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JAMES R. WALKER

LAKOTA MYTH

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Elaine A. Jahner

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Introduction

James R. Walker went to Pine Ridge in 1896, a mere six years after the suppression of the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee massacre.¹ The preceding years had marked still other events that brought home to the Oglalas how profound would be the adaptations required of them in their new way of life. The Sioux Land Commission of 1889 had succeeded in breaking up the Great Sioux Reservation into smaller reservations, reducing the area by half and beginning the process that led to the assignment of individual land allotments to nuclear families so that the remaining land could be opened to settlement by non-Indians. In the decade preceding 1896 the United States government had decisively demonstrated both military and legislative control over the Sioux people. To many Lakotas the events of those years also suggested spiritual defeat.²

The problems of adaptation to radically changed circumstances were exacerbated by hunger and illness. "We have trouble . . .," Red Cloud declared; "Coughing sickness every winter carries away our best people."³ Tuberculosis, which had reached near epidemic proportions, was a major concern for Walker when he arrived at Pine Ridge. During his first year he was the only doctor for a population estimated at about seven thousand. Faced with the almost overwhelming difficulties posed by the medical situation at Pine Ridge, Walker decided to enlist the cooperation of the traditional medicine men. One of his notes, dated September 12, 1896, says that he had requested the aid of the Oglala leaders Little Wound, American Horse, and Lone Star. After consultation they decided to begin to tell him about Lakota belief and ceremony. They stated, "We will do this so you

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may know how to be the medicine man for the people. . . . We will tell you of the ceremonies as if you were an Oglala who wished to take your part in them. We will not tell you of the parts of them that the shamans do secretly."⁴

The phrase "as if you were an Oglala" expresses Walker's attitude toward all he learned from the Oglalas. Sixteen years later, one of his letters to Clark Wissler shows that he continued his initial effort to understand Sioux culture from the perspective of the Oglalas themselves. It also reveals that his adoption of the Oglala perspective taught him the weaknesses of any approach to analysis that ignored the personality and influence of the researcher. "I have written this paper as if it were by one who believes and practices as did the old Oglalas, because I can express the concepts [of] those people better in this manner than if I were to give a description of their forms and ceremonies."⁵

Walker's relationship with anthropologist Clark Wissler gave new direction and urgency to his efforts to record what he learned from the holy men. In 1902 Wissler visited Pine Ridge in order to explore the possibilities for fieldwork there. He recognized the importance of Walker's attempts to learn from the medicine men and proposed that Walker send information on to him at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Through the correspondence that Walker and Wissler carried on over the years we can follow the progress of Walker's fieldwork and his developing understanding of what he had collected. While it is clear that Wissler gave direction to Walker's fieldwork, it is equally evident that Wissler did not dictate that direction very exactly. After meeting Wissler, Walker continued to record the initiation into Lakota lore that he had begun on his own in 1896. He continued to be motivated primarily by his personal interests and his friendship with the holy men.

That Walker's Oglala teachers believed in his capacity to understand and perhaps even to adopt Oglala thought patterns is evident from their willingness to share more and more privileged information with him. By 1905, his interest in Oglala culture had so intensified that he had begun instruction to become a member of the Buffalo Society. On July 2, 1905, nine years after they had begun teaching him, the Oglala leaders finally promised, "We will tell you of things that were known only to shamans."⁶ In his autobiographical statement, Walker later de-

scribed the process of instruction and mentioned his promise not to divulge to outsiders certain features of what he learned:

I sought information from the holy men and was told that they taught their mystic lore only to candidates for admission to their order who were acceptable to the Gods and that no other than a full-blooded Oglala had ever been ordained as a holy man. At this time there were but five holy men among the Oglalas and three of these were very old. The progress of civilization had extinguished the belief in their traditions and for some years none had sought to be ordained by them.

Long Knife [George Sword], who had been a renowned holy man but had renounced the traditions of the order to become a consistent deacon of a Christian denomination, then argued to the holy men that soon they would go from the world and all their sacred lore would pass with them unless they revealed it so that it could be preserved in writing; that future generations of the Oglalas should be informed as to all that their ancestors believed and practiced; that the Gods of the Oglalas would be more pleased if the holy men told of them so that they might be kept in remembrance and that all the world might know of them.

Short Bull, a holy man, the apostle of the Ghost Dance among the Sioux, proposed to seek a vision from the Oglala deities relative to the matter and the other holy men agreed to abide by Short Bull's interpretation of such vision as he might receive. I never learned what vision Short Bull received, but he must have interpreted it favorably, for some time later Long Knife informed me that if I would comply with the requirements of a candidate for ordination, the holy men would reveal to me the mysteries of their order and tell me their secret lore. I was asked to pledge my word that I would not divulge what I learned until after there were no longer any holy men among the Oglalas so that their Great Judge of Spirits would not hold against them that they had done wrong to make the sacred things common. . . .

The holy men required me to comply with the rites and ceremonies which they prescribed. I did so sincerely, for I recognized in their traditions that universal equality of mankind which sees in nature mysteries beyond human understanding and deifies that which causes them. The sacred mysteries of the Oglala holy men were certain rites to be done which would impart to them supernatural powers and enable them to hold communion with their deities and speak their will and by the aid of consecrated fetishes to do miraculous things.⁷

Walker's instructors—Little Wound, George Sword, American Horse, and others—had all helped to negotiate various political

agreements between the Sioux nation and the United States, so they knew well the strength of the government's determination to pursue a policy of assimilation. But they also understood the rich spiritual resources inherent in their Lakota traditions and wanted a record of them for the future. Each of these men had had visions that had given them remarkable esoteric knowledge not known to the common people. They were not teaching what they knew to the younger Oglalas, and they saw in Walker a channel for conveying their knowledge to future generations.

For his part, Walker was eager to record their knowledge. Like his teachers, he believed that Lakota culture was dying. In a speech that he presented after his retirement, he stated categorically, "Christian civilization has extinguished Oglala shamans, and now not one remains alive, unless I except myself. It is probable that no Oglala today knows the mythology of his ancestors as held by the shamans. This mythology was interesting to me because their manner of deifying was very like that of ancient Egypt, and early Rome in that they attributed to natural phenomena personalities and God-like qualities."⁸

Walker collected many different kinds of data simultaneously. From the holy men of the Buffalo Society he learned the rudiments of belief, ritual, and myth. As part of his scientific research he gathered medical information and charted the physical measurements of the Oglalas. We do not know exactly when he recorded the first myths or tales, but by 1908 he had already written down several. In the fall of 1908, Wissler sent him an offprint of myths he had collected at Pine Ridge and published in the *Journal of American Folklore*. In response, Walker wrote to Wissler that he, too, happened to have recorded myths, specifically the story of Stone Boy. Walker had realized by this time the importance of paying attention to the individual narrator, his knowledge, and his abilities as a storyteller: "The elaborateness and detail of stories told by these Indians depends much on the teller just as among the white people. I have the story of the Stone Boy as told by a professional Story Teller, a Sioux, and it is much more elaborate than yours."⁹

As he recorded myths and tales, Walker apparently engaged in some speculation with the holy men about the meaning of tales and their relationship to other facets of Oglala culture. On June 8, 1909, he wrote to Wissler, "In some of their legends

there are allusions to customs, forms, ceremonies and observances of which nothing appears to have been given by any authority I have seen and which can be known of only by the most intimate association with the older Indians."¹⁰

By 1908 Walker had begun concentrating on the collection of information about the Sun Dance among the Oglalas. This part of his work was under the direct supervision of Wissler; his letters to Wissler document each stage of the effort and tell about his attempts to reconcile the requirements of scientific ethnographic method with his insights about the shortcomings of those methods and their inadequacy for conveying the Oglalas' own feelings about the role of the Sun Dance in their lives. Walker's Oglala teachers had impressed him with the symbolic meanings affecting all ritual action, and he realized that if he really were to present the ceremony "as if he were an Oglala," he had to do more than just describe what happened in the Sun Dance; he had to tell the symbolic significance of that action. This determination to understand the Sun Dance also focused his interest in Lakota mythology. Knowing as he did that "only by the most intimate association with the older Indians" could he gather authoritative information about the entire system of Lakota symbolism, he continued to question those Sioux whom he knew to be religious authorities, and he reconsidered material he had collected earlier.

Walker was extremely sensitive to all the pitfalls facing the non-Indian fieldworker, particularly the willingness of some people to pretend authority that they do not have and the danger of asking leading questions which result in clear but partial answers. A letter he wrote to Wissler not only is testimony to his integrity as a fieldworker, but demonstrates that as he concentrated on ceremonies, he kept coming back to the myths and attempting to understand them as a system that would explain the ceremonies.

Writing up the Sun-dance as it was practiced among the Oglala Titons is something like writing a system of Christian theology from talking with ordinary laymen, only the Sun-dance is the more difficult.

As this people practiced the Sun-dance it was a religious ceremony from their point of view, in all its bearings.

I have talked with a number of persons who have witnessed the dance, and some of whom have taken part in it, and with some who

have been leaders and I have a written description in the native language, by one who has danced the dance.

So there is no difficulty in giving a plain description of the performance.

While I have had little trouble in getting a description of the performance, I have found almost insurmountable difficulty in getting the underlying principles that governed the forms and rites, for there are few now alive who understood them; and these few have almost forgotten their former customs and beliefs.

By getting what I can from one and then from another and so on and then piecing these bits of information together, it appears to me that I am making progress in securing a comprehensive description of the ceremony.

One source of great help is the old legends, in many of which are explained reasons for beliefs and rites. . . .

Among other things was the question of "Why was the camp arranged in one particular way relative to the gentes and the sub-gentes of the people?"

This does not pertain to this ceremony alone but the custom was more strictly observed at the gatherings for the Sun-dance than on any other occasions unless it was at a war-council camp. To answer this question requires much research. . . .

Now Doctor, I am trying to gather these things and put them in their proper sequence with succinct reasons for them.

In doing this I am subject to such criticism as this. A white man married to an Indian woman who has spent a large part of his life among the Oglalas said of my work: "He is writing things that I never heard of, and I think the Indians don't know anything about them either. They do these things just because they happen to do them that way. They have no reason for it. You ask one of them and see if he can give you any reason for doing things in a certain way."

This criticism, in more extended and better form, has been made by others; and the younger generation of these Indians would probably make the same criticism. A superficial investigation of the subject would uphold the criticism.

But in my investigations I have carefully avoided leading questions or suggestions and all the information I have accepted has been given without suggestion on my part.

