of fire. These incidents are contained in my number one and
number three classifications of the 'A' mythology respectively.

The events pertaining to Nanabocho's early manhood
are contained in my 'A' number two 'a' and two 'b' patterns.
(These are referred to as Nanabocho's "warpath" incidents
in some renditions of the myth.) These two divisions of the
Nanabocho culture hero-transformer mythology proceed as
follows:

After Nanabocho has grown up and become a young man he
asks his grandmother about the other members of his family.
(Usually Nanabocho wishes to know what became of his mother
and father.) His grandmother tells him that his mother was
swallowed by a large fish. Nanabocho becomes enraged on hearing
this and goes out in search of the large fish that has swallowed
his mother. The large fish (usually referred to as a "sturgeon")
comes to the surface of the water and swallows Nanabocho and
his canoe. Inside the large fish Nanabocho discovers other
animals. After some thought as to his course of action,
Nanabocho kills the large fish (usually by poking or stabbing
its heart with some object). He then frees himself and the
other animals inside of the large fish. Nanabocho takes the
large fish back to his grandmother and the two of them boil
it in order to drain its oil.26

Nanabocho is still curious about the fate of the
other members of his family, and so he again questions his
grandmother as to their whereabouts. (In some versions
Nanabocho asks his grandmother about his grandfather or
about his brother.) Nanabocho's grandmother tells him that
his father (or other member of his family) has been killed
by someone living on an island surrounded by pitch.27 (This
someone is variously referred to as an "ogre," a "sea-lion,
an "enemy," or "chopping-his-shins-with-an-axe.")28 Upon
hearing this Nanabocho sets out in his canoe for the island
of his enemy (ignoring the entreaties of his grandmother
not to go). Nanabocho takes with him the fish oil he has
obtained in draining the large fish which he has killed.
He crosses the water to the island of his enemy, rubbing
the fish oil on his canoe and paddle in order to get through
the pitch which surrounds his island. Nanabocho meets his
enemy and the two of them converse before they do battle.
Eventually they fight one another and Nanabocho (almost
exhausting his supply of arrows), is informed by a bird/other
to shoot his enemy in the braid of hair on the top of his head. Nanabozho follows these instructions, shoots his enemy in the braid of his hair, and the latter dies. Nanabozho then scalps him and takes the scalp home to his grandmother.

The most frequently recurring pattern of mythological incidents which constitute the 'P' classification of the culture hero-transformer mythology runs as follows:

Nanabozho meets a wolf pack, and after conversing with their leader decides to join them in their travels and search of prey. Nanabozho is cold that first night and the wolves take care of him (typically by covering him with their tails). While travelling with the wolves Nanabozho converses with the leader of the pack. As they are camping one night Nanabozho is hungry and asks the head of the wolves if they have any food for him. The leader of the wolves says that one of the other wolves may be able to provide him with something. One of the other wolves takes off his "sock" and gives it to Nanabozho. Nanabozho is repulsed by this and says that he doesn't want an old wolf's sock to eat. The leader of the wolves encourages Nanabozho to take the wolf's sock which turns out to be some good food.

Some time later Nanabozho is with the other wolves as they go out in their search for prey. Nanabozho is with their leader (also referred to as the "old wolf"). The latter, upon seeing the tracks of the other wolves, asks Nanabozho which wolf will eventually hunt down his prey, the one with the long strides or the one with the short strides. Nanabozho says that the one with the long strides will be the first to catch his prey, while the old wolf says that the one with the short strides will be the one to catch his prey. Nanabozho is soon to be proven wrong (as is seen when they eventually catch up with the wolves who have successfully tracked down and killed their prey). On the way to the place where the prey has been tracked down and killed the old wolf points to some object which appears worthless. He tells Nanabozho to pick it up. (This is usually an old rabbit or wolf skin or a wolf turd.) Nanabozho refuses to do so, protesting that the object which the old wolf has asked him to pick up is worthless. The old wolf picks up the object and it turns out to be something of great value. Once again Nanabozho is proven wrong by the old wolf.

As they are going towards the site where the other wolves have managed to track down their prey, the old wolf points to a wolf's tooth stuck in a tree and tells Nanabozho to remove it because it is actually a fine arrow. Nanabozho scoffs at this. The old wolf takes the tooth from the tree and miraculously it turns out to be an arrow.
When Nanabozho and the old wolf finally arrive at the site where the other wolves have tracked down and killed their prey, they discover that there is nothing left for them to eat. The young wolves have eaten everything. Consequently the younger wolves regurgitate part of the food which they have eaten so that Nanabozho and the old wolf might have something to eat. After they have eaten their fill one of the wolves instructs the others (including Nanabozho) to take cover because he is going to make grease from the bones of their prey. Nanabozho looks at what the wolf is doing with the bones (even though he has been instructed not to) and in doing so is hit by a piece of bone which flies off and strikes him.\(^\text{30}\) Nanabozho is enraged. Consequently he tells the wolves that he too intends to make grease from the bones of their prey, and so the wolves cover themselves so that they will not be able to see what Nanabozho is doing. Nanabozho takes the bone and goes over to the wolf who he believes had deliberately struck him with the bone chip and hits him over the head with it. The wolf rebuffs Nanabozho for doing this, claiming that he had not been looking at what he had been doing (as he had been instructed). With this last display of ineptitude, Nanabozho is asked to leave the wolf-pack.\(^\text{31}\)

The preceding mythical sequence has a distinctly trickster-like quality to it. Herein Nanabozho is seen as a fool or bungler in relation to the wolves. For this reason this series of incidents seems somewhat incongruous with the activities typically associated with the culture hero. As already pointed out, however, the Chippewa see no contradiction in Nanabozho's character when presented as both a culture hero and a trickster figure. Consequently these traits are frequently combined within the myths.

The next series of mythical incidents recounted has to do with the death of Wolf, the flood, and the recreation of the world. In the versions of the myth where Nanabozho is with a wolf pack (as previously recounted), this series of events refers to the wolf who is left with
Nanabozho as his "nephew." In the myths which do not mention the "Nanabozho joins a wolf pack" sequence, the wolf who is with Nanabozho is referred to either as his "brother" or his "son." This part of the culture hero mythology proceeds as follows:

Nanabozho is with his brother/son/nephew the wolf. (In this myth Nanabozho and the wolf are living together.) Wolf is a good hunter and takes care of procuring food for both Nanabozho and himself. One day Nanabozho warns Wolf never to cross a body of water. (Usually Nanabozho receives some sort of premonition warning him about this, typically in the form of a dream or "voice" from beyond.) Unwittingly Wolf, while out chasing prey one day, jumps across a body of water and is taken by the spirits of the underwater world. Some time later Nanabozho finds that Wolf is missing and goes off in search of him, following his tracks to the edge of the water. Here, by the side of the water he meets Kingfisher. Kingfisher is waiting for the "guts" of Wolf to come floating to the surface of the water so that he can eat them. Kingfisher tells Nanabozho how Wolf has been taken and killed by the underwater manidos. For some reason Nanabozho reaches out and grabs Kingfisher around the neck. He misses him, however, and only ruffles the feathers on the back of his head. (Motives ranging from anger and frustration over Wolf's death, to approval for Kingfisher's information concerning Wolf's whereabouts have been imputed to Nanabozho's actions in this regard.) In doing this Nanabozho is responsible for the present-day appearance of the kingfisher. Kingfisher tells Nanabozho where the underwater manidos come up to sun themselves. Nanabozho goes to this place and changes into a tree stump, waiting for the underwater manidos to emerge from the water. Eventually they emerge. The underwater manidos spot the tree stump. One (or more) of them (usually a large snake) coils around it and squeezes it in order to test whether or not it really is a tree stump. (In some versions a bear also tests the stump by raking its claws down its sides.) After having satisfied themselves that it is in fact a dead tree stump, the underwater manidos lay down and go to sleep. Nanabozho, upon seeing that they have fallen asleep, changes back to human form and shoots one of the underwater manidos (usually the chief). He only wounds him, however, and consequently he escapes. (Sometimes more than one of the underwater manidos is shot by Nanabozho.)

Some time later Nanabozho encounters a toad-woman who does not recognize him. She says that she is collecting things with which to cure the wounded chief(s) of the under-
water manidos. Nanabozho asks her how she is going to do this and she explains the procedure to him. (Usually the procedure entails the memorization and recitation of certain songs.) After discovering all that he wants to know from her about how to cure the chief of the underwater manidos, where her village is, and the location of the wounded chief(s) of the underwater manidos, Nanabozho slays her and assumes her form. He then goes to her village, finds the chief(s) of the underwater manidos and pushes the arrow (with which Nanabozho had originally shot him) further into him, thereby causing his death.

After Nanabozho has killed the chief(s) of the underwater manidos he flees from his abode as the flood waters begin to rise. (In several versions of the myth he takes the skin of Wolf which is hanging over the door of the abode of the underwater manidos with him as he flees.) As the flood waters continue to rise behind him, Nanabozho flees to the top of a mountain and then to the top of a tree. He sees other animals swimming about in the water and so he builds a raft on which he and the animals can rest and recuperate. Nanabozho sends down various animals to search for a particle(s) of earth (with which to re-create the world). In most versions the order in which these animals descend to look for a particle(s) of earth is loon first, beaver second, otter third, and finally muskrat last. The first animals who attempt this dive fail and come to the surface of the water dead. Nanabozho revives them and then sends down Muskrat to look for a particle(s) of earth. Muskrat goes to the bottom of the water and manages to scoop up a particle(s) of earth with which Nanabozho proceeds to re-create the world. As the proportions of the new earth increase, Nanabozho commissions various animals to go out and check on its size. When it is finally large enough to live on, all the animals on the raft are set free. The shape which the world assumes after Nanabozho has re-created it is the way in which it now appears.

From this point on in the mythical cycle we find that Nanabozho either goes off to retire to some remote destination or else he begins his trickster exploits.

The Nanabozho Trickster-Transformer Mythology

In the following paragraphs I will present brief synopses of the most frequently retold trickster-transformer tales within Chippewa mythology. These tales illustrate the
foolish, and consequently humorous side of Nanabozho's personality. As a necessary consequence of his foolishness, however, mankind is benefited. It is in this capacity that Nanabozho acts as a transformer within the mythology, changing the features of the environment through his actions. (Consult Appendix C for a more detailed listing of the sources for the Nanabozho trickster-transformer mythology.)

The most frequently retold trickster-transformer tales within Chippewa tradition are (in order):
1. Nanabozho and the dancing geese.
2. Nanabozho, anus guardian, and burnt buttocks.
3. Nanabozho and the creaking limbs.
4. Nanabozho gets his head stuck in an animal skull.
5. Nanabozho and the creation of tobacco from his burnt buttocks.
6. Nanabozho commits incest with his daughters.
(Note that tales number three and four are usually told as a single mythical unit, as also are tales number one, two, and five.)

Many of the Chippewa trickster-transformer tales shared common themes. I have grouped these tales with respect to their common themes as follows:
1. Incest theme: tale number six, thirty-six, and fifty-two.
2. Magical flight theme: tale number twelve, twenty-nine, thirty-nine.
3. Bungling host theme: tale number twenty-seven, twenty-eight, forty-five, and forty-eight.

Nanabozho and the Creaking Limbs (tale number four) 40

One day, after killing some game Nanabozho finds that he is unable to eat it because he is being disturbed by the sound of tree limbs rubbing together. He climbs the tree creating the disturbance in an attempt to stop the creaking. Inadvertently, however, his hand becomes trapped between the limbs of the tree. While trapped there some hungry wolves come along and eat all of his food. After finishing their meal, Nanabozho is freed and descends from the tree to inspect the remains.

Nanabozho Gets His Head Stuck in an Animal-Skull (tale number five) 41

Typically this myth follows the creaking limbs incident. After Nanabozho has freed himself from the tree limbs he climbs down to examine what the wolves have left un eaten. All that he can find is the animal’s skull (usually moose, elk, caribou, or deer). Nanabozho changes himself into a worm and enters the animal’s skull so that he can eat the remaining food inside. After he has eaten his fill he changes himself back to human form. However, the animal’s skull remains stuck on his head. Being unable to remove it, Nanabozho stumbles around until eventually, usually by falling and having it split open, it comes off his head.

Nanabozho Dances with the Rushes (tale number six) 42

In this myth Nanabozho encounters some people dancing by the side of a river one evening. He joins them and dances until dawn. With the rising of the sun he notices that the people he had been dancing with were actually rushes swaying in the wind.

Nanabozho and the Dancing Geese (tale number seven) 43

This is undoubtedly the most popular tale of Chippewa trickster-transformer tradition. This myth begins with Nanabozho walking beside a river where he notices a number of geese (ducks, etc.) in the water. Nanabozho is hungry and therefore devises a scheme for capturing them. He invites them all to a dance which he plans to have. Nanabozho instructs the ducks to close their eyes as they dance to the songs which he plays for them.
As they do so he wrings their necks. However, one of the ducks opens his eyes and sees what Nanabozho is doing and warns the others. Nanabozho is enraged and chases after the duck, kicking him in the back. This is said to account for the duck’s 'flattened' back.

Nanabozho, Anus Guardian, and the Burnt Buttocks (tale number eight)

This myth typically follows the dancing ducks incident. Taking the ducks he has killed in the duck dance, Nanabozho builds a fire and roasts them in it. He only eats a few of them, however, burying the rest with their feet sticking up in the sand. He instructs his anus to watch over the ducks while he goes to sleep. Several times someone approaches and attempts to steal the ducks. Nanabozho’s anus warns him, but by the time he rouses himself from his sleep the thieves have gone. As a result Nanabozho becomes angry at his anus for having, what he believes, unnecessarily awakened him. Consequently, the next time the thieves come Nanabozho’s anus does not warn him of their approach. As a result he loses his ducks to the thieves. Nanabozho awakens and discovers that the ducks are missing. In punishment for not having warned him of the thieves, Nanabozho burns his buttocks in the fire.

Nanabozho and the Creation of Tobacco, etc., from His Burnt Buttocks (tale number nine)

After he has burned his buttocks Nanabozho climbs up the side of a hill and slides down. In this way his blood (and/or scabs) creates something which the Indian uses in his everyday life. For example, Nanabozho’s blood is usually rubbed onto some nearby willows. These red willows are used by the Indians as a tobacco mixture.

Nanabozho and the Berries (tale number ten)

One day Nanabozho sees some berries in the water and dives in to get them. He smashes his head on rocks at the bottom of the water in doing so. Upon surfacing he realizes that the berries were only the reflection of a berry bush hanging above the water.

Nanabozho Commits Incest with His Daughters (tale number eleven)
Nanabozho, wishing to cohabit with his daughters, tells them that if ever he should die they are to marry the first man to come into their village after his death. Nanabozho then feigns death and, disguising himself as another man, returns to his village. Here he marries, and sleeps with, his daughters. Unfortunately his disguise is discovered and he is forced to leave.

Nanabozho, the Magical Flight, and the bird in Anus (tale number twelve)48

Nanabozho sees a bird one day and asks it to let him ride on its back up into the sky. The bird consents but warns Nanabozho not to look down. Nanabozho looks down in spite of having been warned not to and falls. Because of this Nanabozho is angry at the bird and so he changes himself into an animal's carcass and waits for the bird to come along and try to eat him. The bird, after assuring itself that the animal's carcass (Nanabozho) is in fact dead, sticks its head inside its anus. Nanabozho then closes his anus and traps the bird's head inside. Eventually he releases his grip on the bird. When the bird is released it finds that it has no more feathers on its head. As a result, from that time on all such birds are without feathers on the tops of their heads. (This myth usually refers to 'buzzards'.)

Nanabozho and Maple Sugar (tale number thirteen)49

Nanabozho, seeing that the Indians are ungrateful for the gift of maple sugar (which he had given to them) dilutes the maple syrup within the trees with water. As a result, the Indians now have to boil their maple sugar before they can use it.

Nanabozho and the Owl (tale number fourteen)50

Nanabozho meets an owl one day and the two of them do battle. Nanabozho grabs the owl and twists its head around. This is said to account for the fact that the owl can turn its head completely around today.

Nanabozho and the Buffalo's Hump (tale number eighteen)51

In this myth Nanabozho stops a buffalo as it races across the plains in order to prevent it from trampling some little birds which are resting on the ground. Nanabozho is about to strike the buffalo with a stick to get it to stop
when the buffalo 'humps up' its shoulders to absorb the blow.
Nanabozho then makes the buffalo's humped shoulders a permanent
feature of its anatomy.

Nanabozho and the Tortoise's Shell (tale number nineteen)\

In reward for telling him where a good fishing spot
was, Nanabozho creates the 'home' on the tortoise's back
(i.e., his shell).

Nanabozho and the Mud Turtle (tale number twenty)\

Nanabozho instructs a mud turtle to creep under two
pieces of bark when his enemy approaches. In this way, the
mud turtle, following Nanabozho's instructions, creates the
home on his back.

Nanabozho and the Porcupine's Quills (tale number twenty-one)\

Nanabozho takes some thorn bushes and, using mud as an adhesive, attaches them to the porcupine's back. In this way the present-day porcupine is made invulnerable to attack.

Nanabozho and Woodpecker (tale number twenty-seven)\

This myth is part of the popular 'bungling host' incidents related in Chippewa lore. In this incident Nanabozho
is invited to the house of Woodpecker. Here he notices that
Woodpecker obtains his food by climbing a tree and 'pecking'
on the bark. In this way he extracts food from the tree.
The following day Nanabozho invites Woodpecker and his wife
to his house. Here he tries to imitate the woodpecker's
method for obtaining food but fails. Woodpecker, feeling
sorry for Nanabozho, climbs the tree and pecks food from it.
Then Woodpecker leaves Nanabozho alone to his meal.

Nanabozho and Moose (tale number twenty-eight)\

Nanabozho and his wife visit the house of Moose one
day. Here Nanabozho sees how Moose supplies food for his
family by 'slicing' meat from his wife's back. The next
day Nanabozho invites Moose to his house and attempts to
imitate his feat. He fails, however, and ends up injuring
his wife. Moose heals her and then once again slices meat
from his wife's back in order to provide food for Nanabozho.
Moose then departs, leaving Nanabozho alone with the food he.
has provided.

Nanabozho and the Flight with the Birds (tale number twenty-nine)

Nanabozho encounters a bird one day and asks it to let him fly on its back. The bird consents but warns Nanabozho not to look down while he is in the air. In spite of being warned not to, Nanabozho looks down. As a result he falls to the ground. He lands inside of a tree and is trapped there until some Indians come along and free him.

Nanabozho Masquerades as a Woman and Marries a Chief’s Son
(tale number thirty-five)

In these myths Nanabozho disguises himself as a woman and, going to the house of a chief, marries his son. Nanabozho often bears a child in these myths, but, in one way or another his disguise is discovered and he is forced to flee from the village.

Nanabozho Ties the Legs of the Ducks and Flies Away with Them
(tale number thirty-nine)

One day Nanabozho spots some birds (ducks, geese, etc.) resting in the water. He dives into the water and, swimming underneath them, ties their legs together. The startled birds fly away with Nanabozho hanging on to the string attached to their feet.

Nanabozho and Duck (tale number forty-five)

One day Nanabozho and his wife visit the home of Duck. Here they are given food by Duck and his wife. Duck prepares his food by excreting into a pot of boiling water. Magically, his excrement turns into rice. The next day Nanabozho invites Duck and his wife to his home where he attempts to imitate Duck’s feat. Nanabozho fails to do this, however. As is typical of the bungling host incidents, Duck once again creates food from his excrement so that Nanabozho and his wife will not go hungry. Duck does not stay to share his food with Nanabozho, however.

Nanabozho and Squirrel (tale number forty-eight)

Nanabozho and his wife are invited for a meal at the home of Squirrel. Squirrel jumps on top of a cooking pot and
'stabs' his testicles from which fat flows into the pot. The following day Squirrel and his wife are invited to Nanabozho's house where, attempting to imitate Squirrel's feat, Nanabozho injures himself. Squirrel again stabs his testicles, thereby obtaining fat for Nanabozho and his wife. He leaves Nanabozho and his wife alone to enjoy their meal.

Nanabozho Feigns Death to Marry His Sister (tale number fifty-two) 62

This myth is similar in plot to Nanabozho's faked death and subsequent marriage to his daughters. Herein, Nanabozho marries his sister because he wishes to cohabit with her. As in the case of his marriage to his daughters, here too Nanabozho's disguise is uncovered.

In the fourth chapter of this thesis I will be using Jung's interpretation of Longfellow's poem "The Song of Hiawatha" and his understanding of the trickster archetype to analyze the trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians. Inasmuch as Jung's analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha" is based upon the ethnographic data collected by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (from whose research Longfellow derived his poem), I will be addressing my analysis of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology specifically to Schoolcraft's rendition of the myth, using other renditions, as presented in this chapter, for purposes of comparison.
NOTES


5. Cf. Selwyn Dewdney, *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 37: "Throughout this study...it became more and more obvious to me that the word manito [manido] cannot be translated into English. Renderings such as "spirit" or even "god" reduce seriously the combination of substance, power and reality that the native word can express. For in the manito world, accessible only through the doorway of dreams, were vested all the powers that determined whether the hunter and his family would survive or perish. To enter this world was to step into, not out of, the real world."


