

MULTIPLE LEVELS OF RELIGIOUS MEANING IN CULTURE: A NEW LOOK AT WINNEBAGO SACRED TEXTS

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ABSTRACT/RESUME

Paul Radin wrote prolifically of Winnebago culture over a period of nearly fifty years. He made a distinction between magico-religious practice and systematic reflection, but provided such a wealth of detail on Winnebago beliefs that analysis has generally been limited by the precise, narrowly-defined boundaries of rigid academic disciplines. The author attempts a much broader, "humanist" approach to the subject, using the Winnebago Trickster as a vehicle.

Au cours d'une période de plus de 50 ans, Paul Radin a beaucoup écrit sur la culture winnebago. Il l'a fait en établissant la distinction entre les pratiques de magie religieuse et la réflexion systématique chez ce peuple, mais il a apporté un tel luxe de détails à propos de leurs croyances que l'analyse qu'on en a faite, a, en général, été réduite par les limites étroites de rigides disciplines académiques. L'auteur de cette étude a tenté d'aborder le sujet sur un plan humaniste beaucoup plus large, utilisant comme véhicule le "décepteur" winnebago, le médium entre le monde des esprits et celui des hommes.

"The fact is that every writer creates his own precursors. His work modifies our conception of the past, as it will modify the future."

Borges, *Labyrinths*

PAUL RADIN

We know so much about Winnebago life and thought through the writings of Paul Radin.¹ Without sorting out the details of his much-travelled intellectual life, it behooves us to know something about him even in this brief treatment of portions of Winnebago epic cycles. He creates the Winnebago world which preceded him and is, to date, its main interpreter. Four points are of particular interest.²

First, the influence of James Harvey Robinson of Columbia University on Radin's attitude toward history. Culture, for this school of New History, reveals itself as a fabric woven of personal histories and through the eyes of its individuals; nor are the lives of the 'Great Men' more culturally significant than those of the lesser known. Radin records myths and descriptions of rituals given by several principal informants whose detailed autobiographies are also published (1913; 1920; 1922; 1926; 1950b). Furthermore, Robinson's notion of history paved the way for the conception underlying Radin's theory of religion: psychological types. If culture and history are composed of individuals' various perceptions of the world, then one can understand them by gathering these individual experiences and descriptions into a typology distinguished by the features of those individuals' psychology (Bidney, 1960:366-367).

Secondly, Radin was a student of Franz Boas at Columbia. Like Boas, Radin never thought of anthropology as merely a specialized discipline. In fact, he regarded intellectuals of the academy as too bound by convention and incapable of pursuing interests other than their own. It was Boas who encouraged Radin to develop his linguistic talents and shaped his field research methods: spend extended time with people under study, transcribe full texts and even encourage local people to write texts in syllabary. It was also by way of reaction to Boas that Radin so forcefully pursued what he called the "great, recurring, troubling themes in history" (Diamond, 1960:xviii) as opposed to examinations of cultural items shared over relatively contained areas.

It was Radin's conviction that the universal human issues are central to the social and ritual lives of primitive and civilized peoples. Although there is a variety of cultural forms involved, the responses of primitive peoples to the most important crises of life are "sophisticated, profound and - to a civilized person endowed with self-knowledge - understandable ways" (Diamond, 1968:301).

Thirdly, Carl Jung exercised great influence over Radin. It is clear that Radin was not a Jungian himself.³ Nonetheless, his contact with Jung from 1920 on reached its peak during his four year stay in Switzerland from 1952 to 1956. Since Radin had spent much of his life committed to the purpose of demon-

strating man's universal rationality, one might ask why, to the disdain of his colleagues, he developed a theory of psychological types as a basis for his theory of religion and culture. In an extended *apologia*, Radin himself supplies an answer:

"Modern ethnologists, particularly American ethnologists, have always been justly sceptical of the method of demonstration employed by all the comparative mythologists, past and present, and have found their combination of erudition and subjectivism somewhat disconcerting; Yet when themselves confronted by the manifold and complex problems presented by the contents of so many myths and maerchen, they seem to be able to do little more than shrug their shoulders and forget them... The case has been quite different with the psychoanalysts. Their theories and their approach impels them to make the origin of the contents of the myths the very center of their investigations... Now whether they recognized it or not the vast majority of anthropological theorists and ethnologists . . . actually did begin with the assumption that the apparent sameness of the forms of thought found in widely separated regions... could best be explained by what they vaguely called the psychic unity of mankind.... [These theorists], by implicitly postulating ultimate unknowables, have placed themselves in an unfortunate and vulnerable position from which they must somehow try to extricate themselves... They owe it to their subject to attempt to utilize as many as possible of the suggestions of Freud, Jung and their followers have thrown out and the new lines of inquiry they have initiated, this, despite the fact that they may, as I personally do, disagree fundamentally with the viewpoint, the methods and the conclusions of the latter" (1948:4-7)

Radin's basic theory of psychological types results, then, from an intellectually honest search for first premises coupled with the conviction that human-kind is one, though its manifestations in culture are many.

Lastly, Radin's theory of religion is important to us. Unfortunately this is not the place to consider it in detail. Radin himself devoted a major work (1937) and many articles to the subject. Attend, however, to one unfortunate consequence of Radin's views of primitive religion: the sharp distinction between systems of religious specialists, whether priest-thinkers or shaman-thinkers, and the active layperson. The result is that "primitive religion is in fact an incoherent synthesis of magic and religion derived from the animistic philosophy of some shamans and the pragmatic magic of the layman" (ibid:199; cf. Bidney: 378).

Bidney tries to isolate the source of this split.

"I find in Radin's writings an ambivalent attitude towards the

position of the thinker in primitive culture. On the one hand, he is said to be a fixed type and an essentially religious type of man who is responsible for the formulation of religious beliefs in all forms of culture. That is why Radin speaks of man as from the beginning *homo religiosus* (cf. *The World of Primitive Man* p. 69). On the other hand, to the extent that Radin follows Frazer's scheme of evolution and assumes the primacy of magic in the evolution of religion, he tends to separate the religious man and the philosopher. The unbalanced shaman becomes the type of the religious man and the philosopher, whether he believes in animism or monotheism, tends to be separated from the mass of religious believers" (579).

Radin consequently places systematic reflection and magico-religious practice in separate categories. He was never able to effect a synthesis between the two. The result is that we risk being shortchanged in Radin's presentation and interpretation: not provided with an adequate sense of the reaches of the Winnebago religious imagination.