Such investigation accumulates a great amount of immaterial matter in which there are, here and there, given relevant facts on which to base further inquiry. . . ."

The major problem confronting Walker in his search for mythological explanations for ceremonial actions was that no

single Oglala holy man knew all of the Oglala myths. Then, too, individuals, influenced by their own visionary experiences, altered some aspects of the myths. Early in his work with the Oglalas, Walker realized the importance of the link between a narrator's personal religious experiences and the style and content of his tales. When faced with the monumental task of presenting a systematic set of myths to a non-Indian audience, Walker approached the problem by continuing to interview Oglalas and by studying more intensively the Lakota language in the hope that more knowledge would resolve apparent inconsistencies. In 1911, three months after sending Wissler the letter just quoted, Walker wrote again, convinced that he was beginning to clear up the problems of studying Oglala mythology.

In my study of the mythology of the Oglalas, I have been compelled to learn something of their language as it was spoken in what may be called the prescriptorial period. This language differs much in form and meaning to the language as it is written today. The written Dakota is in the Santee dialect which differs much from the Teton and especially from the dialect of the Oglala Teton. But the younger Oglalas have been so much influenced by the written language that they write and speak much like it, and they can not understand a formal address or ceremonial address given by one of the older Indians who speaks the prescriptorial language.

I have also had to learn something of the esoteric language of the shamans which was taught only to those who danced the *Wacipi Wahan* [Sun Dance]. In this way I think I have cleared up much confusion that existed in the descriptions of other writers of this mythology.

While no Indian has been able to give me the complete mythology in a systematic way, I have gotten a quite complete system of it in piece-meal which I am attempting to systematize in a manner approved by the older Indians who are probably as good authority on it as exists.¹²

Even when he thought he had found answers, Walker continued to question lest he be mistaken in his search for those basic ideas that would explain many features of myth and ceremony. As he tried to get at what he called "the concepts of the older Indians," he questioned both older and younger people and in the process documented something of the rapid culture change taking place during his years at Pine Ridge. A good example occurs in a letter dated March 20, 1912, which also shows how he was gradually piecing together his mythology.

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Take for instance the term *Wakan Tanka*. I have not yet asked an interpreter for the meaning of it but what he replied instantly "The Great Spirit." Today if any Lakota is speaking to a white man he will use this term to mean Jehova or the Christian God and by common consent it has come to mean the Great Spirit. This was a stumbling block to me for many years, and very confusing when trying to get the concepts of the older Indians expressed by it. Most of them would confuse the words and the concepts. I now find that at the present time to the younger generation, this term expresses a concept of Jehova while to the older Indians it expresses a concept of the being that in former times they titled *Taku Škanškan*, and in still older times in the language of the shamans was simply *Škan*, except that the modern conception attributes to *Wakan Tanka* who is *Taku Škanškan*, all his potency as *Škan*, and some of the attributes of *Jehova*; or with some *Wakan Tanka* is all their former Gods who were *Wakan Tanka*, combined into one and that one is *Škan*. . . .

I have rewritten the *Hunka*, the desire to do so growing out of new material gotten in looking up the Sun Dance and then your suggestion of rewriting it because of the much fuller mythology given in the Sun Dance manuscript. . . . I am giving not an observation of the ceremony but what I have gotten as the concepts underlying it. In this I must be quite liberal, but I have tried to get from the older Indians their concepts. You know how involved these are when given by them and how difficult it is to arrange them and perhaps when one has them arranged there will arise something later that must be placed in an earlier part of the work. . . .

The same difficulty has arisen in regard to the mythology. Some to whom I have referred the matter have said they did not know of the order of mythology as I give it, but they would voluntarily give as much of the mythology as they could remember, and then it was found that it agreed exactly with that arranged by myself. Some would give one portion of the mythology and others other parts, which, if I had not known something of the matter would have been very confusing and this did confuse me for many years. There are some contradictions in the mythology, especially in appellations as for instance, the Rock who is The Grandfather while the sun is often addressed as Grandfather. . . .¹⁵

Before he left Pine Ridge in 1914, Walker was able to resolve many of the most difficult questions troubling him about mythic appellations by discussing them with Finger, an Oglala holy man. In a letter to Wissler he vividly described his visits with Finger.

A few days before leaving the Pine Ridge Agency, I had an interview with Finger, an old and conservative Oglala, which was of much interest to me, and of much value relative to the mythology of the Oglala.

It came about in this way: I was at the house of Finger in the evening, and when starting for the agency, all were out in the gloaming, and a very brilliant meteor fell. Finger exclaimed in a loud voice, "*Wohpe. Wohpe-e-e-e.*" He then harangued for a short time and the women built a fire and when it had burned to coals, Finger burned a quantity of sweet grass on it, evidently with forms and ceremonial mutterings.

I asked him the meaning of this, but he would tell me nothing. I then offered him pay, and he agreed to come to my office and tell me what he knew of the mythology relative to his performance. About thirty days afterwards, on the 25th of March, he came for this purpose and I secured an interpreter of unusual ability for grasping the concept of the Lakota language and translating it. The interview lasted nearly all night, and I believe the old man tried honestly to give the concepts of the shamans relative to the matters discussed. The most of the matter discussed was relative to *Taku Škanškan*, or *Škan*, to *Wohpe*, and to the immortality of the *Wakan*. I left the Agency on the first of April, so had no opportunity of reviewing the matter with Finger or of submitting it to others of the Oglala for their discussion.

The information I got from Finger clears up much that was obscure, especially relative to *Taku Škanškan*. Perhaps you will remember that I said that I could not give a translation of *Škan*, which is the shamanistic term for *Taku Škanškan*, and that according to the best information I had, *Škan* meant the sky. I so translated it with the approval of several Indians, including George Sword, though each and all declaring that *Škan* was the sky, and was also a spirit that was everywhere and that gave life and motion to everything that lives or moves. Every interpreter interpreted *Taku Škanškan* as "What Moves-moves," or that which gives motion to everything that moves. From the information given by Finger it is evident that his concept of *Taku Škanškan* or *Škan* is a vague or nebulous idea of force or energy. Recalling attempts of other Oglala to define the word I am sure that they had the same kind of a concept of *Škan*. I am now surprised that this did not appear to me before talking with Finger.

Another proposition that Finger gave utterance to is that "Anything that has a birth must have a death. The *Wakan* has no birth and it has no death. The spirit, the ghost, and the familiar of man are not born with him but are given to him at the time of his birth. They are *wakan* and therefore will never die."

He cleared up other things that were obscure to me. I should have very much liked to have talked with him about the Sun Dance, but did not have the opportunity.

My interpreter was an educated man, and well informed, but he had never before this interview heard the words *Škan*, *Wohpe*, *sicun*, or *ton* used to convey the concepts as given by Finger though he recalled having heard them used with an allusive sense.

Finger's discussion of *Wakan Tanka* agreed with that given in that part of my paper on the Sun Dance as submitted to you, except relative to *Škan* and the relative existence of the four superior Gods. For instance, he gave *Inyan*, the Rock, as the first in existence and the grandfather of all things. *Maka*, the Earth as next in existence and the grandmother of all things. *Škan* next in existence after the Earth because He gave life and motion to all things; *Wi*, the Sun, as the last in existence but as the most powerful and august of *Wakan Tanka*, being *Wakan Tanka Kin*, The *Wakan Tanka*. He also said that the Associate *Wakan Tanka*, *Wi* (the Sun), *Wi Han*, The Moon; *Tale*, The Wind, and *Wakinyan*, The Winged, and *Wohpe* were as the other self of the four Superior Gods; that is, that *Wi* and *Wihan* are as one; *Škan* and the Wind are as one; The Rock and The Winged are as one; and that the Earth and *Wohpe* are as one; that while there are eight personalities that are *Wakan Tanka*, four Superior and four Associate, they are all as one and there is but one *Wakan Tanka*. This is The Great Mystery known only to the wisest shamans.

Discussing *Wi* and *Škan*, Finger said that while The Sun was the superior and most powerful of the Gods, yet He derived His power from *Škan*; that many of the Lakotas believed *Wi* and *Škan* to be one and the same personalities; but the *Wi* was a *Wakan Tanka* visible in the sky only half the time while *Škan* was the *Naŋi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, everywhere at all times and invisible except his color which was the blue seen in the sky at all times.

Because of this interview, I think I should translate *Taku Škan* or *Škan* as either Force or Energy. And that I should express in my paper the doctrine of the immortality of the spirit of man. . . .

I am fully alive to the sense that my paper is based entirely upon information given by others, and that it is in part constructive; that I may have been misinformed either intentionally or because of the difficulty in getting correct translations of the language of my informants.

But the intention of the paper is to give such information as I have received.¹⁴

Unfortunately, there is not a complete transcript of what must have been a remarkably stimulating and comprehensive night-

long discussion of Lakota religion. Only two fragments of Walker's interview with Finger survive. The first is published with Walker's study of the Sun Dance. Its printed format permits us to follow Walker's questions and Finger's answers.¹⁵ The second segment, published in *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, identifies *Wohpe* as the woman who brought the sacred pipe to the Lakota people and reproduces Finger's version of the myth about the coming of the White Buffalo Woman and the gift of the pipe to the Sioux.¹⁶

Walker's all-night visit with Finger provided a fittingly dramatic conclusion to his years at Pine Ridge; and Walker undoubtedly gave considerable thought to all that he had learned that night. Most likely, when Walker later formulated the Lakota creation story he drew upon much that Finger had told him. Although Walker did not mention Finger in connection with the creation story, he stated clearly that he was giving a synthesis of all the teachings he had learned from various holy men. Since the heart of the creation material has to do with *Škan*, he was apparently attempting to convey his understanding of all that Finger had taught him about that feature of Lakota belief.

However, before Walker could give full time and attention to his final formulations of Lakota mythology, he had to finish the studies of the Sun Dance and *Hunka* ceremonies that he was doing for Clark Wissler. That meant continued study of his collection of myths to ascertain their relationship to the ceremonies. The work went slowly; on February 25, 1916, Walker wrote to Wissler in a rather apologetic tone: "The fact . . . is I feel ashamed of the product of all the time I have spent on this thing. . . . I am reminded of the mountain bringing forth the mouse. However, I do not think of myself as a mountain, it is only the amount of work that is big."¹⁷

We can understand why progress seemed so slow when we realize that two years after retiring Walker was still translating texts he had gathered at Pine Ridge. By then Walker had a fair but not fluent knowledge of Lakota and translation was still a slow and difficult process. One month after his letter expressing regret at his slowness, Walker sent Wissler another saying that he had just discovered information that was as basic to his understanding of the mythic system as Finger's revelations were to his understanding of the overall belief system.