7. In this regard category ten of the Human Relations Area Files, which provides general background information on the cultural unit under investigation, points out that the classification schema which they have developed has been derived from a "variety" of anthropologists. Unfortunately the compilers of category ten of the Human Relations Area Files do not specify who these anthropologists are.

8. In referring to the Southwestern Chippewa, category ten of the Human Relations Area Files states: "The economy included very little farming, but the harvesting of wild rice and maple sugar was important. Those of interior Wisconsin and Minnesota were chiefly hunters and trappers, with fishing secondary, while among the more northern groups fishing was the major subsistence activity."
In referring to the Southeastern Chippewa, category ten of the Human Relations Area Files states: "Their subsistence economy was based on farming, hunting, and fishing, and the harvesting of maple sugar. They had large permanent summer villages along the northern shores of Lake Huron and Michigan, but dispersed into extended family hunting bands during the winter."


Margaret Fisher, Man in Northeastern North America (1946), 237, n. 21: "The Saulteaux call their culture hero Wisakedjak, agreeing in that respect with the Cree, although they are aware that other Ojibwa groups call this same hero Nanabožho. They start their culture hero myth with the running with the wolf-pack episode. They also have the myth of the birth of the four winds, the Great Hare [Nanabožho], and Flint, but they do not equate the Great Hare with their culture hero."

Edgerton Young, Algonquin Indian Tales (New York, 1903).


With the passage of time the various tribes residing in the region of the Southeastern and Southwestern Chippewas have achieved a considerable degree of cultural intermingling. As a consequence of this the mythologies of these tribes have altered themselves to some degree, as also have the names used to designate the trickster-transformer-culture hero among them.


Beatrice Blackwood, "Tales of the Chippewa Indians," Folklore, XL (1929), 315.


Letter from Ruth Landes, Professor of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 1979.

21. In this chapter the informants cited as being of 'Chippewa' extraction were, at the time when the myths were collected, all residing on Indian reservations within the ethnographic region under investigation. The researchers who collected these myths designated their informants as either 'Chippewa' or 'Ojibwa.' Several of the anthropologists who collected these myths used the terms Chippewa and Ojibwa synonymously. In this chapter I have employed the designation Chippewa in a more restricted sense (as outlined in the delineation of the ethnographic region under investigation).

22. The 'heroic' qualities portrayed by Nanabozho in the mythology stand in contradistinction to his trickster characteristics. In his role as a trickster Nanabozho is seen as a fool or bungler. In his latter capacity he becomes the brunt of jokes and pornographic humor within Chippewa society.

23. This exception is found in Speck (1915) where Nanabozho is the fifth son born of the mother. His other four brothers are sent to the four corners of the earth in this rendition of the myth. With reference to Nanabozho's birth Stith Thompson points out: "As to the manner of the hero's birth, there is a great divergence in the different legends, depending on the number of brothers born at the same time" ["The Indian Legend of Hiawatha," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXXII (1922), 132-133].

24. Mac Linscott Ricketts points out: "The evil brother, Flint, comes into Algonkian mythology from the Iroquois, and in these Algonkian myths where he is mentioned, one of the first adult deeds of Manabozho [Nanabozho] is to kill his brother, turning him into a flint mountain. The flint man as the embodiment of evil in the world is a distinctly Iroquoian idea....His presence in some versions of the birth of Manabozho is due to the influence of the neighboring Iroquoian tribes, and is therefore to be regarded as a late innovation" ("The Structure and Religious Significance," p. 181). With reference to the presence of Flint within some versions of the Chippewa mythology, Hewitt adds: "An error gave rise to the Chippewa name for chert or flint (Miskwam), which signifies 'ice stone,' and the connection between malsum, 'wolf,' and man'Halic, 'a flint or chert,' also a name of Chakekenapok, the brother of Nanabozho" ["Nanabozho," Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. by Frederick W. Hodge (New York: Pageant Books Inc., Ltd., 1959), Part II, p. 19]. Further to this Hartley Alexander observes: "In the interesting Potawatomi version given by De Smet...two mythic cycles seem to be mingled; Chakekenapok, with whom Nanaboojoo fights, is...Flint, the
wicked twin of the Iroquoian tale; Chipiaapoos [Wolf], the friendly brother, in Algonquian, and the same being who becomes lord of the ghost world after being dragged down by the water monsters; Wabasso is clearly another name for the Great Hare [Nanabo Zoojoo], and from the nature of the reference it is plausible to suppose that the Arctic hare is meant—i.e. Nanabo Zoojoo—Wabasso, and Chipiaapoos—Chakekenapok are in reality only two persons" (The Mythology of All Races, Vol. 10, North American Mythology [Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1916], p. 298.

25 Brinton states: "Nanibo zhu, Naniboju, Missibizi, Vicabo, Messou, all variations of the same name in different dialects rendered according to different orthographies, scrutinize them closely as we may, they all seem compounded according to well ascertained laws of Algonkin euphony from the words corresponding to great and hare or rabbit, or the first two perhaps from spirit and hare (michi, great, wabos, hare, manito wabos, spirithare, Chipeway dialect), and so they have invariably been translated even by the Indians themselves" (The Myths of the New World [3d ed. New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1968], p. 197).

26 Victor Barnouw claims: "Although the possibility of diffusion of the Jonah tale...from European sources should not be ruled out, I think that the big fish, or whale, episode is probably aboriginal. The big fish was originally the sturgeon rather than whale...The term whale must have been picked up from European-speaking persons and applied to the big fish..." (Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales [Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977], p. 82).

27 On the whole there does not appear to be any agreement within the myths concerning who the enemy-on-the-island has killed, other than that it is usually a member of Nanabo Zoojoo's family.

28 One of the informants for Coleman, Progner, and Eich related the enemy-on-the-island to Nanabo Zoojoo's brother Flint. The authors state: "We heard that later Nanabo Zoojoo set out to find Flint, and Flint was expecting him. One narrator said, 'The youngest brother was sharp like a razor. He lived on an island where he watched for Nanabo Zoojoo. He was afraid of Nanabo Zoojoo and knew that he was coming, so he gathered pine pitch and put it in the water all around the island.' Here the powerful man is identified as a brother of Nanabo Zoojoo" (Ojibwa Myths and Legends [Minneapolis: Ross and Haines Inc., 1971], p. 65).

29 Cf. Fisher, Man in Northeastern North America (1946), 231: "Unfortunately there is a relative paucity of versions concerned with the culture hero's birth and early adventures.
Even the earliest of the available versions have a composite character, and the writer inclines to the belief that 'Nanabozho,' as known to us, is not really an Algonkian concept, but rather a synthetic figure growing out of the reworking of various older Algonkian myths, possibly under Iroquois influence."

30 Typically the bone chip which flies off hits Nanabozho in the eye.

31 Nanabozho does not always leave the wolf pack immediately after being told to do so. Typically he complains that he will never be able to survive on his own without the help of the wolves. In response to Nanabozho's plight the old wolf leaves one of the younger wolves behind to stay with Nanabozho and hunt for him. Cf. Robert Ritzenthaler, The Woodland Indians of the Western Great Lakes (Garden City, New York: The Natural History Press, 1970), p. 141: "As the prelude to the Creation myth, the story of Weneboho [Nanabozho] and the Wolves is almost essential; there were variations in detail from tribe to tribe, but the same ideas were reflected in nearly all the stories."

32 In one version Wolf is referred to as Nanabozho's "hunting dog" (see Blackbird's version of the myth).

33 Usually, but not always, Kingfisher intends to eat the "guts" of Wolf once they float to the surface of the water.

34 A variety of other forms of ritual activity may be related by the toad-woman in her instructions to Nanabozho.

35 In most versions Nanabozho assumes her form by removing her skin and putting it on himself.

36 Different versions mention some or all of these animals as earth-divers.

37 Typically the way in which Nanabozho revives the drowned earth-divers is by breathing on them.

38 Cf. Fisher, Man in Northeastern North America (1946), pp. 231-232, n. 12: "There is a remarkable stability of detail connected with the wounding and killing of the chief of the underwater manitous, as told from tribe to tribe. Only one notable variation occurs. Some versions have the deluge follow immediately on the wounding of the manitous. Other versions place the flood after the manitous has been killed. Still other versions have the waters rise and then recede after the wounding, with the true deluge occurring after the death of the manitous."
This remote destination is usually one of the four corners of the earth (typically the North).

See Barnouw (1944), Friedl (1942), Kinetz (1937), Kohl (1845), Reagan (1918), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), Reagan (1911-1914), Brown (1944), and Bloomfield (1938).

See Barnouw (1944), Friedl (1942), Kinetz (1937), Reagan (1918), Leekley (1865), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1865), De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), and Reagan (1911-1914).

See Barnouw (1944), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Reagan (1911-1914), Blackwood (1925-1926), and Brown (1944).

See Barnouw (1944), Laidlaw (1915), Ritzenthaler (1970), Leekley (1865), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Schoolcraft (1839), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), Reagan (1911-1914), Blackwood (1925-1926), Rohr (1928), and Brown (1944).

See Barnouw (1944), Laidlaw (1915), Ritzenthaler (1970), Leekley (1865), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), Reagan (1911-1914), Blackwood (1925-1926), and Rohr (1928).

See Barnouw (1944), Laidlaw (1915), Ritzenthaler (1970), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), Reagan (1911-1914), and Blackwood (1925-1926).

See Barnouw (1944), Kinetz (1939), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), and Jones (series two).

See Friedl (1942), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), and De Jong (1911).

See Ritzenthaler (1942), Friedl (1942), Kinetz (1939), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Reagan (1911-1914), and Blackwood (1925-1926).

See Blackbird (1887), Ritzenthaler (1942), Ritzenthaler (1970), and Radin (1912).

See Corbiere (1977), and Laidlaw (1921-1922).
See Laidlaw (1921-1922).

See Laidlaw (1921-1922).

See Laidlaw (1921-1922).

See Laidlaw (1921-1922) and Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959).

See Gringhuis (1970), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Radin (1912), Jones (1916), Reagan (1911-1914), Radin (1911-1914), Jones (series three), and Jones (series five).

See Gringhuis (1970), Jones (1916), Reagan (1911-1914), and Jones (series three).

See Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Jones (series one), Speck (1915), and Reagan (1911-1914).

See De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), Jones (series one), and Radin (1911-1914).

See Radin (1912) and Bloomfield (1938).

See Radin (1912), Reagan (1911-1914), Jones (series three), and Jones (series five).

See Jones (1916), Reagan (1911-1914), Jones (series three), and Jones (series five).

See Jones (series three).
CHAPTER IV

A JUNGIAN ANALYSIS OF NANABOZHO, THE TRICKSTER-
TRANSFORMER-CULTURE HERO OF CHIPPEWA MYTHOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter will examine Jung's interpretation of "The Song of Hiawatha" (as presented in Volume Five of his Collected Works), 1 demonstrate how Nanabozho and Hiawatha are actually one and the same person, and then relate Jung's understanding of the "shadow," as an archetype of the collective unconscious, to his interpretation of the role of the archetypal hero within mythology. This chapter will conclude with an examination of a part of the Nanabozho culture hero mythology, employing Jung's psychology to analyze the incidents found therein.

It should be noted that not every part of the mythology which deals with Nanabozho's adventures as a culture hero will be analyzed in this chapter. Notably, the theft of fire incident will not be addressed, nor will many of those incidents where Nanabozho acts as a creator or transformer of cultural and/or natural phenomena. In the latter instance these mythical episodes are simply too numerous to analyze. In the case of the former, most of the events usually associated with Nanabozho as a culture hero will be addressed by this chapter. However, in order to come to terms with the dual nature of Nanabozho as both culture hero and trickster I have chosen to

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focus my analysis upon a specific part of the mythology. This is not to say that the other parts of the mythology do not shed light upon this aspect of Nanabozho's character, but only that the myth which I have selected adequately accounts for the combination of these two facets of his personality in one mythic figure. For this reason I have chosen to restrict my analysis in this way.

In chapter three I pointed out that within Chippewa mythology Nanabozho takes on the multi-faceted role of trickster-transformer-culture hero. As previously stated, Jung views the trickster as the archetype of the newly emerging ego consciousness of man. As such he represents mankind's "collective shadow." In his capacity as a transformer Nanabozho is responsible for the present-day appearance of both animal species and various natural phenomena. According to Jung, as a transformer the trickster demonstrates "his original nature as a Creator."2

Significantly, Nanabozho manifests the qualities of a transformer in those myths relating both his culture hero and his trickster exploits. Consequently, in those myths relating his adventures as a culture hero Nanabozho frequently transforms some feature of the environment in such a way that it takes on its present-day appearance. Similarly, Nanabozho's trickster cycle recounts numerous incidents where he is responsible for the transformation of some aspect of nature.

The role of the trickster as a culture hero, as found
in many Indian mythologies, is not directly addressed by Jung's analysis of the trickster, which he developed from his examination of the Winnebago mythology sent to him by Radin. The mythological material which Radin sent to Jung for analysis was, significantly, all of a trickster variety. The culture hero cycle of the Winnebago Indians concerns itself with a being known as the Great Hare. The mythical cycle of events associated with the trickster and the culture hero are clearly separated within Winnebago mythology. But this is not the case in all North American Indian mythologies, notably that of the Chippewa.

In his book *The Trickster*, Radin claims that the trickster episodes in the mythology of the North American Indians are the true and original forms of the mythical cycle, and the culture hero myths present in some instances have been falsely and incorrectly added.

Wherever these incidents are found [i.e., culture hero myths]...united with typical trickster episodes, and where the latter greatly predominate, we can be certain that they are intrusive. Such "mixed" myth cycles are very common and are widely distributed. Many American ethnologists regard them as representing the true trickster cycle. There seems little justification for this viewpoint, however. All the available evidence indicates that we are dealing here with typical trickster cycles into which have been incorporated incidents connected with an entirely different hero, or better supernatural being or beings, to whom the creation of the world, and the establishment of customs are generally ascribed.  

In addressing the question of where the culture hero aspects of the myths dealing with combined culture hero-trickster cycles stand in relation to specifically trickster exploits,
vis-à-vis Jung's categories for interpreting the myths, this chapter will demonstrate how the myths relating to the culture hero aspects of Nanabozho's personality illustrate the unconscious dynamics which are set in motion as the ego enters into the unconscious in order to 'renew' consciousness. Jung associates this activity with the role of the archetypal hero in mythology.  

In Volume Five of his *Collected Works* (*Symbols of Transformation*) Jung has analyzed Longfellow's epic poem "The Song of Hiawatha" in connection with his case study of the Miller fantasies.  

"The Song of Hiawatha" is a poetic adaptation of the ethnographic research of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and concerns itself with the mythology of the Chippewa Indians.  

In this regard, it is significant that the series of mythological events recounted in "The Song of Hiawatha" is also found, in part, in the culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians.

Stith Thompson has pointed out that Nanabozho, the Chippewa trickster-transformer-culture hero, and Hiawatha, are actually one and the same person, Hiawatha being an Iroquois name of an actual historical personage which had been incorrectly applied to the Chippewa figure of Nanabozho.

Schoolcraft asserted that Manabozho [Nanabozho], the demigod of the Ojibwa and their Algonquian kinsmen, is identical with the Iroquois Hiawatha, although in fact ... there is not a point of resemblance between them. Manabozho, is the hero of the tales of the Ojibwa of the Lake Superior region, and with greater or less divergence both in name and character, of all the Algonkian tribes
from Nova Scotia to the Rocky mountains. He is endowed with the qualities now of a god, now of an ordinary mortal, now of a trickster and dupe, and now, in transformation, of a rabbit. Hiawatha, on the other hand, was an historical character, an Iroquois statesman of the Mohawk tribe, who flourished about the year 1570. It is to him that the Iroquois owe their League and much of the peace and civilization which characterized them from the first arrival of the Europeans... The Song of Hiawatha contains not a single fact or legend relating to the historical Hiawatha, but deals instead with the Ojibwa myth of Manabozho.

This being the case, it will be of significance to note what Jung's interpretation of the heroic side of Nanabozho's personality, vis-à-vis his analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha," can tell us about Nanabozho's role as a culture hero within the mythology, and how this might relate to his trickster nature. In this regard I will outline Jung's analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha," focusing particularly upon the archetypal motifs found therein, and analyzing the dynamic interaction of these motifs within the framework of the mythology presented.

**Jung's Analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha"**

"The Song of Hiawatha," as myth, retraces the significant events in the life of the archetypal hero (i.e., Hiawatha). According to Jung, as an archetype of the collective unconscious the archetypal hero acts in a capacity whereby he attracts the libido within the psyche of the individual. 9

Jung has pointed out that the archetypal hero assumes the form of a "savior" in his role as the bearer of the 'new' to culture and collective consciousness.
All over the earth, in the most various forms, each with a different time-colouring, the savior-hero appears as a fruit of the entry of libido into the maternal depths of the unconscious.  

It is the never-ending task of the hero to enter into the unconscious and emerge from it with the revitalizing energy inherent therein. The mythic expression and cultural re-enactment of this feat then becomes the basis for the revitalization of society as long as it exists under the power of that myth (as in the case of Christ's death and resurrection, and its ritual re-enactment in the Mass).  

Hiawatha, is born of a virgin in the myth, his mother having been supernaturally impregnated by the West wind. Jung relates the incident of Hiawatha's virgin birth and the impregnation of his mother by the West wind to similar incidents found within Mithraic tradition. Herein the winds are associated with cycles of birth and death. Jung further relates the wind, or "generating breath," of Mithraic tradition to the sun (from whence the wind finds its origin).  

The idea of supernatural conception can, of course, be taken as a metaphysical fact, but psychologically it tells us that a content of the unconscious ("child") has come into existence without the natural help of a human father (i.e., consciousness). It tells us, on the contrary, that some god has begotten the son and further that the son is identical with the father, which in psychological language means that a central archetype, the God-image, has renewed itself ("been reborn") and become "incarnate" in a way perceptible to consciousness.  

Hiawatha's birth is out of the ordinary because it is in fact a rebirth.

In the Hiawatha myth, Hiawatha's mother dies in giving
birth to the four winds and Hiawatha is then raised by his
grandmother. Jung claims that the sudden death of Hiawatha's
mother is an essential part of the hero myth inasmuch as
Hiawatha's other mother, i.e., his grandmother (who is
referred to as "Nokomis" and symbolizes the unconscious) is
now charged with his care and upbringing. 18

Hiawatha's childhood years take place between land
and water, an event which is quite in keeping with the birth
of the hero according to Jung. 19 Hiawatha's first deed, as
recorded in Longfellow's poem, was the killing of a roebuck,
the hide of which he used to make gloves and moccasins for
himself. Jung sees this episode in the mythical cycle con-
ected with Hiawatha as a symbolic transgression against the
eternal and powerful mother figure represented by nature.

All animals belong to the Great Mother..., and the
killing of any wild animal is a transgression against
the mother....Whoever succeeds in killing the "magic"
animal, the symbolic representative of the animal mother,
acquires something of her gigantic strength. 20

In killing his first animal Jung claims that Hiawatha has
symbolically killed the "representative of the unconscious,
i.e., his own participation mystique with animal nature." 21
It is in this very killing, however, that Hiawatha gains
his ego strength, as well as his independence from the
unconscious, or "Great Mother." Therein he symbolically sep-
arates his ego consciousness from the unconscious.

This separation of the ego from the unconscious is
the first step in the development of human consciousness
according to Jung. However, once separated, the ego must
again re-enter the unconscious in order to be reborn from it.
The adventures of Hiawatha as the archetypal hero demonstrate,
in Jungian terms, this figurative re-entry into the unconscious
in order to emerge with renewed and revitalized consciousness,
a consciousness that is separate, yet not estranged, from
its unconscious vitality. For Jung, the archetypal hero is
a hero because of the fact that he perseveres in spite of
the dangers inherent to his task.22

The next series of mythical incidents pertaining to
Hiawatha deals with his battle with his father the West wind.
In Hiawatha's battle with his father Jung sees the former's
struggle as an attempted rebirth in the unconscious, a chance
at rebirth which his father denies him. Should Hiawatha achieve
victory over his father, however, he may still fall victim
to the engulfing power of the unconscious. The hero's struggle
to attain revitalization through entry into the unconscious
is indeed perilous. Jung writes:

The fight is with the father, who is the obstacle
barring the way to the goal. In other cases the fight
in the West is a battle with the devouring mother. As
we have seen, the danger comes from both parents; from
the father, because he apparently makes regression impos-
sible, and from the mother, because she absorbs the re-
gressing libido and keeps it to herself, so that he who
sought rebirth finds only death.23

In Longfellow's poem, Hiawatha does battle with his father
in the land to the West. Their fight is long and fearsome,
but in the end Hiawatha emerges victorious and is rewarded
by his father by being placed in charge of the Northwest wind.\textsuperscript{24}

Following his battle with his father Hiawatha sets off in pursuit of Mishe Nahma, the giant "fish-king" who resides at the bottom of the waters. Hiawatha challenges the fish-king to battle and in doing so is swallowed by him (along with his boat). Inside the large fish Hiawatha plans his course of action, deciding to poke the fish's heart and thereby cause its death. Jung comments:

This is the almost world-wide myth of the typical deed of the hero. He journeys by ship, fights the sea monster, is swallowed, struggles against being bitten and crushed to death..., and having arrived inside the "whale dragon," seeks the vital organ, which he proceeds to cut off or otherwise destroy.\textsuperscript{25}

The fish-king dies because of Hiawatha's poking its heart. The carcass of the large fish is washed ashore where Hiawatha, with the help of a bird, frees himself from its confines. Hiawatha's emergence from the fish-king symbolizes for Jung, "the bringing forth of life from the mother."\textsuperscript{26} The battle with the large fish represents the battle of consciousness to free itself from the grasp of the unconscious. Hiawatha's victory is in fact the victory of consciousness over the devouring nature of the unconscious, as well as the renewal and revitalization of consciousness brought about by his struggle for freedom from the unconscious.\textsuperscript{27}

However, the deeds of the hero have no lasting effects. It is the hero's never-ending task to subject himself to en-
try into the unconscious to seek renewal and revivification of his consciousness. Mythically the eternal struggle of the hero with the unconscious is represented in the symbol of deliverance from the mother.