WINNEBAGO AND PRIMITIVE RELIGION

We are confronted with an embarrassment of religious wealth in Radin's material. How is one to understand it? Radin himself, for fifty years, brought out the socio-economic and conventional correlations in rites and symbols (1923;1937). In addition, because of his extraordinary interest in Amerindian history, he highlighted the significance of culture history in the formation of myth and ritual.⁴ Furthermore, his own interpretations, as well as those of Jung and Kerényi brought into relief salient psychological motifs in the epic cycle.⁵ More recently, Levi-Strauss has underscored the complexity of the logical relations embedded in several Winnebago myths.⁶ One could say that the Winnebago symbols of rite and myth are so saturated with meaning that they serve as fertile ground for any set of 'well-formed' humanist questions whether economic, socio-functional, psychological or logico-conceptual. Isn't it remarkable that all these distinct sciences find 'meanings' pertinent to their particular horizons? "Periodically our science must refresh itself by dipping into the ethnographic data" (Goldman:9). Needless to say, all these sciences are interesting and helpful in beginning to understand various aspects of Winnebago life and thought.

The question remains, however, whether there may not be yet another frame of reference besides these empirical and utilitarian sets of mind - one which would accommodate itself to the breadth and depth of a people's religious conceptions of their spiritual and sacred realities (Eliade, 1969:13). This is a difficult, risky but worthwhile goal. The long-range view of the history of religions indicates that religious world-views are seldom 'dead and gone' but surface again and again in new creative formulations in art, literature and management of political, economic, astronomic and ecological meanings, if not

in overtly religious systems. This quest for a discipline which is flexible towards its material should not seem outlandish; contemporary philosophers of science are reminding the 'hard' and 'behavioral' social sciences just how interpretive empirical sciences must needs be. Indeed, their questions and instruments of inquiry often preside over the facts they set out to explain.⁷

Radin himself seemed tempted to go this route of flexible interpretation. Early in his career, in the midst of hot anthropological debate over the nature of *orenda*, *manitou* and *wakan*, he wrote a shrewd description of the notion of spirit among North American Indians, with great respect for their own terms, and claimed that sciences would have to live with it.

"What has the shaman to say upon the nature of spirits? Are they anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general? Can we divide them into personal, impersonal, or unpersonal spirits? Right here, it seems to me, we are apt to make an unjustifiable assumption. Our ordinary division into personal and impersonal is made on the possession of corporeal characteristics, which in turn are dependent upon our sense-perceptions, - sight, hearing, touch, etc. Ordinarily, too, the presence or absence of corporeality is the test of its reality or unreality. What fight have we, however, to assume that the Indian either makes the same classification or equates corporeality with reality, with existence? To judge from specific inquiries made among the Winnebago and Ojibwa, and from much of our data in general, reality does not depend necessarily upon sense-impressions. Among the Winnebago shamans, what is thought of, what is felt, what is spoken, is as real as what is seen or heard. It is, I believe, a fact that future investigations will thoroughly confirm, that the Indian does not make the separation into personal as contrasted with impersonal, corporeal with impersonal, in our sense at all. What he seems to be interested in is the question of existence, of reality; and everything that is perceived by the sense, thought of, felt and dreamt of, exists. It follows, consequently, that most of the problems connected with the nature of spirit as personal or impersonal do not exist" (1915:351-352).

I would extend Radin's insight even further by razing the wall that he builds between priest-shaman and layman, between religion-philosophy and magic. Religion, insofar as it is the systematic thought of a people on issues of major importance to their existence, serves as the integrative model for their culture. "In the primitive world, generally, religion and culture are identical at their core, if not at their edges" (Goldman:8).

Irving Goldman, in a stimulating rewrite of Kwakiutl religion, makes the point even clearer. The religious world-view of a people should have the highest value for understanding them because, first of all, "it is real." Secondly, it is tangible in words and images. Thirdly, the religious perspective is close to total,

embracing the whole of society. ("No one who had never known it as part of a whole body could understand an eyeball.") Finally, religion identifies all fundamental concepts. Goldman carries forward Radin's insight about spirit into the study of a whole religious system:

"In tribal societies religion has no competitors. It is in full command of the whole range of philosophic synthesis. It engages at the same time in the most determined empirical observations of nature and in the imaginary reconstruction of reality. All variety of intellectual endeavor contribute to the formulation of religious systems. There is no school from within to draw lines, saying, 'This is science, that is religion!' Tribal societies have terms for the sacred, but not for religion. They have terms for special powers, but no demarcation between the natural and the supernatural. Our difficulty in defining religion for tribal societies is that we have an oppositional vocabulary to separate religious from nonreligious, natural from supernatural; *they* do not. The Kwakiutl distinguish oppositions that we may translate as 'sacred-secular'. Their concept of sacred does not, however, encompass their religion. It refers only to the presence of powers and spirits that require appropriate human response . . . Nor can primitive religions, which inevitably draw upon the entire natural order, be dismissed as illusion, or as metaphor for sociological reality. Religious thought has grown around serious reflection and around acute observation on conditions of existence. We are not asked to agree with its formulations only to take it seriously, to become accustomed to its strange imagery" (ibid:8-9).

These important considerations risk sweeping us off course. In a fuller treatment of these myths one would have to sketch in more of the lines of Winnebago culture and draw out the invaluable autobiographies of Winnebago individuals. Most pertinent would be descriptions of several significant rituals: the fast for the guardian spirit, the Four Nights' Wake, the Medicine Rite, the Herucka society rituals and the Peyote cult as well as important seasonal feasts like the Winter Feast and the annual clan feast. More attention would be given an interpretation of the epic cycles in *toto*. All of these symbolic configurations are important in understanding the ways in which the sacred manifests itself to the Winnebago. Exposition of this material is not possible here.

THE FOUR CYCLES

This study will make some general remarks about the epic cycles under examination, delineate some themes pertinent to one cycle (Wakdjunkaga) and then interpret several episodes to see how this kind of hermeneutic may help us understand features which have remained anomalous in other analyses.

"These four cycles, within limits, lend themselves to a definite temporal

sequence" (1948:8). Radin calls these four epic epochs: Primordial, Primitive, Olympian and Promethean. According to Radin, these portray periods of psychological individuation: the Trickster of the primordial age represents the undifferentiated libido, the Hare of the primitive stage is the imperfectly but partially differentiated libido, the character Red Horn is the well differentiated libido and the Promethean heroes, the Twins, illustrate the integrated libido. It is unlikely that this exhausts the meaning.

I would prefer to say that the four cycles act themselves out on different cosmic stages. They are distinguished less by time - for they are real and actual; i.e. present - than by the quality of relations that exists within them. They are also distinguished by the perch or perspective from which the religious imagination contemplates the reality of the world.⁹ Each hero struts different stuff. Indeed, each world in which the hero "is" reveals a mode of existence strikingly different from that of the other heroes. Each hero becomes the measure of meaning in his respective world. Each one, at once more and less than human, is the point of orientation to which all other realities relate for meaning and the fixed point by which the mode, permanence and authority of their existence in that world may be assessed.

