

THE ROLLING HEAD LEGEND AMONG ALGONQUIANS

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Abstract: An analysis based upon structural, archetypal and emic theory reveals that the Rolling Head legend among Algonquians supports the ideology of balance and oneness with nature and opposes the ideology of separation, manipulation and domination of nature. The analysis shows that the legends of Iyas and Trickster's Race with Rock are variants of the Rolling Head legend and that Earth Diver is an inversion. The analysis also links the legend to a wider body of mythic material which may be subsumed under the nomenclature of Mother Goddess legends.

Résumé: Une analyse basée sur une théorie structurale archétype et émique révèle que la légende algonquienne de «La Tête qui Roule» appuie l'idéologie de l'équilibre et de l'harmonie avec la nature et rejette l'idéologie de la séparation, de la manipulation et de la domination de la nature. L'analyse montre que les légendes de «Iyas» et de «La Course de Trickster avec la Pierre» sont des variantes de «La Tête qui Roule» alors que «Le Plongeur de la Terre» en est une inversion. L'analyse relie la légende à un plus grand groupe de matériel mythique qui peut se subsumer à la nomenclature des légendes de la Déesse Mère.

Introduction

Although the Rolling Head legend is present in practically every collection of Algonquian stories (e.g., Ahenakew 1929:309-313; Barnouw 1977:112-115; Bloomfield 1930:14-18 and 1974:270-279; Brightman 1989:9-16, 23-26, 47-48, 59-60, 105-111; Coleman 1961:47-50; Jones 1919:45-103, 179-189, 405-413; Schoolcraft 1978:109-115; Skinner 1912:168-175; Stevens 1971:48-55, 112-120) and is usually the first in order of appearance (Brightman 1989: 66-72), its central role in Algonquian thought has not generally been recognized. Only Brassard (1980) and Lévi-Strauss (1974, 1978, 1981) have attempted formal analysis. Only Lévi-Strauss, who declares it worthy of an entire volume to itself (1974:451; 1978:99), has seen both the broad swath of its geographic impact and the depth of its localized input. Although he reveals it

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to be a continent-wide phenomenon which explains the origin of periodicity and mediates between such dualisms as life vs. death, sky vs. earth and being vs. non-being, he does not recognize an even wider geographic linkage nor does he adequately convey the critical role it plays as a living and growing political ideology of balance and wholeness.

Evidence which reveals the depth of its ideological role in modern Algonquian life was obtained when it was discovered that the legend is a key ingredient of a dispute over how to respond to a hydroelectric project which is flooding Cree land in northern Manitoba. Evidence that the geographic context for understanding the legend may extend worldwide was obtained when the case-study material was examined in the light of cross-cultural studies of mythology, especially the work of Joseph Campbell. These indicated that the Rolling Head legend is linked to a worldwide grouping generally known as Mother Goddess creation legends.

I begin my review of the Rolling Head legend with the insights of the Cree of Norway House, Manitoba. I extend our perspective by including Lévi-Strauss's structuralist contribution. I end this examination with the widest viewpoint by incorporating the work of Joseph Campbell and the archetypal school of thought.

The Rolling Head Legend

The analysis incorporates a review of 33 published Rolling Head narratives and a number of unpublished ones (see Appendices 2, 3 and 4). Based upon these data, the legend may be described as an account of how a once successful and harmonious family is torn apart by the interference of self-serving forces (usually adultery between the mother and her lover and desire for revenge by her jealous husband). The mother is separated from her lover, her husband and her children. Her body and severed head pursue the fleeing children. They use magical objects to thwart her pursuit and, in the process, create mountains, valleys, forests and rivers. She is defeated when she falls into the river and is transformed from a cannibalistic, food-consuming, food-withholding, witchlike object to a succouring, food-providing, sustaining water animal. The escaping children, usually Trickster and his brother, then encounter an evil man (often called Waymishose) who magically controls objects (such as his "motor boat") and who wishes to dominate all things. This man separates the brothers and tries to overpower Trickster to obtain a sacrifice for his guardian animals and to stop him, as he has stopped all previous suitors of his daughters, from mating and raising a family. This man engages in a battle of power with Trickster, almost always involving the control of fire or warmth as well as power over guardian animals, and is eventually defeated and made to perform a more balanced role in the world.

The Rolling Head Legend in Current Algonquian Life

Mr. Turnaround (Granzberg 1989) is a Cree elder, a grandfather of 15 children and a shaman. Before his retirement, he was a lay minister, translator, school teacher, janitor, trapper and disc jockey. He was raised in the bush and understands well the traditions of Cree life. But he is also a keen student of the future. He believes that the old and new must work together in an equal fashion and he sees the Rolling Head legend as corroboration for this belief. His interpretations of the Rolling Head legend were conveyed through casual conversations, lectures to my university classes and by formal and informal written documents.

His first teaching regarding the Rolling Head legend came at a time when there was great concern in his community regarding a hydroelectric project which was damming and diverting rivers and flooding land. He and I visited several affected reserves and conducted interviews. When the author returned home there came a long-distance call. Mr. Turnaround had heard a story and wanted to tell it to the author. He told the story of Woman and the Raven and then hung up without explanation. The author did not understand its importance until about a month later when he returned to the reserve. He then obtained a written rendition of the legend (see Appendix 5), a pictograph of it and an extended oral interpretation (see Granzberg 1978).

The legend, it turned out, was a prophecy of Hydro's actions. Moreover, though this was not learned till later, it was a variant of the Rolling Head legend. Hydro was symbolized in the legend as a child stealer and usurper of the Cree birthright whose actions were hidden until the lonely weeping mother got help from a raven in the form of knowledge and education which enabled her to begin to trace the footsteps of the thief and uncover what had been done. As she did this, her lost child grew up. He grew in four stages, the last of which was a reunion with the mother, a restoration of the Cree birthright and a transformation of the former enemy into a friend and equal partner.

The next teaching came in context of a lecture to one of the author's classes in which students were studying cross-cultural, child-rearing patterns. To illustrate Cree child-rearing conditions, Mr. Turnaround told them the story of Iyas (which again turned out to be a Rolling Head variant—see Appendix 6). The story is about a boy who leaves his mother to circle the world in one year (a euphemism for the vision quest).

On his journey, he meets up with many trials, beginning with isolation on an island where his friendship with the gulls and a big snake helps him to return to land. There he meets a female fox who offers him a plate of meat which always replenishes itself. When he is able to consume all the meat on the plate she rewards him with four magical objects which allow him to defeat women with toothed vaginas and sharp elbows and an imbalanced man with one huge destructive leg. When he finally comes back home, he finds his mother has

married a man named Waymishose who has enslaved her. Iyas then makes a red arrow, a black arrow and a circle. He gets in the circle with his mother and shoots the black arrow. This creates the long dark winter. Then he shoots the red arrow which brings the spring and summer. Iyas then becomes a crow and his mother a duck to usher in the seasons.

Mr. Turnaround told the class that the moral of this story was that Iyas was like a lost sheep looking for his people. He said that is the way the Cree people were. "We were lost and driven from town to town. I'm trying to bring you back to a new nation." He said, "Why were we lost?" "Because unfriendly," he answered. "You have to know people or you'll never get along. When you get to know people, you wonder where they are if you don't see them. You must walk well with your brother. That's what I am researching. Man I never knew came. He said, 'Would you like to come with me?' I said, 'Yes!'" Here was a reference to his relationship with the author and our journey to a number of reserves to investigate the hydro project.

If people are unfriendly to each other, he said, they get lost. "We are lost because of unfriendly—lost of White to Red." "How horrible it was," he said, "not to be understood—to have lack of understanding." This is how Iyas was treated, he explained. It is also seen in the relationship of White to Red. You need the old things to guide you in a new life, he said. "First time electricity comes, people throw kerosene old lamps away. Then electricity went out. They were in darkness."

Thus, he was saying, the Cree cannot go forward without taking their traditions along. Once Iyas returned to his traditions (symbolized as a reunion with his mother), he was able to defeat the enemy and restore balance. So it is with White people too. They too need their roots. Some of this is to be found in reunion with the Red. This, he said, is what he is trying to accomplish. To restore his own people as a new nation and to bring the White people back to this new nation.

His task back home is to educate the youth properly—to take them on a vision quest like Iyas underwent. They must first learn to honour and obey, however, just as this was Iyas' first task. That is symbolized in the episode, he said, where Iyas is forced to eat an ever-replenishing food supply. This symbolizes storing strength and planning and digesting all that is given to you. It means listening to the elders and not thinking that you know more than they do just because you are learning White ways in the school and can speak better English. The plate is the circle, he said. It yields plenty. It is tradition. It is return. The episode teaches children that they must face their temptations and weaknesses and turn them into strengths—turn gluttony into energy to store and plan. Sometimes knowledge is force-fed, he said, but you must face it, accept it, take it all in.