Inasmuch as this is the case we find that Hiawatha must once again meet the challenge put to him by Nokomis, his grandmother. As the archetypal hero Hiawatha is commissioned by the unconscious (i.e., Nokomis) to find strength and renewal by submerging himself in the unconscious, doing battle therein, and emerging victorious.

Hiawatha's next adversary, as recounted in Longfellow's poem, is a magician referred to as "Pearl Feather." This supernatural being lives on an island surrounded by pitch and protected by fiery serpents. Pearl Feather has been held responsible for the death of Nokomis' father. Enraged, Hiawatha sets out in his canoe for his enemy's island, using the oil he has obtained from the carcass of the large fish Mishe Nahma to get through the pitch which surrounds his island.

Jung interprets the fish oil used by Hiawatha to get through the pitch surrounding his enemy's island as "an immortality philtre," similar to "the dragon's blood for Siegfried." The waters upon which Hiawatha rides in journeying to the island of his enemy are the waters of death. The magician on the island is a representative of the negative father figure or the "masculine principle in the mother her-
It is Hiawatha's anima or positive mother, in the figure of Nokomis, who compels him to battle with Pearl Feather.

Landing on the island of his enemy Hiawatha challenges him to battle, but to his dismay he discovers that Pearl Feather is invulnerable. His assault on the magician proves futile. Hiawatha retreats as his enemy advances. As he does so he is informed by a woodpecker to shoot Pearl Feather in the tuft of hair on the top of his head. (Jung sees the woodpecker in this incident as being "one of those helpful animals who represent the stirrings or intuitions of the unconscious, the helpful mother." ) Guided by the woodpecker's instructions, Hiawatha shoots Pearl Feather in the tuft of hair on his head and kills him.

In this mythical sequence we see that Pearl Feather, as the personification of the negative mother, has been overcome by the archetypal hero. Hiawatha has conquered the "Terrible Mother" as well as the "death-bringing daemon in the guise of the negative father." His victory represents the transformation of the daemonic energies which urge him to battle into the revitalizing energy attained in entering into the unconscious. At the same time his victory also symbolizes his deliverance from the danger posed to his consciousness by the unconscious. As the archetypal hero, Hiawatha has entered into the unconscious and returned victorious, renewed and revitalized by its power.
The mythical sequence of events pertaining to Hiawatha which Jung has analyzed in Volume Five of his Collected Works is, as stated, part of the Nanabozho culture hero mythology. In this mythology Nanabozho's birth and infancy, his battle with a large fish, and his struggle with an enemy-on-an-island are recounted, in accordance with the plot of the story presented in Longfellow's poem, and as derived from Schoolcraft's research. Although an exact word-for-word correspondence is not in evidence within the various renditions of the myth relating this part of Nanabozho's adventures, the central themes which Jung has analyzed in his interpretation of "The Song of Hiawatha" are present nonetheless. Jung states:

...no part of the hero myth is single in meaning, and...at a pinch, all the figures are interchangeable. The only certain and reliable thing is that the myth exists and shows unmistakable analogies with other myths.

In the case of the mythical incidents presented in Longfellow's poem we find more than just an analogy with other myths, but rather a striking similarity in plot, structure, and sequence of events among the various renditions of the myth. In this regard it is important to remember that the mythology connected with Nanabozho is derived from an oral, and not a literary tradition. Consequently, minor discrepancies in detail within the myths can be considered as insignificant, and questions of textual authenticity can, to some extent be waylaid.

In addition to acting as a culture hero within Chippewa
mythology, Nanabozho also assumes the role of the trickster. This fact has not been addressed by Jung in his analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha." Notably, in writing his poem Longfellow carefully edited all those parts of Schoolcraft's research which portrayed Nanabozho as a dupe or a fool. As a result, only the heroic side of Nanabozho's personality was presented, while his role as a trickster was not addressed at all. Stith Thompson writes:

In order to give his poem wide artistic appeal, he selected those incidents which he felt to be appropriate to the hero...he used the serious incidents and omitted all those in which Nanabozho appears as an undignified trickster.

Many of the Chippewa trickster myths which have been collected by anthropologists are similar, and in certain cases identical, with those which Radin has obtained for the Winnebago. In his interpretation of the trickster archetype (as based upon his analysis of Radin's ethnographic data) Jung has produced a theoretical construct which can be applied to all trickster mythologies. Thus, in spite of the fact that Jung addressed himself specifically to Radin's research in developing his theory, the model which he generates is not restricted solely to the Winnebago trickster. This can be inferred from his numerous references to European trickster figures.

Inasmuch as this is the case, Jung's understanding of the trickster can be applied to Nanabozho as well. In this way Jung's psychology can be used to demonstrate the
intimate connection existing between culture hero and trickster. Therein trickster and hero can be seen to represent archetypal expressions which illustrate the dynamics of the ego-unconscious relationship. The analysis which follows will examine how Jung's theoretical perspectives can be used to account for the apparently contradictory traits ascribed to trickster and hero which, in the case of Chippewa mythology, have been combined in one mythic figure.

The Culture Hero-Trickster Relationship in Jung's Psychology

Throughout Volume Five of his Collected Works Jung discusses the nature of the archetypal hero and his psychological significance for mythology. In this regard he points out that animal figures in myths symbolize man's instinctual nature. Consequently, mythologies depicting the slaying of an animal by the archetypal hero represent the transformation of the hero's instinctual nature from that which controls his ego into that which is made subservient to it. Jung claims that man only attains full humanity by bringing the instincts into the service of his ego. As an example of this he cites Mithraic tradition.

...the Mithraic killing of the bull is a sacrifice to the Terrible Mother....In the act of sacrifice the consciousness gives up its power and possessions in the interest of the unconscious. This makes possible a union of opposites resulting in a release of energy....In this way life becomes immortal, for... the hero regenerates himself by his self-sacrifice and re-entry into the mother [i.e., the unconscious].

Inasmuch as the animal sacrifice symbolizes the
hero's renunciation of instinct it also represents the emergence of his ego consciousness, and consequently the advent of his humanity. Jung writes: "The separation of the son [ego] from the mother [the unconscious] signifies man's leavetaking from animal unconsciousness." Having gained his ego consciousness through separation from the unconscious, however, the archetypal hero must once again enter into the matrix from which his consciousness has been born in order to find rebirth. For Jung, this process represents the normal, and healthy flow of energy within the psyche.

Apart from the fact that the trickster is the archetype of the "collective shadow," he also represents the emerging ego consciousness of man. As a reminder of man's humble origins, the trickster is established as the first human being, a newly conscious being who, because of his incompetence, assumes the role of the 'fool' in mythology. This is due to the incomplete development of his consciousness.

Similarly, the archetypal hero portrays a stage in the development of human consciousness. The archetypal hero only comes fully to consciousness with the sacrifice of his instinctuality. Enacting this sacrifice allows the hero to gain possession of his ego, and hence attain consciousness. The question remains, however, what becomes of these sacrificed instincts? Jung locates these instincts in the unconscious. Herein they constitute part of mankind's shadow. Consequently, the quest of the hero becomes to integrate his instinctuality
(shadow) into consciousness. This development represents the individuation process and culminates in the realization of the "self."

In his Collected Works Jung has referred to the "shadow" as the "inferior personality." He further relates the shadow to man's instinctual nature.

By "shadow" I mean the inferior personality, the lowest levels of which are indistinguishable from the instinctuality of an animal. (Italics mine.)

In The Practice of Psychotherapy Jung asserts:

Assimilation of the shadow gives a man body, so to speak; the animal sphere of instinct, as well as the primitive or archaic psyche, emerge into the zone of consciousness and can no longer be repressed by fictions and illusions. (Italics mine.)

In Mysterium Coniunctionis Jung again relates the shadow to man's animal nature.

The "old Adam" corresponds to the primitive man, the "shadow" of our present-day consciousness, and the primitive man has his roots in the animal man (the tailed Adam), who has long since vanished from consciousness. Even the primitive man has become a stranger to us, so that we have to rediscover his psychology. It was therefore something of a surprise when analytical psychology discovered in the products of the unconscious of modern man so much archaic material, and not only that but the sinister darkness of the animal world of instinct. (Italics mine.)

In Civilization in Transition Jung states:

Our rational philosophy does not bother itself with whether this other person in us pejoratively described as the "shadow," is in sympathy with our conscious plans and intentions. Evidently it still does not know that we carry in ourselves a real shadow whose existence is grounded in our instinctual nature. (Italics mine.)

In citing these passages I want to demonstrate how Jung
associates the "shadow" with man's instincts.

Notably, the trickster, in Jung's analysis, is above all else, a creature of instinct, or, as Jung says, "a psyche that has hardly left the animal level."^46 Jung views the trickster as a being who re-embodies the shadow characteristics of all men. Man's inferior traits (i.e., his instincts) are symbolically re-created in the figure of the trickster. Radin writes:

In a world that has no beginning and no end, an ageless and Priapus-like protagonist [the trickster] is pictured strutting across the scene wandering restlessly from place to place, attempting successfully and unsuccessfully to gratify his voracious hunger and uninhibited sexuality[i.e., his unbounded instinctuality].^47 Radin's Minnabago trickster mythology, like that of the Chippewa, graphically illustrates the trickster's instinctual nature.

In contrast to the trickster, the archetypal hero is a representation of the "self," the whole man.

The hero himself appears as a being of more than human stature. He is distinguished from the very beginning by his god-like characteristics...he is psychologically an archetype of the self...^48

Whereas the archetypal hero sacrifices (renounces) his instinctuality (in attempting to free himself from the unconscious), the trickster affirms it. The archetypal hero relegates his shadow (instinctuality) to the unconscious (as symbolized by the animal sacrifice), while the trickster re-embodies it. The trickster is mankind's "collective shadow." He is a primitive instinctual being constituting man's inferior
character traits.

Within mythology, the archetypal hero has been ascribed positive qualities, while the trickster has become an object of scorn and ridicule (according to Jung's analysis). Inasmuch as this is the case the separation of culture hero and trickster within Winnebago mythology can be explained in terms of Jung's theoretical perspectives. The hero, as a model for the "self," is the goal towards which consciousness strives, while the trickster, as a representation of mankind's collective shadow, elicits negative feelings because of his inferior (animal) nature. Consequently, the trickster is shunned by consciousness, while the hero, as the archetype of the self, is praised and emulated. Hence, trickster and culture hero are divided in the conscious attitudes of men, the one is accepted, while the other is rejected.

There is a contradiction involved in this attitude towards trickster and archetypal hero, however. The contradiction is that the self, as an archetype of the collective unconscious, calls for the necessary integration of the shadow. The self symbolizes the total personality. Hence, it cannot exclude the shadow from its constitution. According to Jung:

The psychic totality, the self, is a combination of opposites. Without a shadow even the self is not real. (Italics mine.)

The Hero and Trickster in Jung's "Answer to Job"

Although Jung has not explicitly addressed himself...
to the culture hero-trickster relationship in his analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha" or the trickster archetype (as presented in "On the Psychology of the Trickster-Figure"), in "Answer to Job" he analyzes a similar situation within the Christian context. Here, the preconscious self, as symbolized by Yahweh, is split into two distinct figures, one the culture hero (Christ) and the other the trickster (Satan). In examining Jung's assessment of the status of culture hero and trickster within the Christian tradition, some insight can be gained as to the nature of Nanabozho as both culture hero and trickster within Chippewa mythology.

In his discussion of the self as the archetype which combines both light and shadow, positive and negative qualities, Jung has related the self to the figure of the Old Testament God Yahweh.

[The self] always has two aspects, a bright and a dark [shadow], like the pre-Christian idea of God in the Old Testament, which is so much better suited to the facts of religious experience...[inasmuch as it unites the opposites within the self]. 51

Jung claims that within the Christian tradition the figure of the godhead, as an archetype of the self, has been split into opposite halves. Therein an "irreconcilable" dualism has resulted. 52 In "Answer to Job" Jung analyzes the development of this dualism in the context of Yahweh's dialogue with Job.

Jung points out that at the time when the Book of Job was written a sense of moral ambivalence in man's conception
of the godhead was in existence. Therein Yahweh was frequently presented as an ambiguous, and seemingly contradictory figure. Jung writes:

[In Yahweh] insight existed along with obtuseness, loving-kindness along with cruelty, creative power along with destructiveness.... A condition of this sort can only be described as amoral.53

According to Jung, Yahweh was a manifestly unconscious being, and therefore on close terms with animal nature.

Unconsciousness has an animal nature. Like all old gods Yahweh has an animal symbolism.... This symbolism explains Yahweh's behavior, which, from the human point of view, is so intolerable; it is the behavior of an unconscious being who cannot be judged morally. Yahweh is a phenomenon and, as Job says, "not a man."54

These characteristics manifest in the personality of Yahweh closely parallel those which Jung ascribes to the trickster. Therein both Yahweh and the trickster are primarily unconscious beings existing at a stage of conscious development that is barely discernible from that of the animal. In addition, both Yahweh and the trickster are subject to the demands of their instinctual natures. Yet, notably, both present ambiguous and contradictory pictures of themselves, as is the case when the trickster assumes the role of the culture hero in mythology. Therein both become amoral, and both, in a sense, represent the union of opposites symbolized by the one overarching psychological totality of the "self."

For Jung, the Old Testament conception of Yahweh represents an unconscious "totality of inner opposites."56 In
this sense Yahweh symbolized the preconscious self. Yet, notably, if the preconscious self is to be actualized, it must first differentiate its own internal opposites. This is accomplished vis-à-vis the ego. Herein man becomes conscious of the opposites latent in the unconscious. In this way Jung understands the interchange between Job and Yahweh as leading to Yahweh’s desire to become incarnate, and consequently conscious of the opposites which, in his dealings with Job, remain completely unconscious. In Jung’s view this process embodies the central function of the Christ figure. Herein the split between good and evil is symbolically re-created as the separation of Christ from the Antichrist (Satan).

For Jung, the Book of Job marks a turning point in human civilization in that it signals the impending polarization of the notions of good and evil within human consciousness. Jung views this development as culminating in the rise of Christianity and the consequent separation of Christ from the Antichrist (Satan). He writes:

For anyone who has a positive attitude towards Christianity the problem of the Antichrist is a hard nut to crack. It is nothing less than the counterstroke of the devil, provoked by God’s Incarnation; for the devil attains his true stature as the adversary of Christ, and hence of God, only after the rise of Christianity, while as late as the Book of Job he was still one of God’s sons and on familiar terms with Yahweh.

According to Jung, the birth of the unambiguously good son of God, i.e., the Incarnation of Christ (who was opposed by the evil Satan) signals the beginning of the differentiation of human consciousness. Therein Yahweh sheds
his manifestly unconscious nature. With increased consciousness the nature of the godhead (Yahweh) became split into the figures of Christ and the Antichrist (Satan).  

As a consequence of this development, the birth of Christ became "characterized by all the usual phenomena attendant upon the birth of the hero...."  

Conversely, Yahweh's other (negative) half, as represented by Satan, took on the role of the trickster. Jung claims: "[Yahweh's] son Satan....is a trickster and a spoilsport who loves nothing better than to cause annoying accidents." Satan is "the father of all tricksters" within Christian tradition. As the epitome of all that is evil he came to represent man's inferior personality. Christ, on the other hand, as a symbol of the self, stands in opposition to Satan (the Antichrist), who represents the shadow of Christ.  

If we see the traditional figure of Christ as parallel to the psychic manifestation of the self, then the Antichrist would correspond to the shadow of the self, namely the dark half of the human totality....  

Thus Jung understands the absolute opposition between Christ and Satan as arising out of a differentiation in human consciousness which creates the split between good and evil, and derives from an original, but unconscious unity symbolized by Yahweh. Within the broader perspectives of Jung's psychology Christ symbolizes a "self" that has been divested of its shadow. Consequently Christ is portrayed solely in terms of his heroic qualities, while Satan is viewed as the shadow of the self, i.e., the trickster.
Notably, as a representation of the self, the hero is called upon to integrate the shadow side of his personality. Yet, the Christian conception of self, as represented by Christ, fails to do this. Jung writes:

...the Christ symbol lacks wholeness in the modern psychological sense, since it does not include the dark side of things but specifically excludes it in the form of a Luciferian opponent. 65

Significantly, within Chippewa mythology Nanabozho functions as both culture hero and trickster. Inasmuch as this is the case, the Chippewa trickster-transformer-culture hero achieves a fuller appreciation of the nature of the archetype by integrating its darker aspects into his personality. It is in this context that I will address Jung's understanding of trickster and archetypal hero and how it bears upon Nanabozho's role within the native tradition. Therein I will be analyzing a specific part of Chippewa mythology in order to come to terms with this apparent duality in Nanabozho's nature.

A Jungian Analysis of a Chippewa Myth of Origin

In his analysis of Schoolcraft's myths, vis-à-vis Longfellow's poem "The Song of Hiawatha," Jung has failed to analyze a major part of the culture hero mythology associated with the Chippewa trickster-transformer-culture hero. This part of the mythology recounts Nanabozho's adventures with his brother Wolf (also referred to as his "son" or "nephew").

Referring to this part of the culture hero mythology connected with Nanabozho Jung says:
The fifteenth canto of Longfellow's poem describes how Chibiabos, Hiawatha's best friend (in the majority of the renditions of the myth, Chibiabos is Nanabozho's brother wolf) the amiable player and singer, the incarnation of all life's joys, was enticed into an ambush by evil spirits, fell through the ice, and was drowned. Hiawatha mourned him so long that, with the help of magicians, he succeeded in calling him back again. But he comes back only as a spirit, and is made Master of the Land of Spirits.66

Notably, the Chippewa mythology upon which Longfellow has based the fifteenth canto of his poem is taken from an esoteric version of the mythology relating the death of Nanabozho's brother Wolf. In these myths Nanabozho's anger over Wolf's death is appeased when the manidos who are responsible for killing him present Nanabozho with the secrets of the Grand Medicine Society (the "Midewiwin"). This part of the Nanabozho trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology is not included in the mythological tradition known to the Chippewa as a whole. Rather, it is an esoteric form of the mythology known only to the members of the Midewiwin (i.e., the Grand Medicine Society). In this regard Mac Linscott Ricketts has pointed out: "While ethnologists have not been careful to separate common versions of the Nanabozho mythology from the esoteric Midewiwin myths, the two are quite different."67 The mythology relating Nanabozho's birth and his battles with the fish-king and the enemy-on-the-island constitutes a part of Chippewa tradition known to all the members of the tribe. Similarly, the mythology recounting the death of Nanabozho's brother Wolf and the flooding and
re-creation of the world is a part of traditional Chippewa lore. However, these parts of the mythology, although presupposed by the Midewiwin, are not included in its traditions. As Selwyn Dewdney has pointed out:

The widely current legend of how Nanabozho re-created the world after the flood let loose by Missishipeshu the ruler of the underwater world after the fourth of his helpers brought up a small scoop of mud [i.e., the popular mythology] is not included in the Mide [Midewiwin] tradition. (Italics mine.)

Also, according to Schoolcraft, his rendition of the Midewiwin mythology, upon which Longfellow's poem is based, is taken from Potawatomi, and not Chippewa sources. Although some versions of the Midewiwin origin myth collected from Chippewa informants conformed to the Potawatomi version, Schoolcraft states quite explicitly that his rendition was collected from the Potawatomi, and not the Chippewa. As a result, Longfellow's poem has amalgamated the mythologies of two different Indian tribes.

In addition, the incidents presented in Longfellow's poem all concern themselves with Nanabozho in his role as a culture hero within the mythology. As noted, in writing his poem Longfellow carefully edited all those sections of Schoolcraft's research which portrayed Nanabozho as a trickster. In the popular, as distinct from the Midewiwin myths, Nanabozho's trickster exploits are frequently presented. Therefore, by examining the popular mythology, Jung's understanding of the trickster can be utilized to shed light upon
the other half of Nanabozho's personality, which presents him as a fool or bungler, and not solely as a hero.

For these reasons, an analysis of the popular mythology outlining Nanabozho's adventures with his brother Wolf would be more in accord with Jung's analysis which, throughout "The Song of Hiawatha," has addressed itself to the popular mythology, as derived from Chippewa, and not Potawatomi sources. Herein the death of Wolf, the flood, and the re-creation of the world are recounted. (Note that the Midewiwin mythology, which has not been analyzed in this chapter, will be dealt with in chapter five.)