They are thus four alternative imaginary universes, ways of "seeing" reality, systems of being and meaning, characterized and caricatured by the quality of relationships obtaining between the *dramatis personae* and their environment. These main characters are ontically full and their very presence has an imposing effect on other beings in their presence. They cue one in to the meaning of actions in the rest of their universe. They are signatures which indicate the key in which the score is played (Radin, 1956:173,175,185).

Even more powerfully, they are not separate alternatives but threads woven into a synthesis which made of life a meaningful existence and of the world a sacred place for the Winnebago of the first decade of this century.

The cosmogonic epoch. Not included in the cycle of myths but important for our purposes are the myths concerning the creation of the world.¹⁰ This waicq, or sacred story, is the mythic frame within which the epic cycle is set. It accounts for the dramatic tension which unfolds in the world that resulted from Earthmaker's thoughtful creation. The following is a summary of the creation account.

"What it was our father, Earthmaker, lay upon as he came to consciousness, we do not know. Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below him. He lay there motionless. He saw nothing. Nothing existed in the world. Now he began to move, his right arm first, then his left, then his right foot and then his left. His eyes were open and he turned on his side and looked below him, far down from where he lay. There, far below him, he noticed something bright and shining. Those were his tears and they had formed the waters of the earth. As he lay there stretched out, he kept thinking and thinking. 'Unbeknown to me, without my intention, my

tears as they fell below, formed bodies of water. Perhaps now, if I really wish something, it will come into existence just as the waters were formed from my tears, by themselves.' " First he seized some of that on which he was lying and sent it hurtling. It looked something like the earth but it was without coveting and kept spinning around, unquiet. To make it quiet and stop he made a covering of hair from weeds that came to the form of grass. The earth still spun around and was not quiet. He threw a tree to earth. Still spinning. Next he sent "four male-beings, brothers, and placed one in the east, one in the north, one in the south and one in the west. Still the earth was spinning. Then he made, with his own hands, what are now called waterspirits and placed them under the earth. "Finally he scattered a female being over the whole earth. By female being we mean stones and rocks." The earth became quiet. He made the rocks go right through the earth, from one end to the other but their tops remained uncovered. All the birds, animals and sea animals were placed in lodges specially provided for each kind. "And then, at the very end of his thoughts, he made us, man... When he was finished Earthmaker looked at all the things he had created and he liked what he had done and lay there, filled with happy thoughts. But alas! not equal in strength to any other beings that lived on the earth had he made us and we were on the point of being destroyed by evil ones." So he formed a being with the same parts as ourselves and when he had finished him, he called him Trickster, Foolish-One. "Go to the earth and put things aright." Yet when he came to the earth he did not do as he had been told. He just roamed around and accomplished absolutely nothing. In fact he injured some of the creations of Earthmaker. So the story continues touching on each of the heroes in turn: Turtle, Bladder, Red Horn and Hare (1945:17ff).

Some interpretive remarks on creation. Many important conceptions about the world come to light in this summary of the myth. Several will figure in my subsequent analysis. We are dealing with the time that begins at the very awakening of Earthmaker's consciousness: spiritual powers of memory, concentration of thought and intention.¹¹ All has been quiet, as best one can surmise. Before existence there was quiet. Water, from Earthmaker's substantial body fluid, his tears, is formless, having flowed before Earthmaker came to consciousness. It is without his intention, he imposed no form on it. The earth, in a sense, is a curiosity piece. Earthmaker intends something but is not sure precisely what. "Let's see what will happen if . . ." and he hurls something below him that comes to resemble the earth. The humorous tone in this myth pervades the *waicq* (sacred myths).

The earth is spinning and Earthmaker doesn't like this. The nostalgia for quiet and motionlessness motivates each successive creative act. Four male

beings (not human) are set at the four points of the world. Sexuality becomes a part of creation, a restorative attempt at reinstating harmony and unitive quiet. Sexuality is literally peripheral to Earthmaker's intention. His main idea is quiet, rest.

A female being is scattered over the earth. The sexuality of creation is now polarized but there is not suggestion of sexual tension or union or fertility or prodigy. Instead, all the sexualized elements are set off from one another in an attempt to restore equilibrium through separation, to suppress motion through equilibrium and reinstate stasis through suppression of motion. Even the animals are herded into separate lodges: birds do not fly through the skies, fish do not swim through the sea, land animals do not roam the earth.

The added weight of the four earth anchors, the water-spirits, achieves the goal: absolute quiet and motionlessness. Stasis reigns. The whirlwind of Earthmaker's creative thought is over. It is into this static world of isolated parts that Wajdjunkaga comes.

THE TRICKSTER CYCLE

I comment on this cycle for several reasons. There is a history of scholarly comment.¹² Secondly, the Winnebago trickster is uniquely distinct from the Creator Earthmaker and from the culture Hero Hare. Commentators offer different explanations for this 'pure Trickster' type. Radin contended that it is a very ancient tradition which was preserved because of the unique circumstances of Winnebago history; Piper counters it may be free from these creator-culture-hero elements because it is the work of more recent literary artists who expunged these other traits. Thirdly, Trickster is a dominant figure in Winnebago religious thought and imagination. Fourthly, he occupies a rather interesting slot in the religious scheme of things. Finally, Wajdjunkaga is entertaining.

General interpretive over-view. Trickster is transformation and metamorphosis. He creates unity, though it be confused and negative, out of multiplicity; chaos out of order; relatedness of isolation; possibility of meaning out of a state of static quiet. He makes the world one kind of place, though it seems ludicrous because there are still many kinds of things, and he thereby creates a mode of being and meaning which may be called universal - literally "turned toward one". He brings on the cross-fertilization of distinct existents by "dis-lodging" the animals, sky, trees, water, earth which coexisted apart from one another. He pitches them together by virtue of his own metamorphic being, so replete with passages, penis and song. From their formal and intentional purpose of stasis he draws beings into motion and meaning around him. Eventually everything is 'akin' to him and related through him.

He is Foolish One because he inverts and perverts the separateness of all things. He "univerts" them within himself. He juggles ordered arrangements together. His exploits are a language of irony in which semantics "kalaid" to reveal deeper understanding. The result can only be ludicrous, for Trickster visits a semantic wasteland and leaves it a wake of semantic overlap, contrariety

and confusion which Hare will have to sort out. Temporal sequence is skewed. There is no distinction between identity and multiplicity (as when Trickster's left side attacks his right side). He even ends up following himself down a trail and eats himself. Meaning is awry.