Iyas restores the circle. He shoots his arrows, one black and one red, and restores the seasons. He is the saviour. He vanquishes all one-sidedness, all evil. He defeats Waymishose, who is the north wind and who had attempted to always keep the world in the dark and cold. He defeats the women and men who could not live with others (women with toothed vaginas and men with huge legs). Before Iyas, Mr. Turnaround said, women were known as knives and men as spies. They were unfriendly and created separations and loneliness. But after Iyas they could get along better.

The next step in understanding Mr. Turnaround's perceptions of the Rolling Head legend, and a first introduction to the Rolling Head proper, came when the author was seeking to know more about the character of Waymishose who appears in the Iyas variant. Mr. Turnaround took the author to an old man, a relative of Mr. Turnaround's, who said that it all started with the Rolling Head. He said that Waymishose was against his sons-in-law, against their education, but that there was one son-in-law that he could not beat and that was the trickster son of the Rolling Head. He then proceeded to tell the story of the Rolling Head as presented in Appendix 1.

Mr. Turnaround explained some of the meanings in a number of later conversations. He said that the story could be interpreted as an allegory of how evil was brought into the world and how it robbed the Cree of their birthright. He said it could be compared to the stories of the Fall in the Garden of Eden which introduced evil, and to the story of Jacob and Esau where one brother had his birthright stolen.

The parallels to the Garden of Eden are obvious. There is the snake, the tree, the husband and wife and the two male children. One child is more animal oriented and the other more domesticated. They eventually separate. The Fall itself would be symbolized in the act of severing the woman's head, a symbolic separation of the above and below, spiritual and material, tree of life and tree of knowledge. The sword swirling around the tree of life is a further hint of that symbolism.

Mr. Turnaround said that evil produced the jealousy of the husband and then jumped into the woman's head and made it alive and cannibalistic. The fleeing Trickster tries to escape that evil and, when the head unites with the river and produces something useful (whales), he again confronts it in the form of Waymishose, a symbol, says Mr. Turnaround, of materialism, technology, science, warfare and dictatorship. With his inventions, such as his self-powered boat, Waymishose represents the force of change and growth gone chaotic and uncontrolled and being used to dominate and to feed greed and power. He said that Trickster's efforts are those of the teacher, the balancer, the forces of democracy over tyranny. Waymishose's arrival by boat with trinkets to lure Trickster and enslave and dominate him are equivalent, said Mr. Turnaround, to the arrival of the White Man who came by boat bearing trin-

kets, and tried to take the Native's land and enslave him. The parallels to Jacob and Esau, he said, are with regard to the way Jacob and his mother stole Esau's birthright and tried to enslave him. Esau would be like Trickster, hounded by an evil woman and an evil man.

It appears that Mr. Turnaround identifies with Esau and not with Jacob. He feels that he and his people have been victimized in a similar way by powerful forces that took advantage of weaknesses to make them give up their land and rights. This parallelism to the Jacob and Esau story is even clearer in the Iyas variant of the Rolling Head where Iyas (like Esau) was usurped of his rights by a stepmother who tried to set her own son up as the next in line. But, in the Cree version, Iyas returned and destroyed the woman and baby and restored his rights.

The intimate relationship between the three legends (Woman and the Raven, Iyas and the Rolling Head) was revealed during Mr. Turnaround's last lecture to a university class. At this time he focussed upon a rock-art site which he said summarized the history of his people.

He explained that the artwork was a prophecy from the old people. One of the dominant glyphs at the site was, he said, a depiction of the boat that would arrive one day to bring enslavement to the Cree. He said it was the treaty boat of Queen Victoria (see Fig. 1a). The boat has three kinds of people in it. On the right are people who lean toward traditional ways. On the left are people, under the British flag, who lean toward the White man's way. In the centre are those in between.

Below the boat is a divided road (a crack in the rock—Fig. 1b). It tells people that there are two roads available. Those who take the right road will find a saviour at the end, symbolized by an eagle (Fig. 1c), who was there at the beginning to bring initial riches (the eagle glyph on the right of the boat—Fig. 1d) but who flew away when the British ship arrived (the eagle glyph above the boat—Fig. 1e), waiting to return as the people learn to take the right path (see Granzberg and Steinbring 1992 for similar motifs in the southwest United States and elsewhere). Signs of this last stage drawing near, he said, are the presence of more and more eagles in the North and the use of eagle feathers by leaders such as Elijah Harper and Ovide Mercredi.

These stages of Cree history are not only prophesied by the three kinds of people in the boat and the three eagle figures at the beginning, middle and end of the split pathway, but also by three people seen at another part of the rock art site (Fig. 1f). The first, Mr. Turnaround said, is a person who is enslaved and made dependent and childish. "He is given candy!" The second "searches for what is happening." He finds out what has been done to the people. The third begins to free the people and to re-establish their pride and dignity and self-reliance.

Figure 1
Rock Art in Mr. Turnaround's Community

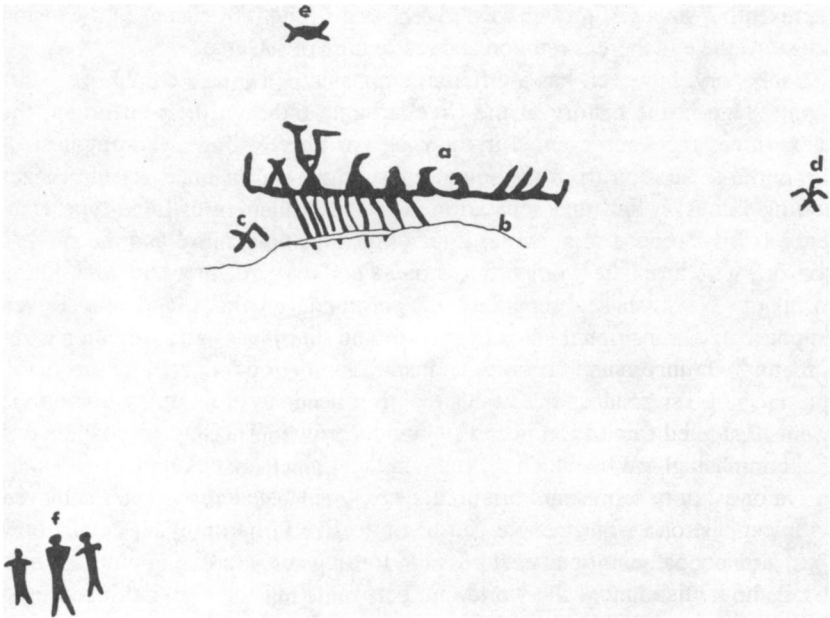


Illustration by Fred Steinbring
 based upon photographs by
 J. Steinbring and G. Granzberg

Note: All the figures at the site have not been depicted and Fig. 1f has been placed in closer proximity to the other figures than is actually the case.

The third one we have today. We have a happy place. We have many of them who will stand for us. That's how the picture was taken. That someday you will be a great ruler on your own again. Now. All these stories I told. They were combined into one place where we are speaking of. They all returning. They all returning to a common place. In a pond surrounding the earth Iyas went to and found his mother a slave by the North Wind. He caught a man and put him in his canoe and away he went. And he thinks that he's going to enslave this man. So he left him in reef and came back. But this young fellah got back first. And so he took him camping and tried to steal his clothes and freeze him. Then they fought as birds. But Waymishose was defeated. And we have the pictures today. You heard about the wars. That was Waymishose. OK? That's all I have today.

Here Mr. Turnaround has blended the story of Iyas and the Rolling Head into one and states that all the legends have a common theme. They all are teaching youth how to grow up properly to have the pride and strength that is

their birthright. The three legends share the same story line. A woman and her offspring are united as the legends begin but then are separated. She searches for them or vice versa. There is evil to overcome by means of four objects, representing stages of growth toward renewed strength by means of the vision quest. At the end there is reunion and restoration of balance.

Each story, however, has a different emphasis. They each emphasize a different stage in the history of the Cree struggle to retain their birthright, the same three stages represented in the rock art. The Rolling Head emphasizes the initial separation from the source of strength and balance. It emphasizes cutting things in half and separation. The initial Garden-of-Eden-type existence is lost because of a jealous man who chops up a snake and the snake's consort, who turns the woman into a one-sided evil creature, and who, in the form of Waymishose, separates the brothers. Woman and the Raven emphasizes a transitional stage of growth and discovery. The woman has returned to wholeness and becomes an inspiration to youth to attempt the vision quest. She gives her lost child the strength it needs to grow up by tracing the events that led the child astray and stunted its growth. The stages by which this is accomplished and by which the reunion takes place are detailed.

The Iyas story represents the final stage when balance has been achieved with the past and when people can begin to live in harmony. It details how Iyas, a balanced being, makes it possible for opposites to live in union. It also details how he balances the world and gets rid of all the evil that has caused separations, loneliness and warfare.