As a clearly distinct unit in the culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians, the flooding and re-creation of the world represents the oldest documented myth of Algonkian tradition. (The Chippewa Indians belong to the ethno-linguistic group designated as "Algonkian.") First recorded by the Jesuit missionary Paul Le Jeune in 1633, the main points of his rendition agree in essence with later versions, the majority of which were collected from the Chippewa during the first half of the twentieth century. This part of the mythical cycle of events associated with Nanabozho proceeds as follows. (This rendition of the myth is taken directly from Schoolcraft's *The Myth of Hiawatha* and originally appeared in 1839 as a part of *Algonic Researches, Comprising Inquiries Respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians.*)
One evening, as he [Manabozho] was walking along the shores of a great lake, weary and hungry, he encountered a great magician in the form of an old wolf, with six young ones, coming towards him. The wolf, as soon as he saw him, told his whelps to keep out of the way of Manabozho, "for I know," continued he, "that it is him that we see yonder." The young wolves were in the act of running off, when Manabozho cried out, "My grandchildren, where are you going? Stop, and I will go with you." He appeared rejoiced to see the old wolf, and asked him whither he was journeying. Being told that they were looking out for a place, where they could find most game, to pass the winter, he said he should like to go with them, and addressed the old wolf in the following words: "Brother, I have a passion for the chase; are you willing to change me into a wolf?" He was answered favorably, and his transformation immediately effected.

Manabozho was fond of novelty. He found himself a wolf corresponding in size with the others, but he was not quite satisfied with the change, crying out, "Oh, make me a little larger." They did so. "A little larger still," he exclaimed. They said, "Let us humor him," and granted his request. "Well," said he, "that will do." He looked at his tail. "Oh!" cried he, "do make my tail a little longer and more bushy." They did so. They then all started off in company, dashing up a ravine. After getting into the woods some distance, they fell in with the tracks of the moose. The young ones went after them, Manabozho and old wolf following at their leisure. "Well," said the wolf, "who do you think is the fastest of the boys? can you tell by the jumps they take?" "Why," he replied, "that one that takes such long jumps, he is the fastest, to be sure." "Ha! ha! you are mistaken," said the old wolf. "He makes a good start, but he will be the first to tire out; this one, who appears to be behind, will be the one to kill the game." They then came to the place where the boys had started in chase. One had dropped his small bundle. "Take that, Manabozho," said the old wolf. "Esa," he replied, "what will I do with a dirty dogskin?" The wolf took it up; it was a beautiful robe. "Oh, I will carry it now," said Manabozho. "Oh no," replied the wolf, who at the moment exerted his magic power; "it is a robe of pearls!" And from this moment he omitted no occasion to display his superiority, both in the hunter's and magician's art, above his conceited companion. Coming to a place where the moose had lain down, they saw that the young wolves had made a fresh start after their prey. "Why," said the wolf, "this moose is poor. I know by the tracks, for I can always tell whether they are fat or not." They next came to a place where one of the wolves had bit at the moose,
and had broken one of his teeth on a tree. "Manabozho," said the wolf, "one of our grandchildren has shot at the game. Take his arrow; there it is." "No," he replied; "what will I do with a dirty dog's tooth!" The old man took it up, and behold! it was a beautiful silver arrow. When they overtook the youngsters, they had killed a fat moose. Manabozho was very hungry; but, alas! such is the power of enchantment, he saw nothing but the bones picked clean. He thought to himself, "Just as I expected, dirty, greedy fellows!" However, he sat down without saying a word. At length the old wolf spoke to one of the young ones, saying, "Give some meat to your grandfather." One of them obeyed, and, coming near to Manabozho, opened his mouth as if he was about to vomit. He jumped up, saying, "You filthy dog, you have eaten so much that your stomach refuses to hold it. Get you gone into some other place." The old wolf, hearing the abuse, went a little to one side to see, and behold, a heap of fresh ruddy meat, with the fat, lying all ready prepared. He was followed by Manabozho, who, having the enchantment instantly removed, put on a smiling face. "Amazement!" said he; "how fine the meat is." "Yes," replied the wolf; "it is always so with us; we know our work, and always get the best. It is not a long tail that makes a hunter." Manabozho bit his lip.

They then commenced fixing their winter quarters, while the youngsters went out in search of game, and soon brought in a large supply. One day, during the absence of the young wolves, the old one amused himself in cracking the large bones of a moose. "Manabozho," said he, "cover your head with the robe, and do not look at me while I am at these bones, for a piece may fly in your eye." He did as he was told; but, looking through a rent that was his robe, he saw what the other was about. Just at that moment a piece flew off and hit him on the eye. He cried out, "Tyau, why do you strike me, you old dog?" The wolf said, "You must have been looking at me." But deception commonly leads to falsehood. "No, no," he said, "why should I want to look at you?" "Manabozho," said the wolf, "you must have been looking, or you would not have got hurt." "No, no," he replied again, "I was not. I will repay the saucy wolf this," thought he to himself. So, next day, taking up a bone to obtain the marrow, he said to the wolf, "Cover your head and don't look at me, for I fear a piece may fly in your eye." The wolf did so. He then took the leg-bone of the moose, and looking first to see if the wolf was well covered, he hit him a blow with all his might. The wolf jumped up, cried out, and fell prostrate from the effects of the blow. "Why," said he, "do you strike me so?" "Strike you!" he replied; "no, you must have been looking at me." "No," answered the wolf, "I say I have not." But he persisted in the assertion, and
the poor magician had to give up.

Manabozho was an expert hunter when he earnestly undertook it. He went out one day and killed a fat moose. He was very hungry, and sat down to eat. But immediately he fell into great doubts as to the proper point to begin. "Well," said he, "I do not know where to commence. At the head? No! People will laugh, and say 'he ate him backward.'" He went to the side. "No!" said he, "they will say I ate sideways." He then went to the hind-quarter. "No!" said he, "they will say I ate him forward. I will commence here, say what they will." He took a delicate piece from the rump, and was just ready to put it in his mouth, when a tree close by made a creaking noise, caused by the rubbing of one large branch against another. This annoyed him. "Why!" he exclaimed, "I cannot eat when I hear such a noise. Stop! stop! said he to the tree. He was putting the morsel again to his mouth, when the noise was repeated. He put it down, exclaiming, "I cannot eat with such a noise;" and immediately left the meat, although very hungry, to go and put a stop to the noise. He climbed the tree and was pulling at the limb, when his arm was caught between the two branches so that he could not extricate himself. While thus held fast, he saw a pack of wolves coming in the direction towards his meat. "Go that way! go that way!" he cried out: "what would you come to get here?" The wolves talked among themselves and said, "Manabozho must have something there, or he would not tell us to go another way." "I begin to know him," said an old wolf, "and all his tricks. Let us go forward and see." They came on, and finding the moose, soon made way with the whole carcass. Manabozho looked on wishfully to see them eat till they were fully satisfied, and they left him nothing but the bare bones. The next heavy blast of wind opened the branches and liberated him. He went home, thinking to himself, "See the effect of meddling with frivolous things when I had certain good in my possession."

Next day the old wolf addressed him thus: "My brother, I am going to separate from you, but I will leave behind me one of the young wolves to be your hunter." He then departed. In the act Manabozho was disenchanted, and again resumed his mortal shape. He was sorrowful and dejected, but soon resumed his wonted air of cheerfulness. The young wolf who was left with him was a good hunter, and never failed to keep the lodge well supplied with meat. One day he addressed him as follows: "My grandson, I had a dream last night, and it does not portend good. It is of the large lake which lies in that direction (pointing). You must be careful never to cross it, even if the ice should appear good. If you should come to it at night weary or hungry, you must make the circuit of it." Spring commenced, and the snow was melting fast before the rays of the sun,
when one evening the wolf came to this lake, weary with the
day's chase. He disliked to go so far to make the circuit of
it. "Hwooh!" he exclaimed, "there can be no great harm in try-
ing the ice, as it appears to be sound. Nesho [grandfather]
is over cautious on this point." But he had not got half way
across when the ice gave way and he fell in, and was immediately
seized by the serpents, who knew it was Manabozho's grandson,
and were thirsting for revenge upon him. Manabozho sat pensively
in his lodge.

Night came on, but no son returned. The second and third
night passed, but he did not appear. He became very desolate
and sorrowful. "Ah!" said he, "he must have disobeyed me, and
has lost his life in that lake I told him of. Well!" said
he at last, "I must mourn for him." So he took coal and black-
sed his face. But he was much perplexed as to the right mode.
"I wonder," said he, "how must I do it? I will cry 'Oh! my
grandson! Oh! my grandson!'" He burst out a laughing. "No!
no! that won't do. I will try so—'Oh! my heart! Oh! my heart!
ha! ha! ha! That won't do either. I will cry, 'Oh my grandson
obiquadaj [float] This satisfied him, and he remained in his
lodge and fasted, till his days of mourning were over. "Now,"
said he, "I will go in search of him." He set out and travelled
some time. At last he came to a great lake. He then raised the
same cries of lamentation for his grandson which had pleased
him. He sat down near a small brook that emptied itself into
a lake, and repeated his cries. Soon a bird called Ke-ske-mun-
i-sew [Kingfisher] came near to him. The bird inquired, "What
are you doing here?" "Nothing," he replied; "but can you tell
me whether anyone lives in this lake, and what brings you here
yourself?" "Yes!" responded the bird; "the Prince of Serpents
lives here, and I am watching to see whether the obiquadaj [guts] of
Manabozho's grandson will not drift ashore, for he was killed
by the serpents last spring. But are you not Manabozho him-
self?" "No," he answered, with his usual deceit; "how do you
think he could get to this place? But tell me, do the serpents
ever appear? when? and where? Tell me about their habits."
"Do you see that beautiful white sandy beach?" said the bird.
"Yes!" he answered. "It is there," continued the Kingfisher,
"that they bask in the sun. Before they come out, the lake
will appear perfectly calm; not even a ripple will appear.
After midday (na-wi-qua) you will see them."

"Thank you," he replied; "I am Manabozho himself. I
have come in search of the body of my son, and to seek my
revenge. Come near me that I may put a medal round your neck
as a reward for your information." The bird unsuspectingly
came near, and received a white medal, which can be seen to
this day. While bestowing the medal, he attempted slyly to
wring the bird's head off, but it escaped him, with only a
disturbance of the crown feathers of its head, which are
rumpled backward. He had found out all he wanted to know,
and then desired to conceal the knowledge of his purposes by
killing his informant.

He went to the sandy beach indicated, and transformed himself into an oak stump. He had not been there long before he saw the lake perfectly calm. Soon hundreds of monstrous serpents came crawling on the beach. One of the number was beautifully white. He was the prince. The others were red and yellow. The prince spoke to those about him as follows: "I never saw that black stump standing there before. It may be Manabozho. There is no knowing but he may be somewhere about here. He has the power of an evil genius, and we should be on our guard against his wiles." One of the large serpents immediately went and twisted himself around it to the top, and pressed it very hard. The greatest pressure happened to be on his throat; he was just ready to cry out when the serpent let go. Eight of them went in succession and did the like, but always let go at the moment he was ready to cry out. "It cannot be him," they said. "He is too great a weak heart [a coward] for that." They then coiled themselves in a circle about their prince. It was a long time before they fell asleep. When they did so, Manabozho took his bow and arrows, and cautiously stepping over the serpents till he came to the prince, drew up his arrow with the full strength of his arm, and shot him in the left side. He then gave a saw-saw-quan [war-cry] and ran off at full speed. The sound uttered by the snakes on seeing their prince mortally wounded, was horrible. They cried, "Manabozho has killed our prince; go in chase of him." Meantime he ran over hill and valley, to gain the interior of the country, with all his strength and speed, treading a mile at a step. But his pursuers were also spirits, and could hear that something was approaching him fast. He made for the highest mountain, and climbed the highest tree on its summit, when, dreadful to behold, the whole lower country was seen to be overflowed, and the water was gaining rapidly on the high lands. He saw it reach to the foot of the mountain, and at length it came up to the foot of the tree, but there was no abatement. The flood rose steadily and perceptibly. He soon felt the lower part of his body to be immersed in it. He addressed the tree: "Grandfather, stretch yourself." The tree did so. But the waters still rose. He repeated his request, and was again obeyed. He asked a third time, and was again obeyed; but the tree replied, "It is the last time; I cannot get any higher." The waters continued to rise until they reached up to his chin, at which point they stood, and soon began to abate. Hope revived in his heart. He then cast his eyes around the illimitable expanse, and spied a loon. "Dive down, my brother," he said to him, "and fetch up some earth, so that I can make a new earth." The bird obeyed, but rose up to the surface a lifeless form. He then saw a muskrat. "Dive!" said he, "and if you succeed, you may after live either on land or water, as you please; or I will give you a chain of beautiful little lakes, surrounded with rushes to inhabit." He dove down, but he floated up senseless.
He took the body and breathed in his nostrils, which restored him to life. "Try again," said he. The muskrat did so. He came up senseless the second time, but clutched a little earth in one of his paws, from which, together with the carcass of the dead loon, he created a new earth as large as the former had been, with all living animals, fowls, and plants.

As he was walking to survey the new earth, he heard some one singing. He went to the place, and found a female spirit, in the disguise of an old woman, singing these words, and crying at every pause:-

"Ma nau bo shu, O do zheem un,
Ogeem au wun, Onis' sa waun,
Hee Ub bub ub bub (crying),
Dred Manabozho in revenge,
For his grandson lost-
Has killed the chief-the king."

"Noko," said he, "what is the matter?" "Matter!" said she, "where have you been, not to have heard how Manabozho shot my son, the prince of serpents, in revenge for the loss of his nephew, and how the earth was overflowed, and created anew? So I brought my son here, that he might kill and destroy the inhabitants, as he did on the former earth. But, "she continued, casting a scrutinizing glance, "N'yau! indego Manabozho! Hub! ub! ub! ub! Oh, I am afraid you are Manabozho!" He burst out into a laugh to quiet her fears. "Ha! ha! ha! how can that be? Has not the old earth perished and all that was in it?" "Impossible! impossible!" "But Noko," he continued, "what do you intend doing with all that cedar cord on your back?" "Why," said she, "I am fixing a snare for Manabozho, if he should be on this earth; and, in the mean time, I am looking for herbs to heal my son. I am the only person that can do him any good. He always gets better when I sing-

"'Manabozho a ne we guawk,
Koan dan mau wah, ne we guawk.
Koan dan mau wah, ne we guawk.
It is Manabozho's dart,
I try my magic power to withdraw."

Having found out, by conversation with her, all he wished, he put her to death. He then took off her skin, and assuming this disguise, took the cedar cord on his back, and limped away singing her songs. He completely aped the gait and voice of the old woman. He was met by one who told him to make haste; that the prince was worse. At the lodge, limping and muttering, he took notice that they had his grandson's hide to hang over the door. "Oh dogs!" said he; "the evil dogs!" He sat down near the door, and commenced sobbing like an aged woman. One observed, "Why don't you attend the sick, and not sit there making such a noise?" He took up the poker and laid it on them, mimicking the voice of the old woman. "Dogs that you are! Why do you laugh at me? You know very well that I am so sorry that I am nearly out of my head." With that he approached the prince,
singing the songs of the old woman, without exciting any suspicion. He saw that his arrow had gone in about one half of its length. He pretended to make preparations for extracting it, but only made ready to finish his victim; and giving the dart a sudden thrust, he put a period to the prince's life. He performed this act with the power of a giant, bursting the old woman's skin, and at the same moment rushing through the door, the serpents following him, hissing and crying out "Perfidy! murder! vengeance! it is Nanabozho." He immediately transformed himself into a wolf, and ran over the plain with all his speed, aided by his father the West Wind.73

In the rendition of the myth presented above, the key mythological figures are Nanabozho, the wolves (particularly Nanabozho's "nephew"), and the underwater manidos. (The latter are seen as snake-like beings.)74 These three figures will be analyzed in terms of Jung's psychology in the paragraphs which follow. The kingfisher and the toad-woman will not be fitted into my analysis, however. This is because the argument which I will be developing to account for the relationship of the culture hero and the trickster figure in Chippewa tradition, as demonstrated by this part of the Nanabozho culture hero mythology, does not require an understanding of either of these two figures.

As demonstrated by Jung's analysis of "The Song of Hiawatha," the archetypal pattern which the hero of mythology repeats requires him to symbolically enter into the unconscious, be confronted by it, and, after subduing its negative aspects, returning to consciousness renewed and revitalized by its energies. Therein Hiawatha claims as his prize the skin of the roebuck, the fish oil of Mishe Nahma, and the scalp of
his enemy. In all of these instances the "treasure hard to attain" which the hero wrests from the unconscious is symbolic of the renewal which he brings to consciousness. Similarly, the part of the mythology which Jung has failed to analyze in examining "The Song of Hiawatha" symbolically repeats the deeds typical of the archetypal hero as he endeavours to bring revitalization to consciousness.

The initial segments of this part of the culture hero mythology describes Nanabozho's adventures while in the company of a pack of wolves. Notably, for Jung, the figure of the wolf is symbolic of the unconscious.

In mythology the unconscious is portrayed as a great animal, for instance Leviathan, or a whale, wolf, or dragon. (Italics mine.)

Within the context of Jung's psychology, theriomorphic symbols in general represent the instinctual component of human nature. Jung writes: "Theriomorphic symbolism is always an indication of a psychic process occurring on an animal level, i.e., in the instinctual sphere." Therein, Nanabozho's presence as a member of the wolf pack represents that stage in the development of ego consciousness wherein the archetypal hero (Nanabozho) finds himself in a state of undifferentiated unity with his instinctual unconscious, as was the case prior to Hiawatha's killing the "roebuck." It is only with the killing of the representative of animal nature (the roebuck) that the hero separates his consciousness from that of the "Great Mother," the collective unconscious. In this way he is freed
from his "participation mystique" with animal nature.

The fact that Nanabozho is gradually evolving out of his imprisonment in the unconscious is demonstrated by the fact that he is no match for the wolves, either in terms of "magical power" or hunting ability. Consequently, he is forced to rely, albeit reluctantly, upon their good will for his survival. In this way the wolves supply him with food when he is hungry and, in some renditions of the myth, cover him with their tails when he is cold. As a result, this part of the mythology portrays Nanabozho as a trickster, i.e., as an incompetent foil and dupe. Jung points out:

He [the trickster] is no match for the animals... because of his extraordinary clumsiness and lack of instinct. These defects are the mark of human nature, which is not so well adapted to the environment as the animals but, instead, has prospects of a much higher development of consciousness....??

However, the fact that Nanabozho is no match for the wolves indicates that he is no longer completely imprisoned by his animal unconsciousness. In this way Jung views the trickster as a "being of divine-animal nature, on the one hand superior to man because of his superhuman qualities, and on the other hand inferior to him because of his unreason and unconsciousness."78 Thereby Nanabozho illustrates a potential for higher development (as symbolized by his expulsion from the wolf pack). In leaving the wolf pack Nanabozho has partially severed his ties with the unconscious. This has taken place as a result of the differentiation of his conscious-
ness from the unconscious.

Nanabozho does not completely divorce himself from his instinctual nature, however. Consequently, one of the wolves is left behind to look after him. As a result, although the archetypal hero (Nanabozho) has succeeded in separating his ego from the unconscious (wolf pack), he has done this without totally severing his ties with animal nature (i.e., his instinctuality). For Jung, this represents the healthy development of ego consciousness. Even with increased consciousness the ego is still required to remain in touch with its instinctual side if individuation, i.e., the process of growing towards the self, is to occur. As such, Jung claims that the integration of the instincts "is a prerequisite for individuation." \(^7\)

Having separated his ego from the unconscious, as symbolized by his leaving the wolf pack, Nanabozho is now left to make his way in the world as a conscious being who, in spite of existing apart from the unconscious, remains in touch with it, vis-à-vis his nephew Wolf (who is also referred to as his "brother" or "son" in the popular mythology). However, as noted in the myth, the underwater manidos conspire to take Wolf away from Nanabozho, which they succeed in doing by having him fall into the water and killing him.

Notably, the supernatural beings who inhabit the underwater world are pictured as snake-like creatures. For Jung, the snake (or serpents in general) "is the representative of
the world of instinct." According to Jung:

...the snake would correspond to what is totally unconscious and incapable of becoming conscious, but which, as the collective unconscious and as instinct, seems to possess a peculiar wisdom of its own....

In Jung’s psychology, cold-blooded creatures such as the snake represent the deepest, and most primitive levels of the unconscious.

Also, in this regard, it is worth noting that Jung refers to the Chippewa concept of "manido" as "power or productive energy." In this way, the beings who inhabit the underwater world, i.e., the underwater manidos, would represent the psychic, or libidinal energies operative within the collective unconscious.

In the myth Nanabozho loses his instinctual nature, symbolized by Wolf, to the unconscious (i.e., the underwater manidos). Symbolically, therefore, this myth tells us that the unconscious (snake-like underwater manidos) has reclaimed the instinctual part of Nanabozho’s personality (i.e., his wolf-nature). The conscious reality into which Nanabozho has evolved precipitates the sacrifice of the instinctual component of his personality as a necessary consequence of his development. As a result, the former totality of Nanabozho’s "self," mythologically symbolized in the relationship of uncle-nephew, Nanabozho and Wolf, has been fractured as a result of Wolf’s death.