Creation

The first section of Walker's narrative is more a philosophical document than a literary one. It is his attempt to systematize Lakota beliefs in order to save others from the immense expenditure of time and energy he had given to understand the system underlying all the fragmentary narratives. As he said, none of the myths gave all "the attributes of any of their mythologic characters. One legend would give to one or more of their deities certain attributes and another legend give other attributes to these deities."³ Walker's systematic presentation is a kind of narrative prelude to the study of Lakota myths and beliefs.

Walker begins the mythic action by dramatizing the belief that spiritual power functions through a network of relationships. *Inyan*, or Rock, is the personified image of primal power. He longs to exercise his power but cannot do so, for there is "no other that he might exercise his power upon." So he initiates the creation process and reveals the first dimension of his essential nature. As blood flows from *Inyan*, Sky (*Škan*) and Earth (*Maka*) are created. Earth represents materiality and Sky spirituality, qualities that are then identified with femininity and masculinity, respectively; each needs the other and both recognize the role of reciprocity in social life. With the beginning of relationship comes the need for knowledge, or light. Earth can then see what she lacks and she begins to demand further creation.

Inyan has imparted his discontent to Earth, and she first wants to be able to control the waters and to see the Sky. Her sense of need leads to another and necessarily complementary quality, reasoned arbitration among needs to ensure that only genuine needs are fulfilled. Therefore, the Sky is named arbitrator to decide which of Earth's desires should result in new creations.

Sky grants Earth's desire to see, and his creative actions show that knowledge and ignorance—light and darkness—are developments, one of the other: "*Škan* divided *Han* into two halves—one remained darkness . . . from the other *Škan* created light

(*Anp*).” Light and darkness are impersonal. "*Han* is not a God, merely the dark of darkness, and *Anp* is not a God, but the light of light.” Walker's story shows that impersonality is inadequate. *Škan* takes parts (power) from all that exists to create a personal manifestation of light, sight, and knowledge; he creates the god *Wi* (Sun). Next the Earth demands and receives shadows. "The shadow of each thing shall be its spirit and shall be with it always."

A correlative of diversity is the need for order, and Walker's story shows the gods arriving at this conclusion through their experiences. Earth becomes jealous of Sun's mobility and wants to control it, but *Škan* says that is outside the domain of her power. He establishes both rank and domain for each god, showing that the exercise of power has spatial restraints upon it. Rank and domain require emblematic evidence, so *Škan* assigns colors to all the major gods.

The next major development in the growing circle of gods shows that each of the four major manifestations of *Inyan*'s power has a complementary aspect. The masculine Sun manifests his feminine side in creating the Moon; Earth shows her intemperate, passionate nature in *Unk*, who is a beautiful woman but the source of ongoing tension. *Škan*, who is the source of movement but unmoving, creates *Tate*, the wind. *Inyan*, the source of everything, shows himself as opposition and contrariness by creating *Wakinyan* ("*Inyan* gave to *Wakinyan* a double nature").

Although Walker's mythic tale stresses a basic order in life, it shows that inherent in the nature of the very power that makes order possible there is a quality of contrariness that introduces an element of unpredictability into life. Because of this unpredictability, wisdom is not only possible but essential to proper functioning. The union between *Inyan* and *Wakinyan* results in *Ksa*, or wisdom.

Other offspring result from self-contemplation, which engenders complementary personalities of the four major gods. Movement is an aspect of harmony, so the myth shows *Škan* creating a daughter, *Wohpe*, to be a mediator, moving among oppositions to create harmony. "The Gods received her as their equal in all that

makes for harmony." Since the basic oppositions are summed up in the contrasts between sky and earth powers, it is fitting that the myth shows *Wohpe* as a companion of both *Maka* and *Škan*.

Contrasts eventually result in setting up the differences between good and evil. *Unk*, *Maka*'s personified passion, gets involved in incestual relationships that produce perverse offspring. Evil is the failure to understand and remain true to kinship obligations. *Unk* causes *Inyan* to forget his basic nature (he forgets *Wakinyan*), and out of that union *Iya*, the evil one, is born. He fights *Ksa*, or wisdom. Walker's myth shows *Wakinyan*, the manifestation of *Inyan*'s true nature, harboring enmity toward the offspring of *Unk* and *Inyan*.

Level after level of the creation drama stresses the need for relationship of all kinds. *Škan* needs spirit people or sky people for his own happiness. He creates the stars. As relationships diversify, feasting begins so that the concepts of sharing and celebration are amplified. In addition to other pleasures, the gods want some that involve consumption. *Wakinyan* tells *Wohpe* to blow on dust to create seeds and plants. In order for the gods to enjoy the fruits, they must travel to a specially prepared lodge and take their designated places within. As soon as the gods begin to feast, further creation occurs because new needs are revealed. There is too much work for *Wohpe* to do alone, so the *Pte*, or buffalo, people are created to help. Each feast of the gods generates new needs for creation, and each element of creation maintains or augments the gods' relationships among themselves and therefore each becomes a further explanation of the way power works in bringing things into existence.

By making explicit the motivational structure of Walker's work as I have done, I have sought to make apparent the story's closeness to Lakota belief—a closeness that exists in the way the characters interact. Through successive rewritings, Walker managed to incorporate into the creation story most of the beliefs he had learned while at Pine Ridge. Most of what he discovered through interviews about the nature of *Wakan Tanka* (published in *Lakota Belief and Ritual*) is dramatized in the creation material.

The creation story shows imaginative skill even if it does not emerge a fully polished literary work. Against a mythic background of a cosmos engendering itself out of varied forces,

Walker established a foreground of realistic detail to give the story immediacy and dramatic force. For instance, Walker describes *Wohpe* cooking for the other gods: "*Wohpe* served the fruits, filling a bowl with fruit and juice for each guest so that all had an abundance. Then they ate and drank and found the food delicious. The juice exhilarated them and caused them to be jovial and hilarious, all except *Iya*. He gulped his portion in a surly manner and called for more. Again and again *Wohpe* served him until she was weary, for his bowl was large and heavy."

Some of the realism is troublesome because it seems at odds with Lakota belief. One example is Walker's characterization of Earth, which appears more negative than positive. She is forever dissatisfied, berating the Sky about neglecting her and favoring others. Walker apparently used an old antifeminist theme that is not present in other information about Lakota attitudes toward the earth to give human interest to his story.

In editing this material, I have maintained Walker's own glosses for the names of the gods. As I explain in the Introduction to this book, Walker devoted considerable effort to the matter of English translations. I have also kept his own titles for divisions in the creation narrative. For later sections of the work the subdivisions have no titles, simply numbers.

Even though the first section lacks outstanding literary merit, it represents a largely successful effort on the part of a non-Indian to create an imaginative presentation of Lakota philosophy and therefore deserves critical attention from those interested in Lakota culture. Each subsequent portion is better literarily than the preceding one.

Walker's Introductory Comments. (CHS)⁵

Before the coming of the white people, the Oglala Sioux were nomads, and during the warmer seasons, they scattered and wandered afar, but, when The Moon That Makes the Leaves Yellow came, they traveled toward an appointed place where they camped together during the winter time. Here their only pastimes were feasting, dancing, gaming, and listening to stories. There were among them professional story tellers, the best of whom were the shamans or holy men; for they understood the mythology of the Sioux which was kept from the knowledge of the common people.

Their best story tellers would often begin a story soon after the winter camp was established and continue it from time to time until the people dispersed again when spring time came. These continuations were not always in proper sequence and there were many repetitions in them, different versions of the same story being often told for the purpose of emphasizing in one version some particular thing and in another version some other thing.

The stories here given are as told by Oglala story tellers but revised in order to avoid repetition and bring them into nearly their proper sequence. The names given for the mythological characters are those used by the shamans in their ceremonial language, for these are much simpler than the names used in the common language of the Oglalas and because translation of them into English is difficult and would be awkward. For instance, the term the shamans use for their deity who is the source of all power and authority is *Škan* while the term used by the common people for the same being is *Takuškanškan* and there is no English term that expresses the concept of this God. Like conditions apply to quite all the mythological characters of the

Oglala mythology. The term *kan* is also used because it expresses a concept of being either ancient or entitled to honor and respect, or to be accepted as true even if beyond comprehension.

Creation of the Universe. (AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY)⁶

The Holy Men

When mankind first came upon the world, they did not know how to live so as to please the Gods. Therefore the Gods sent *Toka*, one of the *Pte* people who dwell in the regions under the world, to teach them. They did as *Toka* bade them and thus established their customs, their usages, and their ceremonies. *Toka* chose two of the people and gave into their charge the ceremonies that should be done according to the will of the Gods, and he taught them how to know and speak the wishes of the Gods. He told them the sacred mysteries so that they would have greater authority and powers than any which mankind could give them. *Toka* bade them teach this lore to those only who were worthy and acceptable to the Gods. He stayed with the people until they lived aright, and then he went from among them.

Thus *Toka* established the order of holy men and they alone commune with the Gods and speak their will.

Rock and Earth

Inyan (Rock) had no beginning for he was when there was no other. His spirit was *Wakan Tanka* (The Great Mystery), and he was the first of the superior Gods.⁷ Then he was soft and shapeless like a cloud, but he had all the powers and was everywhere. *Han* was then, but she is not a being; she is only the black of darkness.⁸

Inyan longed to exercise his powers, but could not do so for there was no other that he might use his powers upon. If there were to be another, he must create it of that which he must take

from himself, and he must give to it a spirit and a portion of his blood. As much of his blood as would go from him, so much of his powers would go with it, for his powers were in his blood and his blood was blue. He decided to create another as a part of himself so that he might keep control of all the powers.

To do this, he took from himself that which he spread around about himself in the shape of a great disk whose edge is where there can be no beyond. This disk he named *Maka* (Earth). He gave to *Maka* a spirit that is *Maka-akan* (Earth Goddess). She is the second of the superior Gods, but she is part of *Inyan*.

The Waters, the Sky, and the Great Spirit

To create *Maka*, *Inyan* took so much from himself that he opened his veins, and all his blood flowed from him so that he shrank and became hard and powerless. As his blood flowed from him, it became blue waters which are the waters upon the earth. But the powers can not abide in waters; and when the blood of *Inyan* became the waters, the powers separated themselves from it and assumed another shape. This other being took the form of a great blue dome whose edge is at, but not upon, the edge of *Maka*.