The three myths thus complete a circle. At the beginning of the Rolling Head legend there is unity. This is broken. Transition to a new unity is traced in Woman and the Raven. Full attainment of that unity is achieved in Iyas. As Mr. Turnaround has said, "They are all returning to one place."

The Rolling Head Legend vs. The Earth Diver Legend

I have linked the legends of Iyas and Woman and the legend of Raven to the Rolling Head as variants. I include Trickster's Race with Rock as another variant. The Algonquian legend of Earth Diver can also be linked to the Rolling Head legend and is an inversion of it. The idea of comparing the legends of Rolling Head and Earth Diver arose from comments made by a middle-aged, entrepreneurial Cree man during a recent visit to Mr. Turnaround's community. This man belongs to a faction which opposes the views of Mr. Turnaround and his supporters. Mr. Turnaround believes that the hydroelectric project is a very negative and destructive force for which renewable and long-lasting compensation should be sought and current, limited offers rejected.

This opposed faction argues that an offer that had been on the table for a number of years should have been accepted because the money could have been used to build roads, to establish businesses and to ensure good housing.

This man argues that the flooding by the hydroelectric project was a “cleansing” experience, just like Noah’s flood, that would get rid of old self-destructive habits by leading to a new world of progress and wealth.

He referred to the Earth Diver legend in support of his view. In this legend (see Messer 1989 and Fisher 1988 for details) Trickster fights water creatures who steal away his brother Wolf. Their control of water is used to revenge themselves against Trickster who killed their leader. They send a great flood but are defeated by Trickster when he builds a raft and sends animals down into the water to retrieve mud from which he makes a new world to float above, and to dominate, the old. Trickster then vanquishes these water creatures (frogs and snakes, for example) to the lower worlds. In his view, then, flooding can lead to a new and better world and, if leaders of his community took a more forward approach, they would realize how the community could benefit if they came to quick terms with Hydro.

This is evidence that the Earth Diver legend supports an entrepreneurial ideology at Norway House and stands in opposition to the ideology contained in the Rolling Head legend. Analyses by Messer and Fisher support this. Their structural studies of the Earth Diver legend demonstrate that it sanctions a role for humans as dominators of animals and nature (Messer 1989:221; Fisher 1988:90-91).

A point-by-point comparison of the two legends verifies their closely paralleled but oppositional nature. They both feature Trickster, his mother, his brother Wolf and Waymishose (Flint). They both explain earth’s origins, fire stealing, revenge against a character who kills Trickster’s mother and Trickster’s travels with and separation from Wolf. They contrast in that the Rolling Head establishes a new world below while Earth Diver establishes a new world above. The Rolling Head’s Trickster is young and innocent while Earth Diver’s Trickster is older, trickier and more manipulative. In the Rolling Head, the female figure plays a continuing prominent role and eventually becomes a positive factor in the world. In Earth Diver, the Toad Woman, equivalent to the mother figure in the Rolling Head (Lévi-Strauss 1978:58, 59, 103), appears briefly and is portrayed as completely evil. In the Rolling Head, Trickster’s enemy is opposed to mating and union, but in Earth Diver his enemies are the source of fertility and healing. In the Rolling Head, Trickster’s defeated enemy is turned into a balanced being but in Earth Diver Trickster’s enemy is vanquished and remains imbalanced and evil. Finally, in the Rolling Head variants, Trickster is very close to all animals and is helped by the underwater creatures (such as Snake), but in Earth Diver much of nature has become Trickster’s enemy (see Appendix 7). The Rolling Head and Earth Diver legends carry out oppositional roles. The Rolling Head supports a balanced view according to which humanity is contained within nature. Earth Diver, on the

other hand, supports a rationalistic, technological and manipulative ethos, according to which humanity dominates nature.

Lévi-Strauss's Contribution

The evidence of the Rolling Head's functions and meanings among Algonquians is corroborated by cross-cultural studies of mythology. It is an ideology of balance and wholeness and is in opposition to another legend advocating the opposite ideology of human dominance of nature. Works by Lévi-Strauss and Joseph Campbell are examples. We shall begin with the views of Lévi-Strauss.

Lévi-Strauss believes that the Rolling Head legend, like all mythology, is structured according to the actions of such forces as dualism, mediation and inversion. Its main role, he says, is that of mediator between polar conceptions of how the world originates and is structured—polarities which he ultimately traces to the contrast between being and non-being (1981:694). The mediation of these polarities, he says, often takes the form of a demonstration that each of the extremes contains similarly contradictory ingredients which may each be transformed to a single phenomenon which holistically contains all the polarities within it. In the case of the mediation accomplished by the Rolling Head, this is the moon.

He says that the Rolling Head legend operates within the area of deficiencies in human affairs (trusting and virginal people), perhaps an aspect of the "non-being" polarity. He posits an inversive legend called the Clinging Woman which, he says, operates within the area of excesses in human affairs (licentious people), perhaps an aspect of the "being" polarity. The Rolling Head's transformation into the moon and rainbow could be seen as balancing the world of "non-being" while the Clinging Woman's transformation into the moon with moon spots could be seen as balancing the world of "being" (1978:99-101, 54-56).

He develops this broad theme slowly through several volumes. In *From Honey to Ashes* (1974:423-447), he discusses the Rolling Head legend as mediation between constructive and destructive forces coded variously as light vs. dark, good vs. bad, silent vs. noisy, empty vs. full and culture vs. nature. The key to this mediation role, he feels, is the presence of magical objects which regulate good and evil. His example is the oar (snake) and the gourd (human head) which can be combined into the rattle, symbolically uniting the circle (regulator of constructive forces) and line (regulator of destructive forces), and mediating between them through its control of conjunction and disjunction (1974:450-452).

He returns to the subject in the *Origin of Table Manners* (1978:102, 110) where he says that the Rolling Head and its variants deal with the problem of balancing forces that are either "too near" or "too far." These forces are represented both celestially and terrestrially. They are found in the sun's freezing

or overheating the earth, in the long or short periodicity of constellations, stars, planets, moon or meteors, in the moon's distance from the earth and nearness to the sun, in exogamy vs. endogamy and in licentiousness vs. incest. These polarities are resolved, he says, by the creation of balancing forces in the moon and on earth. These are the rhythms of life, death and rebirth, night and day and fertility and infertility. These polarities are fused within the waxing and waning moon, menstruating women and the seasonal earth. The creation of such balancing forces is recounted by the Rolling Head and its variants.

His ultimate statement of the mediation role is in the *Naked Man* when he boils it down to the need to mediate between "being" (humans-over-nature) and "non-being" (nature-over-humans) (1981:694). Here he exemplifies the process with reference to an episode in which blind hags with sharp elbows block the path of a hero-child. He sees this as a Symplegades symbol (standing for the vision quest) which indicates that the means for restoring lost relations between "being" and "non-being" is through enlightenment. By defeating the blind hags (who hover on either side of a doorway and do not allow in "light"), the hero shows that he can simultaneously understand the actions of opposite forces and has thereby found the means to overcome dualism. This is his enlightenment (1981:403-412). Features of Lévi-Strauss's findings which play a key role in our analysis include the dualism of "being" and "non-being," legends which operate in inversive relation to the Rolling Head legend, and the Symplegades as a mediator between opposing forces.

Joseph Campbell's Contribution

The central character in the Rolling Head legend, who is the mother of Trickster, is described in several narratives as "mother earth" or "daughter of mother earth" (e.g., Jones 1917:17; Benton-Benai 1979:2-5; Lévi-Strauss 1981:67). This opens up the possibility that archetypal categorizations regarding the mother earth symbol may be applicable to the legend. This is borne out in the ensuing summation of Joseph Campbell's ideas concerning the Mother Goddess archetype.

Campbell believes, as do many scholars (Eliade 1975, Jung 1969, Harding 1971, Vermaseren 1977, Hartland 1894, Showerman 1901 and Hulst 1946), that the Mother Goddess archetype is a central part of the human psyche's concern to understand such forces as life vs. death, meaning vs. chaos and science vs. intuition. He says that Mother Goddess legends admonish us that our purpose in life is to recognize that these forces are intended to work in partnership within us and that we should live our lives as a sacrament to these forces.

Campbell says that the Goddess is the "mother of both living and dead," but where "the lighter and darker aspects of the mixed thing that is life [are] . . . honored equally and together" (Campbell 1985:21). She is the giver of life but also the consumer of death (1985:21-22, 54).

Together, the Goddess and snake represent the timeless, cosmic process that overcomes all periodicity and all heroic deeds (1985:24). Together they represent the union of heaven and earth (1985:56). They seem like two but are really one (1985:56).