The loss of Wolf to the underwater manidos brings
prief to Nanabozho. At this point in the myth Nanabozho enters into a period of mourning and depression. This occurs as a result of the withdrawal of libido from consciousness, as symbolized by the sacrifice of Wolf (who is regarded as a "manido" in Chippewa mythology). As an ego conscious being, the loss of his instinctual nature has caused Nanabozho considerable anguish, and yet at the same time strengthened his resolve to regain contact with the missing component of his personality.

As a result, Nanabozho seeks to revenge Wolf's death and, if possible, recover some vestige of his missing nephew. He does this by slaying the chief of the underwater manidos who symbolizes the negative unconscious and, in some versions is, the son or servant of the negative mother, the toad-woman. In addition, in several versions of the myth either, (1) Nanabozho manages to retrieve Wolf's skin from the entrance to the chief of the underwater manido's lodge, or (2) Nanabozho rescues Wolf from the underwater manidos. This is found to be the case in the renditions of the myth collected by De Jong (1913), Carson (1917), Ellis (1888), Jones (1905, series one), Jones (1905, series two), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), and Kinietz (1947).

Carson (1917) relates how Nanabozho rescued his "brother" from the lodge of the underwater manidos after he had killed their chief. He and his brother then fled in advance of the flood waters.
The rendition of the myth provided by Kinietz (1947) states that Nanabozho rescued "his stepson's pelt," which was being used as a curtain to cover the doorway of the chief of the underwater manido's lodge.87

In De Jong's (1913) rendition of the myth Nanabozho snatched his nephew's skin covering the doorway to the underwater manido's lodge after having killed the wounded chief. After the flood, when Nanabozho is on the raft with the other animals, he "breathe[s] on his nephew and restores him to life."88

The version of the myth presented by Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959) relates how Nanabozho "grabbed his adopted son's skin that had been used as a flap over the opening of the [chief of the underwater manidos] wigwam, and ran for a raft."89

Jones (1905, series one) points out that Nanabozho seized the "skin" of his nephew hanging over the doorway of the underwater manido's lodge as he fled from the approaching flood waters.90

The second rendition of the myth presented by Jones (1905, series two) describes the same sequence of events as the first (1905, series one) wherein Nanabozho seizes Wolf's skin as he escapes from the chief's lodge.91

Also, in the concluding lines of Schoolcraft's (The Myth of Hiawatha) rendition of the myth, Nanabozho transforms himself into a wolf and runs away from the "serpents" who are pursuing him (i.e., the underwater manidos). Here too,
there is an indication that Nanabocho has symbolically re-
gained his instinctual side (Wolf) from the underwater manidos.

In Jungian terms these renditions of the myth indicate
that the archetypal hero (Nanabocho) has entered into the
unconscious (world of the underwater manidos) and retrieved
his instinctuality (i.e., his wolf-nature). Rather than
accept the sacrifice of his instinctuality to the unconscious,
the hero of Chippewa tradition has chosen to integrate it
into his personality, as symbolized by the rescue of Wolf.

Although not all of the renditions of the Chippewa
myth of origin recounting the flooding and re-creation of
the world claim that Nanabocho and Wolf merged into one myth-
ological entity after Wolf had been rescued from the under-
water manidos (as in Schoolcraft's version), thereby indicating
the complete integration of the shadow side of Nanabocho's
personality, they nevertheless provide a fair indication as
to the mythical, and hence archetypal, significance of Nanabocho's
actions in this part of the mythology. Jung points out:

The essential thing in the divine drama is not the
concreteness of the figures, nor is it important what
sort of an animal is sacrificed or what sort of a god
it represents; what alone is important is that an act
of sacrifice takes place [i.e., the killing of Wolf],
that a process of transformation is going on in the un-
conscious whose dynamism, whose contents and whose subject
are themselves unknown but become visible indirectly to
the conscious mind by stimulating the imaginative material
at its disposal....92

In killing the chief of the underwater manidos
Nanabocho precipitates the flooding of the world. Jung claims:
The Deluge is simply the counterpart of the all-vivifying and all-producing water, of "the ocean which is the origin of all things." 93

For Jung, "The sea or a large expanse of water signifies the unconscious." 94 Consequently, flood imagery symbolizes the submergence of an old consciousness and the emergence of the new. 95 In entering into the unconscious Nanabozho has fulfilled his role as the archetypal hero of mythology. In emerging from it he has been rewarded with renewed and revitalized consciousness. This is symbolized by the theme of the re-creation of the world, i.e., the re-generation of consciousness from the unconscious. In this way, according to Jung, "the sacrifice of the libido [Wolf] necessarily results in the creation of the world." 96

In sending Muskrat to the bottom of the waters to retrieve a particle of earth, and subsequently re-creating the world from it, Nanabozho has succeeded in separating his consciousness from the grasp of the unconscious (as is typical of the role of the archetypal hero in mythology). However, he has done this without having to completely do away with his instinctual nature, and so with his relationship to the unconscious. In this way Nanabozho succeeds in integrating the shadow (Wolf) into his personality.

The original unity of trickster and culture hero, symbolizing the two-way flow of energy between ego and unconscious, is reactualized in the creation myth of the Chippewa. Therein, in leaving the wolf pack Nanabozho symbolically re-
traces the path of the ego out of the unconscious as it moves towards progressively higher stages of conscious development. The actions of Nanabozho in this part of the mythology conform to the dynamics described by Jung’s model of the trickster archetype. As the myth progresses Nanabozho is viewed less in terms of his trickster qualities and more as a hero. With the loss (sacrifice) of Wolf to the unconscious Nanabozho’s role in the mythology converts from that of trickster to that of culture hero. Consequently, Nanabozho’s entry, and subsequent re-emergence from the unconscious traces the path of the ego as it temporarily leaves consciousness to re-enter the unconscious and find renewal therein. In the Chippewa myth of origin this renewal takes the form of Nanabozho’s rescuing his wolf-nature from the unconscious and returning with it to consciousness, therein winning the “treasure hard to attain.”

As a result of this two-way flow of energy, the manifestly instinctual nature of Nanabozho, in his role as the trickster of Chippewa tradition, is not seen as a contradiction of his heroic qualities. As a true representative of the “self,” Nanabozho brings the shadow into harmony with the totality of his personality which, unlike the Christian tradition which separates Christ from the Antichrist, integrates both positive (heroic) and negative (trickster-like) qualities into one mythological personage.

In light of this interpretation of the myth we can elucidate, to some degree, the reason for the dual nature of
Nanabozho within Chippewa mythology. Herein Nanabozho's culture hero and trickster traits are not seen as contradictory, but rather as two aspects of the same personality. The mythology of the Chippewa provides us with some indication as to why these two qualities have been fused into one mythological personage.

As a reminder of man's unconscious origins the trickster can serve as a gateway back to the revivifying aspects of the unconscious which can renew and regenerate conscious life. In this capacity the trickster acts as a culture hero, re-creating the world, and bringing culture to the Indians. Jung addresses himself to this point by saying,

If, at the end of the trickster myth, the savior[sel'] is hinted at, this comforting premonition or hope means that some calamity or other has happened and been consciously understood. Only out of disaster can the longing for the savior arise—in other words, the recognition and unavoidable integration of the shadow creates such a harrowing situation that nobody but a savior can undo the tangled web of fate. (Italics mine.)

If the trickster, as a collective shadow figure is assimilated, then society is healed and given light by its previously rejected shadow, and the trickster moves from 'fool' to 'savior,' i.e., towards the principle of psychic wholeness, the self.
NOTES

1. C. G. Jung, C.W. V, pp. 312-357.


4. Ibid., p. 167.

5. Mac Linscott Ricketts, "The North American Indian Trickster," History of Religions, V (1965), 334. In rebuttal to Radin's assertion that trickster and culture hero represent distinct mythological entities Ricketts writes: "Radin, it seems to me, errs in separating the pure trickster stories from myths of heroic theft, the regulation of destructive forces in nature, destruction of monsters, the origin of death, and in general, the establishment of the world as it is. There is simply too much evidence that all these deeds belong to the trickster in his roles of culture hero and transformer."


10. Ibid., p. 345.

11. In this way the Chippewa have turned to the Midewiwin in order to revitalize their native traditions and religious values in the face of white intrusion. The Midewiwin represents the codification of Indian belief systems in ritual and practice (refer to chapter five).
12 Cf. C. G. Jung, "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass," C.W. XI, p. 273: "...the mystery of the Eucharist transforms the soul of the empirical man, who is only a part of himself, into his totality, symbolically expressed by Christ. In this sense, therefore, we can speak of the Mass as the rite of the individuation process."


14 Ibid., p. 316, n. 16.

15 Ibid., p. 317, n. 19: "In the Mithraic liturgy the generating breath of the spirit comes from the sun, presumably from the sun tube."

16 Cf. Ibid., p. 323: "The mother corresponds to the virgin anima, who is not turned towards the outer world and is therefore not corrupted by it. She is turned rather towards the "inner sun," the archetype of transcendent wholeness-the self."

17 Ibid., p. 321.

18 Ibid., p. 321, n. 28.

19 Cf. Ibid., p. 323: "As is consistent with the birth of the hero and renewed god from the ocean of the unconscious, Hiawatha passes his childhood between land and water."

20 Ibid., p. 327.

21 Ibid., p. 327.

22 Ibid., p. 331.

23 Ibid., p. 331.

24 Ibid., p. 332.

25 Ibid., p. 347.

26 Ibid., p. 348.

27 Ibid., p. 348.

28 Ibid., pp. 349-350.

29 Ibid., p. 348.

30 Ibid., p. 350.
31 Ibid., p. 351.
32 Ibid., p. 352.
33 Ibid., p. 353.
34 See chapter three and appendix 5 in this regard.
36 Cf. Thompson, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXXVII (1922), 138: "In exercising the function of selecting elements to make an artistic production, Longfellow has omitted all that aspect of the Manabozho saga which considers the culture hero as a trickster. The double character of leader of the people and foolish dupe does not appear to strike the Indian as incongruous, but Longfellow would undoubtedly have spoiled his poem for white readers had he included the trickster incidents."
37 In this regard reference can be made to the works of Jones (Ojibwa Texts, parts one and two), Radin (Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of Southeastern Ontario), and Leekley (The World of Manabozho). Appendix C can be consulted for a more complete listing of Chippewa trickster-transformer myths.
38 C. G. Jung, C.W. V, p. 432.
39 Cf. Ibid., pp. 422-423: "The animal sacrifice, where it has lost its original meaning as an offered gift and has taken on a higher religious significance, has an inner relationship to a hero or god. The animal represents the god himself...The sacrifice of the animal means, therefore, the sacrifice of the animal nature, the instinctual libido."
40 Ibid., p. 271.


C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 260.


Cf. C. G. Jung, C.W. XIV, pp. 107-108, n. 66: "The self is the hypothetical summation of an indescribable totality, one-half of which is constituted by ego-consciousness, the other by the shadow. The latter, so far as it can be established empirically, usually presents itself as the inferior or negative personality... As a totality, the self is a coincidentia oppositorum; it is therefore bright and dark and yet neither."


Ibid., p. 337.


Ibid., p. 383.

Cf. Stanley Diamond, "Job and the Trickster," In Search of the Primitive (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1974), p. 280: "God, says Job is omnipotent. He creates and destroys for reasons beyond human comprehension. Here one catches a glimpse of God as a trickster, that is to say of the principle of ambivalence and of the relationship between good and evil, perhaps even of their personification. That is the primitive substratum in the consciousness of Job."
57 Ibid., p. 406.
58 Cf. Stanley Diamond, "Job and the Trickster," In Search of the Primitive (New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1974), p. 281: The Book of Job, generated by an archaic civilization, a society no longer primitive, symbolizes the converse of the primitive notion of the trickster and also represents the origins of our own conceptions of good and evil.
62 Ibid., pp. 392-393.
63 Ibid., p. 395.
64 C. G. Jung, C.W. IX, Part II, p. 42.
65 Ibid., p. 41.
67 Ricketts, The Structure and Religious Significance, p. 185. Cf. Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 112: Some origin tales were known to all Ojibwa. A number, which included esoteric versions of the common tales, were claimed as secret property of the "Mide Society" Their general intent was to depict Midewiwin as a treasury of wisdom.
68 In this regard it is significant that the Midewiwin mythology was preserved on birch bark scrolls. On these scrolls were carved mnemonic designs in the form of pictographs which retold the sacred mythology connected with the creation of the world, the creation of man, the origin of death, the origin of the Ojibwa nation, and the origin of the Midewiwin. In contrast to the Midewiwin mythology, the popular myths were part of a strictly oral tradition, and not in any way (anthropological studies aside) recorded.
70 Osborn, Schoolcraft-Longfellow-Hiawatha, p. 231.
See also Margaret Fisher: "The Mythology of the Northern
and Northeastern Algonkians in Reference to Algonkian Mythology
as a Whole," Man in Northeastern North America, ed. Frederick

71 Reuben Thwaites, The Jesuit Relations and Allied

72 In most versions of the Nanabocho culture hero mythol-
ogy the ‘flooding of the world’ takes place after Nanabocho’s
encounter with the toad-woman (which occurs in the paragraphs
that follow). In one or two instances two floods are mentioned,
the first occurring after Nanabocho has shot the underwater
manido(s) by the side of the water, and the second after his
encounter with the toad-woman, and the killing of the wounded
chief of the underwater manidos.

73 Williams, Schoolcraft’s Indian Legends, p. 301.
In referring to his method for collecting the myths Schoolcraft
states: "These tales have been taken from the oral relations
of the Chippewas at the Sault of St. Mary, the ancient seat
of that nation. Written down at the moment, and consequently
in haste, no opportunity for literary refinement was presented;
and after the lapse of some time, we have not judged it expedient
to make any material alterations in the language adopted, while
our impressions were fresh. A literal adherence to the sense
of the original, to the simplicity of the narration, and,
in many instances, to the peculiar mode of expression of the
Indians, is thus preserved while the order of the incidents
is throughout strictly the same. Our collections of this sub-
ject are extensive. We do not feel assured that the selections
here given present a just specimen of their merits—particularly
in relation to the poetical machinery or invention of the
Indians."

74 In the majority of the renditions of this part of
the Chippewa culture hero cycle, the underwater manidos are
variously referred to as "serpents," "snakes," or "sea-lions."
Cf. Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibwa, p. 168:
"The story of Nanabocho and the Lion chief of the underwater
manidos is told mainly in substituting Missikenebik, translated
as the Great Fish, for Misshipeshu. The Ojibwa word Mishikenahbik
is rendered in English as Great Snake."

76 Ibid., p. 150.
77 C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster
Figure," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 264.
Ibid., p. 264.
80C. G. Jung, C.W. V, p. 396.
82C. G. Jung, C.W. XIV, pp. 144-145.
86William Ellis, "The Story of Nana-bo-zhoo and his Brother," The Varsity, IX (December, 1888), 56.
91Ibid., p. 271.
92C. G. Jung, C.W. V, p. 430.
93Ibid., p. 365.
94Ibid., p. 219.
95Ibid., p. 389. Cf. Mary Louise Von Pranz, Creation Myths (Zurich: Spring Publications, 1972), p. 8: "As you will see when we study several creation myths, it is sometimes revealed very clearly to us that they represent unconscious and preconscious processes which describe not the origin of our cosmos, but the origin of man's conscious awareness of the world."

97 Cf. Von Franz, *Creation Myths*, p. 63: "You will see from Professor Jung's comments that he interprets Coyote [the trickster] as a shadow figure whose function it is to undo the consolidation of consciousness. Consciousness has the unfortunate tendency, inherent in its functioning, to solidify and affirm itself and to maintain continuity—its very essence must be like that if it is to function—but it has the disadvantage of constantly excluding the irrational, the primitive, the unwanted. So it needs a counter function in the unconscious, something which constantly breaks the consolidation of collective consciousness and thus keeps the door open for the influx of new creative contents."

98 C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," *C.W.* IX, Part I, p. 271.

99 Cf., *Ibid.*, p. 272: "As in its collective mythological form, so also the individual shadow contains within it the seed of an enantiodromia, of a conversion into its opposite."
CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF NANABOZHO IN THE MIDEWIWIN ORIGIN MYTHOLOGY

In chapter four I made use of Jung’s theoretical perspectives to analyze the trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians. Therein I developed Jung’s analysis of Longfellow’s poem “The Song of Hiawatha” in such a way that it incorporated another part of Nanabozho’s adventures as a culture hero. Significantly, at the point where Jung’s analysis of Longfellow’s poem ended, the origin myth of the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Chippewa Indians was introduced. As this myth belonged to an esoteric tradition and had been derived from Potawatomi and not Chippewa mythology (at least insofar as Schoolcraft’s research indicates), I chose not to analyze it, opting instead to apply Jung’s psychology to the popular mythology (which had been presented in Longfellow’s poem up to that point).

Inasmuch as this is the case, this chapter will analyze the sacred mythology of the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Chippewa Indians, and examine its significance for my analysis of the culture hero-trickster relationship, as presented in chapter four.

In the sacred mythology of the Chippewa Indians Nanabozho is recounted as being responsible for the origin of the Midewiwin in some versions of their mythology. In his
connection with the origin of the Midewiwin, Nanabozho's culture hero traits predominate. In the majority of the Midewiwin origin myths which I have examined, Nanabozho is seldom, if ever, viewed as a trickster.¹

Anthropologist Ruth Landes comments on the nature of the Grand Medicine Society by saying:

The Society functioned to treat with Supernaturals about curing ailments. The curing procedures were, simultaneously, modes of instructing novices and adepts about the mide rites' origins in ancient revelations and about using the curing powers.²

In essence, the Grand Medicine Society was a ritualized form of primitive medicine. Through contact with the supernatural world the Mide priest effected cures upon ailing individuals. By proceeding through the various "degrees" of the Midewiwin (there were four degrees in all)³ the Mide medicine man acquired "the knowledge necessary to allow him to effectively carry out these cures."⁴

According to Selwyn Dewdney and Ruth Landes the purposes of the Midewiwin were three-fold:

1. The preservation of the origin myths of the Society.
2. The instruction of healing techniques.
3. The preservation of native tradition.

Dewdney elaborates upon the nature of the instruction which the candidates for the Midewiwin received.

Instruction was of three sorts: a relatively simple, short term course of preparation for those to be initiated into the lower degrees, more complex information and requirements for those aiming at the higher degrees of initiation, and a long, gruelling apprenticeship which led-with
or without actual initiations to acquisition of the total Mide lore available and the summit of Mide status. Simple or complex, the instruction always included correct ritual procedures, some herbal and medicinal training, and a drilling in the origin traditions.  

The Midewiwin origin myths which I have examined are derived primarily from birch bark scrolls. Upon these scrolls were carved mnemonic designs in the form of pictographs which retold the sacred mythology connected with the creation of the world, the creation of man, the origin of death, the origin of the Ojibwa nation, and the origin of the Midewiwin. 

On the whole, the various versions of the Midewiwin origin myths recounted are quite dissimilar. However, from the mythological material which I have examined, it appears as though the versions of the myth which relate the origin of the Midewiwin to Nanabozho are, on the whole, fairly consistently retold. But even within these versions there are considerable variations. Ruth Landes comments on the mythological disparity evident in the origin tales of the Midewiwin by saying:

When securing Mide origin tales among the Ojibwa at Red Lake reservation and Manitou Reserve in the 1930's, I saw that they differed widely from mide tales of other tribes and from Ojibwa ones W. J. Hoffman had recorded (1891). 