Inyan, *Maka*, and the waters are material or that which can be held together; and they are the world; the blue dome above the world, which is *Tanka* (the Sky),⁹ is not material but spirit. *Nagi Tanka* (Supreme God or Sky God) is the Great Spirit who is all powerful and the source of all power, and his name is *Škan* (Almighty or Most Holy).¹⁰

Thus in the beginning there were *Inyan*, *Maka*, and the waters, all of which are the world; and *Nagi Tanka*, named *Škan*, the blue dome which is the sky above the world. The world is matter and has no powers except those bestowed by *Nagi Tanka*.

When these powers assumed one shape, they said a voice spoke, saying, "I am the source of energy. I am *Škan*."

This was the beginning of the third superior God who is superior to all because he is spirit. This was the beginning before there was time. This was the beginning of the world and of the sky over the world.¹¹

The Judge

When *Inyan* created *Maka*, he imparted to her that portion of his spirit which is discontent so that she fretted and chided him because he had not created her as a separate being. Then, too, she was unhappy because *Han* was everywhere upon the world so that she could see neither *Škan*, nor *Inyan*, nor herself. Nor could she control the waters that were upon her.

"How can I see whether I am ugly or beautiful if *Han* remains forever upon the world? Send her away that I may look upon you, *Inyan*, and upon *Škan* and that I may behold myself."

Sadly *Inyan* replied, "When I opened my veins to create you, *Maka*, my blood all flowed from me and with it departed my powers. I can do no more."

Then she taunted him because of his loss of power and nagged him until he said, "We shall take our contention before *Škan* who is the possessor of all the powers which have departed from me and we shall abide by his decision."

They went before *Škan*, and *Inyan* cried to him, "O *Škan*, I pray you, answer the demands of this creature that I may again have the peace that was mine before I so rashly took a part of myself that I might give her being."

Škan heard the complaint of *Maka* that she had not been created a separate being, that she could see neither *Inyan* nor *Škan* nor herself, and that she could not control the waters.

Then *Škan* spoke and uttered a decree, "*Maka* must remain as she was created, joined to *Inyan* as a part of the world, but she shall be able to see herself and control the waters."

Thus *Škan* was established as a judge and he is the final arbiter of all things.

Light and the Waters

To pacify *Maka*, *Škan* divided *Han* into two halves. One remained darkness and was banished to the regions under the world. From the other *Škan* created *Anp* (Light) who is not a being but is only the red that shines.

Škan placed *Anp* on the world in place of *Han* and said, "*Anp*, I

Command you to give light to the world that all things may be visible."

Anp obeyed and there was light everywhere on the world, but there was neither any shadow nor any heat.

When *Maka* saw herself, she cried, "Alas! How bare I am and how cold and ugly!"

Then she beheld the waters. "Ah, the waters are blue and beautiful. I shall adorn myself with them."

And she divided the waters into seas, lakes, and running streams and she wore them as her ornaments.

The Sun

Maka soon grew weary of viewing herself and again complained to *Škan*, "There is no changing," she said. "All is glaring light. This brightness is unbearable and, what is more, I am cold. I beg of you, create something to warm me and soften the blazing light."

Škan again sought to pacify *Maka*. He took from *Inyan*, from *Maka*, from the waters and from himself that from which he created a great, shining disk. He named this disk *Wi* (Sun) and gave to *Wi* a spirit that is *Wi-akan* (Sun God). This was the beginning of the fourth superior God, *Wi-akan*.

Thus there were created the four superior Gods, *Inyan-akan*, *Maka-akan*, *Nagi Tanka* or *Škan*, and *Wi-akan*. The fourth of these was created by *Škan*; therefore he is a creature.

Shadows, Day-time, and Night-time

Škan placed *Wi* above the blue dome of himself and gave him this command. "Shine upon all the world and give heat."

Wi did as *Škan* commanded him, and all the world was made hot.

Maka pettishly ordered *Wi* to make shadows to please her but *Wi* replied, "I obey only the commands of *Škan*."

"You are I are both beings created by the other Gods," *Maka* argued. "As I was the first created, you are to me as a younger brother, and you should always obey me."

Škan heard their dispute; and, as he still wished to please *Maka*, he commanded *Wi* saying, "Give a shadow to every material thing, but do not make a shadow for any spirit thing."

Wi did as *Škan* commanded. He remained where *Škan* had placed him, high above the dome of *Škan* himself. He shone upon all the world so that the world was made hot. Every material thing had a shadow but spirit things had none. Then *Škan* pronounced this edict, saying, "The shadow of each thing shall be its spirit and shall be with it always."

But as yet *Maka* was not content. "I am hot and can find no comfort anywhere," she cried. "The heat scorches me and the shadows irritate and madden me. I beg of you *Škan*, return *Han* upon the world so that I may be cooled and may be freed from this dazzling light and these shadows."

And *Wi* joined in her complaint saying, "I myself am material, yet I have no shadow. I have no rest and I become very weary. I also beg you to return *Han* to the world for some of the time so that I may rest while she is upon the world."

Škan answered their grumblings and gave forth a decree. "Time shall be divided into two equal parts, day-time and night-time."

He gave one part to *Anp* and called it day-time and he gave the other to *Han* and called it night-time. Then he commanded *Anp* and *Han* saying, "*Anp* and *Han* shall follow one after the other, coming onto the world and going into the regions under the world. *Anp*'s time which is day-time shall be the time of activity; and *Han*'s time which is night-time shall be a time of rest."

Škan granted to *Wi* the indulgence of doing his work in the day-time and resting in the regions under the world in the night-time. He commanded *Wi* saying, "Each day-time *Wi* shall come up over the edge of the world and make a journey across the blue dome of the sky and each night-time he shall go down over the edge into the regions under the world, there to rest during the night-time."

So it was that before *Han* came upon the world, *Wi* went over the edge into the regions under the world to rest there; and, after *Anp* appeared, *Wi* came up again to do his work. There were, as yet, no directions and *Wi*, *Han* and *Anp* came and went over the edge of the world wherever it pleased them best.

Škan made *Anp* the herald of *Wi*, so that the time when *Anp* appears, before *Wi* comes onto the world, is the dawn; and the time when *Anp* follows *Wi* into the regions under the world is the twilight.

Anp represents *Wi* at all times and in all places. Thus daylight represents the sun.

In this way *Maka* was warmed and cooled and made more comfortable.

The Great Mystery

The four superior Gods are *Inyan-akan*, *Maka-akan*, *Wi-akan*, and *Škan*. Among them *Maka* was quarrelsome and nagged *Inyan*.

"Why did you not make me a bright and shining thing like *Wi*? I am dull and drab and even my ornaments, the blue waters, cannot make me beautiful."

She was jealous of *Wi* because he could journey over the world and she could not; and she quarreled with him and said, "I, *Maka*, was created first. You, *Wi*, are my younger brother and should be subordinate to me. You, *Wi*, shall come and go as I, *Maka*, command."

Wi rebelled against her demands and replied, "*Škan* has placed me on high to give heat and light and shadows to all, and I will be subject to none save *Škan*."

Škan, the great judge, knows all things and therefore knew of this dispute. He assembled the Gods and said to them, "I, *Škan*, and you, the other Gods, *Inyan*, *Maka*, and *Wi*, are all from one and the same source. Although we are four, we are only one; and that one is *Wakan Tanka*, which no one, not even the Gods themselves, can understand. Each of us is only a part of *Wakan Tanka* and he is the God of Gods. What is more, I, *Škan*, am all powerful and the source of all power of any kind. I, *Škan*, can give and take at will."

He then gave to each of the Gods a rank. To *Wi* he said, "Because I, *Škan*, have placed *Wi* above all, even the blue dome of myself, *Wi* shall have the highest rank. I, *Škan*, pronounce *Wi* the chief of the Gods. He shall be first in precedence and he shall govern the two times, *Anp* and *Han*."

Škan gave to *Maka*, who is the ancestress of all things upon the world, the third rank; and to *Inyan*, who is the source of all, he gave the fourth rank. He gave to himself the second rank, but as he is the source of all power and all spirit, he retained authority over all.

Then *Škan* gave to each God a domain with power to reign there as he or she would see fit. He said, "To *Wi* I give all above the world as his domain. To *Maka* I give all lands, save only the mountains and high hills, as her domain. To *Inyan* I give all rocks, mountains, and high hills as his domain. For myself I retain supreme authority everywhere."

Maka complained to *Škan* saying, "I *Maka* am only the dull drab of earth, while *Wi* is bright and shining red and *Škan* is blue. I beg of you, give to me, *Maka*, a color that I may be beautiful."

Heretofore the colors had been only the red of *Wi*, the blue of *Škan* and the drab of *Maka*. *Škan* decided to bestow on each God a color to be his or her emblem. To *Wi* he gave the color red, and because *Wi* is the chief of the Gods, red is an emblem of all things that are sacred. To *Maka*, who is the ancestress of all growing things upon the earth, he gave the color green; and to *Inyan* who is the ancestor of all, he gave the color yellow. For himself he retained the color blue so that all to be seen of him is the blue of the dome above the world.

So it is and so should the superior Gods, who are four, yet are but one, be recognized by all.

The Associate Gods:

The Moon, Passion, the Wind, Thunderstorm

Each day *Wi* journeyed across the dome above the world and made heat and shadows. Each night he went to the regions under the world and sent *Han* on to the world to remain there until he came again. He was not lonely because *Anp* was ever with him to announce his coming and going. *Škan*, *Maka*, and *Inyan* remained in their respective domains. There was nothing for them to do, and they were lonely and longed for companions.

Therefore *Škan* assembled them, and granted to each one the power to create for himself such a companion as he desired.

Wi created a disk like himself, only more lovely, and named her *Wi-win* (Feminine Sun or Moon). He did not make her as bright as himself because he wished to gaze upon her beauty. She became his constant companion; together they governed the two times, day-time and night-time.

Maka created an alluringly beautiful being to whom she imparted her own ill-nature, and she named her *Unk* (Passion). *Maka* made her so beautiful that she became jealous of *Unk*, and they soon quarreled violently. *Maka* cast *Unk* into the waters and remained without a companion.

Škan created for his companion a being like himself in that it was not material, but spirit, and had no body. *Škan* named him *Tate* (Wind). *Tate* became the constant companion of *Škan*, was faithful to him, and did his will in all things. *Škan* made *Tate* his messenger and gave him authority to go and come in all places at all times.