The separation of the mother into two may symbolize the creation of the world of temporality. This, he feels, is illustrated by a myth where the two consorts were originally together as one great mountain in which the top was male and the bottom female. But the mountain was separated into two by the son of the consort pair, signalling the creation of the world of temporality (1985:57).

Campbell connects the moon to the Goddess because, like the earth, it is a cyclical phenomenon. He says that the moon brings dew during the night as it wanes with the coming of day (as it dies). It thus refreshes and provides rebirth (1985:10). He contrasts lunar and solar symbols. The lunar, he says, represents the resolution of opposites while the solar represents separations and the upholding of polarities as ends in themselves (1985:26-27). "Darkness flees from the sun as its opposite, but in the moon dark and light interact in the one sphere" (1985:26-27).

In myths, Campbell says, the son is often separated from the mother and then has a hero's journey to seek reunion. The reunion is a symbol of the son uniting with the Goddess—a restitution of a consort pair. The reunion is a merging of microcosm and macrocosm. It is the sanctification of human life. It is a sacramental act, the mythology suggests, of which all humans are capable (1985:14-15, 30, 48-49).

These analyses may be applied to the Rolling Head legend as follows. The Mother Goddess and snake consort are quite clearly the woman and her snake paramour. The equivalent to the sun may be the husband of the woman who is jealous of her snake consort and who tries to overpower both of them. Way-mishose, who separates and brings one-sidedness, may also fulfill the characteristics of the sun symbol.¹ The equivalent to the moon is not clearly seen in the version detailed in Appendix 1, but the Iyas legends (see above), which shade into the Rolling Head in characters and events, have versions where Iyas is quite clearly the moon (Lévi-Strauss 1981:46). And Iyas may be viewed as a developed and matured Trickster figure (Lévi-Strauss 1981:29, 32) who has completed the vision quest and is now ready to fight evil and imbalance in a hero's way. Thus Iyas and the Trickster fulfill the role of the moon and the hero son.

The evidence that the Rolling Head is a variant of Mother Goddess legends can be summarized as follows. There is a supernatural woman in the three variant stories who is identifiable as Mother Earth. This woman engages in sexual relations with a snake and is supported by the snake. She is beheaded and separated from her offspring. She turns into food. She energizes the vision

quest. And she participates in events which lead from balance to imbalance and then back to balance. All of these actions are predictable according to the archetypal hypothesis of the Mother Goddess who, along with the snake, represents the two great forces which created the world and which were originally united. They co-operated until selfishness entered to separate the two forces and to create evil, finite divisions and knowledge. Nevertheless, the Mother Goddess may be reintegrated with her other half by means of the vision quest. Some stories tell of her endeavours to reunite with this other half, who is often depicted as a child. From the union good things, such as staple foods, emerge or are created. In agricultural societies there is often a cereal crop that develops when the Goddess is beheaded and buried in the ground. Among hunters like the Cree, it is often a staple wild food like migrating fish or birds. This is seen at the end of the three Rolling Head variants when the journey to reunite separated parts, as seen either from the perspective of the child or the mother, produces a whale, or ducks and a crow or a tree that are harvested by a partnership of activity.

The Three Sources Summarized

The three sources agree that the Rolling Head legend is an origin legend which explains that the dualistic, imbalanced and periodic world which humans currently occupy was created by the shattering of an original unity to which humans can return if they overcome the egoism that initiated and maintains the world's imbalances.

Lévi-Strauss, for example, says that there is a jealous figure in the legend who represents the impetus which shatters the original unity. This figure, he says, has too much sexual need, too little, is too venturesome ("too close" or incestuous) or too shy ("too far" or frigid). The imbalanced actions of this figure produces jealousies and tensions which lead to violent acts that disrupt the original unified state and cause humans to procreate through sexual congress, to live and die, and to face a world of good and evil (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 99-110). Mr. Turnaround agrees. He has given the Rolling Head legend his own title. He calls it "jealousy." He is referring to the jealousy of the husband which leads him to chop his wife's head off and which then produces evil.

Jealousy is the origin of the current imbalanced world because jealousy cannot exist where there is oneness. Oneness means no separations, no boundaries and no dualisms. When jealousy emerges, dualisms are implied. The jealous one thus creates the new earth with its separations, boundaries and finite existence of life. Mr. Turnaround calls this whole process "unfriendliness." He cites it as the source of the loss of unity between Red and White.

Campbell also traces the breakup of the original unity to egoism and jealousies. These are motives he ascribes to patriarchal cultures which, he says, in the West, superseded more balanced cultures and gave rise to one-

sided, patriarchal versions of earth's origins. A key mythic statement of this patriarchal takeover, he feels, is the story of how Tiamat (the Babylonian Goddess) was cut up by Marduk, a Waymishose-like figure full of greed and aggression, thereby initiating a world of dualisms, strivings and periodicity (Campbell 1985:75).

The legend's call for humans to seek reunification is seen, by Lévi-Strauss, in its mediating role conducted by the symbolic bridgings accomplished by the Symplegades and by such unions of opposites as that of the line and circle to form the rattle. Campbell finds the call for return to unity in the journey of the hero-child who tries to unite with the Goddess (1985:15) and in the consort relation of the woman and snake depicted both in legend and in the sacramental acts of priests and priestesses. Mr. Turnaround also finds a call for return in the journey of the hero-child. The child is separated from its source of strength (the mother) in the Rolling Head legend proper and then must reunite with that source before balance and equality can return. This reunion process is traced by Mr. Turnaround in *Women and the Raven* and culminates, according to his interpretation, in Iyas' emergence as a balanced being who eliminates the evils of the world.

And, finally, the sources all agree that the Rolling Head legend is involved in an ideological controversy over the relationship of humans to nature. Lévi-Strauss says that this is a controversy that is deep-seated in mythology and provides some mixed evidence that it is essential to the inversive relationship of the Rolling Head and the Clinging Woman. Joseph Campbell feels that Mother Goddess legends are in opposition to Father God legends and that the former support humans-in-nature while the latter support humans-over-nature. Mr. Turnaround sees contrasting ideology regarding human-nature relations in the characters of Iyas and Waymishose, with Iyas representing balance and Waymishose conflict. And the contrast between the Rolling Head and Earth Diver legends also illustrates the ideological controversy within which the legend is embedded.

Conjecture on Other Linkages—Trickster's Race with Rock Turtle and Rabbit, Moses and the Rock and Others

According to Lévi-Strauss, the shattering of a rolling rock in an Ojibwa legend is homologous to the Rolling Head and Clinging Woman (Lévi-Strauss 1973:99). And, according to Joseph Campbell, sometimes the Mother Goddess is depicted as a great mountain or stone (Campbell 1985:46, 55, 57, 430). This leads us to speculate about the symbolism contained in a widespread Algonquian story in which Trickster races with a rock (e.g., Stevens 1971:30-31; Dorsey and Kroeber 1903:65-70; Wissler and Duvall 1908:24-25). In the version obtained from Mr. Turnaround's community (see Appendix 8), Trickster topples a rock off a hill and races with it. It eventually catches up to him and

rolls on top of him and pins him down. Trickster tries to match patience with the rock but fails and, in exasperation, calls Thunderbird to shatter the rock. Trickster is freed and immediately finds a very energetic mouse who tends to him and makes him well again. As a reward, Trickster makes the mouse beautiful with hair that is always neat and never needs to be combed.

The parallels to the Rolling Head legend are many. A round object standing upon a hill is toppled free (severed) and then rolls after Trickster.² Trickster is captured but shatters the rock (a repeat of the severing motif) and then confronts a busy and productive mouse (perhaps equivalent to the new fertile world produced by the rolling head as it drowned). Trickster is taken in and brought up by the mouse (a vision quest journey such as undergone by Iyas and the lost child) and, in the end, beauty and order is achieved. Thus a one-sided, impatient, teasing and taunting being is given a lesson after he shatters a unity and has to face the terror of its one-sided fury as it rolls down the hill. It turns into a new world within which Trickster has to learn to live. But with its aid, in the form of a female mouse (somewhat equivalent to the mother fox that aided Iyas), it teaches Trickster to be a more balanced being and is itself balanced. It is not much of a further step to consider that the Western story of the race between the rabbit (often a trickster symbol) and the turtle (a hard, rounded object) is a variant of this legend since the characters are similar and the message about balance and humility is the same.

Old World parallels to the Rolling Head legend may also be found. The legends of Perseus (Hartland 1894), Attis (Vermaseren 1977), Gawain (Abrams 1979:244-298) and Golden Feather (Weinreich 1988:142-147) show uncanny parallels. And this is true also of the story of Moses' smiting of a rock to obtain water. A rock is detached from its moorings, is shattered, brings forth fertility. It supports a people who are led by two brothers who escape pursuing evil by means of charms and who are on a vision quest of 40 days and nights (similar to the four days or charms of the Rolling Head variants). Such explanations as diffusion, independent invention and archetypal parallelism could be offered. A balanced perspective would include elements from each position.