The common meeting ground of the coincidence of logics and separated beings of Earthmaker's formal arrangement of creation is Trickster himself. "Correctly, indeed, am I named the Foolish One, Trickster! By calling me thus, they have at last actually turned me into a Foolish One" (Radin, 1948:67). In this primordial world 'tis folly to be wise. We cannot always discern which Trickster is. From the point of view of his peers Trickster lives up to his name; but from the point of view of the contemporary Winnebago, Trickster is a cunning hero for he snatches living defeat from the jaws of static victory; salvages creativity and dynamism from the inertia of Earthmaker's creation.

TURNING TRICKSTER

In his wanderings, Trickster embodies a number of transformative instruments. In keeping with Trickster's foolish and cunning character, these are all *double-entendus*; carry positive and negative valences.

Food. Hunger drives Trickster to consume other worlds and to contact different modes of being by devouring them. His appetite drives different worlds onto a common footing: they are eaten. However, there is a catch. If all worlds are eaten worlds, they must at the same time be eating worlds. Since Trickster is the symbolic language and locus of these relational events he ends up eating his own intestines. Trickster wonderfully expresses a theme common in North American religions (and elsewhere as well): that all things are transformed, related and commune in being by passing through the same passage: the mouth. The world feeds on itself in an endless chain of consumption.

Waste. The anus is another passage which relates all existents.¹³ In episode 23 Trickster eats a laxative bulb that causes him to pass gas. Very violently. In an attempt to keep him from being blown away "people took down their lodge, piled it on Trickster and then got on it themselves. They likewise placed all the little dogs they had on top of Trickster. Just then he began to break wind again and the force of the expulsion scattered the thine on top of him in all directions. They fell far apart from one another. There stood Trickster laughing at them till he ached" (Radin, 1956:26).

The result of this big-bang creation is quite different from the quiet of Earthmaker's world: Trickster farting and laughing, dogs yapping, people blown all over creation shouting to one another.

In episode 34, Trickster, in the guise of a dead buck-deer, traps a hawk in his rectum. The Bear finds this plumage stunning. "Trickster loosened his hold and there was an odor of foul air." Trickster then offers to prepare the bear's rectum so that he, too, could wear such a tail. He cuts out the bear's anus, pulls out the intestines and devours the bear. The hying world not only consumes the universe but, ironically, discharges life to others in the form of carrion, waste and decay. All worlds, then, are open to consumption "from the

bottom up."

In the Trickster story these themes are reflected upon on a cosmic scale: the cycle of consumption of food provides access to the outside through the mouth and the cycle of waste and decay, associated with the anus, equally produces transformations to and from other worlds of being: the plant, the animal, the mineral and the sacredness of metamorphosis itself.

Once again, Trickster runs the risk of over-unverting things. The contrary processes and the body parts associated with them are brought into ironic conjunction and seem to belong to one process: Trickster consumes himself. In episode 14 he burns his anus with a piece of wood, "then he picked up a piece of fat and ate it. It had a delicious taste... He discovered that it was part of himself, part of his own intestines... Then he tied his intestines together... That is why the anus of human beings has its present shape" (ibid:18). In the trade for life brought on by cooked food and consumption of other beings, Trickster initiates another cycle in the same dialectic: the rottenness and decay of death and consumption. There are limits to the transformative unity that meaning will tolerate. The contemplation of such limits can be explored through the use of ludicrous irony but even this approaches dangerous absurdity and non-sense.

Song, music and dance. This theme is entirely ignored in the analyses of Radin, Jung and Kerenyi. A glimpse at the text confirms how powerful are Trickster's 'musical arts.' His qualities as magical minstrel would not so easily escape the Winnebago who sing the songs during the performance of the *waicq*. Furthermore, the Winnebago considered songs an inheritance passed down as powerful gifts within clans and religious societies and associated song with intense moments of spiritual awakening and conversion.¹⁴ Songs are associated with spiritual powers, not idle melodies. The notion of Trickster's powerful singing is more important when we consider the quiet state in which Earthmaker left things after he created them. Song integrates the world, the human voice brings things into contact with one another when the imagination composes itself in musical artistry.

Trickster is portrayed as a wandering singer. He is the first. One day he walked along a lake shore ostentatiously carrying a big pack on his back. Ducks asked him what it was. "Why, I am carrying songs. My stomach is full of bad songs. Some of these my stomach could not hold and that is why I am carrying them on my back. It is a long time since I sang any of them. Just now there are a large number in me. I have met no people on my journey who would dance for me and let me sing some for them... So they spoke to Trickster, 'Older brother, yes if you will sing to us we will dance. We have been yearning to dance for some time but could not do so because we had no songs' " (ibid:15).

In episode 16 an old woman extracts Trickster's penis by singing and in episode 18 Trickster saves himself, is extricated from the hollow of a tree, and gains possession of female raccoon dresses by singing a raccoon song. Song figures importantly in the episodes I'll interpret in detail below (episode 21). Wakdjunkaga's songs, often with accompanying dance, contribute in their way to change the nature of things. They are stored on his back where the 'medicine

chest' of shamans is kept and where he also keeps his enormous coiled penis. These 'items' allow one to enter worlds which are ordinarily impenetrable.

Sex. Radin designates the three signs of Trickster as food, buttocks and testicles. This is imprecise, although the intent is good. Trickster has no describable form at any point in the narrative. It is only in the last part of the last episode that he is referred to, indirectly, as having testicles. This last episode, as Radin himself remarks, is not part of the *waicq* but an ending supplied in the language and style of the *worak* or novella. If the male penis is Trickster's emblem (as the lodge-pole is the emblem of the village chief), it is not because it represents Trickster's exclusively male sexuality but rather because Wadjunkaga is the 'lord of passages.' In fact, Trickster maintains, in terms of medieval spirituality, a remarkable "spirit of detachment" toward his penis. He carries it in a box on his back, sends it across a river, stuffs it in a tree where parts are chewed up by chipmunks; other pieces are tossed into water where plants consume them and pass their potency on to men as food.

The approximate signs of Trickster may be food, buttocks and sexual parts, *both male and female* for he performs also as a woman - not simply in transvestite disguise but actually conceiving and giving birth. More precisely, Trickster's signs are mouth, anus, vulva, nostrils, holes in hills, burrows, forked branches and all those things that penetrate these passages: food, excrement, gases, penis. In short, Trickster's sign is the body and that which can be likened to it, passages of bodies and bodies of passage.