Inyan remembered the trouble he brought upon himself when he created *Maka*, and he determined to create a being unlike any other to be his aid and do his will. He made a shapeless creature and named him *Wakinyan* (Winged-one or Thunderstorm). *Wakinyan* is as shapeless as a cloud and terrifying to behold. He has two wings of many joints, which he can spread afar or make very small; he has neither legs or feet, but has huge talons that can pierce the hardest of things; he has no mouth, but has a huge beak armed with sharp teeth that can rend and tear the toughest of things; he has no throat, but has a voice that is the thunder; and he has no head, but has one eye, and the glance of that eye is the lightning.

The person of *Wakinyan* is so horrible that anyone who sees him as *Wakinyan* is so terrified that he becomes foolish and acts clownish, and is called *heyoka* (clownish or silly).

Because of this *Škan* said, "*Wakinyan*, hide yourself from all save only those evil ones whom you would destroy." *Wakinyan* was puzzled. "But how, oh *Škan*, can I fly over the world and remain hidden from all?" he asked.

"I shall show you how to make robes with which to cover yourself," said *Škan*.

Wakinyan then made many flying robes that are shapeless like himself, some large and some small, some black and some white,

and some of many colors. He named these robes clouds. When he flies over the world more rapidly than the eagle, he wraps clouds about himself so that none can see him.

Wakinyan is the exact opposite of all natural things, and his normal condition is a state of anger. When he is pleased he seems angry, and when he is furious he seems pleasant. He delights in opposition and contrariness.

But *Inyan* gave to *Wakinyan* a double nature so that he can appear as an amiable giant to give pleasure to those who deserve his favor, and to give growth and increase to all creatures. When *Wakinyan* is amiable he is *Heyoka* (Restorer), and he restores to sound mind those friendless ones who have become *heyoka* (silly) because they have seen the horrid person of *Wakinyan*.¹²

Inyan gave to *Wakinyan* the level top of the high mountain which is at the edge of the world to be his abiding place. *Wakinyan* has there a lodge with striped walls, but with no covering overhead. It is lined inside with jagged rocks, for he likes to rest on hard, uneven surfaces. From this lodge he flies all over the world searching for evil things to destroy. Because *Inyan* cannot move, *Wakinyan* is his other self and carries out his wishes.

Wakinyan associates with *Tate* to cleanse the world of filthy things. By day and by night he flies and quickly passes from one place to another so that he may appear to be many when he is but one. When he sees an evil thing, his voice bellows as thunder; and if the thing resists him, he flashes from his eye a glance which is the lightning that destroys. Because of his good deeds *Škan* gave him control of the growth and increase of all creatures.

Thus were created the four associate gods, *Wi-win* (Moon), *Unk* (Passion), *Tate* (Wind), and *Wakinyan* (Winged-one or Thunderstorm).

Wisdom

Inyan was so pleased with his creation that he desired offspring by him. Therefore *Wakinyan* made a huge egg, and *Inyan* fertilized it. *Wakinyan* tumbled and tossed this egg, beat upon it with his wings, roared at it with his thunder until the shell was broken, and there came forth from it a full-grown being. Because this being's father was a God, he was God-like; but because his

other parent was shapeless, his shape was queer. *Škan* imparted to this being a spirit, and *Tate* imparted to him a ghost.¹³ He was very wise and very amiable, and sought always to benefit and please others. *Škan* called him *Ksa* (Wisdom).

The Gods came to see him, and they laughed at his shape. But *Ksa* only wanted to give them pleasure and amuse them; he invented language such as all creatures can use and thus understand each other; he invented all pleasant sounds; he told stories and gave puzzles; he made games and taught the Gods to play them. He gave names to all creatures and things. He was welcomed in the domain of each of the Gods, for he entertained them and informed them of all that was done. He gave advice that was always good, and he was liked by all except *Unk* and her offspring. They hated him and sought to do him harm.

Ksa was the first offspring of the Gods.¹⁴ His father was *Inyan*, the source of all. *Škan* gave *Ksa* greater powers than he gave any other who was not a God, but *Škan* did not give him the rank of a God. Thus *Ksa* became the counselor of the Gods.

Peace

Škan was lonely because his associate, *Tate*, as the vicar of *Škan*, went everywhere and was gone all the time. *Ksa* so pleased *Škan* that he decided to create an offspring for himself. He created a daughter and named her *Wohpe* (Peace or Mediator), and he made her the medium among the Gods, and between the Gods and all things.

Wohpe is the most beautiful of all beings and the most pleasing. Her father gave to her the powers of a Goddess, and she became the Goddess of amity and compassion, of beauty, and of happiness. The Gods received her as their equal in all that makes for harmony.

Maka, since she had no associate, pleaded with *Škan* that *Wohpe* might be her companion. *Škan* gave forth a decree, saying, "*Wohpe* shall appear as the associate of *Maka*, but she shall never be subject to her will."

Wohpe and *Ksa*, the most beautiful and the most misshapen of all beings, became constant companions and delighted *Škan* by their good deeds. They were welcomed everywhere except in

the domain of the waters, because *Unk* feared them on account of her evil thoughts.

*One and the Same Devil*¹⁵

Unk was beautiful, but she was vicious and sought to shame *Maka*, whom she hated for having cast her into the waters. *Unk* complained to *Škan*, saying, "O *Škan*, pity me, *Unk*, whom *Maka* has created as her associated God. See, she has repudiated me and made me to abide in the waters as an outcast."

Škan pitied her, and, to make amends for the wrong that had been done her, he gave to her the waters as her domain with powers to reign there as she willed and the right to associate with the Gods. But *Unk* had an evil disposition and meditated evil rather than good. To *Inyan* she bemoaned her loneliness. She schemed so cleverly and was so beautiful that *Inyan* forgot *Wakinyan* for love of *Unk*, and a son was born to them.

Because of his evil disposition, *Škan* named the son *Iya* (Evil-one), but his mother called him *Tokapa* (First-born), for he was the first being who came into the world by birth. Because of his destructive fury he is called *Ibom* (Wind-storm or Tempest). Therefore *Iya*, *Tokapa*, and *Ibom* are one and the same devil.¹⁶

Iya was a lusty babe. He grew apace and became a giant, but he was silly and fond of making trouble. He raged without cause and delighted in destruction. As *Ibom* he is chief of all misfortune, and *Unk* sent him into the domain of *Maka* to plague her.

Iya was jealous of *Wohpe* and *Ksa* and sought to harm them. He came upon them and raged against them, but *Wohpe* by her superior powers quieted him. *Ksa* said, "*Inyan* is my father, and he is also the father of you, *Iya*. I, *Ksa*, being the elder brother, demand obedience from you, *Iya*."

"I am a mighty and powerful giant," *Iya* argued, "much more powerful than you, *Ksa*. Therefore I, *Iya*, demand obedience from you, *Ksa*."

Wohpe implored her father, *Škan*, to decide this question. *Škan* uttered this decree, saying, "It shall be the birthright of the oldest brother to control the younger brothers and sisters. Thus it shall be always."

Whenever *Ksa* and *Iya* disagree, *Ksa* prevails over *Iya*.

Demon

Unk became infatuated with *Iya* and bore to him a son. For this faithlessness *Inyan* put *Unk* aside. The offspring of *Unk* and *Iya* was a beautiful babe, and as he grew he became very alluring. He was also cunning and deceitful. He delighted most of all in enticing others to do that which would make them ridiculous or ashamed. *Škan* named him *Gnas* (Demon).

Gnas deceived his mother in order to shame her, and he tormented his silly father, who was also his brother, by persuading him to do ridiculous things that made trouble for himself. Because of the beauty of *Gnas* and his allurements, the Gods tolerated him. But he made his grandfather, *Inyan*, the butt of ridicule and caused the fury of *Wakinyan* to be laughed at. He won the confidence of *Maka*; and *Wi-win*, too, listened to his flattery. He hated *Ksa*, but hid his dislike under pretence of admiration while he schemed to make *Ksa* appear ludicrous. However *Ksa* always baffled *Gnas* when he attempted to beguile him.

Gnas sought to associate with *Wohpe* and *Ksa*.

"You, *Ksa*," he said, "are my uncle because *Iya*, who is my father, is the son of *Inyan* and *Unk*. You, *Ksa*, are the son of *Inyan* and *Wakinyan*. Therefore you and my father are brothers."

Ksa admitted the kinship, but denounced *Gnas* and forbade his association with either *Wohpe* or himself.

Then *Gnas* spoke deceitfully to *Ksa*, saying, "My uncle, I will learn from you that which I should do."

Wohpe pitied *Gnas* and vainly tried to turn him from his cunning and deceit.

Gnas sought *Maka* and cajoled her until she granted him the privilege of abiding in her domain. He told his mother, *Unk*, of this, and she encouraged him in his treachery, for she hated *Maka*. *Maka* had cast her into the waters after creating her a Goddess, and she hoped to avenge herself against *Maka*.

In his scheming *Gnas* spared none and tricked all whom he could get to fall into his deceptions. *Iya* and *Gnas* made their mother miserable. *Gnas* incited *Iya* to do mischief that would make her troubled, but he cunningly escaped from all blame himself.

Tempest

Wakinyan knew of the love between *Inyan* and *Unk*. He raged with fury when *Iya* was born and declared himself the enemy of *Unk* and *Iya*. Since *Wakinyan* is an unnatural being, his laughter means anger, and his praises hatred. He lauded *Unk* and her child *Iya* and laughed at *Inyan*. He hid in his robes of clouds and flew over the world searching for *Unk* and *Iya* to scourge them with the glances of his eye and rend them with his beak. He assaulted them wherever he came upon them.

Unk complained of this to *Škan*, and he uttered a decree, saying, "*Wakinyan* shall not enter the domain of *Unk*, which is the waters, shall not harm a cedar tree or those under the branches of a cedar tree."

Unk then sought refuge in the waters where *Wakinyan* dared not follow her. Then *Wakinyan* declared enmity against all that is filthy on the earth, saying that he would throw all such into the waters.

Gnas persuaded *Iya* to defy *Wakinyan* and go upon the domain of *Maka* to vex her. *Iya* did so and *Wakinyan* came upon him there. *Iya*, as *Ibom*, fought with *Wakinyan*, and the combat was terrible. *Wakinyan* descended in a whirling cloud and pierced *Iya* again and again with his glance, but *Iya* was the son of a God and could not be destroyed. As *Wakinyan* flew about him, *Iya* whirled, striking at *Wakinyan* again and again, but he could not hit him. *Wakinyan* drove him from the lands back into his mother's domain, the waters.

Gnas gleefully viewed this combat, but when *Wakinyan* turned on him to rend him, he screamed for mercy.