Conclusion

Through an eclectic application of parallel viewpoints expressed by structural theory, archetypal theory and an Algonquian elder, I conclude that the Rolling Head legend is a variant of widely distributed Mother Goddess legends. In today's world, it represents a great battle between humans who take a short view of their life and seldom challenge the surface appearance of things and those who take a longer view in which humanity is seen as often foolish and immature and easily trapped by games of greed and power. The Rolling Head legend represents the long view, urging people to go beyond surface needs and appearances in order to seek deeper truths. It urges a union of the material and

spiritual, of “being” and “non-being.” It is the voice of wisdom rather than knowledge, of balance rather than power. Earth Diver represents the short view. It urges humans to assert themselves and to use their rational gifts to take control of nature. It inverts the message of the Rolling Head by stressing separation from the world below, ascent of the material world and Trickster’s domination of nature by guile.

This is an historic battle. It is often expressed in symbols of female (representing discipline, containment and balance) vs. male (representing energy, power and change). The community under observation in this paper is one where the sides are currently of equal weight and power. It is a community wherein the two competing and inversive legends carry equal weight. It is a community where many still adhere to a vision in which the mother figure and her child are the preferred models of strength and destiny who must be rescued from enslavement and made proud and free. The Rolling Head and its variants express this hope. It explains that the task is to see beyond surface separations that have been created by egoistic forces and to undertake a journey of enlightenment which reunites the separated pieces and restores fertility and harmony.

The events in Mr. Turnaround’s community are a worldwide phenomenon. We see the same struggle in the industrialized world where the repressed voice of the “mother” is struggling to reassert itself after having undergone defeat at the hands of the opposing vision which has created massive wealth and dominating technology but has also produced new and more potent threats to the environment and cultural well-being. By identifying this battle at the micro level and in a Native context, I hope I have provided some perspective regarding the larger forces at work.

Appendix 1: The Rolling Head

They were a family. Man and wife, and two children. That’s how it started. This woman got involved with snakes. It was in the Bible. Because when this man went out hunting in the daytime, this woman was left behind to do the work. But she couldn’t finish the work.

All of a sudden this man began to see that there was something between the woman’s work and whatever she had to do. So one day he was out hunting, and he left a deer in the bush. Quite a ways in the bush. And the way it happened, this man asked his two boys what was the mother doing in the daytime, he asked them. And then those boys told their father what happened. “She didn’t do any more work. She couldn’t finish her work. She was supposed to be skinning some beaver and putting them on a stretcher and scraping them down.” So he asked those kids, “What kind of a person did I marry, that she couldn’t do the work, that she’s supposed to do?” And she would tell him, whenever he asked about it, “Oh, that’s about all the time I had. And that’s all

I could do," she would say. "I have to cut wood, and take ice for water, and all the rest of the day, I couldn't get anything for you."

So he sent her off to get this meat that he had left. So she went out with the sleigh and then those boys told their father that as soon as the man left his camp, that this woman went to a stump, and rapped on the stump. And then she said to the stump, "Your wife has come." And then a lot of snakes came out of there. They laid around her, they wrapped around her. They wrapped around her naked. ("Well that's the same thing as in the Bible anyway," he said.) "They are disobeying the orders of the family. Because they had two sons, Cain and Abel, only one was very good and the other was wicked. Well, these boys did the same thing."

So when she went out to get the meat, this man went and rapped at the stump. And as soon as the snakes came out, he chopped them into pieces. This was the woman's husband that did this. And he had a pot to hold the blood. He took it back to the tipi. And while he was doing this, he had already sent the boys on ahead of them, that they should go away from the camp. And he gave them three things, these two boys. He gave them a file [and thorn thistles] and a tinder. So he told them, "If you see your mother coming, you should throw the file back, and ask it to form the Rocky Mountains." So those boys went off. And he waited for his wife to come back home.

And when she came home, he gave her that soup that he made, and he asked, "How'd that taste?" "Alright," she said. "Well, that's your husband," he said. So she got up and ran to the stump. She knew that everything was revealed now. And that her husband knew what she was doing. So she tried to follow her sons. And she got mad and started fighting with her husband. And he chopped her head off. And he wrestled with the body, with her body. And her head began to roll around the house, and knocked everywhere.

But all at once, she must have had a comb. She had a comb like this. She put it somewhere in the tipi, she had hidden it somewhere. The man didn't know that this comb was there. She pulled it out, and she asked the comb, "Where did the boys run to?" The comb said, "Well, right from where you're standing. They sank into the air and are travelling underground." So she followed the road. She sank right down all at once, right into the ground, and the boys heard her, as soon as she started out, because she started talking, the rolling head. She says, "I'm the rolling head. I keep on rolling and rolling." And she never stopped saying that.

And so they threw the file back, and they asked the earth to form the Rocky Mountains. And all at once, it came up. Steep rocks, but I never heard about, in any other place, or any other book I've read about rocky caterpillars. "Have you ever heard about that?"

So she got these rocky caterpillars, this rolling head, and she told them to eat through the rocks, like worms. She asked them to cut a way through, where

she could go through. And these caterpillars said, "Well, what can you give us?" "Oh, you can marry me," she said. "What's the use of marrying you?" they said. "Well, I got ears. And I got a mouth," she said. And that's all she could offer. So those caterpillars took what she was offering, and they made the tunnel for her. But I don't know how long it stayed there. Well, then she had to wait anyway, before she could continue on. And then she did finally go through that tunnel. And she went on, without stopping. And she left those caterpillars behind. Those caterpillars were angry.

So she went on, and those boys heard their mother coming again. "Rolling head, rolling and rolling," she was saying. So they threw back thorn thistles. That was one of the things the father had given them. "Let the thorns be in her way," they said. And all of a sudden she ran against those thorns. She couldn't go this way and she couldn't go that way. She couldn't get over it, she couldn't get under it. So she finally found some way. I don't know how she made it. It took her a long time. She was all tangled up in those thorns. But she finally got through.

And finally they heard her coming, "I'm rolling and rolling and rolling," she was saying. And they heard her. And they threw back this tinder, this fire that they had, from the birch. And they said, "Let the fire cross the earth." So the flames sprang up across her path. She tried to get by. Finally she spat on the ground and asked the earth to substitute, to make something moist. So the flames sprang up across her path. So she rolled on that spit, and the wet soil and mud covered her up. And she went through like that. She must have been there a long, long time, and then she went on. And those kids were ahead of her. And then she became a threat to them again, after she went through that fire.

And they came to the river, those boys. There was a pelican there. The boys asked the pelican to take them across the river. So it took them across. But they told the pelican not to take their mother across the river. But finally she came to the river. "I'm rolling and rolling, ha, ha," she was saying. She went to the water, and she went back to the dry land and she looked around and she saw that pelican. And she asked him to take her. And she offered to marry him if he would. "Oh, no, no. What can you offer?" the pelican said. He wasn't much interested. "Oh, my ears, my eyes, my nose, I can talk." So he took her across. But he said, "don't go near my neck. I got a sore spot." And just about that time, about halfway up the river as he was flying across, she moved close to his neck. "Don't move over there," he said. And he got mad at the rolling head, and he threw her in the water, and drowned her. And she came up, and the pelican rolled her over and hit that head and said, "Let there be, that the people in the future will call you a whale." And that's why, when the pelican comes up, he spews water. And she came out and spouted the water, and that was the last of her.

And those boys continued to follow the river to the mouth. And they stayed there, laying in the sand. They don't know what to do. They had some kind of toy that they were playing with, chasing around.

Then all of a sudden they saw somebody landing there. I guess that's the beginning of the Waymishoos. He was coming by boat. So that toy, Waymishoos looks at that toy, and it goes by his boat. So the oldest asked him to throw that toy back to them. "Oh, you can come and get it," Waymishoos says. And he put his paddle out. And he wanted that boy to walk on it. And he puts him in the boat, and he takes the boat. But he doesn't paddle. But he went off, and everytime the boat slows down he hits it with the paddle, and the boat goes on.

And then he comes to this camp. And this woman has a couple of daughters. And he told her that he's got a man and a young boy with him. So when they left, when they left the younger boy on the ground, the boy started to cry. And he said, "Now that you're gone, may I become a wolf." And he looked off from the boat, and he saw his brother running on the shore and following the boat. And that's why a wolf is so cunning. That when a man sees the wolf, and has the wolf inside there, looking at him, because he's a human partly. So when she got home, she told her daughter, "They've got a man." So the other found out about it, and said, "It's your turn to go over for the night. We'll crawl in there." I guess he was crying so much the place was so dirty. Mud from all of that. And he went faster there. Then the elder daughter went back to the tipi, and told her younger sister, "I know the man brought something in there. It's muddy. Not much of a man." Now the mother told the youngest of the daughters, "You go down there and give him a washing. Dry him up." And then he began to dream. Dreaming and dreaming about this old Waymishoos, and what he has in store for them. So he dreamed up everything. And so that's why whenever he tried to kill him, the son-in-law had known everything already. And so he couldn't do it. So he knows how to protect himself, and save himself, and bring himself back to the camp.