Trickster's penis. In episode 16, Trickster's penis is the central protagonist. Wadjunkaga descends to a lake and spies women swimming on the far side. Between him and the women lies a huge body of water. We know that waters are the unintentional tears of Earthmaker. This formless substance separates the beings in Earthmaker's world; e.g., those that are male from the stone and rock being which is female. Trickster removes his coiled penis from the box on his back and sends it across the lake, urging it not to make waves; finally ties a stone on it to keep it submerged. "When he dispatched it, this time it went directly to the designated place . . . The penis lodged squarely in her." In Arthurian fashion, her friends tried to pull it out; so did a number of men known for their strength. Only an old woman can discern what is happening. "Why, this is First-Born Trickster. The chief's daughter is having intercourse and you are just annoying her."

It is important not to limit the significance of this passage to physical sexual behavior, or even the exclusively sexual conditions of humans. True to his transformative self, Trickster's penis penetrates a great divide; this time between sexual beings. Until now the four male beings set at the points of the earth and the female being scattered through the earth are unrelated - not simply in a physical-technical way but as beings set apart by their kind, unrelated by a common meaning.

Radin inadequately reduces the myth to the scale of individual psychology. He also takes the linear arrangement of episodes in his text as a fixed-form order of progressive development. Consequently he views this exploit as another episode in the story of individuation through differentiation. However, on the

religious level, in this episode the differentiations are taken for granted. What is asked is how one can unite these male beings and the one female being - two planes that intersect at no point - into one meaningful and related whole. How does one create a single social universe out of cosmically different elements?

Trickster's penis is grossly out of context. It gives one pause; causes one to stop and think. William James referred to this process of monstrous symbolism as consecutive discordances - a process of imaginative abstraction. By means of this penis carried around so cavalierly, a connection is made across an irreconcilable divide of male and female being between which existed a formless and unrelated gulf. The penis portrays the very process of the religious imagination which has no business poking its way into places that are not its own. It composes new meanings by conjoining discordant forms and transcending the formless gulfs between them.

THE CRUCIAL EPISODE: TRICKSTER AS WOMAN

The episode that Radin calls "crucial" highlights the transformative traits of Trickster treated above. No variant of the cycle omits it. It is the nemesis of Radin's interpretation.¹⁵ Here is a summary.

In episode 19 Trickster meets a fox, a jay-bird and a nit, each in their turn. They all decide to live together as companions "because the world is soon going to be a difficult place in which to live." They build themselves a lodge in a beautiful place where two rivers come together. Winter comes, snow falls and they have nothing to eat. There is a village nearby which obtains many blessings for the chief's son, who is not yet married, kills many animals. "I will disguise myself as a woman and marry him. Thus we can live in peace until spring comes. 'Good!' they ejaculated. All were willing and delighted to participate." In episode 20 Trickster fashions himself a vulva from an elk's liver, breasts from elk's kidneys. He puts on the woman's dress taken from the raccoon in a previous episode. "He now stood there transformed into a very pretty woman indeed." Then he let the fox have intercourse with him and make him pregnant, then the jaybird and, finally, the nit. Upon Trickster's arrival in the village, an old woman announces that she (Trickster) has come to marry the chief's son. After the chief's son approves of her for "she certainly was a very handsome woman", a bridal meal of dried corn and slit bear-fibs is prepared. ("That is why Trickster is getting married, of course.") Trickster soon becomes pregnant, to the delight of the chief's son. She gives birth to a boy. Pregnant twice more, she gives birth to two more boys. In episode twenty-one, a "last child" is born (it is not clear whether this is the third son or the fourth, which I believe is more likely). This last child cries without ceasing and demands to play With a piece of white cloud. He expresses this demand in song.

To this end a shaman is summoned who makes it snow and stops the child's crying. Singing again, the child demands to play with a piece of blue sky. In the spring they give him some blue grass to content him. The child cries and sings again for some blue or green leaves. A fourth time he demands roasting ears. They give him the husks and roasting ears of corn and he stops crying. "One day later, as they were steaming corn, the chief's wife teased her sister-in-law. She chased her around the pit where they were steaming corn. Finally, the chief's son's wife (Trickster) jumped over the pit and she dropped something very rotten." People shouted, "It is Trickster!" They were ashamed, especially the chief's son. The fox, jaybird and nit now ran away. (1956:22-25).

The roads not taken: possible directions of analysis. Radin notes all the significant Winnebago customs parodied in the myth. They are legion. Then he goes on to interpret the episode in a psychological vein.

"Wakdjunkaga changes his sex and marries the chief's son. The overt reason given for his doing this is that he and his companions have been overtaken by winter and are starving and that the chief and his son have plenty... The change in sex is a trick played on an oversexed individual in order to show to what lengths such a person will go, what sacred things he will give up and sacrifice to satisfy his desires... Taken in conjunction with the sex episodes which have preceded and the two incidents that follow, its meaning becomes clear. It is part of Wakdjunkaga's sex education" (ibid: 137).

At stake for Radin are, on the psychological level, the appetites of hunger and sex which threaten the process of psychic individualization and, on the level of social custom, the chief's son indulging in homosexual relations and a mother-in-law publicly breaking taboo by openly associating with a potential son-in-law. Even from Radin's own view of primitive religion, his interpretation is a travesty of the sacred dimension of the *waicq* text. He squeezes meanings, which for the Winnebago are sacred, culture-wide and even cosmic, into the straight-jacket of an individual psychology built on examinations of dreams of neurotics from Vienna and Zurich.

Kerényi and Jung, in their commentaries on the Trickster,¹⁶ offer wide and stimulating psychological settings for interpretation but do not deal specifically with this incident.

A cognitive structural analysis might outline the remarkable sets of binary oppositions that inhere between these episodes and the episode where Trickster sends his penis across the water. There Trickster had just eaten and was overfull, here she is hungry; there he is a sexually aggressive penetrator, here she is a sexual receptacle; there he is furtive and unseen, here she is received in public ceremony; there the action takes place in formless water outside of any village, here it unfolds in a structured residence with patterned authority; there he attacks the chief's daughter, here she seduces the chief's son; there the old

woman recognizes him immediately and pries his penis out with an awl and magic song, here she ignorantly invites her in, shouting like a town crier and later breaking taboo by talking with her; there she laughs when she recognizes him, here she is angry; there a stone-like vagina holds his penis fast, here her fleshy vulva falls by virtue of its own decay. No doubt further analysis of this kind would bring to light more oppositions and arrange them into a symphony of paradigmatic bundles that might elucidate the sets of formal relations that obtain in the myth. No doubt modes of life and modes of death are being mediated.