Further to this Walter J. Hoffman, in his classic study "The Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa," points out:

On account of the independent operations of the Mide priests in the various settlements of the Ojibwa, and especially because of the slight intercourse between
those of the northern and southern divisions of the nation, there has arisen a difference in the pictographic representation of the same general ideas, variants which are frequently not recognized by Mide priests who are not members of the Midewiwin in which these mnemonic charts had their origin. As there are variants in the pictographic delineation of originally similar ideas, there are also corresponding variations in the traditions pertaining to them.\(^8\)

Landes goes on to assert that many of the discrepancies found in the mythology connected with the Midewiwin are the result of the way in which the traditional lore of the Society was passed on to future generations. The novice receiving the origin myths from his instructor, usually a senior officer in the Midewiwin, was expected to faithfully memorize all that was related to him. In receiving this information the novice was not supposed to ask questions, nor offer criticism, even if the information passed on to him seemed illogical or inconsistent. It was considered praiseworthy for the shaman recounting the sacred myths to include his own interpretations. Hence, a variety of origin myths were made feasible. Landes adds to this:

In any case Ojibwa thinking was so allegorical, subtle and indirect that contradictions were not seen as such, but rather as hiding deeper levels of meaning that were the more powerful for being difficult to correlate with other information.\(^9\)

Selwyn Dewdney has summarized the ritual associated with the Midewiwin, as derived from his survey of the ethnographic materials now extant, as follows: (Landes refers to this ritual as the "Life Midewiwin.")\(^10\)

1. The candidate's gifts for the presiding members of the
Midewiwin are brought into the sacred lodge (the "Midewegun").
A dog is killed and laid at the east door of the lodge.
2. The candidates assemble at the east door.
3. The "Grand Mide" tries three times to enter the lodge but fails. He succeeds on his fourth attempt.
4. He and the ceremonial procession enter the lodge, following the processional path four times before settling into their appointed seats.
5. Special songs and rites are performed by delegated members to "confuse the malignant manitos."
6. After all participants to the sacred rite have stepped over the sacrificed dog, it is taken away to be cooked.
7. The Mide officers "shoot" the candidate with their megis shells. The candidate is revived by the "priests" and coughs out the megis shells which have been shot into him.
8. The initiate tests his powers by shooting his mentor and the other officials and reviving them.
9. The elders cough out the shells which they have been shot with and place them on a blanket.
10. The gifts are distributed among the Mide officials and the cooked dog is brought in and eaten. Following this there is a ritual procession out of the sacred lodge.\textsuperscript{11}

There is also a Midewiwin rite dealing with death and the afterworld, and the ceremonial procedures prescribed for those who have left this world for the land of Nanabozho's brother in the West. Dewdney (citing Hoffman) comments:
The "Path of the Dead" runs westward from a Midewegan set up in the living world where a proxy, usually a relative, undergoes rites which ensure that the deceased person will successfully traverse the path to the Ghost Midewegan. The role of the Ghost Midewiwin is to conduct the soul of the departed safely to the Land of the Dead. Dewdney states:

According to Hoffman the dead candidate is thought of as repeating Nanabozho's successful traverse of the Path of the Dead when visiting his brother. The proxy therefore went through rituals that paralleled this journey symbolically.

Dewdney points out that the Ghost rite ceremonies were not as carefully laid out as those of the "Life Midewiwin." Landes adds to this that, "The weight of the Ojibwa religion was addressed to procedures of living, but some thought was given to schematizing a postdeath sphere." In general the Midewiwin rites associated with death were not as systematically developed, nor as voluminous as those pertaining to the "life" sphere of the Midewiwin.

As previously stated, the mythology which connects Nanabozho to the origin of the Midewiwin is part of an esoteric tradition. This part of the Nanabozho mythology was known only to the Chippewa medicine men and the members of the Midewiwin. It was not part of the mythological tradition known to the Chippewa as a whole. Ricketts states:

...we shall have to distinguish between two important variants [of the Nanabozho culture hero mythology], one of which seems to have been the popular account, the other the esoteric version of the myth. The latter is the "true" Midewiwin origin myth....The former is a part of the popular version, and is presupposed by the esoteric version.

In what follows I will present that portion of Longfellow's
poem (i.e., the fifteenth canto) which Jung has failed to analyze in his interpretation of "The Song of Hiawatha," outlining Nanabozho's role in the origin of the Midewiwin, and correlating the passages from Longfellow's poem with the relevant parts of Schoolcraft's research. Schoolcraft's data is taken from that part of Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States entitled "Allegorical Traditions of the Origin of Men-Of Nanabozho, and the Introduction of the Religious Mysteries of the Medical Magic."

Longfellow

In those days the Evil Spirits,
All the Manitos of mischief,
Pearing Hiawatha's wisdom,
And his love for Chibiabos,
Jealous of their faithful friendship,
And their noble words and actions,
Made at length a league against them, To molest them and destroy them.

Hiawatha, wise and wary,
Often said to Chibiabos,
"O my brother! do not leave me,
Lest the evil-spirits harm you!"
Chibiabos, young and heedless,
Laughing shook his coal black tresses,
Answered ever sweet and child-like,
"Do not fear for me, O brother!
Harm and evil come not near me!"

Once when Peboan, the Winter,
Roofed with ice the Big-Sea-Water,
When the snow flakes, whirling downwards,
Hissed among the withered oak leaves,
Changed the pine trees into wigwams,
Covered all the earth with silence,-

Schoolcraft

The Manitos who live in the air, the earth, and the water, became jealous of their [i.e., Nanabozho and Chibiabos] great power, and conspired against them.

Manabozho [Hiawatha-Nana- bozho] had warned his brother against their machinations, and cautioned him not to separate himself from his side.

...but one day Chibiabos ventured alone on one of the Great Lakes. It was winter, and the whole surface was covered with ice.
Armed with arrows, shod with snow-shoes,
Heeding not his brother's warning,
Fearing not the evil spirits,
Forth to hunt the deer with antlers.
All alone went Chibiabos.
Right across the Big-Sea Water
Sprang with speed the deer before him.
With the wind and snow he followed,
O'er the treacherous ice he followed,
Wild with all the fierce commotion
And the rapture of the hunting.

But beneath, the Evil Spirits
Lay in ambush, waiting for him,
Broke the treacherous ice beneath him,
Dragged him downward to the bottom,
Buried in the sand his body.
Unkthee, the god of water,
He the god of the Dacotahs,
Drowned him in the deep abysses
Of the Lake of Gitche Gumes.

As soon as he had reached the centre
the malicious Manitos broke the ice, and
plunged him to the bottom, where they hid
his body.

From the headlands Hiawatha
Saw forth such a wail of anguish,
Such a fearful lamentation,
That the bison paused to listen,
And the wolves howled from the prairies,
And the thunder in the distance
Starting answered "Baim-wawa!"

Manabozho wailed along
the shores. He waged
a war against all the
Manitos, and precipitated numbers of them
to the deepest abyss.
He called on the dead body of his brother.
He put the whole country in dread of his lamentations.

Then his face with black he painted,
With the robe his head he covered,
In his wigwam sat lamenting.
Seven long weeks he sat lamenting,
Uttering still this moan of sorrow:
"He is dead, the sweet musician!
He the sweetest of all singers!
He has gone from us forever,
He has moved a little nearer
to the Master of all music,
To the Master of all singing!
O my brother, Chibiabos!"
And the melancholy fir-trees
Waved their dark green fans above him,
Mingled with his lamentation
Their complaining, their lamenting.
Came the spring, and all the forest
Looked in vain for Chibiabos;  
Cried the rivulet, Bebowlisha,  
"Shed the rushes in the meadow.  
From the tree-tops sang the bluebird,  
Came the bluebird, the Owaissa.  
"Chibiabos! Chibiabos!  
He is dead, the sweetest singer!"  
And at night through all the forest  
Went the whippoorwill complaining,  
Wailing went the Wawonaissa,  
"Chibiabos! Chibiabos!  
He is dead, the sweet musician!  
He the sweetest of all singers!"

Then the Medicine-men, the Medas,  
The magicians, the Wabenos,  
And the Jossakeeds, the Prophets,  
Came to visit Hiawatha;  
Built a sacred lodge beside him,  
To appease him, to console him,  
Walked in silent, grave procession,  
Bearing each a pouch of healing,  
Skin of beaver, lynx, or otter,  
Filled with magic roots and simples,  
Filled with very potent medicines.

Hiawatha ceased lamenting,  
Called no more on Chibiabos;  
Naught he questioned, naught he answered,  
But his mournful head uncovered,  
From his face the mourning colours Washed he slowly and in silence,  
Slowly and in silence followed  
Onward to the Sacred Wigwam.

The Manitos consulted  
what to do to appease  
his melancholy and his wrath. The oldest and  
wisest of them, who had  
had no hand in the death  
of Chibiabos, offered to  
undertake the task of  
reconciliation. They  
built a sacred lodge  
close to that of Mana-  
bozho, and prepared a  
sumptuous feast. They  
procured the most deli-  
cious tobacco, and filled  
a pipe. They then as-  
ssembled in order, and  
each carrying under his  
arm a sack formed of the  
skin of some sacred  
animal, as a beaver, an  
otter, or a lynx, and  
filled with precious and  
curious medicines culled  
from all plants. These  
they exhibited, and in-  
vited him to the feast  
with pleasing words and  
ceremonies.

He immediately raised  
his head, uncovered it,  
and washed off his  
mourning colours and  
sesamemements, and then  
followed them.
There a magic drink they gave him,
Made of 'Waha-mawusk, the yarrow,
Roots of power, and herbs of healing;
Beat their drums, and shook their rattles;
Chanted singly and in chorus,
"Mystic songs like these, they chanted.
"I myself, myself! behold me!"
"Tis the great Gray Eagle talking;
Come, ye white crows, come and hear him!"
The loud-speaking thunder helps me;
All the unseen spirits help me;
I can hear their voices calling,
All around the sky I hear them;
I can blow you strong, my brother,
I can heal you, Hiawatha!"
"Hi-au-ha!" replied the chorus,
"Way-ha-way!" the mystic chorus.
"Friends of mine are all the serpents!"
Hear me shake my skin of hen-hawk!
"Ahng, the white loon, I can kill him;
I can shoot your heart and kill it!
I can blow you strong, my brother,
I can heal you Hiawatha!"
"Hi-au-ha!" replied the chorus,
"Way-ha-way!" the mystic chorus.
"I myself, myself! the prophet!
When I speak the wigwam trembles.
Shakes the sacred lodge with terror,
Hands unseen begin to shake it!
When I walk, the sky I tread on
Bends and makes a noise beneath me!
I can blow you strong, my brother!
Rise and speak, O Hiawatha!"
"Hi-au-ha!" replied the chorus,
"Way-ha-way!" the mystic chorus.
Then they shook their medicine pouches
O'er the head of Hiawatha,
Danced their medicine-dance around him;
And upstarting wild and haggard,
Like a man from dreams awakened,
He was healed of all his madness.
As the clouds are swept from heaven,
Straightway from his brain departed
All his moody melancholy;
As the ice is swept from rivers,
Straightway from his heart departed
All his moody melancholy;
As the ice is swept from rivers,
When they had reached
the lodge, they offered
him a cup of liquor
prepared from the
choicest medicines,
as, at once, a propiti-
ation, and an initiative.
He drank it at
a single draught. He
found his melancholy
departed, and felt
the most inspiring
effects. They then
commenced their dances
and songs, united with
various ceremonies.
Some shook their bags
at him as a token of
skill. Some exhibited
the skins of birds
filled with smaller
birds, which, by some
art, would hop out of
the throat of the bag.
Others showed curious
tricks with their drums.
All danced, all sang,
all acted with the
utmost gravity, and
earnestness of gestures;
but with exactness of
time, motion, and voice.
Manabozho was cured;
he ate, danced, sung
and smoked the sacred
pipe. In this manner
the mysteries of the
Grand Medicine Dance
were introduced.
Straightway from his heart departed
All his sorrow and affliction.

Then they summoned Chibiabos
From his grave beneath the waters,
From the sands of Gitche Gumee
Summoned Hiawatha's brother.
And so mighty was the magic
Of that cry and invocation,
That he heard it as he lay there
Underneath the Big-Sea-Water;
From the sand he rose and listened,
Hear the music and the singing,
Came, obedient to the summons,
To the doorway of the wigwam,
But to enter they forbade him.

Through a chink a coal they gave him,
Through the door a burning fire-brand;
Ruler in the Land of Spirits,
Ruler o'er the dead, they made him,
Telling him a fire to kindle
For all those that died thereafter,
Camp-fires for their night encampments
On their solitary journey
To the kingdom of Ponemah,
To the land of the Hereafter.
From the village of his childhood,
From the homes of those who knew him,
Passing silent through the forest,
Like a smoke-wreath wafted sideways,
Slowly vanished Chibiabos!
Where he passed, the branches moved not,
And the fallen leaves of last year
Made no sound beneath his footsteps.
Four whole days he journeyed onwards
Down the pathway of the dead men;
On the dead-man's strawberry feasted,
crossed the melancholy river,
On the swinging log he crossed it,
Came unto the Lake of Silver,
In the Stone Canoe was carried
To the islands of the Blessed,
To the land of ghosts and shadows.
On that journey, moving slowly,
Many weary spirits saw he,
Panting under heavy burdens,
Laden with war-clubs, bows and arrows,
Robes of fur, and pots and kettles,
And with food that friends had given

The before recreant
Manites now all united
their powers, the bring
Chibiabos to life. They
did so, and brought him
to life, but it was
forbear for him to
enter the lodge.

They gave him, through
a chink, a burning coal,
and told him to go and
preside over the country
of souls, and reign over
the land of the dead.
They bid him with the
coal to kindle a fire
for his aunts and un-
cles, a term by which
is meant all men who
should die thereafter,
and make them happy,
and let it be an ever-
lasting fire.
For that solitary journey.
"Ay! why do the living," said they,
lay such heavy burdens on us!
Better were it to go naked,
Better were it to go fasting,
Then to bear such heavy burdens
On our long and weary journey!"

Porth then issued Hiawatha,
Wandered eastward, wandered westward,
Teaching men the use of simples
And the antidotes for poisons,
And the cure of all diseases
Thus was first made known to mortals
All the mystery of Medamin, 18
All the sacred art of healing. 19

Manabozho went to the
Great Spirit after these
things. He then descended
to the earth, and con-
formed the mysteries of
the medicine-dance, and
supplied all whom he
initiated with medicines
for the cure of all
diseases. 19

Notably, in Schoolcraft's rendition of the myth

Nanabozho does not rescue Wolf from the domain of the under-
water manidos, but rather, his anger and resentment over his
death are appeased by the gift of the medicine rites. This
is also found to be the case in the renditions of the myth
collected by Jenness (1929), 20 Barnouw (1944), 21 Hindley
(1885), 22 and Brown (1944). 23 In addition, these myths also
relate how Wolf is sent to rule over the Land of the Dead
(which is almost always located in the West). From a Jungian
perspective, therefore, the Midewiwin mythology associated
with Nanabozho seems to indicate that the instinctual side
of Nanabozho's personality (Wolf) has been sacrificed to
the unconscious. In this way Nanabozho becomes mediator of
a higher agency (the Great Spirit) on whose behalf he relays
the healing powers of the Midewiwin on to the Indians. Although
the popular and Midewiwin versions of the mythology differ
in some significant respects, they may yet convey the same truths, and function in a similar manner when viewed from a Jungian perspective.

In the popular mythology Wolf symbolizes the "treasure-hard to attain" which the hero brings to consciousness from the unconscious. Within the context of the Xidewiwin origin myth, Nanabozho in his role as the archetypal hero, once again enters the unconscious (world of the manidos) and is renewed by its energies. As a result, the rites of the Xidewiwin are passed on to him when he meets in council with the spirits of above and below. In this way, the Xidewiwin origin myth demonstrates the archetypal pattern which is typical of the hero of mythology.

From a Jungian perspective, the loss of Wolf, i.e., the sacrifice of his instinctual nature, symbolizes Nanabozho's leave-taking from animal unconsciousness. The instinctual energies which Nanabozho has renounced in sacrificing Wolf are transformed into the healing powers associated with the Xidewiwin. Jung states:

By sacrificing these valued objects of desire and possession, the instinctive desire, or libido, is given up in order that it may be regained in new form. Through sacrifice man ransoms himself from the fear of death and is reconciled to the demands of Hades.

In this way the Xidewiwin rites are passed on for the treatment of the sick and dying, and for the general betterment of the human condition.

The fact that Wolf is sent to rule over the Land of
the Dead is symbolic of the fact that Nanabozho, as Jung
says, has been "reconciled to the demands of Hades," i.e.,
he has accepted the loss and transformation of his instinctual
energies. Jung has pointed out that "in the late cults the
hero, who in olden times conquered evil and death through
his labours, has become the divine protagonist, the priestly
self-sacrificer and renewer of life." (Italics mine.)
Accordingly, it is Nanabozho who provides the way to the land
of the Dead through his self-sacrifice, i.e., the sacrifice
of the instinctual component of his personality (symbolized
by Wolf). His path is followed by all those who have died
and been granted access to the land in the West through the
rites of the Ghost Midewiwin. In sacrificing Wolf, and
subsequently receiving the Mide rites, Nanabozho provides
a source of spiritual renewal for Chippewa society.

Through its rites, the members of the Midewiwin
are granted the powers presented to Nanabozho at the first
meeting of the manidos. Nanabozho's sacrifice, with its
attendant transformation of energy, has been institutionalized
within the context of Chippewa society in such a way
that all the members of the Midewiwin can share in its re-
vitalizing energies. For Jung, "Sacrifice brings with it a
plentitude of power that is equal to the power of the gods." Thereby, Nanabozho's actions in passing the sacred rites on
to mankind (sometimes via an emissary) are re-enacted by
the initiates to the Midewiwin. Hoffman elaborates:
Minabozho[ Nanabozho]...took the Otter into the Midéwigâ'n and conferred upon him the secrets of the Midéwiwin, and with his Midé bag shot the sacred mígis into his body that he might have immortality and be able to confer these secrets to his kinsmen, the Anishinabèg [Chippewa].

As a result, the "treasure" which Nanabozho has brought back from the unconscious, through the sacrifice of his instinctuality, is made available to all men (in Hoffman's case via Otter).

The institutionalization and ritual re-enactment of the Midewiwin origin myth affords it the ability to transmit its healing power. From a Jungian perspective, therefore, each member of the Society is called upon to retrace the events whereby the sacred rites were passed on to mankind. This process culminates in the ritual death and rebirth of the candidate which precipitates the renewal of his consciousness.

As noted, the Midewiwin ritual requires that the novice be symbolically "shot" with "megis" shells. In this way his death is ritually brought about. Once "shot," the initiate is reborn through the power of the Midewiwin.

For Jung:

Rebirth symbolism simply describes the union of opposites-conscious and unconscious-by means of concretistic analogies. Underlying all rebirth symbolism is the transcendent function. Since this function results in an increase in consciousness (the previous condition augmented by the addition of formerly unconscious contents), the new condition carries more insight.

This insight is manifest as the initiate's newly acquired
healing powers which are brought about by the integration of unconscious contents released when he enters into the world of the manidos (the unconscious) during the ritual. In this way he attains the treasure which Nanabozho has brought back from the unconscious.

In summary then, the Midewiwin myth of origin demonstrates how the archetypal hero of Chippewa tradition transforms his instinctual nature in such a way that its revitalizing nature is made available to all men. In this way, through the re-enactment of the prescribed ritual, the members of the Grand Medicine Society attain spiritual renewal. In entering into the unconscious (world of the manidos) and being reborn from it, psychic energy is released and healing power is made available to all those participating in the ritual.
NOTES

1 Only in the Midewiwin origin myth presented by Ruth Landes is Nanabozho seen as a trickster. See Ruth Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pp. 90-93.

2 Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, p. 4. According to Landes, the literal translation of "Midewiwin" is "mystic doings."

3 In some Mide societies there are eight degrees, the second group of four degrees, as Landes points out, were (with minor variations) only a repetition of the first four. Densmore (1910) provides an example of a Mide society in which there are eight degrees. See Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, pp. 97, 178. See also Frances Densmore, Chippewa Music (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1973), p. 13.

4 Cf. Edmund J. Danziger, The Chippewas of Lake Superior (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), p. 20: "To cure a malady, the priest mixed various substances from his Midé bag and sang the special song which made it potent—then sold it to the sick person. The society was highly institutionalized, with a limited membership (usually men) ranked in four degrees. Each grade had to be taken in succession, and each required a large payment as well as the mastering of certain knowledge."


6 Ibid., p. 24. See also Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, p. 86.

7 Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, p. 112.

8 Walter J. Hoffman, The Midewiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa (Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report; Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1891), VII, pp. 149-299. Hoffman (1888) points out that the disparity in Midewiwin rites and ceremonies (and mythology) arose when the Ojibwa tribes at La Pointe (Wisconsin) dispersed to the south and west. At this time "new and totally independent Grand Medicine Lodges were erected in the several permanent camps of the southern division of the nation, and, as the annual general meetings of the Mide priests were discontinued after removal from La Pointe, the rites and ceremonies gradually
underwent changes which are visible in the records now extant." (["Pictography and Chamanistic Sites of the Ojibwa," American Anthropologist, I (1889), 215-223].


10In discussing the nature of the summary which he provides, Dewdney states: "The summary I offer here, therefore, must be regarded as a mere skeleton. It is a composite of several sources, relying mainly on Hoffman, who probably comes closest to describing the practices prevailing at Leech Lake in the mid-nineteenth century. But it also includes the dog rites which apparently were not introduced into the Minnesota ceremonies until the end of the century." Notably, the events leading up to the actual commencement of the ceremony are as follows:
1. A Mide mentor is appointed.
2. Invitation "sticks" are sent to the Mide officials and the initiates.
3. The officials prepare for the ceremonies by taking sweat baths for four days.
4. The candidate receives instruction from his mentor.
5. The candidate feasts the officials.

11The Midewiwin ceremony concludes as follows:
1. The ceremony is repeated until all the candidates have been initiated.
2. The public enters the Mide lodge and "songs, homilies to the people, and sometimes a sort of free-for-all megis shooting" takes place (Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibwa, pp. 82-86.

12Dewdney, The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibwa, p. 103.

13Ibid., p. 105.
14Ibid., p. 105.
15Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, p. 189.
16Ibid., p. 112: "Some origin tales were known to all Ojibwa. A number, which included esoteric versions of the common tales, were classed as secret property of the
"Mide Society" their general intent was to depict Midewiwin as a treasury of wisdom."


22 John Ingham Hindley, Indian Legends: Nanabush, the Ojibweway Savior and Moosh-Kuh-Ung or the Flood (Barrie, Ontario, 1885), pp. 6-10.