Appendix 2: Trait List of Rolling Head Episodes

A. Battle between Woman and Her

Husband

0. Absent

1. Period of innocence and purity before battle

0. absent

a. present

2. Characters and names

a. mother

(0) absent

(1) present

b. father

(0) absent

(1) present

c. children

(0) absent

(1) 1 child

(2) 2 children

(a) boys

(b) girls

(c) boy and girl

(d) n.a.

- (3) three children
 - (4) four children
 - (5) other
 - d. grandmother
 - (0) absent
 - (1) present
 - e. other
 - 3. Birth of Children
 - 0. absent
 - 1. present
 - (1) woman lives
 - (2) woman dies
 - 4. Source of conflict
 - a. adultery
 - (1) snake
 - (2) bear
 - (3) human
 - (4) other (explain)
 - b. other (explain)
 - c. n.a.
 - 5. Fate of characters
 - a. adulterous 3rd party
 - (1) killed
 - (a) body parts fed to woman
 - (2) other (explain)
 - b. mother
 - (1) cut up but lives on
 - (a) head chases children
 - (b) lower body fights husband
 - (c) other (explain)
 - (2) dies
 - (3) fights husband and lives on (not cut up)
 - (4) other (explain)
 - (5) n.a.
 - c. father
 - (1) dies
 - (2) lives on
 - (3) dies but part lives to help kids (e.g., voice)
 - (4) other (explain)
 - d. other
- B. Transformations**
- 0. Absent
 - 1. Woman
 - 0. absent
 - a. lower body
 - (1) moon
- (2) stars
 - (a) north star
 - (b) little dipper
 - (c) other
 - (3) other
2. Father
- 0. absent
 - a. sun
 - b. stars
 - (1) big dipper
 - (2) other
3. Other
- C. The Chase**
- 0. Absent
 - 1. Direction
 - a. vertical
 - (1) up
 - (2) down
 - (3) n.a.
 - b. horizontal
 - (1) east
 - (2) west
 - (3) north
 - (4) south
 - (5) n.a.
 - 2. Magical Charms
 - 0. absent
 - a. type
 - (1) flint
 - (2) coal, punk, ember
 - (3) awl
 - (4) comb
 - (5) chisel, axe
 - (6) other
 - (7) n.a.
 - b. number
 - (1) 1
 - (2) 2
 - (3) 3
 - (4) 4
 - (5) 5
 - (6) other
 - (7) n.a.
 - 3. Woman's helper(s)
 - 0. absent
 - a. worm or snakelike object
 - b. bird
 - c. four-legged animal
 - d. other
 - e. n.a.

4. Woman's offer in order to get help
 0. absent
 - a. sex
 - b. nurturance to children
 5. Children's helper (to get across water)
 0. absent
 - a. bird
 - b. snake
 - c. n.a.
 - d. water made behind them, not in front
 - e. other
- D. Transformations**
0. absent
 1. mountains
 2. waters
 3. fire
 4. ravines
 5. forest or briar or thicket
 6. other
- E. Defeat of Rolling Head**
0. absent
 1. method
 - a. falls off bird
 - (1) into water
 - (2) other
 - b. falls off snake
 - (1) into water
 - (2) other
 - c. falls into ravine
 - d. falls into fire
 - e. other
 2. transformation
 0. absent
 - a. fish
 - b. whale
 - c. sturgeon
 - d. frog
 - e. other
- F. Arrival of Evil Man**
0. Absent
 1. Period of play and peace before arrival of evil man
 0. absent
 - a. play with claws for fingernails
 - b. play with ball
 - c. other
2. Method of arrival
 - a. by boat
 - b. other
 3. Name of evil man
 - a. Waymishose or direct derivative (e.g., Mashos, Omashose, Wimisosiw)—give name
 - b. other
 - c. n.a.
 4. Power of evil man
 - a. has magic canoe
 - b. can change his form
 - c. controls elements
 - (1) wind
 - (2) fire
 - (3) flint
 - (4) other
 - d. has guardian animals
 - (1) bird
 - (2) four-legged
 - (3) snake
 - (4) other
 - e. other
 - f. n.a.
 5. Relation of evil man to hero
 - a. father
 - b. father-in-law
 - c. brother
 - d. other
 - e. n.a.
 6. Name of hero
 - a. trickster (e.g., Wisakatjuk, Nanabush)
 - b. Iyas
 - c. other
- G. Separation of Children**
0. absent
 1. Creation of wolf
 - a. wolf rules underworld or death
 2. Hero taken away by evil man
 3. Separate and become opposites
- H. Hero grows and matures**
0. absent
 1. hero mates
 - a. youngest daughter first to accept him
 2. hero goes on vision quest (e.g., journey or odyssey or sweat bath)

3. hero given advice
 a. by female
 4. other
- I. Hero fights evil man**
0. absent
1. Cause of fight
- a. evil man wants a sacrifice
 (1) to bird
 (2) four-legged snake
 (3) snake
 (4) other
- b. evil man wants to dominate and torment
- c. evil man is jealous
- d. other
- e. n.a.
2. Nature of battle
- a. battle over control of elements
 (1) warmth
 (2) fire
 (3) cold
 (4) wind
 (5) other
- b. battle over control of balance (e.g., swinging)
- c. battle over control of power
 (1) sexual
 (2) guardian animals
 (3) other
3. Outcome of battle
- a. hero isolated and lost and must find way back home
 (1) direction
 (a) North
 (b) South
 (c) East
 (d) West
 (e) n.a.
 (2) method
 (a) rides on snake
 (b) rides on bird
 (c) helped by four-legged animal
 (d) helped by magical objects
 (e) n.a.
 b. hero reunites with mother
 c. hero defeats evil man
 (1) also defeats man's wife and baby
 (2) evil man killed
 (3) evil man transformed
 d. hero and evil man fight to draw
 e. other
- J. Transformations**
0. absent
1. balancing forces
- a. migratory animals
 (1) hero
 (a) duck
 (b) robin
 (c) crow
 (d) other
 (2) mother
 (a) duck
 (b) robin
- b. medicine
 (1) evil man
 (a) Tamarack tree
 (b) other
- c. seasons
- d. life and death (e.g., restores life to dead)
- e. gets rid of female parts that cling too much (e.g., toothed vagina or sharp elbow)
- f. gets rid of destructive and chaotic forces (e.g., huge leg, giant ogre)
- g. other
- h. other

Appendix 3: The Key Episodes in Each Narrative

- Ahenakew 1973:1-19 (Chichipistikwan)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5a1a, A5b1, A5b1a+b, A5c1, B1a2c, B2b, B2b2, C1b5, C2a1+3+6, C2b4, C3a, C4a, C5a, D1+2+3+5, E1a, E1a1, E2c, F6a
- Ahenakew 1929:309-313 (Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a+b, A5c3, B1a2b, B2b1, B3, C1b2, C2a1+3+6, C2b4, C3a+b, C5a, D1+2+3+4+5, E1a1, E2c, J1g