My frame of reference, however is of a different sort. It was my purpose to try and understand the myth in the context of Winnebago religious imagination: to try to understand what it is they are contemplating and what their sacred symbols reveal to them;¹⁷ not to explain the permutation of logical patterns used to exhibit these objects for contemplation, however useful such a set of questions are for the study of the human mind.¹⁸

AN INTERPRETATION

Previously, Trickster performed as a male. He carries his penis, his emblem or double, in a box reminiscent of the medicine-chests of shamans. The contents of this chest, in the Winnebago view, offer one access to realms of reality other than the one assigned in the scheme of Earthmaker's creation. In these episodes, Trickster quite intentionally fashions himself in female form, in parody of Earthmaker's intentional fashioning of the world and in contradistinction to the unintentional way in which Trickster's own penis appeared. She is, nonetheless, still Trickster.

As Radin points out, Wajdjunkaga's character is not dependent on the form Trickster assumes but on the nature of his/her exploits: the quality of dynamism. Trickster is a set of events which have a patterned quality about them. They relate things which have no business being together and transform that "being together" into increasingly larger meanings by progressively reducing the importance of boundary and form. This way of describing the dynamic quality of Trickster's exploits stresses the *actio* of the sacred drama. Alternately, one could say that Trickster is a locus, in primordial space-time (i.e. in mythic imagination), where separated worlds interpenetrate one another. He/she is the place where things not only come together but pass through one another. This way of looking at Trickster brings out the *passio* of the *waicq*.

The events that characterize Wajdjunkaga occur through the medium of human parts, both male and female, that he possesses.¹⁹ Transformation, interpenetration of worlds and metamorphosis in the cosmos are linked with the imagery of the human body. The body is the symbolic template which reveals the meaning of sacred events.

The fox, the jaybird and the nit are beings that live separately in the creation of Earthmaker. They stay quiet and comparatively motionless in their lodges.

"Again and again he looked at what he had created and he saw

that the earth had indeed become quiet... Even the shimmering of light that one always sees in the daytime, even these had ceased . . . All the birds that were destined to roam over the skies, all the four-footed animals who were to wander over the earth and all the animals who were to live in the sea and below the surface of the waters, all these he placed in lodges specially provided for them. After that, he made the various insects that were to live on the earth" (Radin, 1945:19).

Radin is correct in isolating hunger as the appetite that motivates these beings to conspire for food. He is wrong in treating this appetite in an exclusively physiological way. He betrays his own insight that the notion of sacred admits of no distinction between corporeal and spiritual (1915:352). In this sacred *waicq* hunger has an existential and sacred bearing. I have dealt with this theme above. Here remember that one hungers not simply for corporal nourishment but also for modes of being other than one's own: animal, plant and powerful. Hunger is a drive to devour which is shared by spirits and humans.

Trickster fashions female parts from a living animal; the vulva from an elk's liver and the breasts from elk's kidneys. This creative act is in stark contrast to Earthmaker's fashioning of a 'female being' of rock and stone. It is from the female that life comes. The stone, immortally durable but not productive of new life, betokens the kind of world Earthmaker produced: quiet and inert. The vulva typifies Trickster's 'creative' exploits: locus of passage to hidden worlds of new meaning, interactional and generative of life which is subject to rottenness and decay.

Whereas in other incidents Trickster's mouth, anus, nose, the holes in hills and in trees are the significant penetrated passages, in these episodes Trickster's vulva is explored. The fox, representing the critters that will eventually roam the surface of the earth, the jaybird, standing up for those birds that will come to fly through the skies, the nit, *porte-penis* for insects that will crawl all over, and the chief's son, all penetrate Trickster's female passage.

For several reasons they have no *place being there*. Firstly, the 'place', the vulva, is not 'real' but an illusory setting for fantastic events. Secondly, even granting this ridiculous frame of events, the four creatures are different species of *being*, with no possibility in formal thought of being in one place for it is not Earthmaker's creative intent. Thirdly Trickster is not 'really' a female of any of these species so the drama is farce raised to the order of the absurd. Fourthly, on the level of Winnebago social context, the text is full of *non-sequitur*: women never visit alone, never initiate betrothal processes etc. Radin notes the parody of custom. For all these reasons and more, the coming together of all realms of living beings in Trickster's passage on account of shared appetites of food and sex is a ludicrous event loaded with meaning: Trickster.

The births of the four offspring of these unions assure us that the relatedness achieved in Trickster's female form is fruitful and irrevocable in the history of world events, as befits mythic events which are genetic, exemplary or paradigmatic. What has been done in these first times, *is done*. Henceforth, because of

this collision of semantic universes of existence, there is danger that meaning and the sacred may exhaust themselves in certain manifestations of a disequibrated world. They therefore stand in need of periodic renewal. On the other hand, if meanings generate themselves into confusion, the sacred may devour everything in a frenzy of ecstatic consumption. The various feasts, fasts and offerings of Winnebago religious life find their meanings in the events of these sacred *waicq*.

The "last child", presumably born of the chief's son, cries and sings demands impossible of normal human response. His noise is symptomatic both of the new condition of the world after Trickster's coming and of the tragic plight of man that becomes the theme of Winnebago *worak* or novellas as opposed to the obligatory optimistic tone of the *waicq*, the sacred myths that ten of the pre-human world as it is known today. These tragic tears are not univocally negative but serve as an emotional affirmation of spiritual presence and awakening of spiritual consciousness. They are part of a religious oratory used in other myths and the description of personal religious experience.¹¹

The child's combination of ignorance and creative *hubris* foreshadow their treatment as a main theme in the Twin Cycle. The child's demands take the form of song-riddles. By singing for snow, green leaves, dry corn and the like, he is asking in a powerful way for items associated with and symbolic of the passage of time. But Earthmaker's creation is motionless. "No clouds were visible anywhere." The passage of time and season, the obtaining of objects symbolic of them, are anomalous and impossible. The child is asking for the fruit of motion from a world of stasis.

Here is a *coincidentia oppositorum* which is not simply complementary but contradictory. Only the shaman, with his spiritual powers of transformation, can transcend the contradiction and obtain the desired objects from some mode of being in which life and motion have fruitful meaning. Earthmaker's world is now sent spinning again, this time through the cycle of seasons punctuated not only by the fruits generated from the earth (corn, leaves) and generated from the sky (snow, rain) but punctuated by the feasts of Winters Wake, corn and clan that mark human culture's passage through the penetrable boundaries of a sacred cosmos.

At the end of the episode, when Trickster drops her rotting vulva, it becomes clear that she has paid a price for living food and meaningful spirit in the cosmos. In fashioning the female parts of living flesh he trades the durable like of the stone for the passing life of decay and death.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: theory, waste and tired blood.