24 Cf. C. G. Jung, C.W.V, p. 298. Here Jung refers to the gods (manidos) as "the representatives of the unconscious."

25 Ibid., p. 431.

26 Cf. Landes, Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin, pp. 195-196: Landes' informant described the Land of the Dead as a place where all things are better than they are in the world of the living. Here the Indian can find eternal happiness.

27 C. G. Jung, C.W.V, p. 431.

28 Ibid., p. 420.

myth (Ibid., pp. 175-178).

30 Cf. Mircea Eliade, Images and Symbols (London: Harvill Press, 1961), pp. 133-134: "In the initiation ceremonies of the "Great Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa...shells [the megis] appear as an indispensable element. The ritual death and resurrection of the candidate are brought on by the touch of magic shells, kept in satchels of otter skin."


32 Jung claims that the purpose of ritual "is to direct the libido towards the unconscious and compel it to introvert" (C.W. V, p. 294). In this way "rites are attempts to abolish the separation between the conscious mind and the unconscious, the real source of life, and to bring about a reunion of the individual with the native soil of his inherited, instinctive make-up" ("Individual Dream Symbolism in Relation to Alchemy," C.W. XII, p. 137).

33 Cf. C. G. Jung, "The Psychology of Rebirth," C.W. IX, Part I, p. 117: "...the transcendence of life...is usually represented by the fateful transformations-death and rebirth of a god or a god-like hero. The initiate may either be a mere witness of the divine drama or take part in it or be moved by it, or he may see himself identified through the ritual action with the god...This participation in the ritual event gives rise, among other effects, to that hope of immortality which is characteristic of the Eleusinian mysteries."
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The first two chapters of this thesis set out to establish Jung's model of the psyche and the archetypal significance of the trickster therein. In this way I exposed the basic postulates undergirding Jung's thought, focusing in particular upon the generation of the archetypes and their religious significance within the Jungian paradigm. In this context the trickster was viewed as an archetype of the "collective shadow." He symbolized the most primitive stages of man's conscious development. For Jung the trickster is an abundantly unconscious, and hence instinctual being, existing at a level of conscious development barely discernible from that of the animal. Yet, at the same time the trickster exhibits a potential for conscious development which leads to the evolution of a higher consciousness. In this regard Jung notes that the presence of the trickster within mythology may signal the arrival of a saviour, who arises out of a society's need to integrate its collective shadow. Jung's observation has provided the nucleus for my thesis.

The third chapter of the thesis presented a survey and examination of the mythology relating to Nanabozho in his various roles as a trickster, transformer, and culture hero within the mythology. Notably, the Chippewa Indians, saw no contradiction in his personality when manifest in
these apparently divergent roles. Although Nanabozho could appear extremely foolish at times, he was nevertheless accredited with being the culture-bearer and benefactor of mankind.

Using Jung's analysis of the trickster archetype (presented in "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure") to account for one-half (so to speak) of Nanabozho's character, I went on to examine in my fourth chapter the other half of his personality which, according to my research, had been inadvertently addressed by Jung in his analysis of Longfellow's poem, "The Song of Hiawatha." Wherein Nanabozho enacts the role of the archetypal hero within mythology, Jung points out that the task of the archetypal hero is to enter into the unconscious and, doing battle therein, emerge victorious with renewed and revitalized consciousness. This revitalized consciousness is symbolized by Nanabozho's entry and re-emergence from Mishe Nahma the fish-king, his victory over the magician on the island, and the reclaiming of his instinctuality at a higher level, as represented by his rescue of Wolf.

On the one hand the trickster epitomizes human instinctuality and unconsciousness, while on the other the archetypal hero symbolizes the fully conscious human being, no longer at the mercy of his passions and appetites. In this way Jung's analyses of trickster and archetypal hero pose a paradox in that these two figures elicit opposite reactions from consciousness. Consequently, the archetypal hero (who is a symbol of the self) is sought after, while the trickster, as the
archetype of the collective shadow (embodying man's inferior traits of character), is shunned. Yet the self, by definition, calls for the necessary integration of the shadow. Notably, neither hero nor trickster exists in isolation within Chippewa mythology. Here, one mythological personage amalgamates these two apparently divergent strains in Jung's thought.

When Nanabozho is viewed as representing the total personality, the self, he comes to symbolize more than just a trickster or a culture hero. Rather, he represents a mythic creation within Chippewa mythology that combines both positive and negative traits in one overarching mythological and psychological totality. In this way the notions of trickster and culture hero, rather than referring to two apparently disparate personalities, represent different aspects of the same mythological being. Therein, as a trickster, Nanabozho embodies man's instinctuality which, existing as a psychological reality within the human psyche, must be addressed in order for individuation to take place. The trickster reminds man of a time when he was still in large part possessed by the unconscious. In this capacity Nanabozho directs man's psychic energies out of the unconscious and into consciousness. Yet at the same time, as a culture hero, Nanabozho acts as a psychopomp, providing man with continued access to the unconscious. In this way he directs man's psychic energies from consciousness into the unconscious. Here, as the archetypal hero, he does battle with the unconscious and, emerging victorious, bestows the
benefits of culture and cultural renewal upon mankind. This renewal is ritually brought about through the Midewiwin ceremony. Unlike the Christian conception of the self, the figure of Nanabozho remains in touch with his "darker" personality, in this way allowing the psychic energies emanating from the archetype an unrestricted and reciprocal flow between consciousness and the unconscious.

In coming to terms with the archetypal significance of Nanabozho, the trickster-transformer-culture hero within Chippewa mythology, the following conclusions were drawn:
1. The methodic application of Jungian categories serves to elucidate the meaning of the Nanabozho myth and its cultic expression (the Midewiwin). This thesis has shown that the myth and cult of Nanabozho can be understood as a statement, as well as an actual re-enactment of the processes involved in the renewal of psychic energies.
2. The apparent contradiction in Nanabozho's character, i.e., the fact that he embodies both positive and negative, light and dark in one person, is resolved once reference is made to Jung's conception of the "self." Herein Nanabozho's heroic qualities require their shadow, or inferior personality in order to attain completeness.
3. Within the Christian tradition, according to Jung, the figure of Christ has been separated from its shadow (the Antichrist). Consequently, the Christian conception of the "self" (as represented by Christ), is incomplete. Jung
suggests that the Christian symbol of the self should integrate its shadow. The Chippewa figure of Nanabozho has done exactly this, thereby attaining a fuller appreciation of both light and dark aspects of the mythical and human potential.

4. The "Grand Medicine Society" of the Chippewa Indians represents the institutionalized ritual re-enactment of the Midewiwin myth of origin. Therein its members share in the revitalizing energies to which it provides access.

In the mythology of the Chippewa Indians a certain figure lives on as a trickster, transformer, and culture hero, a being manifesting seemingly diverse character traits and yet, acting as a symbol of psychic wholeness, integrates man's shadow into consciousness in such a way as to form a single mythological and psychological unity, the trickster-transformer-culture hero—Nanabozho.
APPENDIX A

DATA PROFILE

The information presented below pertains to the sources which I have consulted in identifying the Nanabozho trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology. Herein are cited:
1. The names of the researchers collecting the data.
2. The places where the data was collected.
3. The years in which the data was obtained. (Note that the 'years' indicated in this profile are designated as either the year(s) in which the research took place or the year of its publication.)
4. The informants from whom the data was solicited.

Victor Barnouw
Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin
1944 (research)
Tom Badger

A. J. Blackbird
Michigan
1887 (publication)
Although not explicitly stated, it is strongly suggested that the informant was A. J. Blackbird, who has used his life experiences to present what he knows of the mythology.

Beatrice Blackwood
unspecified
1925-1926 (research)
1. a Methodist pastor
2. a Chippewa woman

Sonia Bleeker
Manitoulin Island, Ontario
1955 (publication)
unspecified

Leonard Bloomfield
Walpole Island, Ontario
1938 (research)
Mr. Andrew Medler (born and raised in Saginaw; spent most of his adult life on Walpole Island).

Charles Edward Brown
unspecified
1944 (publication)
unspecified

William Carson
Western Ontario
1917 (publication)
unspecified

Joseph Casagrande
Court Oreilles, Wisconsin
1941 (research)
John Mink
Sister Bernard Coleman, Ellen Hopner, and Estelle Rich
Several Minnesota Chippewa reservations: Fond du Lac, Mille Lacs, White Earth, Leech Lake, Nett Lake, Grand Portage, Vermillion
"...the closing years of the 1960's." 1 (research)
"With two exceptions the storytellers and informants (forty-four altogether) were older men and women between sixty-five and ninety-seven years of age. Twenty were women and twenty-four were men. In the total number, there were seventeen narrators who were particularly outstanding. The stories that they told are artistically complete, and authentic when compared with published material and the known traditions of the Ojibwa." 2

Howard Corbiere
Manitoulin Island, Ontario
1977 (research/publication)
The researcher was a native Chippewa Indian.

J. F. B. De Josselin De Jong
Red Lake Reservation, Minnesota
1911 (research)
1. E'Skwegabaw
2. Debegezig

Frances Densmore
White Earth, Minnesota
1907-1909 (research)
Na'waji'bigo'kwe ("woman-dwelling-among-the-rocks")

Frances Densmore
White Earth, Minnesota
1929 (publication)
Odinigun ("Shoulder")

Frances Densmore
White Earth, Minnesota
1929 (publication)
Jesse Dewdney
Shoal Lake, Ontario
1960-1969 (research)
Jim Red Sky

William H. Ellis
("Pe-an-ge-wash")
unspecified
1889 (publication)

Johannahorkirchik
unspecified
Ernestine Miedel
Court Oreilles, Wisconsin
1942 (research)
Delia Oshogay

Dirk Orninghuis
"Jackinac Island, Michigan
1970 (publication)
unspecified

John Ingham Hindley
The north shore of Lake Simcoe
1885 (publication)
unspecified

Walter J. Hoffman
White Earth Reservation, Minnesota
1991 (publication)
Skwekomik (major informant)

Diamond Jenness
Parry Island, Ontario
1929 (research)
Jonas King and Tom King

Basil Johnson
unspecified
1976 (publication)
unspecified
Rev. Peter Jones
unspecified
1861 (publication)
unspecified

William Jones
Kois Port, Minnesota
1903-1906 (research)
1. Wàagamünäkankan
2. Wàjisungáji

William Jones
Garden River, Ontario
1915 (publication)
3. Kaboosa

Vernon Kinietz
Lac Vieux Desert, Michigan
1939 (research)
John Pete

J. G. Kohl
unspecified
1875 (publication)
an old Ojibwa woman

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1915 (research)
Peter York

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1915 (research)
Mrs. Joseph Kenice

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1918 (publication)
Mrs. Sampson Ingersoll

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1915 (research)
John York

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1916 (research)
Jonas George

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1918 (research)
Lottie Marsden

G. E. Laidlaw
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1921-1922
Kenneth G. Sake

G. E. Laidlaw
North Bay, Ontario
1931-1932
Mrs. Xavier Commanda

Ruth Landes
Cass Lake, Minnesota
1932-1935 (research)
Will Rogers ("Hole-in-the-Sky")

Ruth Landes
Manitou Reserve, Emo, Ontario
1932-1935 (research)
Mrs. Maggie Wilson

Ruth Landes
Red Lake, Minnesota
1932-1935 (research)
Everwind

Thomas B. Leekley
Minnesota, Upper Michigan,
and Northern Ontario
1965 (publication)
unspecified

Truman Michelson
White Earth Reservation,
Minnesota
1910 (research)
1. Big Bear
2. Julius Brown

Paul Radin
Rama Reserve, Ontario
1912 (research)
Yellow-head
Paul Radin
Sarnia, Ontario
1912 (research)
Nisibens Taylor

Paul Radin
Vice Lake, Ontario
1912 (research)
Robert Paushan, Hiawatha

Paul Radin
Kettle Point, Ontario
1912 (research)
John Henry

Paul Radin
Chemung Lake, Ontario
1912 (research)
Sam Lute

Paul Radin
Georgina Island, Ontario
1912 (research)
Wrs. Eshquab

Paul Radin
Birch Island, Ontario
1912 (research)
Moses Eskimang

Albert B. Reagan
Dinorvic, Western Ontario
1911, 1913, 1914 (research)
unspecifed

Albert B. Reagan
Nett Lake, Minnesota
1911, 1913, 1914 (research)
unspecifed

Albert B. Reagan
Moose River, Ontario
1918 (publication)
unspecifed

Robert Ritzenthaler
Court Oreilles, Wisconsin
1942 (research)
John Mink

Robert Ritzenthaler
Court Oreilles, Wisconsin
1942 (research)
Alec Martin

Robert Ritzenthaler
Wisconsin
1970 (publication)
unspecifed

Jack Rohr
unspecifed
1928 (publication)
Hotan-Tonka ("Sound of the-Wind-Through-the-Pines")

Henry Howe Schoolcraft
unspecifed
1839 (publication)
unspecifed

Alanson Skinner
Odanah, Wisconsin
1913 (research)
unspecifed

Frank G. Speck
Timagami, Ontario
1915 (publication)
Aleck Paul (The latter acted as an interpreter for these myths which were related by several informants.)

William Warren
unspecifed
1885 (publication)
The researcher was a native Chippewa Indian.

Rev. E. F. Wilson
Sault St. Marie, Ontario
1886 (publication)
Buhkwujjenene
NOTES


2Ibid., p. 3.
APPENDIX B

A TABULATION OF THE RECURRING INCIDENTS IN THE
NANABOZHO CULTURE HERO-TRANSFORMER MYTHOLOGY

This appendix will list in tabular form the incidents
found within each of the categories of the Nanabozho culture
hero—transformer mythology which I have developed. Within
this list are contained those incidents relating Nanabozho's
birth and infancy, his "warpath" episodes, and the flooding
and re-creation of the world. Each of these incidents rep-
resents a unit of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer
mythology.

In the collection of the mythological data relating
Nanabozho's adventures as a culture hero-transformer, numerous
problems were presented. For example, the intermingling of
various texts within a particular myth was often found to
occur. Also, the fact that the recounting of a myth was
largely dependent upon the oratory abilities of the individual
raconteur caused considerable variation in its retelling.¹
In addition, consideration of the reliability of a text's
translation (especially in the case of some of the earlier
renditions), the expurgation and/or reshaping of parts of
the material by researchers with primarily religious or
literary interests, and related problems of provenance and
authenticity must also be taken into account when assessing
the relative merits of one rendition of the myth over another.²
In light of these considerations, the recovery of an authentic version of any portion of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology would appear highly unlikely, if not impossible.

In spite of these debilitating influences it appears as though a general form for the mythology is in evidence. This general form is revealed when examining the frequencies with which certain incidents recur within the myths. Kohl remarks: "The same story of the Nanabozho mythology has been told me by two different persons, and I have noticed considerable variations, although the groundwork and style of composition remained the same." (Italics mine.) It is this "groundwork and style of composition" which I have sought to elicit in listing the incidents contained within the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology.

In this appendix the text of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology presented in chapter three has been divided into its component parts and then compared with the renditions of the myth collected by other researchers. Herein the basic units of each incident (as derived from the text of chapter three) have been extracted.

The procedure employed in deriving these basic units was the following:
1. Each category of the composite rendition of the myth presented in chapter three was divided into an appropriate number of incidents, usually consisting of one or two sentences
taken from the text.

2. Within these incidents the actor(s) (subject), his/her action(s) (verb), and the person(s)/thing(s) being acted upon (object) was determined. For example, the first sentence of the composite rendition of the myth presented in chapter three reads: "At one time there was an old woman living with her daughter." Notably, this incident describes a subject (woman), a verb (to live...with), and an object (daughter). Accordingly, the subject-verb-object relationship "Mother living with daughter" was designated as the basic unit for this incident within the mythology. 5

Qualifying terms (adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and other parts of speech) given in my composite rendition of the myth have not been analyzed in terms of their recurrence. This is simply because of the fact that they could not be as consistently recorded as the noun-verb-object units which I have delineated. These qualifying terms have been employed in the composite rendition of the myth; however, in order to give a richness to the text which the concise delineation of the basic units elicited in this appendix does not bring out. The qualifyers which are used in the composite rendition of the myth record fairly accurately the general form of presentation given in the sources which I have consulted. Inasmuch as the Chippewa myths collected by various researchers have been derived from an oral, and not a literary tradition, word-for-word correspondences between the various
renditions of the myth collected were not in evidence. In coming to terms with this limitation in my research, my derivation of the most frequently retold series of incidents within the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology (as based upon the basic units contained therein) had to allow for a certain degree of leeway when recording what was, and what was not, a recurring incident (unit) within the mythology. Consequently, when examining the various myths collected by different researchers, I compared their renditions with the unit(s) of each incident listed in tabular form in this appendix. In most cases units listed herein either did, or did not, match up with the myths which were collected. In some cases, although not explicitly stated, a mythological unit was implied or could be inferred from the text. In these instances the unit was recorded as being contained within the myth.

Some of the incidents which I have examined contained more than a single unit. Category one, number two is an example of this where, (1) Mother warns daughter, (2) Girl violates interdiction. In these instances, if the myth collected contained a part, or all of the incident in question, it was cited as complying with the requirements of the units within the tabular presentation. Usually the missing unit could either be inferred from the text or, typically, it was so much a part of the retelling of the myth that the narrator frequently assumed that his audience was aware of his omission.
Incidents of this type were composed of several units on the basis of their almost always being presented in this way within the myths. Rather than divide the incident, listing it as two (or more) component parts, I opted instead to retain its inherent unity.

In certain cases a series of units was presented in an order other than that in which it usually occurred within the mythology. For example, Nanabozho's encounter with the toad-womá may take place after the flood in one version of the myth, whereas typically it occurs before. Variations of this type were not noted in my tabular presentation as they did not significantly affect either the retelling of the myth or my Jungian analysis thereof.

In some cases particular characters within a mythical sequence were given names other than those with which they were usually ascribed. In these instances the myth was recorded in the list of units as if the regular names had been employed. (Notably, such occurrences were rare.)

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF RECURRING UNITS WITHIN THE NANABOZHO CULTURE HERO-TRANSFORMER MYTHOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit number</th>
<th>Unit ('A' Myths: Category 1)</th>
<th>No. of Sources</th>
<th>Percentage frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1...........</td>
<td>Mother living with daughter</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 1--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit number</th>
<th>Unit ('A' Myths: Category 1)</th>
<th>No. of Sources</th>
<th>Percentage frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2...........</td>
<td>Mother warns daughter.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girl violates interdict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3...........</td>
<td>Girl is impregnated.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girl bears children.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4...........</td>
<td>Girl dies in childbirth.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5...........</td>
<td>Flint/Other kills mother.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho chips pieces off Flint.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('A' Myths: Category 2a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho asks about other members of family.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8...........</td>
<td>Mother swallows by fish.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho searches for fish.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho swallows by fish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho finds other animals inside of fish.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho kills fish.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho frees animals.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho and grandmother drain fish oil.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('A' Myths: Category 2b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12...........</td>
<td>Member of Nanabozho's family killed by an enemy-on-an-island.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho goes to island.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho meets/converses with enemy.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15...........</td>
<td>Bird/Other instructs Nanabozho.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit number</td>
<td>Unit ('A' Myths: Category 2b)</td>
<td>No. of Sources</td>
<td>Percentage frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho kills enemy.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho returns to grandmother and celebrates victory.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

('A' Myths: Category 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit number</th>
<th>Unit ('A' Myths: Category 2b)</th>
<th>No. of Sources</th>
<th>Percentage frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho born from clot/particle of blood.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho assumes form of rabbit.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho journeys to the land of the owner of the fire.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of owner of fire finds Nanabozho.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21..........</td>
<td>Daughter shows rabbit to father and sister.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22..........</td>
<td>Father warns daughters.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23..........</td>
<td>Daughters ignore warning.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho steals fire.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho gives fire to grandmother.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

('B' Myths: Category 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit number</th>
<th>Unit ('A' Myths: Category 2b)</th>
<th>No. of Sources</th>
<th>Percentage frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho meets wolf pack.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho is cold.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3..........</td>
<td>Wolves take care of him.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4..........</td>
<td>Wolf's &quot;sock&quot; turns into food.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nanabozho makes incorrect choice (long-short strides).</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit number</td>
<td>Unit ('B' Myths: Category 1)</td>
<td>No. of Sources</td>
<td>Percentage frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho and old wolf find covering. Nanabozho thinks covering is worthless. Covering is valuable.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6...........</td>
<td>Wolf's tooth turns into arrow.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7...........</td>
<td>Wolves vomit up food. Nanabozho and old wolf eat vomit/food.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8...........</td>
<td>Grease is made from bones. Nanabozho ignores instructions. Nanabozho is hit. Nanabozho hits back. ('B' Myths: Category 2a)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho is with brother/son/nephew wolf. Wolf hunts for both of them.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho warns Wolf.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11..........</td>
<td>Wolf violates interdiction. Wolf taken by underwater manidos.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho follows Wolf's tracks.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho meets Kingfisher.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14..........</td>
<td>Kingfisher waiting for guts.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15..........</td>
<td>Kingfisher informs Nanabozho about fate of Wolf.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho grabs Kingfisher.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit number</td>
<td>Unit (&quot;B&quot; Myths: Category 2a)</td>
<td>No. of Sources</td>
<td>Percentage frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16- cont'd.</td>
<td>Nanabozho creates Kingfisher's present-day appearance, Kingfisher informs Nanabozho about underwater manidos.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho disguised as tree stump.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ..........</td>
<td>Underwater manidos emerge from water. Underwater manidos test tree stump.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 ..........</td>
<td>Underwater manidos fall asleep. Nanabozho kills/wounds underwater manido(s).</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;B&quot; Myths: Category 2b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho wounds underwater manido(s). Underwater manido(s) escape.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho meets toad-woman. Toad-Woman does not recognize Nanabozho.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 ..........</td>
<td>Toad-Woman tells Nanabozho about cure.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho kills toad-woman. Nanabozho assumes her form.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho finds wounded underwater manido(s). Nanabozho kills wounded underwater manido(s).</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unit number</td>
<td>Unit ('E' Myths; Category 3)</td>
<td>No. of Sources</td>
<td>Percentage frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho flees from flood.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho climbs tree/mountain.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho sees other animals in water.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho commissions earth-divers.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29...........</td>
<td>First earth-divers fail. First earth-divers revived by Nanabozho.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30...........</td>
<td>Muskrat retrieves particle(s) of earth.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho re-creates world from particle(s) of earth.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32...........</td>
<td>Nanabozho commissions animals to check on earth size.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33...........</td>
<td>Animals are set free. New Earth is established.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Cf. A. F. Chamberlin, "Nanibozhu Amongst the Otchipwe, Mississaugas and Other Algonkian Tribes," Journal of American Folklore, IV (1891), 195-196: "No doubt each narrator tells the story [the Nanabozho mythology] in his own way, omits some points that seem to him of little value or interest, and by and by inserts into the legend incidents which do not occur in its archaic form. Then he may deem it necessary to give a local colouring to the tale, and may be willing even to point out the exact spots where the events narrated took place." See also Alanson Skinner and J. V. Satterlee, "Folklore of the Menomini Indians," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XIII (1915), 237: "Dr. Radin observes that among the Winnebago and Ojibwa certain men only had the reputation of being excellent raconteurs and each for a different kind of excellence, one for delivery, another for memory, another for accuracy in regard to the accepted versions. Dr. Radin states that as each used his specific gift to attain the greatest effect the individual became an important factor in the origin of different versions."