"Harm me not. It was I who lured *Iya* from *Unk*'s domain onto the domain of *Maka* so that he would be where you could attack him and punish him for his evil ways. I did this to aid you, *Wakinyan*, in your good works against evil things."

Wakinyan believed him and did not molest him. Thus *Gnas* deceived *Wakinyan*, and he boasted of this to *Unk*, his mother. She praised him for his cunning wiles and urged him on in his trickery.

Gnas persuaded *Iya* that he would finally overcome *Wakinyan*, and then he could go and come without hindrance. Again and

again *Iya* fought with *Wakinyan*. The clouds swirled to the ground, the lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, and *Iya* roared with a mighty voice. But because *Inyan* was the parent of both, neither could destroy the other. But *Iya* was always defeated and driven back to his mother's domain. He still continues to fight and during the fierce battles growing things are broken, uprooted, and smashed. The two mighty giants trample and destroy even the largest trees of the forest, all except the cedar tree, which *Wakinyan* cannot harm and which *Ibom* will not harm because under its branches is a safe refuge. Thus began a never-ending strife which is waged between *Wakinyan* and *Iya* as *Ibom*.¹⁷

The Star People

Ksa always gave good advice and did kindness to all. *Škan* spoke to *Ksa* and asked, "Why are all in awe of me, *Škan*, so that there can be no friendly communion between us?"

Ksa replied, "Because *Škan* is spirit while all others, excepting only *Tate*, have material persons. They fear *Škan*, who is of a nature differing from theirs."

Ksa considered the loneliness of *Škan*, and then advised him thus, "*Škan* should create a spirit folk, a people with whom he can be familiar, a people who will be his faithful servants to do his will."

Tate also complained to *Škan*, saying, "I, *Tate*, being the messenger of *Škan*, must travel over the world at the time when *Anp* is upon the world, and it is light so that everything can be seen; and also when *Han* is upon the world, and there is only the black of darkness, and all is hidden so that I, *Tate*, must go on my errands seeing nothing."

Then *Škan* took from the waters a part of their *Nagila* (spirit or steam), and out of it he made many tiny beings. These were the star people, and he named them *Wican* (sunlets).¹⁸ He placed them high above the blue dome of himself and bade them dwell there. He gave them power to shine out and give light as that of *Anp* or *Wi* or *Wi-win*, but a pale light which gives neither heat nor any shadows.

He commanded them to sleep while *Wi* was in the dome of the

sky and to travel across the world above his dome each night so that there might be light for *Tate* to do his work by. And he commanded them to see all that transpired upon the world at night and to tell him what they saw. One he made their chief and bade him remain in one place to marshall all the other stars and direct them on their journey so that they would not become confused, for as yet there were no directions on the world. This one was the North Star.

Škan decreed that any who failed to do as he commanded would be cast down onto the world and would perish. The *Wican* did as *Škan* commanded, but some have been cast down and have perished. And these have become evil spirits who wander over the world seeking what wickedness they can bring about.

The Feast

Wohpe and *Ksa* were visiting *Wi* and *Wi-win* when *Wi-win* said to *Ksa*, "*Ksa* gives pleasure with that which can be seen and heard. Can he not invent pleasures that can be tasted and smelled?"

"To do so would give me great joy," *Ksa* replied. "But should I create such things in the domain of any one of the Gods, the other Gods would be jealous."

"*Ksa* could please all and give offense to none," suggested *Wohpe*, "if he would create things good to smell and things good to taste in the regions under the world, and incite all the Gods to partake of them there."

The world rests on regions under the world where all may be happy and at peace, for in that place there is neither labor nor want. It is where the Gods assemble, and it is where *Škan* announces his decrees.

Ksa and *Wohpe* sought the aid of *Wakinyan* to tell them how they might create things good to taste and smell. *Wakinyan* was willing to help them, and he gave to *Wohpe* a fine dust, saying to her, "Blow your breath upon this dust."

Wohpe did so. Then *Wakinyan* took the dust and gave it to *Ksa*, saying, "Go and plant this dust in the regions under the world."

Ksa did as *Wakinyan* told him and sowed the dust in the regions under the world. From it grew white fruits that had nei-

ther roots nor stems, neither leaves nor flowers. *Ksa* and *Wohpe* smelled this fruit and its odor was like delightful perfume. They tasted of it and found it both delicious and satisfying.

Then from material which he created, *Ksa* made a lodge in the form of a circle with a door for an entrance. He made it in this wise because the world and the sky above it are both circular. To mark the place of honor he placed a seat at the rear opposite the door and named it *chatku* (throne).¹⁹ One seat he placed near the center of the lodge and one beside the entrance. The rest he placed in the circle between the *chatku* and the door. He borrowed heat from *Wi*, and with this he created a fire. The fire he placed inside the lodge at the center of the circle, and that place is the fireplace in any lodge. In this manner he made the first lodge, and it was the model for all lodges.

Wohpe molded twelve bowls out of earth, one for each guest, and large pots for cooking. She also created spoons and ladles, a spoon for each bowl and a ladle for each pot. She and *Ksa* then gathered a great store of the white fruits and placed them inside the lodge, and another great store and placed them outside the lodge.

When these preparations were completed, *Ksa* made ten tokens, and *Wohpe* ornamented them. Each was different, but all were alike in that they were beautiful. Together *Ksa* and *Wohpe* went to the domains of the Gods and gave a token to each one, also to *Iya* and *Gnas*, bidding them come to the feast to be given in the regions under the world. Each was to bring his token, and it would be redeemed at the feast.

At the appointed time the guests all came, wondering what a feast could be because the Gods neither ate nor drank; they felt neither hunger nor thirst, nor had they ever smelled or tasted food or drink. *Škan* came with his associate, *Tate*, and *Wi* with *Wi-win*, but *Maka* had no associate, having cast *Unk* from her. Therefore *Maka* came alone. *Inyan* came with *Wakinyan*, who appeared as the amiable giant, *Heyoka*. *Iya* and *Gnas* came with their mother, *Unk*.

All examined the lodge with admiration and pronounced it good, except *Gnas*, who whispered to *Iya*, "Shake it down and make *Ksa* ridiculous."

Iya became *Ibom*, and blew and shook the lodge with all his powers, but he could not destroy it. He tossed the bowls about, but he could not break them. Then all the Gods laughed at him, and *Gnas* laughed loudest of all.

Ksa then gave to each a seat. He gave to *Wi* the *chatku*, the place of honor. It was due him as the chief of the Gods. *Wi-win* was placed beside him on his left because she is his associate. In the circle, *Škan* was placed next on the right of *Wi*, with his associate, *Tate*, next on his right. *Maka* was next to *Tate*. On the left of *Wi-win* was seated *Inyan*, with his associate, *Heyoka*, on his left. Then came *Unk* next on the left of *Heyoka*. *Ksa* placed *Iya* on one side of the entrance next to *Unk*, and *Gnas* on the other side next to *Maka*. To *Wohpe* he gave a seat beside the fire, which burned brightly and continuously without replenishing at the center of the lodge. For himself he took a seat beside the door.

When all were seated *Wi* arose and said, "The most worthy should occupy the seat of honor, and therefore it belongs to the great Spirit, the source of all powers and of all wisdom. Therefore the place of honor belongs to *Škan*."

Then all the Gods cried, "Nunwe (so-be-it or amen)." ²⁰

Škan then took the place of honor and his daughter, *Wohpe*, sat beside him. These seats rose so that they were above the seats of the others sitting in the circle. *Tate* sat on their right, and *Wi* and *Wi-win* on their left. Then *Škan* decreed that when the Gods sat in their circle, their seats should be as they then were.

In this manner were seated the guests at the first of all feasts, and so should the guests be placed at any feast thereafter.

While *Ksa* was busy placing the guests, *Gnas* slyly whispered to *Iya*, "Go quickly and defile the store of fruits placed outside the lodge, and so make *Ksa* and *Wohpe* ridiculous."

Iya secretly did so.

When all were seated inside the lodge *Wohpe* placed the fruits so that some were toasted by the fire, and some she boiled in the pots and made a juice, and some she did not cook. As they were toasting and boiling, their odor filled the lodge with delightful perfume and caused each God to be thirsty and hungry.

Wohpe served the fruits, filling a bowl with fruit and juice for each guest so that all had an abundance. Then they ate and drank, and found the food delicious. The juice exhilarated them

and caused them to be jovial and hilarious, all except *Iya*. He gulped his portion in a surly manner and called for more. Again and again *Wohpe* served him until she was weary, for his bowl was large and heavy.

Wohpe then brought fruits from the store outside the lodge and served him again. He gulped them down, and when he had swallowed them, he knew they were from the store which he had befouled. They nauseated him, and he berated *Wohpe* and stormed at her, accusing her of giving him filthy food.

Škan knew all that *Iya* had done and why he was in a rage.

Škan said to him, "Because *Iya* has defiled food intended for the Gods, because he is a glutton, and because he has berated the daughter of the Gods, he is unfit to sit with the Gods. He shall go from them and sit no more with them. *Iya* shall forever hunger with a hunger that food will not satisfy so that he shall devour filth and his breath shall stink. Because of his rage he shall destroy without satisfaction."

Iya went and never again sat with the Gods. As he was going, *Gnas* laughed but *Unk* hid her face in shame over the disgrace of her son.

Troubled Waters

When the Gods had feasted to repletion, and all were merry and satisfied, *Ksa* and *Wohpe* sang and all danced except *Iya* and *Gnas*.²¹ *Wi* danced with *Maka*; *Tate* danced with *Wi-win*; *Heyoka* danced with *Unk*. *Škan* danced alone because he is the grandfather of all. *Unk* was afraid of *Heyoka*, for when he is *Wakinyan* he is her enemy. Because of her fear she stumbled as she danced and sometimes fell. Thus waters are often troubled, and there are waterfalls. When she stumbled and fell, *Gnas* made sport of her and laughed at her.

The Tokens

When all had feasted and danced, *Wohpe* said to her father *Škan*, "Now that we have feasted, I pray you grant to each his wish when he presents his token."

"*Škan* will grant them their desires," replied her father.

Then to the Gods she said, "Let each present his token and ask for that most desired and my father will grant it."

Wi presented his token and said, "I desire most to be the patron of bravery, endurance, and fortitude, and of all contests, also of honesty and reliance."

Wi-win presented her token and said, "My wish is to be the patroness of constancy, kinship, motherhood, and all feminine things. I also wish for such beauty that *Wi* shall forever long for my companionship so that I may always remain by his side and aid him in all his works."