I chose to do a hermeneutic rather than a demystification or demythologization of several episodes of the sacred myth of Trickster. The choice was fortuitous for *Wakdjunkaga's* exploits are themselves a language of conjunction rather than opposition. A number of points emerge which have critical value for contemporary theories of myth, ritual and symbol.²⁰ These theoretical considerations merit a separate study. Nonetheless, it will be interesting to close by making some minimal comments about the ways of approaching religion.

Tropes are for kids. The structural study of myth, notably in Lévi-Strauss and bricoleurs who pick up his pieces, recognize sets of formal relations in the structure of myth. Wandering around the battle over discourse and meaning, on the one hand, and skirting debate on the nature of genetic structure, transformation, and hierarchy on the other hand, Trickster helpfully confuses the linguistic structural schema. Far from respecting the axial world of metaphor and metonym, his language and character revel in another important linguistic trope ignored by structuralists: irony.

Irony is itself a "distinctive paradigm or patterning of facts, a re-composing in which the fact (e.g., 'having nothing') is seen within the creative presence of a contrary ('and possessing all things')" (Lynch:14). Irony binds widely separated opposites into a single figure so that contraries appear to belong together. In Trickster chaos and order, sacred and profane, farce and meaning, silence and song, food and waste, word and event, pretended ignorance and pretended cunning, stone-life and flesh life, male and female, play and reality, compose not only an ironic symbol but a symbol of irony.

Trickster's character and exploits embody the process of ironic imagination. His dynamism of composition mocks, shatters and re-forms the overly clear structures of the world and the overly-smooth images of the mind. Trickster subverts both the inescapable structure of Earthmaker's reality and the imperialism of Earthmaker's thought over reality. He is all passage and penis whose dialectic mode of existence devours antagonisms, explores passages and offers access in excess through one opposite to another. In him the double-sidedness of reality reveals itself.

In both imagining and imaging the meeting of all contraries, Trickster's (and language's) ironic character articulate the dialectic imagination which makes social life and meaning possible. Irony pushes forward the enterprise of religious imagination's experiment with the sacred in the very act of social communication. In limiting itself to the linguistic tropes of metaphor and metonym, structuralist analyses block a passage-way to the meaning of *waicq* and sacred texts in general.

Mockery and Manifesto. Radin notes in the texts how ubiquitous is social parody and inversion. Dialectical theories of culture that begin with political-economic analyses of social relations and construct hierarchies of dominance and subordination so that they may study their inversions in the symbolic currency of ritual and myth have a lot to gain in a trade with the Trickster. True, Trickster inverts infrastructures of biology and ecology and superstructural relations developed around the consciousness of social roles and hierarchies of power associated with human, social and material reproduction. Nonetheless, the Winnebago religious imagination doesn't buy a hard-bargain exchange theory of social and cosmic reality.

If Wajdunkaga shams the shaman, chides chiefly privilege and satirizes social and religious custom (even the fast for the guardian spirit) in gross and absurd ways, he also perverts his own inversions. If he is negation, he also negates the negation. He "wows" us with a penetrating burlesque of all struc-

tures and forms, including his own, which parade as permanent, important or impermeable. He parodies his own parody until one gives up figuring out which 'act' is 'for real' and contemplates what Trickster's play reveals: how ludicrous is every vision of life constructed of hierarchies without ironic wholeness or formal arrangements without communication between one form and another. He reveals how static is the vision of life built on earthy corporeality without passage to sacred spirit of metamorphosis so imaginable in the heroes of the *waicq*.

Trickster uses death through decay to put an end to the death through the durable structure of stone, stasis and separate category. His beginnings are all ends; his mouth devours his anus. But his exchanges are not reflections of "relations on the ground" or surface features which embed consciousnesses of values that inhere between hierarchical levels of progressively deeper structure. Rather he mocks the sham of separation between surface and depth and collapses them into a unity of being. He offers hope that in these moments of structural collapse, when one contemplates in a playful way what is, sacred events offer creative possibilities that penetrate every boundary of structure and transform them.

The Winnebago myths suggest that there are other modes of dialectic than those which underpin many contemporary Western cultural theories. In a hermeneutic of the *waicq* sacred myths, one might understand more by first attempting to comprehend the process of religious imagination which is tangibly portrayed in myth, rite and symbol than by over-determining one's analysis with dialectics proclaimed in the history of Western religio-philosophic imagination.

The body beautiful: Mr./Ms. Universe. Trickster's bodily parts are the props, setting, stage and main characters of this drama. This is a main theme of this sacred story: human space is the locus of all life and the passage of interpenetration of beings and meanings. The symbol of Wakdjunkaga reveals that man/woman is a symbol. The body comes to correspond to every sort of penetration, every sort of space and every sort of resultant transformation.

From his own point of view, Victor Turner has wrestled with Durkheim on this very point. Turner's insights help our interpretive task. Turner tips Durkheim "on his head" by contending that symbols of normative order in social taxonomies and classificatory systems of nature derive from body processes, especially eating, feeding at the breast, copulating, giving birth, bleeding, passing waste and so on. This helps us understand many of the wanton and reckless features that disorder the world through medium of the body: biology is amoral, its processes are a must which transcend everything else possible, if it is to survive (1968).

Furthermore, contra Levi-Strauss, Turner points out that myth and ritual evoke emotion. They are not cold sets of complex algorithmic permutations. The emotions they evoke, claims Turner, are precisely those generalized ones associated with the experiences linked to fundamental biological processes of the human body. We have seen that the symbols of Trickster, his body parts, dramatize the tension between the normative and the orectic.

Finally, Turner's notion addresses itself also to the cosmic dimension of symbol. Here his work begins to approach the morphological kind of study in the history of religions. The body serves as a template for symbols that reveal the meaning of the world to us and motivate us to be meaningful actors in its social dramas, says Turner. It is a source of contemplation which is total; that is, not only thoughtful but sentient, intuitive, and evocative of mobility, action, penetration, passage and passion. Symbolic dimensions associated with body-processes enable man to make imaginative statements about being itself.

"What we may call *symbolic thought* makes it possible for man to move freely from one level of reality to another . . . Symbols, as we have seen, identify, assimilate, and unify diverse levels and realities that are to all appearances incompatible. Further still: magico-religious experience makes it possible for man himself to be transformed into a symbol. And only in so far as man himself becomes a symbol, are all systems and all anthropocosmic experiences possible, and indeed in this case his own life is considerably enriched and enlarged. Man no longer feels himself to be an "air-tight" fragment, but a living cosmos open to all the other living cosmoses by which he is surrounded. The experiences of the world at large are no longer something outside him and therefore ultimately 'foreign' and 'objective'; they do not alienate him from himself but, on the contrary, lead him towards himself, and reveal to him his own existence and his own destiny" (Eliade, 1963:455).