4 As a procedural note, I want to point out that I initially began my study of the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology by deriving a composite rendition of the myth. This was arrived at after reading through the various renditions of the myth which I had collected. The separate incidents contained in the retelling of the myth were then broken down into their constituent units and analyzed in terms of the frequency with which they recurred. In this way, by tabulating the recurring incidents within the mythology, the problem of having to present all the different renditions of the myth verbatim was circumvented.

5 It will be noted that my derivation of the basic units which make up the Nanabozho culture hero-transformer mythology employs Levi-Strauss' method for identifying the "mythemes" contained within a particular myth or set of myths (Structural Anthropology, (New York: Basic Books, 1963), I, 21).
I have employed Levi Strauss' method in this regard because it is systematic and because it accurately reflects the structure and content of the myths which I have examined. Levi-Strauss' structural methodology has not been adopted in the analysis of the mythology itself, however.

Naturally, this procedure has its faults, as does any attempt at classifying the constants within a myth. For example, in selecting the noun-verb-object sequence it may be argued that the intent of the thesis, i.e., a Jungian analysis of the mythology, conditioned my selection of the constituent units within the myths. Subsequent to this, had a theoretical approach other than Jung's been employed, other facets of the culture hero-transformer mythology may have been emphasized. Or, as Jean Calloud puts it: "Your work is from the very start a vicious circle! You find as the end product of your research nothing more than what you posited at the outset, and you involve yourself in a long search for what you have already hidden..." Indeed, any deductive method is open to such a criticism." [Structural Analysis of Narrative (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), p. 16]

In response to this I can only offer that the incidents which I have derived from my reading of the various renditions of the myth point out that the constituent units which I have selected are those which occur the most frequently within the mythology. In this regard it should be noted that there is a remarkable consistency between my retelling of the myth and Schoolcraft's rendition, as given in chapter four.

William Jones asserts: "The unconscious assumption on the part of the [Chippewa] narrator that one is familiar with the background of a narrative, is one cause why so many of the statements, when taken as they stand, are unintelligible" [Ojibwa Texts (Leiden: E. J. Brill Ltd., 1917), Part I, xi].
APPENDIX C

SYNOPSIS AND TABULATION OF THE NANABOZHO TRICKSTER-TRANSFORMER MYTHS

Presented below are brief synopses of those trickster-transformer tales which have not been summarized in chapter three of the thesis.

Nanabozho eats Medicines that Physic Him (tale number one)\(^1\)

One day Nanabozho discovers some unknown plant and, because he is hungry, decides to eat it. Some time later Nanabozho finds that he cannot control his bowels and he is forced to pass wind (or excrete) uncontrollably.

Nanabozho Changes into an Animal (tale number two)\(^2\)

In these myths Nanabozho assumes the form of some animal and is pursued by hunters until he reverts back to his normal form.

Nanabozho's Intestines Turn into Pood (tale number three)\(^3\)

In these myths Nanabozho, for one reason or other, is disembowelled. Gathering up his scattered intestines he changes them into some form of edible food.

Nanabozho Kills His Family (tale number fifteen)\(^4\)

In this tale Nanabozho encounters a band of Indians who tell him that they are planning to attack his village. They say that they will kill Nanabozho if he does not join their war party. Nanabozho joins them in the hope that he will be able to save his family. Unfortunately, he becomes so embroiled in the battle that he ends up killing his own family.

Nanabozho Dives for a Wager (tale number sixteen)\(^5\)

One day Nanabozho meets some ducks (geese, etc.) by the side of the water and challenges them to a diving
contest. In the rendition of this myth recorded by Densmore, Nanabozho hits his head on a rock when it comes his turn to dive and floats to the surface of the water unconscious.

Nanabozho Chases a Beaver (tale number seventeen)\(^6\)

In this myth Nanabozho chases a giant beaver all over the country. In doing so he changes the topography of the land, creating the mountains, lakes, and streams.

Nanabozho and the Spotted Birch Bark (tale number twenty-one)\(^7\)

In these myths Nanabozho, for one reason or other, 'whips' some nearby birch trees. As a result of Nanabozho's actions, the birch trees of today are not pure white (as they formerly were) but spotted.

Nanabozho and the Eagle (tale number twenty-three)\(^8\)

An eagle is pursued by Nanabozho after it has ignored his request to come down from the sky. In order to escape from him the eagle flies higher and higher until it gets too near to the sun and burns the feathers on the top of its head. As a result, today some eagles have bald heads.

Nanabozho Creates Indian Mortality (tale number twenty-four)\(^9\)

Nanabozho, asking his brother to help him bring about human mortality, covers his brother's body with scales. His brother then enters the water and emerges again in the vicinity of a nearby Indian village. Here he meets a child to whom he gives one of his scales. In accepting the scale the child loses his enamel covering (i.e., his immortality).

Nanabozho and the Animal Fat (tale number twenty-five)\(^10\)

Nanabozho is out fishing one day when he catches the "great sturgeon." He drains the fish's oil into a basin, creating a lake of fish oil. All of the animals then come to receive their respective portions of body fat (in accordance with their present-day appearance).

Nanabozho and the Raccoon and the Crawfish (tale number twenty-six)\(^11\)
In this myth Nanabozho supplies the crawfish with his pincers in order that he can defend himself against the raccoon.

Nanabozho and the Snowshoe Rabbit (tale number thirty)\textsuperscript{12}

In this myth a snowshoe rabbit, after mixing some tobacco with its feet, realizes that it has stained them yellow. As a result, the snowshoe rabbit of today has yellow feet.

Nanabozho and the Origin of Corn (tale number thirty-one)\textsuperscript{13}

In these myths Nanabozho does battle with Mondamin, the corn spirit and, emerging victorious, uses his body to produce corn for the Indians.

Nanabozho and the Pine Tree (tale number thirty-two)\textsuperscript{14}

In this myth Nanabozho is responsible for giving the pine tree its name and present-day appearance.

Nanabozho and the Seasons (tale number thirty-three)\textsuperscript{15}

This myth accounts for Nanabozho's creation of the seasons. (No standard form for this myth is in evidence.)

Nanabozho and Pakiwis (tale number thirty-four)\textsuperscript{16}

These myths deal with Nanabozho's relationship to an Indian by the name of Pakiwis. Typically in these myths Nanabozho and Pakiwis make an agreement that they will eat all of Pakiwis' catch of fish before they start on Nanabozho's. After Pakiwis' catch of fish has been eaten, Nanabozho goes against his word and refuses to give any of his fish to Pakiwis. As a result, Pakiwis is left destitute for the winter. Fortunately Pakiwis encounters a man who shows him a magical means for procuring fish. Pakiwis goes through the procedure related to him by the man and thereby obtains some fish. He then relates this procedure to Nanabozho. Nanabozho is told to go to a hole in the ice at night and fill a bag with pieces of ice. Whatever happens, he is instructed not to turn around. Nanabozho goes to the hole and fills his bag with ice. However, as he is leaving the hole he turns around in response to some voices which he hears. No one is there, however. Consequently, the next morning there are no sturgeon in his bag (because he
did not follow the procedure outlined to him by Pakiwis.

**Nanabozho Plays a Trick on His Grandmother and Goes on the Warpath** (tale number thirty-six)17

- Nanabozho tells his grandmother (Nokomis) to go to the home of the arrowmaker and obtain some arrows for him. After she leaves Nanabozho goes to the arrowmaker’s lodge and assumes his form. When his grandmother comes to get the arrows he cohabits with her. He then races back to his camp. When his grandmother returns he takes the arrows from her and prepares to go on the warpath (i.e., do battle with the enemy-on-the-island).

**Nanabozho Swindles a White Man Out of an Axe** (tale number thirty-seven)16

Nanabozho shows a man how he can chop down a tree with only a tree branch. After seeing this the man trades Nanabozho his axe for the tree branch. However, when attempting to use the branch he discovers that it is worthless.

**Nanabozho Robs His White Host of Food** (tale number thirty-eight)19

Nanabozho is invited to eat at a man’s house. The food he is given for supper is delicious, and consequently Nanabozho plans to rob his white host of his supply of food. Once he (the white host) has fallen asleep, Nanabozho takes the food and, leaving his host’s cabin, hides it. Nanabozho returns for more and in doing so is discovered and thrown out of the cabin by the white man. He then goes to the spot where he has left his stolen food and eats it.

**Nanabozho Changes into a Fish, Is Caught, and then Freed** (tale number forty)20

In this myth Nanabozho changes himself into a fish. Some Indians who are fishing nearby catch him and bring him into their boat. Nanabozho then changes himself back to human form and is freed.

**Nanabozho Captures Some Ducks in a Bag** (tale number forty-one)21

- Nanabozho, while out wandering around one day, notices some ducks by the riverside. He devises a plan for capturing
them. He gets an old bag and, getting inside of it, roles down an embankment. The ducks, who are watching him, say that they too want to try this. Nanabozho has them all get inside the bag, closes it, and then walks away with his catch.

Nanabozho Excretes on "Winged Startlers" (tale number forty-two)\textsuperscript{22}

In these myths Nanabozho encounters some young birds ("winged startlers") and excretes on them. The mother of the birds returns to her nest and, discovering what Nanabozho has done, angrily sets off to find him. She locates him with his back turned towards her at the edge of a cliff. She startles him, and consequently he falls off the edge of the cliff into the water.

Nanabozho Eats the Scabs From His Burnt Buttocks (tale number forty-three)\textsuperscript{23}

This myth is a continuation of the 'Nanabozho and the Burnt Buttocks' series. After Nanabozho has burned his buttocks and slid down a hillside he discovers some food lying on the ground and eats it. This food turns out to be the scabs from his burnt buttocks which have been scraped off while sliding down the hillside.

Nanabozho and the Skunk (tale number forty-four)\textsuperscript{24}

Nanabozho meets a skunk one day who shows him how to kill game by using his anus. Nanabozho misuses the power given to him by the skunk and as a result loses it. The skunk reinstates Nanabozho with this power, warning him, however, that he must never misuse it again.

Nanabozho Chases a Raccoon into a Tree Stump (tale number forty-six)\textsuperscript{25}

In this myth Nanabozho spots a raccoon inside of a tree stump and chases after it. In doing this he is trapped inside of the tree stump and the raccoon escapes.

Nanabozho Kills Pakiwis (tale number forty-seven)\textsuperscript{26}

Pakiwis (described in some myths as "the mischievous-maker") goes to Nanabozho's lodge and destroys his belongings. Nanabozho discovers this and chases after him. He eventually finds him hidden inside of a rock and, using the power of the thunders kills him.
Nanabozho Gamble with a Man and Kills Him (tale number forty-nine) 27

Nanabozho wagers with a man that he can perform a certain feat and, because he succeeds, kills him (as was agreed upon in their wager).

Nanabozho and the Great Fisher (tale number fifty) 28

The Great Fisher (the Great Dipper Constellation) 29 shows Nanabozho how he keeps the shores of the sea together by singing a certain song. Nanabozho imitates him, but foolishly sings another song. As a result, the shores of the sea become separated and Nanabozho falls into the water. He may well have drowned had not the Great Fisher come in to save him.

Nanabozho Meets Windigo (tale number fifty-one) 30

In this myth Nanabozho encounters Windigo, the man-eating giant. Windigo, upon seeing Nanabozho takes him prisoner and says that he is going to eat him. With the aid of a weasel, however, Nanabozho succeeds in killing Windigo.

TABLE 2

TABULATION OF THE RECURRING TALES IN THE NANABOZHO TRICKSTER-TRANSFORMER MYTHOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tale number</th>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>Recurrency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho Eats Medicines that Physic Him</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho Changes into an Animal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho’s Intestines Turn into Food</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Creaking Limbs</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho Gets His Head Stuck in an Animal Skull</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ..........</td>
<td>Nanabozho Dances with Rushes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of tales: 52  
Total number of sources: 31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tale number</th>
<th>Tale</th>
<th>Recurrence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Dancing Geese</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nanabozho, Anus Guardian, and the Burnt Buttocks</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Creation of Tobacco, etc., from His Burnt Buttocks</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Berries</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nanabozho Commits Incest with His Daughters</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nanabozho, the Magical Flight, and the Bird in Anus</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Nanabozho and Maple Sugar</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Owl</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nanabozho Kills His Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nanabozho Dives for a Wager</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Nanabozho Chases a Beaver</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Buffalo's Hump</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Tortoise's Shell</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Mud Turtle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Spotted</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Birch Bark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Porcupine's Quills</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Eagle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nanabozho Creates Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mortality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Animal Fat</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Raccoon and the Crawfish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Nanabozho and Woodpecker</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Nanabozho and Moose</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Flight with the Birds</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Snowshoe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Origin of Corn</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Pine Tree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Seasons</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Nanabozho and Pakiwis</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tale number</td>
<td>Tale</td>
<td>Recurrency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Nanabozho Masquerades as a Woman and Marries a Chief's Son</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Nanabozho Plays a Trick on His Grandmother and Goes on the Warpath</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Nanabozho Swindles a White Man Out of His Axe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nanabozho Robs His White Host of Food</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Nanabozho Ties the Legs of the Ducks and Flies Away with Them</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nanabozho Changes into a Fish, is Caught, and then Freed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Nanabozho Captures Some Ducks in a Bag</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Nanabozho Excretes on the &quot;Winged Startlers&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Nanabozho Eats the Scabs from His Burnt Buttocks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Nanabozho and the Skunk</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Nanabozho and Duck</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Nanabozho Feigns Death and Marries His Sister</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

1. See Barnouw (1944), Jones (series one), and Jones (series two).
2. See Barnouw (1944) and Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959).
3. See Barnouw (1944), Laidlaw (1918), and Radin (1912).
4. See Densmore (1929).
5. See Densmore (1929).
6. See Laidlaw (1916), Warren (1957), and Jenness (1929), and Brown (1944).
7. See Laidlaw (1921-1922) and Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959).
8. See Laidlaw (1921-1922).
10. See Ritzenthaler (1970), Carson (1917), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Schoolcraft (1839), and Speck (1915).
16. See Ritzenthaler (1970), Coleman, Progner, and Eich (1959), Radin (1912), Schoolcraft (1839), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Reagan (1911-1914), and Radin (1911-1914).
17. See De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), and Radin (1911-1914).
18. See De Jong (1911), Radin (1912), and Radin (1911-1914).
19. See De Jong (1911).
20. See Radin (1912).
21 See Radin (1912).

22 See Radin (1912), Jones (series one), Jones (series two), Speck (1915), Reagan (1911-1914), Blackwood (1925-1926), and Bloomfield (1938).

23 See Radin (1912), and Speck (1915).

24 See Radin (1912) and Jones (series three).

25 See Radin (1912).

26 See Schoolcraft (1839).

27 See Radin (1911-1914).

28 See Jones (series two).


30 See Jones (series two).
APPENDIX D

A NOTE ON MYTH AND FOLKTALE

In this thesis I have used the terms myth and folktale interchangeably without clearly distinguishing between the two. Typically, myth refers to a sacred story which has religious value for its adherents. As such it is considered to be true. As distinct from myth, folktale refers to any story that is handed down from one generation to the next among the common people.¹

Notably, myth, as sacred story, is usually the exclusive property of the society's religious leaders, for example, the shamans within Chippewa society. Folktales on the other hand are part of a common cultural heritage.²

Generally speaking, Nanabozho's exploits as a trickster, transformer, and culture hero were known to all the Chippewa. The majority of these tales were not part of the sacred mythology belonging to their shamanic secret societies. Therefore they should be regarded as folktales.

At the same time, however, these stories can also be considered as myths, inasmuch as they portrayed the adventures of a supernatural being existing prior to the creation of the Indians and the world as we know it today. In this capacity, Nanabozho's role as a creator, and transformer of nature was manifest. Consequently, his exploits can be considered to be true, insofar as they served to
structure the Chippewa cosmogony.

Notably, however, most of Nanabozho's adventures were not regarded as sacred. This is evidenced by the fact that their retelling was not restricted solely to ceremonial occasions, and that they were known to more than just a select group (i.e., the members of the shamanic societies).³

Victor Barnouw claims that "the origin myth about Wenebojo [Nanabozho] fills the definition of myth, but there are many stories about Wenebojo which qualify as folktales."⁴ Thomas Sebeok adds to this that,

...in the study of a particular tale, as it spreads across the continent, it is often impossible to know whether the native teller thinks of it as myth or an ordinary story. Mostly the question never occurs to him.⁵

Similarly, to the Chippewa Indian relating Nanabozho's adventures, the question of whether or not these stories are myths or folktales never becomes an issue.⁶

The only classification which the Chippewa make of their mythology is that between the popular renditions of the myth, usually retold by the acknowledged raconteurs within the tribe, and the sacred Midewiwin myths, available only to the members of the Medicine Society.⁷
NOTES


3 Cf. Victor Barnouw, Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), p. 52: "Writing about 1804, Peter Grant noted that the trickster-hero is never prayed to or given offerings.... This is not surprising, considering what a buffoonish and often ridiculous character he is. On the other hand, Alanson Skinner, in writing about the eastern Cree, neighbors of the northern Chippewa with a similar culture, noted that the trickster stories 'are not told for the sake of their humour, and his role of benefactor is never forgotten.'"

4 Ibid., p. 4.


6 Notably, the myth-folklore distinction does not affect either my collection of the ethnographic data, the reconstruction of the general form of the Nanabozho trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology, or my Jungian analysis of the archetypal significance of Nanabozho within the mythology.

7 Cf. Barnouw, Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales, p. 4: "A Irving Hallowell wrote that the northern Ojibwa have no category of fiction, since they consider their tales and myths to be true...."
APPENDIX E

INDEX OF MOTIFS

Presented below are some of the mythological motifs found in the trickster-transformer-culture hero mythology of the Chippewa Indians. These motifs have been correlated with the index numbers employed by Stith Thompson in his Motif Index of Folklore Literature.¹ In this way parallel myth themes can be located within other cultural contexts.

A²25.1 Culture hero fights with his elder brother.
A812 Earth diver.
A1010 Deluge
A1415 Theft of fire
A2731.1 Trickster's burnt (or scratched) flesh becomes gum on trees.
D1317.1 Buttocks as magic watcher.
D1432 Pursuit by water.
D911.4 Jonah.
J1791.11 Diving for reflected fruit.
J1872 Creaking limbs.
J1883 Trickster joins bulrushes in dance.
J2131.5.1 Trickster puts on buffalo skull; gets head caught.
J2134.2 Trickster eats medicines that physic him.
J2425 Bungling host.
K824 Sham doctor kills his patients.
K826 Hoodwinked dancers.
K1041 Trickster carried by birds and dropped.
K1321.1 Trickster poses as woman and married man.
K1941 Disguised flayer.
T411.1.2 Father-daughter incest.
T415 Brother-sister incest.
T524 Conception by wind.
T5441.1 Birth from blood clot.²
NOTES


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