Maka presented her token and said, "I long to be the patroness of sustenance, of shelter, of protection, contentment, comfort, and happiness."

Inyan presented his token, saying, "Make me patron of construction and destruction, of offence and defence, of permanency and change."

Wakinyan as *Heyoka* presented his token and asked for power to combat harmful things, to destroy evil and nourish good, to promote increase and growth.

Tate presented his token and said he most desired to remain the companion of *Škan* and to do his will, to be free to go or come over the world when and where he wished, and to see all and know all wherever he should be.

Unk said, "*Škan*, I want my offspring to abide with me in my domain. I want them to do my will. I wish to be free to do as I wish in all my domain. I will be a patroness of all the waters and of all upon or in the waters, but I will not give my token to be held as a pledge to compel me to exercise my powers in any manner save as I please."

Gnas asked for pleasing features and a persuasive tongue and to be patron of plots and schemes.

Škan granted to each, even to *Unk*, that for which they expressed desire; and he held his own token as a memento binding him to listen to the prayers of his daughter.

When the tokens had all been redeemed, *Škan* said, "So it shall always be, wherever one gives a token it shall be redeemed by granting the desire of the one receiving it."

The Servants of the Gods

Škan arose, and, standing, said, "*Wohpe*, although you have no token to present, because you have served so that all have had much pleasure and [have] wearied yourself with serving, I will grant you that which you most desire."

Wohpe answered, saying, "I most desire to do the will of my father so that harmony may prevail at all times and in all places. I wish for all to do that which gives pleasure to others. I want the Gods to enjoy many feasts together such as this has been."

"*Wohpe*, your wish is granted. Peace shall follow your footsteps, and the Gods shall enjoy many feasts," answered *Škan*. "*Ksa*, you also have no token, but your effort has provided that which has delighted the Gods. What do you most desire?"

Ksa stood and said, "*Wohpe* has served until she is exhausted. It is not fitting that the daughter of the Great Spirit should be as a servant. It would be well if there were created those whose duty should be to serve the Gods and do their will."

Then all the Gods shouted, "*Nunwe* (amen)."

"All the Gods are as one God and that one is *Wakan Tanka*, the Great Mystery," said *Škan*. "So as it is the will of the Great Mystery that there should be beings to do his will such beings shall be created."

Škan assembled the Gods in the regions under the world. There *Škan* took from *Inyan* that of which he created bones. Two sets of bones he made alike except that one set was larger than the other. He took from *Maka* that of which he created flesh. Next he took from the waters that of which he created red blood. *Wohpe* then brought him of the white fruits and from them he took that of which he created entrails. He molded the flesh upon the bone and about the entrails and placed the blood in all the parts so that they became two images. Two figures he created, the masculine figure he molded after the pleasing shape of *Gnas*, and the feminine figure he molded with the beauty of *Wohpe*.

When *Škan* had created these, he imparted to each a spirit that is like that of the Gods and but a little lower. To do this he took from himself a *nagi*, which is a spirit that advises the conduct of each being and he imparted it to each of the forms. He also imparted to each an energy.²²

Škan then commanded *Wi* to impart to them warmth. *Wi* did so, and each shape was warm. Likewise *Škan* commanded *Tate* to breathe into each image a *niya*, which is a ghost that is the breath of life and is a witness to the advice which the spirit gives. *Tate* blew breath into each shape, and thus gave to each a ghost so that they were alive and breathing, but they were without understanding.

Škan commanded, "*Ksa*, impart intelligence to these images so that they may know and understand."

Škan then commanded *Wakinyan* as *Heyoka*, the patron of increase and growth, to impart to each a *sicun*, which is that which gives power to produce offspring and also gives health and growth.²³ *Škan* bade *Wi-win* to make them affectionate one to the other, and to *Wohpe* he entrusted their longing and love for offspring.

Each did as *Škan* commanded so that the images had affection for each other, longing and love for offspring, and power to reproduce.

Then *Škan* instructed the two creations, saying, "Your names shall be *Ate* (Father) and *Hun* (Mother).²⁴ You have been created to serve the Gods. Therein lies your happiness. Should you ever cease to do so, great will be your punishment. Your home shall be the regions under the world, and the white fruits shall be your food. Your offspring shall be as you are; and as long as they continue to do the will of the Gods, they will be happy, and their increase shall be many. You and your offspring shall be known as the *Oyate Pte* (Buffalo People).²⁵ *Ksa* will instruct you how to live and how to serve the Gods. As long as you do as he teaches, you will please the Gods and receive my favor."

Thus were created the servants of the Gods who live in the regions under the world. The *Pte* multiplied and became many people who please the Gods, for they obeyed the instructions of *Ksa* and *Wohpe*. *Ksa* taught them a language, and he taught them how to live and how to serve the Gods. *Wohpe* taught them to love their children and those whom they served. *Ate* and *Hun* governed them and were obeyed in all things. The *Pte* were harmonious, and theirs was a happy existence. They became many families, and each family had a lodge with walls for privacy as they felt neither heat nor cold. They had need for neither

clothing nor shelter, and the white fruits nourished them. This was the beginning of mankind.

The Gods often sat in their circle to feast, and the *Pte* served them well, and all were pleased. *Wi* and *Wi-win* were at rest in their regions under the world while *Han* was on the world, and the *Pte* ministered to them while they were there. They served *Wi-win* and did for her pleasure. So it came to pass that *Wi-win* grew haughty, and claimed that the *Pte* people were her servants. At the feasts she boasted of this and called them her people. The other Gods were astonished because of this, but *Škan* did not reprove her.

The Feast of Maka

Gnas schemed to cause discord among the Gods. *Maka* was lonely and jealous of *Wi-win* because *Wi-win* had the *Pte* people to do her will each night-time when she and *Wi* were at rest in the regions under the world. *Maka* resented this, and *Gnas* cunningly pretended to sympathize with her. He spoke softly to her and flattered her, and she encouraged his speech, for he was handsome and had a wily tongue.

"*Maka*, since you were the first-created Goddess and are one of the four great Gods, part of the Great Mystery, you should have people to serve you and to claim as your people even as *Wi-win* claims the *Pte* people. *Wi-win* is merely an associate Goddess, a creature made by *Wi*, and yet she has more favors than you. She has wronged you by giving feasts and securing the servants that should be your servants."

"Tell me, *Gnas*, what shall I do to right these wrongs?" asked *Maka*, for she was torn with jealousy of *Wi-win*.

"Give feasts for the Gods, and they will be pleased and will listen to you," advised *Gnas*. "You can then ask for servants equal to or better than those who serve in the regions under the world."

"But I must give a feast that will surpass any of those given in the regions under the world. Tell me, how can I do so?"

Gnas praised her ambition and told her that in this way she could become greater than *Wi-win* in the estimation of the Gods.

He said to her, "The Gods have feasted on the *icage* (white

fruits which grow in the regions under the world) and have found them good. I will steal some of these and plant them in the ground so that they will grow and be far better than those fruits produced in the regions under the world."

He did take *icage* and planted them in the ground, and they grew during a single night and were white fruits of many kinds without leaves, flowers, or seeds. He called them *icaga* (white fruits that grow in the world).

Then *Maka*, believing these fruits were good as *Gnas* said they were, prepared a feast for the Gods. She invited the Gods to partake of this feast and they came. She boasted to them that she had prepared the feast herself and would serve it to them. To each God she served a generous portion of the white fruits. When the Gods smelled these, they had a vile odor.

The Gods looked from one to another, each waiting for the others to taste. Then all tasted, and the taste was disgusting. One after another put the portion aside and went from the feast until only *Unk* remained.

She taunted *Maka* and calling her son, *Gnas*, she joined his laughter at *Maka* and said, "You have now made yourself so ridiculous that the Gods will hold you in contempt."

Maka covered her face, for she was ashamed.

The Sands by the Waters

Unk schemed with her sons, *Iya* and *Gnas*, to make *Maka* more ridiculous than ever.

"We will make tokens of invitation to the feasts of *Maka*," they said with laughter.

They gathered stones of many sizes and colors, and ground them together, working always near the waters, for they feared *Wakinyan*, the enemy of *Unk*. The smallest particles caused by this grinding are the sands of the world. The smaller particles are the gravels, the larger are the cobblestone, and the largest are the boulders. They scattered these over the world, and then went to the caverns where *Maka* sat bowed in shame.

Gnas hooted at her saying, "Oh, first-created of the Gods, the sons of her you cast aside would honor you. Lo, we have prepared tokens for your feasts, and lest you may forget, we have scattered them on all your domain."

Maka hid her face, for she was shamed and could not answer them. Thus came the sands and gravels, the cobbles and boulders beside the waters.

Growing Things and Rain

Gnas then came to *Maka* and consoled her with his insinuating language. He pretended again to be sorry for her and offered her more advice.

"Each of the other superior Gods has his color in his domain. *Škan*'s domain is the celestial blue, *Wi* has the sacred color red for his, and *Inyan* the yellow rocks; but your domain remains drab and uninteresting. Because you are feminine you are ignored. Your color is green, and your domain should be as fair with green as the beautiful blue above, not ugly and bare as it is. *Wi-win* is favored because she is beautiful. If your domain were adorned, you would receive your due in favors from *Škan*. When the Gods are feasting, demand your rights, people to serve you and color in your domain."

Gnas told his mother what he had done, and she rejoiced, thinking *Maka* would again make herself ridiculous in the presence of the Gods.

When next the Gods feasted together, *Maka* stood in their circle and said, "Oh *Škan*, why should I be ignored among the Gods. Give me people to do my will, even as *Wi-win*, a mere associate-Goddess, has her servants to give her pleasure. Grant me this, that I may have my color, green, that was decreed for me, to ornament my domain, which is now large and bare and ugly."

The Gods were all astounded except *Unk*, and *Gnas*, who laughed, holding *Maka* up to ridicule. *Škan*, however, knew all that *Gnas* had said to *Maka*. He knew that *Gnas* schemed to bring trouble and discontent among the Gods. To frustrate the designs of *Gnas*, *Škan* determined to grant the requests of *Maka*. He appointed *Ksa*, *Wohpe*, *Tate*, and *Wakinyan* to be the four who must work for the pleasure of *Maka*. He granted them powers to create such creatures as they would.

These four asked *Maka* what would please her, and she replied that she wished her domain adorned so that it would be beautiful with green. They consulted together and agreed to create vegetation. *Wohpe* and *Ksa* designed the ornaments so

that they should grow from the ground. Four kinds they designed, and many of each kind. One kind was of all kinds of trees, one of all kinds of vines, one of all kinds of shrubs and herbs, and one of all kinds of grasses. After these designs *Wakinyan* created all green things that grow from the ground and imparted life to them. *Tate* then planted them with their roots in the ground. Thus was made a forest and a prairie.