Game and reality. Trickster reminds us that a head-on logical analysis of Winnebago *waicq*, particularly analyses with utilitarian goals of their own, may not help one understand what they are nor what they mean to say about our world. This is not to say that the task is impossible nor even excruciatingly difficult or bizarre. Far from creating insoluble absurdities which social sciences must dutifully face and 'solve', Trickster opens up passages to his own meaning: he is already a resolution or rather a recomposition of meaning. Trickster is play, travesty, untruthfulness and that game which reality plays at the heart of existence.

The 'rules' of Trickster's game demand that he play Foolish One, who does not know, or at least *pretends*, for the sake of the game and the drama of the religious imagination, that he is ignorant. The truth is that we cannot always distinguish whether Trickster is 'really' stupid or just pretending to be. By thus making permeable the boundaries between these two epistemological categories he heightens the co-presence of cunning and stupidity, illusion and reality, consumed and consuming and even the 'irreducibly' bounded categories of male and female, coming and going, passage and penetration. He makes us feel the fullness of life by presenting all its ironic contraries. Trickster's untruthfulness, stupidity and pretension-not-to-know are a nonsense frame generative of every possible sense.

Social scientists, philosophers of science, logicians, physicists, artists,

musicians etc. explore the notions of frame that define their own discipline, justifying its separate existence as a bounded field. Further, the utilitarian frames of reference we manipulate within our endeavours generate theories that allow for questions and answers which we hope make sense. We began by saying that Paul Radin viewed the academy as a tired collection of bounded categories whose divisions were arbitrary, without meaning and uncreative. In fact, we often jealously guard the 'real' boundaries between psychology, anthropology, literature, linguistics, history, history of religions, law, medicine and the 'hard' sciences.

Trickster reminds us that we take our study of our world most seriously when we take the definitions of ourselves more lightly. He would 'entertain' the possibility that our fields are penetrable illusions when pushed through the wider frame of the human religious imagination. The play of the religious imagination with symbols of a particularly sacred sort initiates dynamism and transforms unrelated modes of existence into "univerts." Thus meaning embraces the whole, though knowledge of it be not greater than some of its parts.

In his lusty, voracious, burping, flatulent way, he offers us a human frame of meaning and passage through it to the sacred. In the waicq, the Winnebago contemplate the reaches of a sacred symbol who passes all existence through the being of passages who is in passage: man/woman. The Winnebago set us a good example of humanist query.

NOTES

1. For extensive critical comments on previous versions of this article I am indebted to Mircea Eliade (Chicago), Paul Friederich (Chicago), Ake Hultkrantz (Stockholm), and Cristiano Grottanelli (Rome).
2. For a complete bibliography of Radin's published works see Werbner 1960. For a brief account of Paul Radin see du Bois 1960.
3. Cora Du Bois 1960:xiii. See also Radin's own treatment (1927).
4. See, for example, Radin 1911; 1914b; 1918; 1950a; 1959.
5. See especially Radin's interpretive remarks, 1948; 1954; 1955; 1956a. Jung and Kerenyi's comments on the Winnebago Trickster are found in Radin 1956b.
6. Levi-Strauss 1960. In this connection, Levi-Strauss also does an interesting analysis of Winnebago social structure, 1963:132-166. He barely treats the Trickster figure in his work, but of course in the study of mediator figures

- (e.g. Ash-boy and Cinderella) his insights are thoughtful. For specific reference to Amerindian Trickster figures see Levi-Strauss 1963:224-227; 1969.
7. cf. the works of Thomas Kuhn, Max Black, Stephen Toulmin, Karl Popper, Ian Barbour, and Imre Lakatos; see Gregory Bateson's treatment of Russell's Theory of Logical Types in Bateson 1972.
 8. cf. Geertz 1966; the Introduction in Goldman 1975, and several of Turner's works, especially 1970:93-112, the Introduction to 1974, and 1969.
 9. Regarding the notion of contemplation in the arts, particularly those connected with the senses of audition and vision, see Macquet 1971. He makes an important distinction between contemplation and cognition. Cognition is a "discursive process through which the intellect actively and critically build a mental image of the object" (ibid:6), whereas contemplation is linked to aesthetic awareness in which the "subject does not analyse and reconstruct, he simply attends to the object" (ibid.) Radin himself says "whatever functions or has functioned is real and whatever is real is outside of the category of time; is always present." (1948:12).
 10. For the variant of the myth that I am using see 1945:17ff. Another version is recorded in 1923:212-213.
 11. cf. the parallel mention of tears in describing the coming to consciousness and the awakening of spiritual powers in other contexts; for example, Radin 1920:3 et passim in regard to the experience of fasting, the awakening of consciousness and conversion to the Peyote Cult; 1923:421 ;261-262; 236.
 12. The best summary of scholarship on the North American Trickster is Piper 1975:121-194. For a thorough collection of materials on the subject see Ricketts 1964. Also of great interest to the historian of religions in this connection is an excellent work by Pelton 1980. This work by an historian of religions will interest theologians and psychologists.
 13. This theme of double penetration is common. See Goldman's description of the double-headed serpent totem of the Kwakiutl (1975).
 14. See the spiritual importance of song, for example, in 1923:192; 317; 322; 336.
 15. 1956:137. For a very interesting remark in the manner of Jung, see Layard 1957.
 16. Kerényi sets the Trickster within the context of burlesque folk humor which preserves in the modern day an imagery of archaic primitive times

- which has not passed through a flowering of the classic theatre and literature. Jung, working from ethnographic references to medieval Feasts of Fools, considers the Trickster to be an archetype of relatedness emerging from behind the shadow in the early stages of psychic individualization. Jungs views the Trickster as a foreshadowing of the notion of saviour.
17. The frame of my interpretation is the general history of religions and, in particular, the history of North American Indian religions, cf. Hultkrantz 1966-67; see also an over-view and bibliography of North American Indian religions in Werner Muller's article in Krickeberg 1961, as well as the works of Piper 1975 and Ricketts 1964.
 18. Dell Hymes makes an interesting case for the kinds of analyses that may go beyond the logico-cognitive (1974:3-66). An interesting application of this approach to the study of religion is found in Fabian 1968. My own approach is less analytical of discourse than interpretive of imagination.
 19. cf. the Creation Myth: "So he formed a being, just like ourselves, and when he had finished him he called him Trickster, Foolish-One" (1945:19). Radin notes "in the sense that he had the same parts of the body that we have, not that he looked like us" (ibid:352).
 20. This last section owes a debt to Robert Pelton. For a fuller and more pointed discussion of the following themes see Pelton 1980:223-284.

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