- Barnouw 1977:112-115 (Oshkikwe's Baby)—A2a1, A2c2a, A3a1, A4a3, A5b4, B3, c1b5, C2a3, C2b1, D4, E1c, F3b, F4e, F5d, F6c, H4, I1b+d, I3b, I3c1+2, J1f
- Bloomfield 1930:14-18 (Birth of Weesakayjac and origin of Mankind)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B2b, C1a2, C1b5, C2b4, C3a+c, C5b, D1+2+3+5, E1b1, E2c, F1b, F2a, G1+2, H1a, H2, I1a1+2+3, I1c+d, I2a1+2+3, I2c2, I3a1e, I3a2c+d, I3c, I3c1+2
- Bloomfield 1974:270-279 (The Birth of Wisahketchahk)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A3a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B1a, B2b, B3, C1a2, C1b5, C3b, C4a+b, C5a, D2, E1a1, E2c, F1b, F2a, F4c4, G1
- Brightman 1989:9-16 (Rolling head)—A1a, A2a, A2b, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a, A5c1, B2b1, C1a2, C1b5, C2a2+3+6, C2b3, C3a, C4a, C5a, E1a1, E2c, F1a, F2a, F3a, F5d, G1+2+3+5, H1a, J2
- Brightman 1989:23-26 (Contest with Wimisowiw)—F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a, F4d1+3, F5b, F6a, G1a, G2, H1a, H4, I1a, I2a1, I2b, I2c2, I3a2b, I3c3, J1b1
- Brightman 1989:47-48 (Contest with Wimisowiw)—F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, F6a, G1a, I1e, I2b, I3d, H1a
- Brightman 1989:59-60 (Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c5, A4a1, A4b, A5a1a, A5b1c, A5c2, C1a3, C1b5, E1e, G2
- Brightman 1989:105-111 (Ayas)—F3c, F5d, F6b, H2, H3a, I1a3, I2a2, I2c1, I3a2a, I3b, I3c1, I3c2, J1a1c, J1a2d, J1d+e+f
- Coleman, 1961:47-49 (The Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a2, A5b1a, A5c1, C1b5, C2a1+6, C2b2, D1+3+5, E1e, F2a, F3c, G1, H1, I1d, J2
- Coleman 1961:49-50 (The Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a2, A5b1a, C1b5, C2b2, C5a, D2+3+5, E1a1, F2a, F3c, F4a, F5b, G2, H1, I1b, I2a2, I3c, I3c3, J1b1a, J1f
- Desbarats 1969:14-15 (The Snake and the Woman)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b4
- Dorsey 1903:70-71 (Nihaca Pursued by the Rolling Skull)—C1a, C1a1+2, C1b5, D1+4+5+6, E1c, F1c, F6c,
- Grinnell 1962:311 (The Woman Whose Head Remained Faithful)—A2a1, A2b1, A4b, A5b1, A5c2, A5c4, E1e,
- Grinnell 1984:230-237 (Chase of the Severed Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A4a1, A5a1+2, A5b1a, A5c2, C1b5, C2a6, C2b4, C5e, D4+5, E1c, F3c, F5a, F6c, H3a, H4, I3a2c+d, I3b+c, I3c2, J1f
- Johnson 1976:17-22 (Nanabush: Kitche Manitou's Emissary)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c4, A2d1, A3a2, A4b, A5b2, A5c2, F3b, F5a, F6a, H3, I1d, I3b+d, J1g
- Jones 1919:45-103 (Orphans and Mashos)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A2d1, A2e, A4a1, A5a2, A5b4, A5c4, C1b5, C2a1+2+3+4, C2b4, C4a+b, C5a, D1+3, E1a1, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, F6c, G1+2, H1a, H3a, I1b, I3a1e, I3a2b+c, I3c, I3e
- Jones 1919:179-189 (Old Man Mashos)—F3a, F4f, F5b, F6c, I1b, I2a2, I3a1e, I3a2a+b, I3c3, J1a1d, J1b1a
- Jones 1919:405-413 (The Rolling Skull)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A2e, A4b, A5a1, A5b1a, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C5e, E1e
- Kroeber 1900:184 (The Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2b, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1, A5c2, A5d, C1b5, C2a6, C2b1, D4, E1c, F5a, H4, I3a, I3a2c, I3b+c, I3c2, J1f
- Radin 1928:142 (The Woman Who Was Unfaithful to Her Husband)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A4b, A5a2, A5b1a, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C2a3+6, C2b3, C5a, D3+5, E1a, E1a1, F6c

- Radin 1928:143-144 (The Woman Who Obtained Meat from a Bear)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A2e, A4b, A5a2, A5b4, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C2a6, C2b7, C4b, C5e, F6c
- Schoolcraft 1928:109-115 (Mashkwashakwong)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a1, A5b2+4, A5c2+3+4, B2b, B3, C1a2, C1b4, C2a2+3+6, C2b4, C3b, C4a, C5a, D1+2+5, E1a1, E2a
- Skinner 1912:168-175 (Omishus)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c2, C1b5, C2a3+4, C2b2, C3b, C4a, C5a, D1, E1a1, E2c, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F4c4, F5b, G2, H1a, I1a1, I2a2, I2c2, I3a2a, I3c, I3e, J1f
- Spence 1914:205-208 (Blackfoot Day and Night Myth)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a+b, A5c4, B1a1, B2a, C2a6, C2b3, C3c+d, C4a, D1+2+5, E1e, G3
- Stevens 1971:48-55 (The Legend of the Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A3a1, A4a1, A4b, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B1a, C1b5, C2a1+3+5, C2b5, C3b+c+d, C4a, C5d, D1+2+3+4+5, E1a1, E2a, F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a+b, F5b, G1+2+3, H1+2+4, H3a, I1b, I2a, I2a2, I2b, I2c1+2, I3a2c, J1b1a, J1d
- Stevens 1971:112-120 (The Plight of Iyas)—F1a, F3a, F4a, F5d, F6b, H2, H3a, I1d, I2a2, I3a1a, I3a1e, I3a2a+b+c+d, I3b+c, I3c1+2, J1a1d, J1a2b, J1d+e+f
- Teit 1912:373-373 (The Snake Lover)—A2a1, A2b1, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b4, A5c2
- Turnaround (N.P.) (Woman and the Raven)—A2a1, A2c1, A4b, C1b5, C2a2+3+5, C2b4, C3b, D3+5, F4e, F5d, F6c, H4, I2c3, I3b+d, J1f
- Turnaround (N.P.) (Seasons)—F5d, H2, I1c, I2a1+2+3+4, I3a2a, I3b, I3c1+2, J1a1c+d, J1a2a, J1c
- Turnaround's friend (N.P.) (Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c4, C1a2, C2a2+3, C2b3, C3a+b+d, C4a, C5a, D1+3+5, E1a1, E2b, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, G1a, H1+2+4, I3a1e, I3c
- Wissler 1908:68-70 (The Seven Stars)—A2c2c, A2e, A4a2, A5a1, A5d, B3, C2a6, C3c, C5a, D2+5, E1e, J1d

Appendix 4: Frequency of Episodes in the Rolling Head Legend and Its Variants

A0	1	A2c,(5)	1	A5a,(2)	6	B1,a	2
A1,0	7	A2d,(0)	3	A5b,(1)	3	B1a,(1)	1
A1,2	10	A2d,(1)	2	A5b,(1)(a)	13	B1a,(2)	
A2a,(0)		A2e	4	A5b,(1)(b)	3	B1a,(2)(a)	
A2a,(1)	25	A3,0	19	A5b,(1)(c)	1	B1a,(2)(b)	1
A2b,(0)		A3a		A5b,(2)	2	B1a,(2)(c)	1
A2b,(1)	24	A3a,(1)	3	A5b,(3)		B1a,(3)	1
A2c,(0)	2	A3a,(2)	1	A5b,(4)	6	B2,0	3
A2c,(1)	1	A4a,(1)	14	A5b,(5)		B2a	1
A2c,(2)(a)	16	A4a,(2)	1	A5c,(1)	9	B2b	4
A2c,(2)(b)	1	A4a,(3)	5	A5c,(2)	8	B2b,(1)	2
A2c,(2)(c)	4	A4a,(4)		A5c,(3)	2	B2b(2)	1
A2c,(2)(d)		A4b	7	A5c,(4)	5	B3	8
A2c,(2)(3)	1	A4c		A5d	1	C,0	
A2c,(3)		A5a,(1)	8	B,0		C1a	1
A2c,(4)	1	A5a,(1)(a)	11	B1,0	7	C1a,(1)	2

C1a,(2) 6	D2 9	F4d,(3) 1	I2a,(5)
C1a,(3)	D3 10	F4d,(4)	I2b 3
C1b,(1)	D4 6	F4d,(5)	I2c,(1) 2
C1b,(2) 1	D5 14	F4e 1	I2c,(2) 4
C1b,(3)	E,0	F4f 1	I2c,(3) 1
C1b,(4) 1	E1a 2	F5a 3	I3A 1
C1b,(5) 18	E1a,(1) 11	F5b 8	I3a,(1)(a)
C2,0 4	E1a,(2)	F5c	I3a,(1)(b)
C2a,(1) 5	E1b	F5d 6	I3a,(1)(c)
C2a,(2) 5	E1b,(1) 1	F5e	I3a,(1)(d)
C2a,(3) 11	E1b,(2)	F6a 4	I3a,(1)(e) 5
C2a,(4) 2	E1c 4	F6b 2	I3a,2(a) 5
C2a,(5) 2	E1d	F6c 8	I3a,2(b) 4
C2a,(6) 11	E1e 5	G,0 5	I3a,2(c) 6
C2a,(7)	E2,0 13	G1 5	I3a,2(d) 3
C2b,(1) 2	E2a 2	G1a 3	I3a,2(e)
C2b,(2) 3	E2b 1	G2 8	I3b 8
C2b,(3) 5	E2c 6	G3 3	I3c 8
C2b,(4) 7	E2d	H,0	I3c,(1) 5
C2b,(5) 1	E2e	H1 4	I3c,(2) 7
C2b,(6)	F,0	H1a 6	I3c,(3) 4
C2b,(7)	F1,0 3	H2 6	I3d 3
C3,0 8	F1a 4	H3 1	I3e 1
C3a 5	F1b 2	H3A 5	J,0
C3b 7	F1c 3	H4 8	J1a,(1)(a)
C3c 4	F2a 11	I1a 2	J1a,(1)(b)
C3d 3	F2b	I1a,(1) 1	J1a,(1)(c) 2
C3e	F3a 9	I1a,(2) 2	J1a,(1)(d) 2
C4,0 5	F3b 1	I1a,(3) 2	J1a,(2)(a) 1
C4a 9	F3c 4	I1a,(4)	J1a,(2)(b) 1
C4b 3	F4a 9	I1b 5	J1a,(2)(c) 1
C5,0 2	F4b 1	I1c 2	J1b,(1)(a) 4
C5a	F4c,(1)	I1d 4	J1b,(1)(b)
C5b 1	F4c,(2)	I1e 1	J1c 1
C5c	F4c,(3)	I2a 1	J1d 4
C5d 1	F4c,(4) 2	I2a,(1) 3	J1e 2
C5e 3	F4d	I2a,(2) 7	J1f 8
D,0 2	F4d,(1) 1	I2a,(3) 2	J1g 2
D1 11	F4d,(2)	I2a,(4) 1	J2 2