Gnas perceived that he was frustrated in his scheme, and he pled with the four, saying, "It was I who first proposed these good works you are doing. Permit me therefore to have a part in carrying them out. Let me at least help in the planting."

They agreed to do so. *Tate* then gave *Gnas* some things to plant but *Gnas* spat on them before he put them in the ground, and they became thorny or their juices poisonous. This was known only to *Gnas* and to the Great Spirit, who knows all.

So all the lands were decorated. *Maka* viewed the vegetation and was so pleased that she invited all the Gods to see her adornments. They came and viewed them, and all agreed that they were beautiful. All said, "*Wašte-e-e* (beautiful)."

Gnas secretly told his mother that he had made some of the plants poisonous, so, more vehemently than the others, she cried, "*Wašte-e-e*."

Iya having a hunger that no food could satisfy, alone found fault for he ate ravenously of the leaves and herbs. Those that *Gnas* had planted were poisonous, but *Gnas* told *Iya* that those were the most satisfying to hunger. *Iya* ate of them and was poisoned and suffered pains. He berated *Maka* and disparaged her adornments. Then *Gnas* laughed at *Iya*.

Škan praised the plants and said, "*Maka*, your plants ornament you and make you beautiful, but each ornament brings care. You must nourish them or they perish."

Then *Gnas* laughed at *Maka*.

Gnas said to *Unk*, his mother, "*Wi-win* is favored by having the *Pte* people to serve her, and *Maka* by having her domain ornamented. You alone are neglected."

Thus he talked to her until she was jealous and dissatisfied. He advised her to demand of *Škan* that he favor her as he had the others. So when the Gods rested, *Unk* rose, and said, "Great Spirit, favor me. I am lonely in my domain where there is

nothing but the waters. My only pleasures are looking at the adornments on the domain of *Maka* or receiving service from the *Pte* people at the feasts of the Gods. Grant me a favor."

"What favor do you desire?" asked *Škan*.

"If my domain were ornamented as that of *Maka*, I would be happy."

Then *Škan* commanded *Tate*, *Wakinyan*, *Wohpe*, and *Ksa* to appease *Unk*. *Wohpe* and *Ksa* designed plants of all kinds to grow in the waters. *Wakinyan* created them, and *Tate* gave them life and planted them in the waters. The waters washed them to the shore where they grew. No plant in the waters was like any plant that grew on the land. But the water plants grew and multiplied and made the borders of *Unk*'s domain very beautiful. But when they grew, *Unk* was compelled to give them nourishment. Then *Gnas* laughed at his mother and said for every pleasure there is an added care and labor.

Unk then boasted to *Maka* that the plants in her domain grew and multiplied while those on the domain of *Maka* remained as they were and did not grow.

The Gods knew that *Unk* intended to annoy *Maka*, so *Ksa*, *Wakinyan*, *Wohpe*, and *Tate* considered the matter, and *Ksa* said, "To live all must have blood. *Škan* created blood for the *Pte* people from water. We have not the power to create blood, but if water were given to the plants perhaps *Škan* will make it into blood for them."

"My enemy *Unk* controls the waters, and she is envious of *Maka*. She will not aid in ornamenting the dry lands," said *Wakinyan*.

"*Škan* is just and will approve if you by your might take from *Unk* that which is needed for the growth of the plants," said *Tate*.

Then *Wakinyan* wrapped robes of great clouds about himself and flew over the waters. He dipped the robes in the waters until they were soaked.

Unk saw the robbery and came with *Ibom* to resist it. *Ibom* and *Wakinyan* fought fiercely. Their struggles tore the clouds and tossed the waters in great waves. *Ibom* roared and smote. *Wakinyan* bellowed and thundered and glanced flashes of lightning from his eye. *Ibom*, overcome, fell, and *Unk* drew him beneath the waters.

Then *Wakinyan* flew over the grounds and squeezed his robes so that they spilled the waters on all the forest and the prairie, and the lands were made moist. *Škan* was pleased and caused the plants to draw up the water into their veins, and made it into sap for their nourishment. Thus *Wakinyan* invented rain and ever since has moistened lands with rain so that all plants may have water for their sap and nourishment. When the lands are wet with rain, the plants grow and flourish.

Flowers, Fruits, and Seeds

When plants first grew on the world they had only stems and leaves that were green. They adorned the domain of *Maka*, and all the Gods except *Unk* came often to admire and enjoy them. *Unk* and her two sons, *Iya* and *Gnas*, walked on the lands to espy the plants there.

"Why should *Maka* be granted these ornaments while I have only plants at the borders of my domain?" asked *Unk*.

Then *Gnas* taunted her and told her she had been treated unkindly by *Škan*. "If *Maka*'s plants had no water from your domain they would perish," *Gnas* said.

"If I could only overcome *Wakinyan*," mused *Unk*.

"Give me permission, and I will cause his work to come to nought," suggested *Gnas*.

"Have care that he does not know what you do," warned *Unk*.

Then *Gnas* breathed on the grounds about the plants, and they withered, turned yellow, dried, and fell, some quickly, and some after a longer space.

The Gods walked with *Maka* to enjoy her ornaments and saw that some were withered, and some fallen.

"Plants should have offspring that they may not utterly perish," said *Škan*.

Then *Škan* devised buds that would bear seed, such that each plant would bear seed of its kind. *Wakinyan* caused each plant to bring forth buds to bear its seed, and then, as *Heyoka*, invited the Gods to view the plants. *Wohpe* asked his permission to beautify the seed-bearing products, and he consented that she should do so. She caused the buds to bring forth, instead of leaves, flowers of many kinds and colors, plants of a kind bringing forth flowers

alike, and plants of different kinds to bring forth flowers different from those of any other kind. She caused the flowers to be many red, many blue, many yellow, and many white. The Gods viewed the flowers and were delighted with them.

Then *Maka* said, "At our first feast *Wi* gave presents, blue to *Škan*, green to myself, yellow to *Inyan*, and kept red for himself. Therefore these colors are symbols, each of the God to whom it was given. These flowers I give, the red to symbolize *Wi*, the blue to symbolize *Škan*, and the yellow to symbolize *Inyan*."

"You have named none to symbolize yourself. Because there are no flowers of your color I declare that white shall symbolize the graciousness of *Maka* and of *Wohpe*," declared *Škan*.

All the Gods shouted, "*Nunwe*."

The flowers fell that the seeds might grow, and *Wohpe*, seeing the bare buds, asked permission of *Škan* to cover them. He consented, and she covered the growing seeds, the covering of each kind of seed different from that of all other kinds. Some covers grew as the seeds grew, so that when the seeds were grown, some of the covers were hard and dry, while others were thick and soft. *Wohpe* colored these covers, some red, some blue, some green, and some yellow. The Gods viewed them and tasted them, and ate of them, and were pleased.

Thus plants were perpetuated by flowers, seeds, and fruits.

The Water Lily

When next the Gods were feasting, *Unk* complained to *Škan*, "I have been robbed of my waters to give nourishment to the adornments of *Maka*. Her ornaments are sustained by the waters stolen by *Wakinyan*, my enemy, from my domain. Her domain is all beautified while only the borders of my domain are lovely with plants."

Škan knew that *Gnas* incited his mother to jealousy of *Maka*, so he commanded the four, *Ksa*, *Wohpe*, *Tate*, and *Wakinyan*, to appease *Unk*. They did so, and plants of many kinds grew in all the waters.

Iya was hungry with a hunger food could not satisfy, but his enemy, *Wakinyan*, guarded all things that grew above the grounds and above the waters. *Wakinyan* was forbidden by *Škan*

to enter into the waters. *Iya*, therefore safe from *Wakinyan*, fed upon all that grew in deep waters. Hence in deep waters nothing grew above the water, and only the borders of *Unk*'s domain remained adorned.

Gnas said to *Maka*, "You know that my advice is good, for, because you followed it, your domain is now adorned and more to be admired than any other. Your ornaments are beautiful, but I pity you."

"Why should you pity me? Am I not the most favored of all?" she asked.

"*Wi-win* has deceived you," *Gnas* slyly replied. "She contrived that you have the ornaments, but they grow into the domain of *Wi*, and *Wi* and *Wi-win* enjoy them as their ornaments while you are burdened with the care of nourishing them."

Then *Maka* was angry and said she would denounce *Wi-win* at the feast of the Gods.

"Remember the edict of *Škan*," advised *Gnas*. "He puts a curse on any who create discord at the feast. Much better appear pleased with your adornments but tell of the added care and beg *Škan* for assistance to relieve you of that care."

Then *Maka* said to *Unk*, "I shall cause my most beautiful flower, the pond lily, to bloom on your domain as a token of my desire to please you, and when you see it remember that you and your sons are ever welcome to my domain, to the plants, flowers, and fruits thereon, to do with them as you please."

"You offer that which is not in your domain. Plants, flowers, and fruits all belong in the domain of *Wi*," relied *Unk*.

"Yes," cried *Wi-win*. "They are in our domain, and we should possess them."

"They are supported and nourished by my exertions, and I should control them," said *Maka* angrily.

Škan smiled as he listened to the Goddesses contend, and when they had ceased to wrangle, he spoke. "All exist for the world, and but for it none would be except *Inyan* alone. All that makes the world more pleasing shall be for the pleasure of all, both Gods and creatures. *Maka* shall support and nourish all creatures on the world, *Wi* shall warm them, and *Wakinyan* shall give them growth and increase. All the Gods and all their creatures shall take pleasure, each according to his ability."

The Gods all cried, "*Wašte-e-e*," in approval.

Gnas secretly told his mother that he had made some of the plants poisonous, so more vehemently than the others she cried, "*Wašte-e-e*."

Ksa came on the high mountain at the edge of the world to the abode of *Wakinyan*. *Wakinyan* loved his son and listened to his words.

"*Škan* foreknows and his words mean that there will be many creatures on the world, and *Maka* must sustain them. In her domain there is nothing for food but seeds and fruits. Yours is the power to give growth and increase. Make much fit for food so that there will be provision for all that may need," said *Ksa*.

Then *Wakinyan* caused parts of many plants to be edible, of some the roots, of others the leaves, and of others the stems. Some of the seeds he caused to be grains and some nuts. He caused many seeds on each plant so that soon there was provided an abundance of edible things, and *Maka* nourished all.