Appendix 5: Woman and the Raven

There was war against the natives. When war was over there stood a woman and her child in a lonely home of teepee. Days passed and they lived all alone. Then the time came when she lost her child while doing her chores outdoors. Upon her return the child was gone. Days and nights of weeping ensued. There were no tracks or footprints. Kitchi Manitou (the Great Spirit) heard the cry of the lonely woman. He sent the fowl of the air, called Raven, with a piece of black cotton. "Why weepst thou?" asked Raven. She replied that she lost her child and can't find her baby. "See this cotton, I'll make of it a dress," said Raven, "wear this, it will never wear out, even though you go in thick bush." When the rag was finished, she put it on. "If you obey, you will find it, but, if you don't believe, your child will be lost forever," she was told. "Pull one of the posts beside the doorway." She did this and there, under the posts, she found footprints. "Follow," said the Raven, "that's the answer." "I will guide you wherever you go." The first day she found moss and little footsteps; the second day a bow and arrow; the third day, a campfire. The fourth day, late in the evening, she heard two people chopping wood. She went closer and saw her child, full grown in four days. She came back full of joy and courage.

Appendix 6: Seasons

The story I'm going to tell you is about Black Arrow and Red Arrow. Once upon a time there lived a boy named Iyas. He wants to circle the world within one year. So he decided to go out and leave his daughter, father and mother. Before he left he met an old woman who said, "Be careful, son, you have to watch out and protect yourself." So he went out and he met many temptations. So he listened to the old woman as he passed every trial and temptation, and then he came back and stayed on a reef and he didn't know how he could get across the sea.

Finally, the snake came along. It was the biggest snake that he has ever seen with horns. So he asked the snake to see if he would take him across the sea. The snake said he would if Iyas would tell the snake when Iyas hears the thunder. If you see the black cloud tell me. "I know how to protect you," said the snake. "All you have to do is to hit my horns and away I go." (Iyas broke his promise.) So he started to hit the horns of the snake and finally he saw the black cloud from the *West* so he hit the horn fast, the snake went swift through the water. The snake said "I heard something." "It's only your horns, I hit them so hard it sounds like thunder," said Iyas. Close to the shore the thunder struck the snake. The snake said, "that's what I told you, thunder would kill the snake. When you hear the thunder tell me." So there was only bloodshed. Iyas created snakes from the blood, small snakes. Iyas said, "from this day there will be small snakes. You will be plenty."

So off he went back to his home for one year's journey. He saw the mother all scratched on the face. He went up to her and said, "What happened, mother?" "Your father died when you were away and I had to get a step-father." The mother said, "I had a baby and your stepfather was jealous and scratched me. It's somebody else's baby." So Iyas made the arrow, one black and one red, so he made a circle so Iyas and his mother could stand in a circle. He told his mother to stand in the circle but first the mother had to go in the wigwam and throw the baby in the fire and he said, "I'll stand by the door." As soon as the mother went in he put the big fire on and the mother threw the baby in the fire.

The old man (stepfather) ran after her. He saw Iyas outside the door. He saw Iyas and he said, "Oh my son, you have returned home, get the beaver skins and spread it. I know my son has tiresome feet." Iyas said, "You will never get tired," to the old man. So the mother ran to the circle that Iyas marked and Iyas ran to the circle. He shot the black arrow first. That's for darkness, it was the long winter season with North wind. He shot the red arrow. As the arrow drops to the ground it started to burn. It burned the wigwam and the old man.

So then Iyas said, "From this time the years will be like this. There will be a hard long winter and a cold North wind but when the red arrow falls all the snow will melt and this is Spring." And after Iyas finished all the things that he had done he said to his mother, "What would you like to be?" A bird or some kind of an animal." Iyas said, "I will be a crow." His mother said she would be a duck and the first day of spring we have the crow. He comes first then the snow began to melt and then the ducks come and it began to be summer.

This is why we can't leave some of the old things behind although we become civilized people. We need the old things to guide us in our new way of life. These old things tell about the future. I am very happy, my children, to teach you Cree. Use the language although you are taught English and reading books in English, but you need your language and I hope you understand what I am talking about in the legend. These people in the old times represent what you have and what has happened in the past. This was written in the Old Testament. The first and the last (Creation) and it is interesting what has happened and tell us what is going to happen in the future. We will understand what has happened and what's going to happen in the future. You will understand in days before Jesus. People knew someone was teaching them in Cree. When you are going with white children you must speak English so they understand us.

Appendix 7

A Comparison of the Rolling Head and Earth Diver Legends

Similarities

- Earth's origins and cyclicity are explained.
- Key characters are Trickster, his brother (Wolf, an evil man or Waymishose) and an evil woman (Toad Woman or Rolling Head).
- Trickster seeks revenge against his mother's adversary.
- Trickster duels the evil man over the control of fire and warmth and guardian animals.
- Trickster defeats the evil man and the evil woman.
- Trickster and his brother Wolf are separated.
- Good hunting or fishing is provided.

Differences

Rolling Head

Trickster's mother lives on after his birth, plays a prominent role, and becomes a positive force.

Earth is created below previous world.
Earth is created by Trickster's magic as well as by his mother's transformation.

Trickster's enemies are above (the inventive, "mind" power of Waymishose).

Trickster's enemies want to dominate the world—the elements, objects and animals.

Trickster's enemies are against mating and union. They separate the woman and snake, woman and her head, Trickster and his brother and Trickster and his wife.

Trickster uses magical power. He uses the power of the earth (beaver teeth, pines, porcupine quills, flint, awls, stone and moss).

The evil man desires change, separation, imbalance, power and disunity.

Evil is balanced and transformed.

Earth Diver

Trickster's mother dies after his birth and plays a minor role. Toad Woman also appears briefly and is a banished negative force.

Earth is created above previous world.
Earth is created by Trickster alone.

Trickster's enemies are below—the power of the water monsters connected to earth and fertility.

Trickster's enemies want to stop him from dominating the animals.

Trickster's enemies are the source of healing and fertility. Toad Woman is a medicine woman and the snakes are the source of the water supply.

Trickster uses the power of the mind. He uses guile and trickery.

The evil water monsters want to stop Trickster from roaming and hunting too much and desire balanced relations between humans and animals.

Evil is vanquished but unaltered.

*Rolling Head**Earth Diver*

Trickster has good relations with all animals.

Rhythmic cyclicity in the seasons and in the cycle of life, death and rebirth is created.

Sea creatures are created.

The water transforms and unites.

Trickster unites the above and below—woman and water, snake and thunderbird.

Trickster is the enemy to sea creatures.

Hierarchy and domination of humans over animals is created.

Land creatures are created.

The water buries and separates.

Trickster separates the above and below—sea creatures vanquished below.

Appendix 8: Weesacayjuc's Race with Rock

Weesacayjuc saw a stone on a hill and asked it if it wanted to have a race. And the stone agreed. So Weesacayjuc pushed the stone and it started down the hill. Weesacayjuc raced ahead laughing and teasing. But then he tripped. Stone landed on top of him. Weesacayjuc lay there a long time. Moss grew on him and his clothes became ragged. Maybe he lay there for two thousand years. Then he called Thunder to help. And so lightning split the rock and so he went off. He saw a teepee. He went inside and saw a mouse busy sewing, grooming and keeping house. The mouse took care of Weesacayjuc and made him well again. So Weesacayjuc did him a favour. He said never again will you have to comb your coat. It will always be combed. And so it is. Mouse hair is always neat and in place.

Notes

1. Lévi-Strauss says that self-propelled boats (such as that possessed by Waymishose) are symbols of the sun (1978:136).
2. In several versions the rock must overcome obstacles placed in front of it by Trickster (e.g., Dorsey and Kroeber 1903:65-70).

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